

THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT MITCHAM

BY

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AND

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THE Mitcham Anglo-Saxon cemetery is on sandy gravel, on the right, or northern, bank of the river Wandle. The recorded burials lie in three main groups, named A, B and C (see Fig. 1), within a narrow oblong, some 500 by 120 yards, lying parallel with the river and about 250 yards distant. The National Grid reference of the approximate centre of the main central site B is TQ (51) 270 861.

The cemetery lies about 8 miles south of London Bridge, between the London-Chichester and London-Brighton Roman roads. A thousand yards to the north-west, the Chichester road (Stane Street) enters the Wandle marshes. There a wide spread of Roman coins and pottery from the first to the fourth century¹ suggests the likelihood of a Roman village, small town or posting station. A thousand

* Col. Bidder took part in most of the excavations from 1891 to 1922, and conducted those from 1904 onward. He is responsible for the record and preservation of the finds made during that period, as well as for the publication of graves 1-76 in *Arch.*, LX in 1906. Mr. Morris is responsible for editing the present account, for the comments on the grave goods, and for the appendix on the Anglo-Saxons in Surrey.

The authors wish to record their deep debt to Mrs. Chitty (Miss Mary Kitson Clark) and to Mr. K. M. Dauncey for considerable preparatory work on the material, on which they have drawn extensively. They also wish to thank Dr. Bushnell and Miss Craster of the Cambridge Museum, Dr. Harden and Miss MacDonald of the London Museum, Messrs. Owen, Brown and Partridge of the Kingston Museum, Dr. Dance of Guildford Museum, and the officers of the Beddington, Wallington and Carshalton Archaeological Society, the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society and the local authorities of Croydon, Carshalton and Wallington for their ready help and co-operation. Mr. David Wilson of the British Museum has been good enough to read through this paper and make a number of helpful suggestions, and Mr. C. W. Phillips of the Ordnance Survey has added to the *Gazetteer*, but neither has of course any responsibility for any statements made. Figs. 6B-8A and 9 were drawn by Mr. C. L. Matthews; Figs. 10-16 were drawn by Mr. John Payne. For photographic help we thank Mr. Morley of Cambridge Museum.

¹ *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 23, cf. XXXV, 123, area centred on TQ (51) 2607 6918, five to six hundred coins, of which the sixteen survivors range from Nero to Valentinian I, with Samian and coarse pottery and a brooch.

yards to the south-west is a small Roman cemetery of the third to fourth centuries,¹ and the same distance to the north is a further Roman site.² (See Fig. 1.)

Until the last generation, sites B and C lay within the grounds of Ravensbury Park, the property of the Bidder family. They are now covered by the houses and gardens of the south side of Morden Road (Nos. 39-83), of Morden Gardens and Heatherdene Close. Site A, north of Morden Road, is now occupied by the railway coal wharf, by Messrs. W. H. Armfield's engineering works, and perhaps

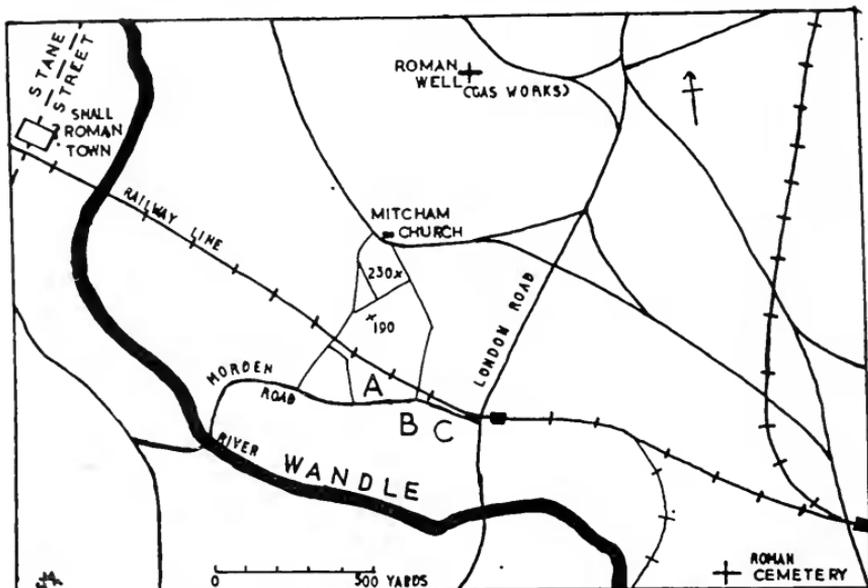


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF MITCHAM ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY.
(Sites A, B and C.)

extends northward, under and beyond the railway line. Burials have been discovered for upwards of a century, and controlled excavations, under the direction of members of the Bidder family, took place at intervals between 1888 and 1922. A considerable number of burials were reported during gravel-digging during and immediately after the 1914-18 war, and many objects noted and recovered. The greater part of the recorded finds are now lodged in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, in the London Museum, and the Kingston Museum.

The materials available for writing a report nearly forty years after the last recorded discoveries are:

¹ *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVIII, 93; XXXIX, 145, inhumation cemetery, with three urns of c. A.D. 250-300 and two of the third or fourth century, identified by Reginald Smith and C. F. C. Hawkes, TQ 2781 6750.

² "A fine earthenware Romano-British urn found in a Roman well at the Mitcham Gas Works (centred on TQ 275 691) in 1882," letter of R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., to Col. Bidder, 10 Sept. 1921. Now in the British Museum (3,4-6).

1. The grave-goods, nine-tenths of which survive in the Museums.
2. A series of maps and field notebooks, with numerous photographs and sketches, recording some 140 graves discovered by Col. Bidder, his father, G. P. Bidder, *q.c.* (died 1896), and other members of his family between 1888 and 1922, mostly on sites B and C.
3. Accounts of workmen and foremen, and in a few cases of observers, of some 70 to 100 graves disturbed during intensive gravel-digging on site A in 1914-18.
4. Miscellaneous documents giving somewhat imprecise accounts, mostly at second or third hand, of burials unearthed at various times in the nineteenth century.

These records are sufficient to permit the assignment of almost all the surviving grave-goods to particular graves, whose exact or approximate location is known, and to identify in the Museums almost all the grave-goods mentioned in the records. Some 230 graves are known. A very large number, perhaps as many again, were destroyed without record in the nineteenth century. It is not known how many more lay, or perhaps still lie, in the intervals between the excavated groups. From these graves came 44 brooches (17 cast and applied saucer brooches, 14 of the type called small-long, 7 disc, 3 ring, 1 equal-armed and 2 great square-headed), with 14 buckles, 10 strings of beads, five glass and nine pottery vessels, 39 knives, 13 swords, 15 shield-bosses and 36 spears, together with a wide variety of miscellaneous objects of bronze, iron, bone and ivory.

HISTORY OF THE SITE

In the Manor Court Rolls, site B was known as "Deadman's Close," presumably because of continued discovery of skeletons over the centuries; and quite early in the nineteenth century graves were discovered in tree planting.¹ Site A is first noticed in the middle of the century. In 1911 Benjamin Slater, then of a considerable age, wrote:²

In the year 1848 the land now covered by the coal wharf and Harvey and Knight's floor-cloth factory in Morden Road, Mitcham, was a field of liquorice, which is grown for its root—which penetrates the earth to a depth of from 3 to 4 ft., and has to be trenched out of the ground by men to that depth. In the work of getting this crop out the men came across a large quantity of human bones—some of the skeletons were found in stone coffins—with them a long sword was found . . . a number of spears were also found, also silver and bronze coins; most of these the men kept, also some of the spears. There used to be a man come down each week and buy these off the men employed in the work—all the swords—and most of the spears were taken to Major Moor's house at Fig's Marsch, where he lived at the Manor House by the Swan Hotel. The bones were taken to a barn . . . until the work was over . . . and then carted back to the field and buried in a deep trench. There was also found several cups shaped like a beerglass with a foot to it, the lip was curved very much, it looked to be

¹ Letter of 10 Sept., 1921, *cf.* p. 52, n.2.

² Published in *Old Mitcham, A Series of Papers*, edited by Lt.-Col. H. F. Bidder, *D.S.O.*, Mitcham, 1923, pp. 18-19.

made of black mud with a greyish look about it; some of them got broken, but the men took them home. The teeth in the skulls were as perfect and bright as in life, there were several sets taken away by the men. I found a spear and a set of teeth myself some time after the work had been finished, but I don't know what became of them. The silver coins were about as large as a twoshilling piece, but thin as a wafer, but in good preservation; the bronze coins were similar in size to the silver ones; none of them were quite round.

About 1910, Col. Bidder interviewed another old man who had taken part in the work, named Kilby. According to him, liquorice was grown for a few years about 1850 on both sides of Dragimire, in "Pudding Fields," by Mr. Arthur on the west, and by Mr. Bridger on the east; Mr. Bridger, who owned and found the boss of grave 187 exhibited to the Surrey Society in 1856, was presumably Moor's successor. Northward, the liquorice field ran up to the vicarage garden. In several years' trenching one skull was all that was found on Mr. Arthur's land, but east of the lane, "bones were frequently found, some here, some there, not all in one spot." "They used to come to a lot of large stones, beneath or at the side of stones with remains of men." The bones were taken to a store dealer. They also used to find "daggers and spears and drinking cups; someone in London came every Wednesday night to buy them; they used to put them in a bag and take them home." The "stones" were called "coffins," consisting of "four slabs with nothing top or bottom; with bones inside them and a very large sword in one," evidently cists. The swords were "flat, double-edged, with no guard, say a yard long." "Some of the coins were no bigger than a sixpence; none were round." The "cups like a beerglass with a foot" were said to have numbered three or four whole and some broken, about 4 inches high, and were described as "black with flecks of grey" or "greyish pottery."

The weapons are normal Saxon; the pottery recalls grave 205*b*, and the coins "no bigger than a sixpence" sound Roman. If the coins which Mr. Slater recollected really came from this site, they can have nothing to do with the cemetery; they cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century. Anglo-Saxon cist burials are occasionally found,¹ but nothing of the sort was found in any excavated part of the cemetery. The Rev. James Hamilton exhibited "spearheads, knives and part of a shield," found "at or near Mitcham" to the Surrey Society in 1854, (*Sy.A.C.*, I, x), together with "Roman and English silver coins." A "Saxon shield and ancient arms" exhibited by Mr. Hamilton in 1856 (*Sy.A.C.*, II, xii) might have come from Mitcham or from Beddington (q.v. p. 133). It is likely that some of these objects came from site A, and Hamilton's coins confirm Slater's recollections. It is quite possible that some medieval or later coins were found on the same site as the cemetery.

In 1855, "when the Mitcham Railway and Station were being built," by G. P. Bidder senior, the railway engineer, "three complete skeletons" were found, "with two bronze tin-plated brooches, a bronze pin and an iron knife." The grave-goods and skeletons were

¹ *E.g.* Kempston, Frilford, Loveden Hill, etc.

given, "long after," to the Mitcham Parish Council, and were apparently still to be seen, together with Col. Bidder's later finds, in the Vestry Hall in 1918, according to E. A. Martin, *The Natural History and Antiquities of Croydon*, Croydon Times, Ltd., 1923, p. 37; *Anglo-Saxon Remains in and around Croydon*, Coventry and Son, South Norwood, 1918, p. 8. Several of the statements in these booklets are accurate, and this account is too circumstantial to be disregarded. The brooches may have been transferred to Cambridge with Col. Bidder's collection, and may be included among those not accounted for in the field notebooks (numbers 231-235).

A few burials were casually noted in the next forty years. Then in the spring of 1888 George Bidder junior found bones in "the gravel-pit recently dug in Cow Pasture (Deadman's Close, site B)." The bailiff had dug up a great many, but had not reported them. Work was suspended, and in the summer of 1888 a few more bones were found, together with "several very good flint knives, arrow heads, scrapers and one core," in the north-west corner of the pit. G. P. Bidder, q.c., began deliberate excavation on 10th October 1891, plotting and recording discoveries in notebooks, which were collated in 1896 by his daughter, Miss Ina Bidder (Mrs. Kitson Clark), who transferred the results to the existing field notebook in March 1904. His son, H. F. Bidder, read a report on the first 76 graves to the Society of Antiquaries on 30th November 1905.¹

Graves 77-88 were dug before the end of 1908. All excavation had hitherto been on site B. On the edge of site A, grave 147 was discovered by chance about 1909, and in March 1914 Col. Bidder excavated graves 134-146, towards the north end of the site, formerly covered by Messrs. Harvey and Knight's linoleum factory, and subsequently by Armfield's engineering works. The 1914-18 war occasioned intensive gravel-digging. Early in the war Mr. Wilks of Croydon rescued a number of objects from graves 192-200; some of his earlier finds were reported to the Society of Antiquaries and published by Reginald Smith,² but without a note of their exact location. Col. Bidder, however, whilst on leave, and as yet unacquainted with Mr. Wilks, obtained from the site foreman a rough plan of the location of these graves, and marked in the then limit of the gravel-digging. In 1921 he purchased Mr. Wilks' finds, and they are now in Cambridge and Kingston Museums. It is likely that some brooches at Cambridge not mentioned in the field notebooks (graves 231-235) were included in this collection, but the close correspondence between the foreman's plan and Mr. Wilks' list of finds suggests that not many burials were disturbed beyond those recorded.

¹ Published in *Arch.*, LX (1906), pp. 49-68 (reprinted in *Sy. A.C.*, XXI (1908), pp. 1-25). Reginald Smith published a commentary on the finds in *P.S.A.*,² XXI (1905-7), 4-10, (reprinted in *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 26-32). Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth contributed a comment on a dozen of the skeletons to the *Archæologia* report.

² *P.S.A.*,² XXVIII (1915-6), 230-33.

Gravel-digging was intensified in 1917. Between May 1918 and March 1919 Mr. G. F. Lawrence of the London Museum recovered numerous objects (graves 200–229),¹ entering them in the Museum Catalogue, with a note of the separate grave-groups, but not of their location. Col. Bidder, however, subsequently obtained some spears and a rough note of the position of a number of graves disturbed at this period (numbers 148–176), and excavated one grave while on leave in September 1918 (number 211), not knowing that Mr. Lawrence had taken a shield-boss from it the day before. The field notebook records the location and contents of this grave, thus fixing the approximate area of the London Museum graves. The workmen reported no grave-goods for twenty-five of the graves whose location they notified to Col. Bidder, and these may well have been the graves whose contents had been sold to Mr. Lawrence. Graves 148–176 and 201–229 may therefore be wholly or partly identical.

These graves appear to mark the eastern limit of site A; though gravel-digging continued to produce fossils for the London Museum until 1922, only one further Anglo-Saxon find was reported to Mr. Lawrence and none to Col. Bidder. In December 1919, however, digging was resumed south of Morden Road, and was strictly supervised. Two approach roads disclosed graves 89–94 and 95–101 on sites B and C. Planned excavation was resumed in June 1920 and continued till November (graves 102–120).² In 1922 the south side of Morden Road was widened by 16 feet. Some graves were encountered in digging post-holes for a new fence, numbers 121–4 on site C, with 126 well to the east and 125 at the north-west of site B, but none in between. Later in the year, graves 129–132 were discovered in a sandpit just beyond 125.³

No later discoveries have been reported, and it is not likely that many have been made. A resident of Vicarage Gardens, interviewed in July 1958, vividly recalled the discovery of graves 129–132, "found in the sandpit the year I first went to work, just thirty-six years ago", but had heard nothing of any later finds. In 1935 the whole of site B was built over, the gravel-pit filled in and the ground level raised 2 or 3 feet. Four of these houses, Nos. 77–83 Morden Road, were bombed in the war, and the ground further raised when they were reconstructed. Neither in these building operations nor in the construction of Armfield's works on site A were any new finds reported.

¹ Wheeler, *London and the Saxons* (London Museum Catalogue, No. 6), 1935, pp. 115–31, where however "grave 28" is not a grave group, but a collection of objects given by Col. Bidder in October 1919 for illustrative purposes, from various of the graves 1–177; the sword is perhaps from grave 163. These finds are mentioned in *Sy.A.C.*, XXXIII, vi; graves 199 and 200 in *Sy.A.C.*, XXIV, 110. Skull and bone measurements of 14 skeletons in *Biometrika*, XVIII, 1926, 98 and XXVIII, 1936, 290. There are also skeletal remains in Cambridge Museum.

² Graves 116 and 128 were briefly noted in *Sy.A.C.*, XXXIV (1921), 109.

³ Grave 129 was briefly noted in *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVII (1927), 94 (*cf.* 110 and 235).

It is probable that gravel-digging, liquorice-trenching, and controlled excavation have already removed almost all the ground known to the pagan Saxons. But the liquorice-trenching on site A left undisturbed at least 60 graves, for the gravel-diggers to discover between the railway and the road. It is therefore possible that further graves remain in the areas not affected by gravel-digging, preserved under the railway line and yard, and perhaps in the still open ground north of the railway. It is also possible that some may remain on the extreme west of site B, beneath the houses of Morden Road and Morden Garden, and perhaps at the extreme east of site C, for in these areas neither liquorice-trenching nor gravel-digging nor excavation are recorded. These areas are however separated from the main concentration of site B, and may well have lain outside the limits of the cemetery.

The approximate limits of sites B and C can be roughly determined. The northern limit is suggested by the small number of graves discovered by the fence post-holes of the 1922 road-widening; though no doubt some lay between post-holes and others beneath the road itself, there is certainly no congested area of burials as in the centre of site B a little to the south, and it is likely that the burials peter out along the line of the modern road. The southern limit is determined by deliberate excavation which drew a blank. Site C seems a small and isolated group, though the existence of a few more graves to the east is likely. The western limit of site B has not been established, and the number of graves removed in the 1888 gravel pit is not known. The western and perhaps the eastern limits of site A have been established, but its northern limit is unknown. Two isolated burials (185 and 230) are separated from site A by wide stretches of unexplored territory, and may or may not have formed parts of continuing further groups. If the cemetery did extend to grave 230, on the edge of the Vicarage Garden, then the Parish Church of Christian Mitcham and its graveyard adjoined the pagan cemetery.

The flakes and arrowheads found in the centre of site B in 1888 were evidently left there by Stone or Bronze Age peoples; it may be that they came from a barrow long since levelled; many of the larger Anglo-Saxon cemeteries adjoin or surround an earlier burial ground,¹ whose visible surface indications presumably prompted the Saxons to select the spot for their own interments. If so, site B should be the nucleus of the cemetery. It is the densest concentration of burials; the limits of site C, the recorded positions of graves in site A,

¹ *E.g.* in Berkshire, Abingdon is grouped round a Bronze Age barrow, and Frilford adjoins a Roman cemetery; secondary interments in Bronze Age barrows are common in the Yorkshire Wolds; at Stapenhill in Staffordshire the Anglo-Saxon cemetery touches a late Roman farmstead and its burials, both distant from other known Saxon or Roman sites; in Kent, Higham borders on a Roman cremation cemetery that must have been long out of use before the first Saxons were buried there, and at Stowting Roman and Saxon graves mingle. Examples might be indefinitely multiplied.

and the old men's recollection that, in a thorough trenching, bodies were found only "here and there," suggest that burials did not lie so thick in these sites as on site B. Nevertheless, a great many burials were destroyed without record before 1888, and there is a good deal of unexcavated land beneath the road, the railway, and perhaps towards the Vicarage and Church. The unrecorded burials may well be as numerous as those discovered, the original number of burials perhaps as many as four or five hundred.

Col. Bidder deposited a selection of the earlier finds at Mitcham Vestry Hall (now the Town Hall). Most of them have since been transferred to Cambridge, but the remainder were lost during the war. A selection of weapons was deposited at Kingston Museum in 1924 and is still there; others were given to a local school, and most of these have now passed to the London Museum. The whole of the rest of the grave-goods excavated or salvaged by Col. Bidder and his family were presented to Cambridge Museum in 1929. All known objects are therefore in safe keeping at Cambridge, Kingston and London Museums. The notebooks, photographs, maps and other records are also deposited at Cambridge Museum.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAVES

Note.—In the following list a * after the number of a grave means that grave-goods were found with the burial.

Grave-goods are printed in italics; a † placed thereafter means that the object is illustrated on the appropriate plate.

The compass-point means the direction from head to foot, *i.e.* the direction in which the body would face if it were lifted directly on to its feet. The normal position is for the body to lie stretched out on its back, the arms lying straight by the side. Deviations from this position are noted. The words "plan only" mean that the grave is drawn on the original plan, but not mentioned in the notebooks.

GRAVES 1-146

Excavated or supervised by Colonel Bidder and family

Site B

GRAVE
No.

- 1* E. Face upward.
A spearhead lay at an angle above the right shoulder, as though the spear had been placed diagonally across the chest.
A purse-mount† or "*strike-a-light*" lay near the spearhead.
- 2* E. Face to left.
Beads lay at the neck.
- 3-4 Approximately S.E., No. 3 lying diagonally under No. 1, both skeletons disturbed.
- 5 N.E. Face to left. A stray arm was buried with this skeleton.
(Plan only.)

GRAVE
No.

- 6 E. Face upward. Height 5 ft. 6 in.
- 7 E. The trunk and head are missing and were apparently cut out by No. 9.
- 8 E. Face to left. The legs and pelvis are missing, apparently cut out by No. 5.
- 9 E. The head, one arm, and one leg are missing. The skeleton was apparently cut out by both No. 5 and No. 7. (Plan only.)
- 10 E. Face upward. An extra leg-bone lay alongside the left thigh.
- 11* E. Face to right.
Under the left shoulder lay a *saucer brooch*.† At the waist was an iron *buckle*† and tongue. To the right lay a piece of *iron*. On the stomach, apparently held in the hands, was a second *skull* (12).
- 12 Skull only.
- 13 S.E. Face upward.
- 14 E. Feet and bottom of legs missing.
- 15 E. Skull missing.
- 16* E. Face upward.
On the right collar-bone was a bronze *disc-brooch*†.
- 17* E. Face upward. Height 6 ft. 1 in.
On the left side was an "iron *spear* 5 ft. 1½ in. long." Presumably both spearhead and ferrule were found and the distance between them measured.
A stray skull lay by the left hip.
- 18 A child, skull only.
- 19-20* E. Face upward. Height 6 ft. 1 in.
By the right side of the head lay a *spearhead*.
Under the left arm was a *knife*.
Resting on the leg and pelvis of No. 19 was a stray *skull* (No. 20).
- 21 E. Face to left.
- 22 E. Face upward.
- 23 S.E. Face upward.
- 24* E. Face to left.
"A *knife* or small spear was found at the left hand."
- 25 Fragmentary bones disturbed by the burial of No. 24.
- 26 E. Face upward. (Plan only.)
- 27* E. Face to left.
By the left side lay a double-edged flat *sword*, with traces of wooden scabbard, the pommel level with the shoulder, 33 in long, maximum breadth 1¾ in.
Over the face was a *shield-boss* with iron grip, diameter 6¾ in.
By the left of the skull was a *spearhead*.
By the left side was a *knife*.
- 28 E. Face upward. Left forearm over pelvis, left hand on right hip.

GRAVE
No.

29 E. Face to right. Knees bent. Left elbow over right knee of 28.

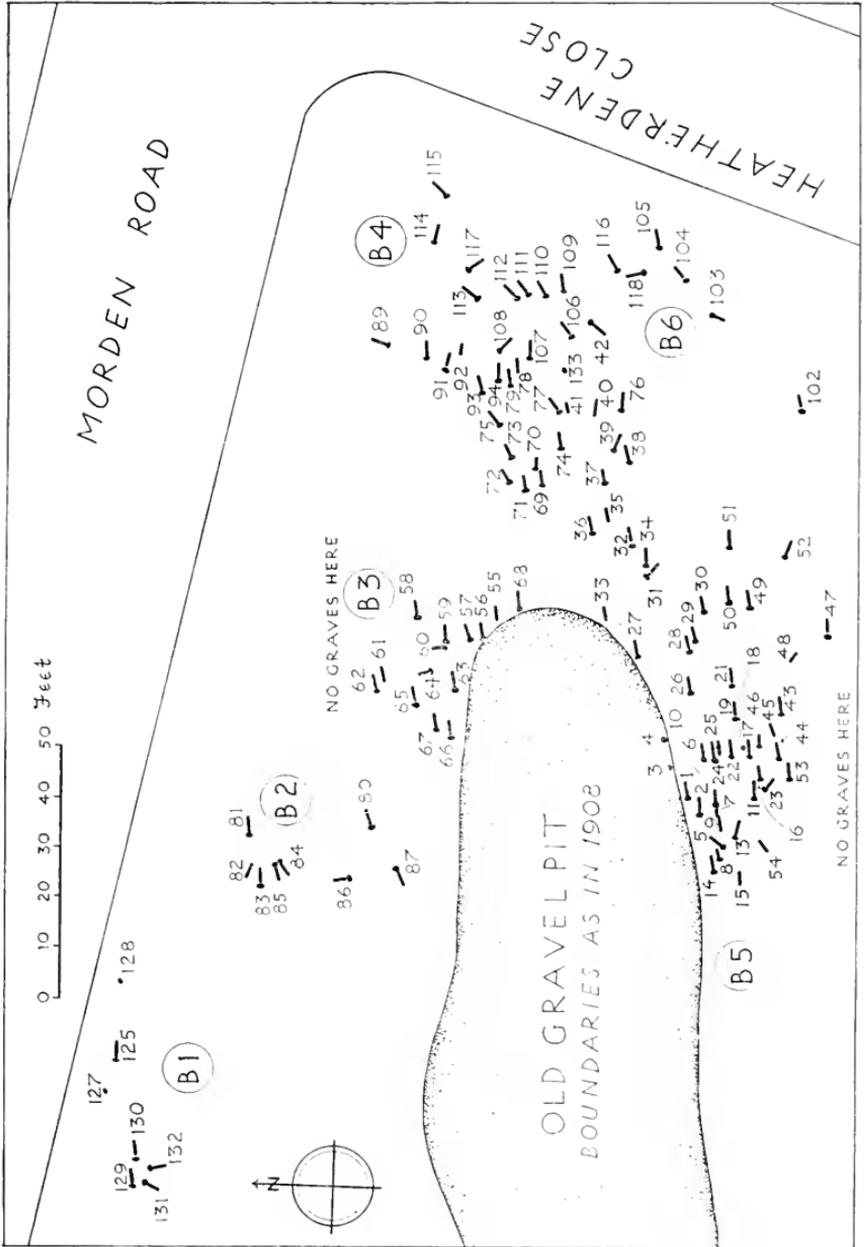


FIG. 2. PLAN OF GRAVES: SITE B. (B1, B2, etc., refer to groups of graves.)

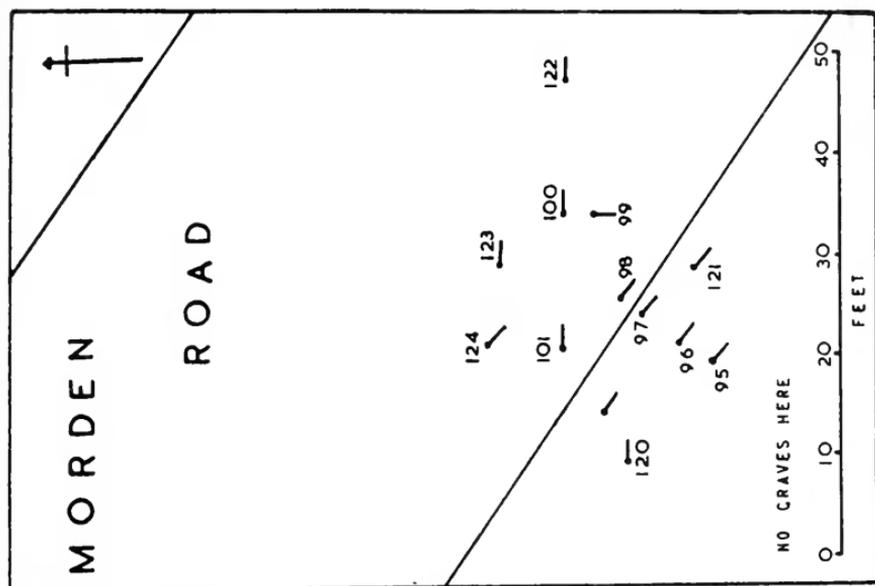


FIG. 4. PLAN OF GRAVES; SITE C.

Note: Grave 120 lies 250 ft. south-east of grave 115 (site B); grave 226 lies 80 ft. south-east of grave 122. Grave 119 is not shown.

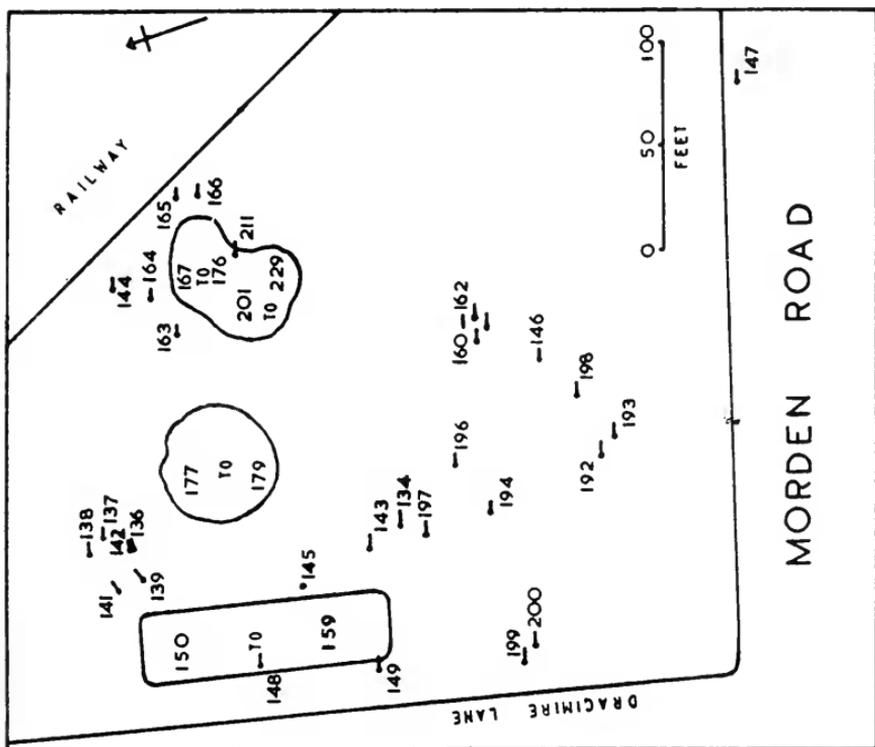


FIG. 3. PLAN OF GRAVES; SITE A.

The locations are approximate only.

GRAVE
No.

- 30* E. Face upward.
An *iron ring* (1½ in. diameter) and *chain* lay by the left forearm.
There were some amber *beads* by the right knee.
- 31 S.E. Face downward, below No. 34. The lower part of the skeleton was missing, probably by modern disturbance.
- 32* E. Face upward. "One leg bent up against the other."
Height 5 ft. 3½ in.
By the right of the head was a *spearhead*.
By the left arm was a *knife*.
- 33 E. Legs and pelvis only. (Plan only.)
- 34* E. The head lay over the right shoulder of No. 31.
To the right of the head was a blue *glass* tumbler†.
On the left of the head was a green *glass* vase†.
By the neck were some *glass beads*.
- 35 E. Legs and pelvis only.
- 36 E. Face upward. Knees bent and legs crossed. Arms folded across the chest. Shallow burial.
- 37 E. One thigh bone and fragment of skull only.
- 38* E. Face to left. Height 5 ft. 0 in.
By the right thigh was a fishhead *buckle*†.
With the burial were a *knife* and a bronze *finger-ring*†.
- 39 S.E. Face upward. (Plan only.)
- 40 Skull only. (Plan only.)
- 41 E. Legs and pelvis only. (Plan only.)
- 42* S.W. Face upward.
By the right of the head was a long *spearhead*.
- 43* E. Face to left, head bent forward.
On the left of the waist was a very large *knife*†.
- 44* E. Face downward, laid above No. 45 in same grave. Height 5 ft. 6 in. Depth 1 ft. 10 in.
At the neck were a few *glass beads*†, including two fine red beads with blue and white inlay.
To the left of the waist was a small *knife*.
On the waist was a small iron *buckle*†.
- 45* E. Beneath No. 44 in same grave. Depth 2 ft. 4 in.
Round the waist were the *fittings* of a *belt*† in bronze, with jewelled ornament.
On the left collar-bone was a *small-long brooch*†.
Behind the head and diagonally across it was a bone *comb*†.
- 46 E. A child, not above five years old.
- 47 E. Face to left, hands clasped under head. Height 5 ft. 5 in., depth 2 ft. 4 in.
- 48* S.E. "Skeleton of a man," the head and arms missing.
Depth 2 ft. 3 in.
At the waist was a small *knife*.
On the right thigh was an iron *buckle*, in two pieces.
At the feet lay a detached male *skull*, face downward.

GRAVE
No.

- 49* E. Height 5 ft. 6 in., depth 2 ft. 8 in., dug 4 in. into the gravel. By the left side was a *sword-batten*†, 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, the hilt level with the waist, the point toward the feet. Hanging down from the waist between the legs was a *chatelaine*† of six bronze rods with eyelet holes, wound around with fabric of a canvas-like texture. At the waist and on the left thigh were a number of small bars and plates of iron, with cloth adhering, apparently the remains of a *belt* and *pouch*, with an iron *key* and *ring*. Over the left knee was a globular *urn*†, with three rows of chevrons incised. At the feet were a bronze *rod*, similar to those of the *chatelaine*, with material adhering, a small *bar* of iron, and, at the heels, two small iron *rods*, one against the left heel bone, 2 in. long, ending in a flattened plate, and passing through an iron ring, possibly the fastenings of a *box* or *bag*.
- 50* E. Depth 2 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to top of thigh bone, dug 4 in. into the gravel. "On top of the skull was a hole the size of a shilling." At the left shoulder were two *spearheads*. At the waist were a large *knife* and a boar's-head *buckle*†.
- 51* E. Face to right, knees bent. Depth 2 ft. 2 in., lying on the gravel. A small *spearhead* lay under the left thigh bone. Between the legs was a small *ring* of twisted wire.
- 52 S.E. A child, depth 2 ft. 10 in.
- 53 E. Face upward, head bent forward. Left leg crossed over right, right arm by side. Lying on the gravel.
- 54* N.E. Skull missing; height, from shoulder to heel, 5 ft. 0 in. depth 2 ft. 0 in. Above the left shoulder was a *spearhead*. Between 53 and 54 a hole dug into the gravel was full of miscellaneous bones, one clavicle discoloured green, as from a *brooch*(?), presumably the result of later disturbance.
- 55 E. Leg bones only, short and sturdy. Depth 1 ft. 5 in.
- 56 E. Face to left. Pelvis and legs missing. Nos. 55 and 56 had presumably been disturbed, perhaps by a ditch.
- 57* E. Face to right. A youth, since the sutures were not joined. Height 5 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., depth 1 ft. 6 in. In the mould above the right breast was a small *coin* of Constantius II (A.D.337-61), *Gloria Exercitus*.
- 58* E. Face to left. Height 5 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., depth 1 ft. 11 in. By the left knee was a small *spearhead*, the point towards the feet.
- 59 E. Underneath, and cut out by, No. 60.
- 60* N. Face upward, height 5 ft. 1 in., above and cutting out No. 59.

GRAVE
No.

- In the vertebræ was a small *spearhead*, point upward toward the shoulder.
- 61* E. Collar-bones, one leg and a few fragments only remained. On each collar-bone was the *base* of a large *applied saucer brooch*†, 2¼ in. in diameter, with traces of the applied bronze plate.
- In the mould above the body was a *cast saucer brooch*† and a punched bronze strip, perhaps part of the *binding* of a *bucket*†. At the waist was a large iron *buckle*.
- 62* E. Skull missing.
- In the ribs on the right-hand side were 39 *beads*†.
- 63* E. Face to left. Height 5 ft. 8 in., depth 2 ft. 0 in. Head bent forward. "Suffered from rheumatoid arthritis in a severe degree in the hips and knees."
- On the right of the skull was a large *spearhead*, which had been wrapped in a canvas-like material.
- Among the ribs was a small *knife* in a *sheath*.
- 64 N. Face downward, knees bent, depth (of knee) 1 ft. 6 in. "Small woman, carelessly thrown in."
- 65* E. Face to left. Height 6 ft. 2 in., depth 1 ft. 6 in.
- The skeleton had evidently been disturbed, the bones replaced, and grave goods not removed; most of the bones were in the right place, but the left thigh was by the breast bone, the jaw, upside down, below it, two ribs by the skull, and the pelvis by the knee. The left shoulder was in place, but the wrong way round, the ulna beside it; some of the vertebræ were at the heel.
- Diagonally across the body was a large *sword*, 35¼ in. long, 1⅞ in. wide, the hilt above the right elbow, the point above the left knee, with much of the wooden *scabbard* remaining. A thin rectangular *iron plate* at the hilt end of the scabbard may have acted as a catch to stop the sword wearing loose in the scabbard.
- Over the right knee was a *shield-boss*, 3 in. high, with a shoulder blade between it and the knee.
- By the left arm was a short *spearhead*.
- Among the ribs was a small *knife*.
- Under the sword were the bones of a small *dog*.
- 66* E. Face upward. Height 5 ft. 3 in., depth 2 ft.
- On either side of the waist lay a pair of gilt cast *saucer brooches*†. Just below the level of the waist, between the legs, were some bones, perhaps including a skull bone, resting on a piece of earth. The skeleton was badly decayed, and many bones were missing.
- 67 E. Face upward. A baby, lying 3 ft. north of 66.
- 68* E. Trunk and head missing.
- Roughly 6 ft. to 10 ft. east of No. 68 was a *pottery bowl*†.

GRAVE

No.

- 69* N.E. Face upward. Under 70, in same grave.
At the feet was a *pottery bowl*† of red paste, with a smaller black *pot*† inside it.
Under the bowl was an iron *knife*.
- 70 E. Obliquely above 69. Slight bones suggesting a woman.
- 71 N.E. Face to left.
- 72 N.E. Young person, knees bent, lying on the right side.
- 73* N.E. Face to left. Plate XXIIIb.
By the left side lay a *sword* 36½ in. long, 2½ in wide, the hilt above the shoulder, point to the feet.
Above the right shoulder lay a *spearhead*.
On the middle of the right shin-bone was a conical *shield-boss*†, with a handgrip, and an iron *ring*, 2½ in. in diameter, in the mould above it.
On the left of the waist was a *knife* and on the right an iron boar's-head *buckle*, with studs of bronze, "as in grave 50."
- 74 N.E. Fragmentary skeleton.
- 75* N.E. A young person, the right hand under the face. On the left of the waist was a small *knife*.
- 76 E. Fragmentary skeleton.
- 77 N.E. Face to left. (Plan only.)
- 78 E. Pelvis and legs only. (Plan only.)
- 79 E. Skull and one limb.
78 and 79 may form a single grave, later disturbed.
- 80 N.E. Face to left. An additional skull, also face to left, lay to the right of the skull of the skeleton.
- 81 E.
- 82 N.W. Legs and pelvis only.
- 83 E. Face upward.
- 84 and 85. S.W. 85 lay above 84, partially overlapping.
- 86 N. Knees bent. Face upward. Depth 2 ft. 3 in.
- 87* S.W. Small adult. "The head was missing, but a loose head was found near."
A small *knife* lay to the left of the waist, its point toward the feet.
Portions of four iron *rings* were found along the left femur.
- 88 N. Fragmentary bones. (Not entered on plan.)
- 89* N. Face upward. A tall man, height estimated at 6 ft. 2 in. Depth, 1 ft. 10 in.
A hole in the centre of the forehead was apparently made during life. The two lower bones of the left leg were grown together, so that the man must have walked on the side of his foot. The right collar bone was fractured.
By the left side was a light *sword*, with a gilt band round the top of the sheath. From a photograph of the grave as excavated, the sword seems to have been 30-32 in. long.

GRAVE

No.

- 90* E. Face upward. An old man.
The right femur was much "mushroomed" at the ball joint, presumably because of arthritis.
By the right shoulder was a *spearhead*.
- 91 E. Head bent forward. A middle-aged man. Depth of skull, 2 ft. 3 in.; the body sloped downwards in a hole cut in the gravel, the feet being 2 ft. 10 in. from the surface.
- 92 Disturbed fragments of bones.
- 93* N.E. Face upward.
A *sword* with cocked-hat *pommel*† lay across the waist.
- 94 E. Depth 2 ft. 8 in.
Note. The site foreman's measurements show graves 93 and 94 as respectively 37 ft. and 75 ft. due south of the positions shown on Col. Bidder's scale plan; Col. Bidder's record is to be preferred, and is adopted on Fig. 2.

Site C

- 95 S.E. Depth 18 in.
- 96 S.E. Depth 18 in.
- 97 S.E. One arm and one leg only, presumably a disturbed burial. Depth 17 in.
- 98 S.E. Very shallow grave.
- 99 S. Slight fragmentary bones, perhaps of a youth or woman. Very shallow.
- 100 E. Very shallow grave.
- 101 E. Only the legs were excavated.

Site B

- 102* E. Head bent forward. Depth 15 in. Height, heel to shoulder, 5 ft. 2 in.
The two lowest vertebræ were stained with *bronze*.
- 103 S.W. A child, laid on to the gravel.
- 104 N.E. Head bent forward. Knees slightly bent. Depth, 3 ft. 3 in.; the grave was cut 6 in. into the gravel. The skull was markedly long-headed.
- 105* E. Head bent forward. A child or small woman. Depth 2 ft. 7 in.; the grave was cut 3 in. into the gravel.
A small *knife* was found beneath the bones.
- 106* N.E. Face to right. Head bent forward. Depth 2 ft. 2 in., above the gravel.
A *spearhead* lay to the right, opposite the face.
A small *knife* lay above the left of the pelvis.
- 107* E. Face to left. Depth 2 ft. 6 in.
On the collar bones were two bronze *small-long brooches*†.
- 108* S.E. Face to right, head bent forward, body on the right side, knees bent, right hand under chin. Depth 3 ft. 6 in., dug 1 in. into the gravel.

GRAVE
No.

A *knife* lay by the right elbow.

A bent *knife* was lying through his left hip, in the socket where the top of the thigh bone joins the pelvis. The knife pointed to the front, and was curved along the flat side. If the knife were thrust into the hip before death, it would certainly have killed the man.

109* E. Face to left. Depth 3 ft. 1 in., dug 8 in. into the gravel. By the left hip was a small iron *rod*, 3 in. long.

By the left knee was a small curved iron *plate*, like a bent sword tip, perhaps a belt tongue, 1¼ in. long.

Near the neck were 9 *beads*†.

110* N.E. Face to right, head bent forward. Depth 2 ft. 6 in., dug 6 in. into the gravel. The left hand lay over the middle of the right forearm. The right thighbone had been broken in life, and grown together short and crooked.

On moving the bones, an iron *hook* was found, which seemed "suspiciously modern."

111* N.E. Face to left, head bent up. Depth 2 ft. 8 in. Dug 10 in. into the gravel.

On the breast were a pair of *disc-brooches*†.

To the left of the head lay a black earthenware *pot*†.

112* N.E. Face upward and half left. Depth 3 ft., dug 12 in. into sand, here lying above the gravel.

On the left breast was a *small-long brooch*†.

Under the right hip were three iron *rings*, of about 2 in., 1½ in. and ½ in. diameter, according to a sketch in the field notebook, with a small hook by the bottom, smallest, ring. They may have been the remains of a small cylindrical purse or bag of cloth or leather. To their left was an iron *knife*, point towards the feet.

In the surrounding mould was a kidney-shaped bronze *plate*†, with shaped ends.

113* N.E. Face to right. Dug 10 in. into the sand. Massive bones. To the right of the head were two fine *spearheads*, crossed. On the left shoulder were traces of *bronze*.

At the waist, on the vertebræ, was a *strap-end*, a small thin square of bronze with two studs.

By the left elbow was a *shield-boss*.

Inside the left forearm lay a *knife*, point downward.

Inside the left thigh, under the fingers, was an iron *buckle*.

114* E. Depth 3 ft. 10 in., dug 12 in. into the sand.

"Grubbed up by workmen."

A *shield-boss* and a *spearhead* were with the body.

115 N.E. Depth 3 ft. 2 in., dug 6 in. into the sand.

Slight fragmentary bones, perhaps of a woman, disturbed by workmen.

116* N.E. Face to right, hand under chin. Dug 8 in. into the gravel.

GRAVE
No.

On the right collar bone was a *small-long brooch*†.

On the left collar bone was a *disc-brooch*†.

On the middle of the stomach lay a *flat ring-brooch*†, perhaps part of a belt-fitting.

“All about and under the pelvis” were five *beads*, one of green glass and four “bugle” beads.

Inside the top of the right thigh bone was a thin bronze *needle case*†.

Under the left leg and pelvis and fingers of the left hand were a number of objects, perhaps the contents of a bag.

Under the pelvis lay a *knife*†, under the thigh bone two *keys*(?) of iron, to the left of the thigh bone and pelvis an *iron ring*†, a small bronze *clip*†, a small bronze *purse-mount*(?), a pair of bronze *tweezers* on a ring, two pierced *coins*, two pieces of *iron*, and half a small iron *ring*.

Against a finger of the left hand, at a rather higher level, was a fragment of a *great square-headed brooch*†, much abraded, and pierced as for rivets or suspension, perhaps a charm. It may have formed part of the contents of the bag.

117* Face to right, head bent forward, knees bent, arms folded with the hands across the waist. Orientation E. or S.E.

Around the neck was a *necklace*† of 52 beads, including six of amber; also a small pierced *silver disc*, and a small *wire ring*.

Near the fingers of the right hand was a small bronze *finger ring*; the two forefingers of the right hand grasped a *ring brooch* of bronze.

At the waist was an iron *knife*.

118* N. Face upward. Depth 3 ft., dug 1 ft. into the sand.

A small scalloped *pottery disc* lay near the head.

Site C

119* S.E. Face to left, head tilted forward.

The field notebook shows a sketch of a thin *ring*, perhaps of iron, without verbal description.

120* S.E. Slight bones, perhaps of a woman. The skeleton was fairly complete, but had no head.

At the waist was an iron *knife*.

121* S.E. Large bones.

In the mould near the skeleton was one amethyst *bead*.

122 E. No grave goods.

123-4. No grave goods; graves reported by workmen.

Site B

125* E. Face to right.

On the left knee was a *shield-boss*.

GRAVE
No.

By the right thigh lay a very large *spearhead*, from the sketch in the field notebook, about 21 in. long, with the point towards the feet.

Slightly to the right of the backbone, about the bottom rib, was an "inlaid fragment decorated with a small garnet disc, backed by a piece of hatched gold foil," perhaps a *strap-end*†. On the left side of the waist were a D-shaped and a triangular piece of iron, with traces of a leather covering, apparently a large *buckle*, and a small bronze *buckle*†.

Site C (80 ft. east of)

126* A *spearhead* and a *shield-boss*; the skeleton was not reported.

Site B

127* A *spearhead*; the skeleton was not reported.

128* A bronze ornament like a *saucer brooch*† with human face, without pin, and pierced as for suspension or rivets.

129* E. "A woman with 64 *beads*† round the neck and over the breast."

130* E. "A man with two *spearheads*."

131 S.W. "A crumpled burial"

132 S. "Light bones, perhaps a woman." Buried face down.

133* Part of a skull and a remarkable open-work *buckle*†, found near 106, may be part of a disturbed burial.

Site A

134 E. Slight bones of a person about 4 ft. 5 in. tall, depth about 2 ft., dug 3 in. into the gravel.

135 A skull only.

136 E. Skeleton, with no skull, dug 2 in. into the gravel. The skull may have been removed by a modern cement foundation adjoining the grave. From shoulder-blade to heel the body measured 4 ft. 9½ in.

137 E. Height, from collar-bone to heel, 4 ft. 6 in. Dug just into the gravel.

138* E. Face to right, height 4 ft. 10 in. from heel to crown, dug just into the gravel.

On the left shoulder was a small *equal-armed brooch*†.

139 Skull only.

140* N.E. Height about 5 ft. from crown to heel, shallow grave, 2 ft. above the gravel, very near 139.

By the left side was a bronze rod, believed to have been a Roman *stylus*†.

By the left leg was an "*iron stiletto*†, 5¾ in. long, with a fine point but no cutting edge, with traces of a wooden handle and perhaps a leather sheath. Immediately below the handle, the section measured ¼ in. by ⅜ in."

GRAVE
No.

- By the right foot was a thin flat bronze *clip*, and in the surrounding mould an iron *knife*.
- 141 N.E. The shin bones higher than the rest of the body; "a very odd-shaped thigh bone."
- 142 Fragments of skull and limbs, possibly but not probably part of 141.
- 143* E. Fragmentary skeleton, dug 3 in. to 4 in. into the gravel. At the right elbow was a *small-long brooch*†; loose in the surrounding mould was a similar *brooch*† and a *knife* with traces of a sheath.
- 144 E. Face upward, some bones displaced.
- 145* Face upward, large bones, laid on top of the gravel. A *shield-boss* was found over the centre of the stomach.
- 146* E. By the head was "an earthenware *pot* decorated with a curved stamp."

GRAVES 147-179

Reported by workmen. Some grave-goods were preserved, but the graves were not seen. Some or all of graves 148-176 found in the gravel digging of 1917-18, may be identical with graves 201-229 (see page 56 above).

- 147 E. Depth about 2 ft.
"Found in excavating for . . . the gas main about five years ago." (Letter from Mr. C. Ives of Merton to Col. Bidder, dated 3 April 1914.)
- 148* E. Dug some inches into the gravel.
"Four small *plates* with a piece of wood underneath, found near the shoulder."
- 149* Burial with a *spearhead* reported by workmen.
- 150-159. "Ten or so graves, mostly without weapons or implements, found near No. 148."
- 160* Burial with a *spearhead*.
- 161-2. Two burials without grave-goods near 160.
- 163* E. Burial with a *sword*, along the left side, and outside the sword, a *spearhead*, with a *shield-boss* over the head.
- 164 A skull only reported.
- 165 E. No grave-goods reported.
- 166 E. No grave-goods reported.
- 167-176 "About ten graves were found east and south-east of No. 163. No details were reported."
- 177-179 "Some graves discovered fairly recently (probably in the 1890s) when digging foundations for new plant at Harvey and Knight's." Their contents included a *spearhead*, "silver plated *buckles*," and a "horse and rider." Whatever the meaning of this last enigmatic burial, the number of graves can hardly have been less than three.

GRAVES 180-191

Individual graves reported during the nineteenth century.

Site A

GRAVES 180-188 Found during the trenching of the liquorice fields between about 1848 and 1855. Graves 181-186 derive entirely from the fallible recollections of very old men set down 60 years later (see page 53 above). The number of graves encountered was clearly large; six are all that their recollections serve to isolate as individual graves. Graves 187-188 were recorded at the time, and confirm the general truth, but not the detail, of the old men's memory. See also graves 236-238.

GRAVE
No.

- 180 Skull, found on Mr. Arthur's land. (Mr. Slater.)
- 181-184* "Three to four stone *coffins*, consisting each of four slabs with nothing on top or bottom, with bones inside. A very large *sword* was in one of them."
- 185* *Spearhead*.
- 186* A double-edged *sword* with no guard. "Found in the liquorice fields before the railway was made. Mr. Bridger put a handle on it over 60 years ago." (Mr. T. Kilby.)
- 187* "The iron *boss* of a Saxon shield," discovered "near Morden Lane . . . in land . . . known in the Court Rolls of the Manor . . . as Deadman's Close," exhibited by Mr. Bridger to the Surrey Archæological Society in 1856, (*Sy.A.C.*, II, p. xii), and given to the society. "Discovered near 'Puddingfields' between 1850 and 1856" (letter of R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., to Col. Bidder, 10 September 1921, reporting a conversation with Mr. James Bridger (died 4 May 1885)). Garraway Rice tried and failed to find the boss in Guildford Museum.
- 188* *Sword*, *spearhead* and part of an iron *boss* of a *shield*, "found while trenching in a field near Mitcham in Surrey called Deadman's Close. Bones had been frequently found in this field and tradition made it the site of a battlefield." *J.B.A.A.*, VII, 1852, 442.

GRAVES 189-191. Reported by R. Garraway Rice, *Croydon Advertiser*, 23 September 1882, hence *V.C.H.*, I, 268.

Probably site B

- 189 N. or S. Body in extended position, "in a field adjoining Morden Lane," on a bed of yellow sand which was covered by about 3 ft. of black earth, 50 yards south of No. 190. Found September 1882.

Site A

- 190* Human remains, with "a corroded iron vessel, which, from a further description supplied, may be supposed to have been

GRAVE
No.

- a *shield boss*." Found about 1880, when excavations were being made in the coal wharf adjoining the railway, about 50 yards north of No. 189.
- 191* "Objects described as buckles," either *buckles* or *brooches*, found near the surface in a gravel-pit hard by (No. 190) belonging to the railway company.

GRAVES 192-200

Objects collected from gravel-diggers "on the right hand side of the road leading from Mitcham Station to Morden, near the railway siding" in 1915, by Mr. G. W. Wilks, of 224 London Road, Croydon, subsequently purchased by Col. Bidder (see page 55). Mr. Wilks' inventory (letter to Col. Bidder, dated 1 October 1921) lists the objects below, which cannot well have come from less than nine graves. The contents of graves 192-195 were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on 25 May 1916, and published in *P.S.A.*,² XXVIII, 230-3. Some details of the graves were evidently known in 1916, but by 1921 Mr. Wilks no longer recalled them. He then wrote that he had obtained most of the objects from a young man since dead who worked at the gravel-pit, others from a spoil-heap. This presumably refers to the objects numbered 196-200. Grave 198 was reported by the foreman to Col. Bidder, but not to Mr. Wilks.

Site A

GRAVE
No.

- 192* *Sword* with *cocked-hat pommel*†; with it a *boss* and a "*bead of spart*†, that must have come from a stone district" (Wilks), Cambridge Museum 54.397.
- 193* 18 in. from 192. A second *sword* with *cocked-hat pommel*†, with it a small black *pot*† "similar to that from St. Martha's Guildford" (Smith) and two oblong *scabbard-plates*† (Smith) of silver and iron. Wilks' inventory lists the "silver" plate only. "A large spindle-whorl . . . or glass ring . . . perhaps attached to the sword hilt . . . on . . . the sword-knot of a warrior" (Reginald Smith), presumably came from this grave. One of the swords was exceptionally broad (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in wide) (Smith). One of the pommels was of iron and in position, the other of bronze and loose. In either 192 or 193 were also a few glass beads and a pair of tweezers.
- 194* "Two bronze *broaches*†, usual type" (Wilks).
- 195* "Bronze gilt *broach*†, broken" (Wilks).
Smith illustrates two small-long brooches, his Figs. 1a & b; 1a is lost; 1b is one of a pair, now in Cambridge Museum, the second of the pair being broken. Wilks' inventory should presumably have read, "pair of brooches, one broken, usual type, and one small bronze gilt brooch."

GRAVE
No.

- 196* "Bronze *brooch*†, disk shaped." Cambridge Museum possesses two disc-brooches not otherwise explained; one is presumably 196, the other, listed as 235 below, may have been accidentally omitted from Wilks' catalogue.
- 197* "100 *beads* of glass and pottery."
- 198* Third skeleton with a *sword*, not preserved, about 20 ft. east of 192 and 193.
- 199* "*Glass vessel*†, specially beautiful in design with delicate thread work on the bowl of the vessel and the handles . . . shattered by the gravel digger when removing the top soil."
- 200* Fragments of a second *glass vessel*†.

Grave No. 195 contained a second, upper skeleton, of a youth or child (Smith). Wilks' inventory also lists 3 *knife* blades, 1 small *spearhead* (broken), 2 *nails* (?), 2 fragments of *pottery*, and 3 fragments of bronze *rims* with nails attached, from wooden vessels.

GRAVES 201-229

Rescued from Site A in 1918-19 by Mr. G. F. Lawrence of the London Museum, published in *London and the Saxons* as graves 1 to 29. Grave 28 in this publication is not however a grave-group, cf. page 56, note 1. The sole authority for these graves is the London Museum Catalogue.

GRAVE
No.

- 201* By the left shoulder, a *glass vessel*†. On the shoulders, two applied *saucer brooches*†.
- 202* N.E. *Knife* and two fragments of Roman *pottery*.
- 203* N.E. A young man, with an iron *knife* near the head, 12 ft. from grave 202.
- 204* N.E. A middle-aged woman, with an iron *ring* and a small iron *staple*.
- 205a* On the shoulders, two applied *saucer brooches*†, with part of a bronze link, *handle*†, or key. (A19845-7, catalogued July 1918.)
- 205b* A *pot*† (A19917 "from a disturbed grave with A19845-7" (catalogued September 1918).
- In view of the catalogue entry, it is not possible to assert that the pot and the brooches formed part of a single interment. They may have come from two burials, the later above the earlier, or have become associated by some later disturbance.
- 206* *Base* of an applied *saucer brooch*, exactly similar to that in grave 205a.
- 207* A detached skull and a *spearhead*.
- 208* "Traces of a skeleton," with a *saucer brooch*†, an iron *knife*, and a small bronze *buckle*.

GRAVE

No.

- 209* Detached skull, with a Roman bronze *key handle*†.
- 210* "Within 2 feet of a disturbed burial," a thin bronze *plate*†, shaped like the foot of a late cruciform brooch.
- 211* By the right shoulder, a *shield-boss* and *shield-grip* (illustrated, *London and the Saxons*, p. 160, Fig. 35).
Lawrence notes in the London Museum Catalogue: "Capt. Bidder paid a surprise visit to the gravel pit, and noticing the interment dug it out . . . finding a sword and knife (*sic*) with the skeleton."
- The field notebook records thirty burials found in these months in this area; twenty-nine of them (Nos. 148–176) were subsequently reported by the workmen; one only was excavated by Col. (then Capt.) Bidder, while on short leave, cf. page 56 above.
- S.W. Face upward, head bent slightly to the right, dug 3–4 in. into the gravel.
By the left side was a *sword*, (evidently Kingston Museum 2) "with a bronze *gilt band*†, half perished, round the top of the wooden sheath, hilt level with the shoulder."
To the right of the head lay a *spearhead* (type D, about 8 in. long, photograph in field notebook).
Such a spearhead might well be miscalled a knife by the workmen who reported to Lawrence.
- 212* S.W. by S. Woman, with a rough earthenware *cup*† by the head, iron *shears* by the face, and a *knife* to the left of the waist.
- 213* N.E. by E. Skeleton with a *shield-boss* and *shield-grip* by the right hip, *spearhead* by the right of the head, *knife* by the left shoulder, and *buckle* loose in the grave.
- 214 N.E. Face to right. No grave goods reported. Skull numbered A20060.
- 215 Man's skull and thigh bone, A20106–7.
- 216* *Knife*, fragments of bronze *plate* and iron *ring* or *buckle*.
- 217* Burial with part of a *knife*, A20094.
- 218 Woman's skull and four leg bones, A20096, 20101–4.
- 219 "Woman and snail shell," A20100.
- 220 Woman's skull, A20105.
- 221* Two *saucer brooches*†, one on the neck and one 10 in. behind the head; to the right of the waist was an iron *knife*, on the left forearm an *ivory bracelet*†.
- 222* Two *saucer brooches*† beneath a woman's skull, to left of the waist a glass *spindle-whorl*† or *bead*.
- 223* N.E. Face to left. Skeleton of an elderly man. By the right of the head was a *spearhead*, by the ribs a *knife*, to the left of the waist a *glass bead*†, in the earth above the skull a pair of *tweezers*.
- 224 Skull, A20249.
- 225* N.E. A young woman, depth 2 ft. 6 in.
On the shoulder was a *great square-headed brooch*†.

GRAVE

No.

- 226* Skeleton, with a fragment of Roman *pottery* at the top of the skull, A20288-9.
- 227* A *knife*.
- 228* *Spearhead*, A24433, found January 1922, and therefore scarcely part of any of the other graves of 1918-19. (Note: on grave 28 of *London and the Saxons* see p. 56, note 1.)
- 229* E. A woman, depth 18 in.
 Across the breast lay a long bronze *pin*†, 2½ in. below it a *disc-brooch*†; above the right hip were an iron *buckle*† and a *knife*, above the left hip half a ring-brooch, perhaps part of a *belt-fitting*† as in grave 116, and a small wide bronze *ring*†, listed as a "ferrule." Between the ankles was an iron *nail*.
 This grave, numbered 34/67/1-7, was catalogued in 1934, described as "found in 1918."

The London Museum collection also contains a number of animal bones and teeth, some held to be of Pleistocene and some of Anglo-Saxon date, and half a dozen objects which may have come from separate graves, or from one or other of the graves listed above. These are

1. A19797. "Male Jaw, with no grave goods."
2. A19798-9. Iron *buckle* of square form, and iron object.
3. A19849. Broken iron *knife*, surviving length 4 in.
4. A20088. Iron *sickle* "found at the level of the interments, November 1918." This may well be the deposit of a much later age. In the absence of enclosed finds, it is not possible to distinguish Anglo-Saxon sickles from those of other ages.
5. A20106-7. Man's bones.
6. A20291. Iron *ring*, with hook attachment, internal diameter 2 cm. ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
7. A20373. Iron object.

GRAVE NO. 230* Bronze bowl†, 10½ in. diameter, 3½ in. high. "The report in *P.S.A.*,² XXVIII, 233 . . . is incorrect . . . The bowl . . . was dug up near Mitcham church, when the old houses opposite the church were repaired, or the row of small cottages built which overlook the Vicarage garden . . . in the later sixties, say *circa* 1867 . . . and . . . given to me many years ago by Mr. R. M. Chart, J.P., of Mitcham" (letter of R. Garraway Rice to Col. Bidder, Sept. 10, 1921). Now in the British Museum, 1933, 4-6, 164. Published, *Ant. J.*, III, 70 (fig.). The site is probably that of the cottages. Nos. 2-20 Vicarage Gardens are of mid-nineteenth century appearance. A present resident (1958) remembers that her father, born about 1856, told her that at the age of ten or eleven he used to play on the building-site while the cottages were under construction. It was therefore these cottages which were built about 1867. The site (National Grid TQ(51) 2704/6 6858/63) lies about 180 yards

north-east of the reported position of grave 185, and 350 yards from the main group of site A.

In Cambridge Museum are a number of brooches which must apparently have come from graves other than those recorded above. These are

GRAVE

No.

231* *Small-long Brooch*†.232* *Small-long Brooch*†.233* *Small-long Brooch*†.234* *Small-long Brooch*†

231 and 233 might have formed a pair.

235* *Disc-brooch*†.

Since none of these objects is recorded in the field notebooks, it is probable that they came from gravel digging on site A.

236-238* "Three complete skeletons with two bronze tin-plated brooches, a bronze pin and an iron knife," found while making the railway in 1855; cf. p. 54 above. The two brooches may or may not be among the five brooches at Cambridge not mentioned in the notebooks.

KEY TO THE LOCATION OF GRAVES (FIGS. 2-4)

		<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Published</i>
1-30	B5	1891-1896	<i>Arch.</i> , LX, 49 ff. = <i>Sy.A.C.</i> , XXI, pp.1 ff.
31-34	B6	1896	"
35-42*	B6	1896/1900	"
43-50	B5	1904	"
51-54	B5	1904	"
55-68	B3	1905	"
69-75	B4	1905	"
76	B6	1905	—
77-79	B4	1906/8	—
80-87	B2	1908	—
88*	unlocated	1908	—
89-94	B4	1919	—
95-101	C	1920	—
102-105	B6	1920	—
106-115	B4	1920	—
116	B6	1920	<i>Sy.A.C.</i> , XXXIV, 109
117	B4	1920	—
118	B6	1920	—
119-120	C	1920	—
121-124	C	1922	—
125	B1	1922	—
126	East of C	1922	—
127-132	B1	1922	128,129 in <i>Sy.A.C.</i> , XXXIV, 109, XXXVII, 94
133*	B6	1920	—
134-146	A	1914	—

* The location of graves 40, 88, 133, 187-8 and of most graves on site A is known only approximately.

Key to the Location of Graves (Figs. 2-4)—*continued*

		<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Published</i>
147	A	about 1909	—
148-176	A	1917-18	—
177-179	A	about 1890/1900	—
180-186	A	about 1848-50	—
187*	A	1850/1856	<i>Sy.A.C.</i> , II, p. xii
188*	B	1850/1852	<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , VII, 442
189	B?	1882	<i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 268
190-191	A	about 1880	"
192-200	A	1915	<i>P.S.A.</i> , ² XXVIII, 230
201-229	A	1917	<i>London and the Saxons</i> , 115-131
230	North of A	about 1867	<i>Ant. J.</i> , III, 70
231-235	uncertain, probably A	probably 1914/18	—
236-238	A	1855	

METHODS OF BURIAL

There is no sign of cremation at Mitcham; none of the urns is reported to have contained ashes; where the circumstances of discovery are known, the urns were found in inhumation burials.

The majority of the burials were orientated with the feet to the east. Though the same position is adopted in Christian burial, there is nothing specifically Christian to it; it is the commonest orientation in most pagan Saxon cemeteries; it was no doubt influenced by Roman custom, for the custom of inhumation was itself Roman and Christian. There appears to be no rhyme or reason in the different orientations. Parallel unorientated graves occur only at the extreme east of site B and on site C. It may well be an accident. But it is in this area that many bodies were buried with the head bent forward, as though on a pillow, in a grave dug somewhat short. It is just possible that these two slight departures from normality were made of set purpose, and indicate some divergent custom or belief.

The regular orientation of graves here, and occasionally elsewhere, suggests the probability that the grave-fill left some slight visible mound above the grave; it cannot however have been normal to raise any considerable mound, likely to last more than a few years, for an appreciable number of graves was disturbed by later Saxon interments. Not only do several burials overlie each other, but in one instance, (65), care was taken to make good the disturbance; the disturbed bones were replaced, in the wrong order, and the sword put back in a most unusual position. The inference is that the disturbance was made by accident by people who still cared for the deceased. In other cases the head, or either the upper or lower part of the body, is missing, while a number of graves contain an additional skull, or occasionally other extra bones. It is possible that these additional skulls were buried out of a belief that the head of some other person, perhaps an enemy, brought strength to the dead man; but it may well be no more than the accident that in

digging the grave an older burial was disturbed and its skull re-interred in the new grave.

In several burials the knees were bent, but in only one instance (131) was the body hunched up or crouched. The normal position was to lay the body straight out, the hands by the side, with the face upward or to one side. In four cases (31, 44, 64, 132) the body lay face down; in three of them the grave-goods determine the sex as female; in 31 there is no indication of sex.

More than half the recorded graves at Mitcham contained grave goods. The proportion of weapons is unusually high; one-fifth of all the graves contained arms of some sort, and a total of twelve swords much exceeds most of the cemeteries in England. Sarre in Kent, with 26 swords in a total of over 200 graves, holds the record. Another fifth of the graves contained brooches, but the ornaments are rather fewer and poorer than in most of the larger cemeteries.

INVENTORY OF GRAVE-GOODS

Each object bears the number of the grave in which it was found.

A † indicates that the object is illustrated on the appropriate plate.

Saucer Brooches (Plates VII–VIII.)

11† Cast brooch, gilt, diameter 4.5 cm. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ in.), found under left shoulder. Cambridge Museum 54. 387. *Arch.*, LX, 52, Fig. 2; *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 5, Fig. 2; *P. Croydon N.H. & S.S. VIII*, plate ix. A five pointed blunt, or weak, star, outlined in two deep-cut grooves, surrounding a central dot in a single circle, surrounded by three grooved circles.

In the same grave was an iron buckle.

61† Cast brooch, gilt, diameter 3.5 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.), found in the earth above the grave. Cambridge Museum 54. 388b. Not previously illustrated. A pattern of ten running scrolls, surrounding two deep-cut circular grooves, framing a small central boss; no outer border. Rim set at 45° to the base.

61† Bases of a pair of applied brooches, diameter 5.75 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.), one on each collar bone. Cambridge Museum 388a, not previously illustrated. The bases consist each of a flat bronze plate, slightly convex, soldered to a stout rim set at right angles to the base, with a pin catch clipped in.

Fragments of the appliqué, no longer extant, were observed on excavation, and were said to have consisted of a thin strip of gilt bronze with two small rows of dots punched from below. It is however possible that this pattern has been confused with that of the bucket-binding found in the same grave.

In the same grave were a large iron buckle and a fragment of the bronze binding of a bucket†.

66† Pair of cast brooches, diameter 3.3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.), one at the waist, one at the left hip. Cambridge Museum 54. 379. *Arch.*, LX, 69, Fig. 12 *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 13, Fig. 12. Five

fully rounded running scrolls, with a central dot surrounded by a deep-cut pentagon, and a dot on the outer edge between each scroll. The border is tooled with small diagonal lines giving the effect of rope-work.

Nothing else was found in the grave.

- 201† Pair of applied brooches (one with applied plate missing), diameter 3.6 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.), found one on each shoulder. London Museum, A19748-9, *London and the Saxons*, p. 118, Fig. 9, p. 117. The pattern is of a full equal-armed cross, from border to border, with a pair of scrolls facing inward from each arm, the scrolls touching each other, and a dot or pellet enclosed by each pair of scrolls. The border is milled, with close set radial strokes pointing to the centre, the lip of the base plate set an angle of 45° to the base.

In the same grave was a trailed cone-beaker glass vessel†.

- 205† Pair of applied brooches (one with applied plate missing), diameter 3.7 cm. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in.), found one on each shoulder. London Museum A19845-6, *London and the Saxons*, p. 119, Fig. 10, p. 120. The pattern is a six-armed cross, dividing the brooch into six segments, in each of which two scrolls, not quite touching, have their stems linked to form a heart-shaped pattern, enclosing each a dot or pellet. The border is similar to that of the brooch of grave 201, the lip of the base-plate approximating more closely to a right angle.

In the same disturbed grave was a bronze handle or link†. A pedestal urn† (205B) from the same grave was not necessarily from the same interment.

- 206 Base of an applied brooch, diameter 3.6 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.), similar to the base from grave 205.

- 208† Cast brooch, gilt, diameter 3.6 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.), position in the grave not recorded. London Museum A19891, *London and the Saxons*, p. 121, Fig. 11, p. 123. The ornament is a medley of broken-down pieces of animals, mostly legs and eyes, each element clearly recognizable, enclosed by a single groove border, and enclosing a small central panel with a roughly scratched six-armed cross.

In the same grave was an iron knife, and a small neatly fashioned bronze buckle.†

- 221† Pair of cast brooches, gilt, diameter 3.2 cm. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ in.), found one on the neck and one 10 in. behind the head. London Museum 20119-20, *London and the Saxons*, p. 126, Fig. 13, p. 127.

The pattern is of a six-pointed interwoven "Star of David," in sharp outline, enclosing a small central boss in an etched border, the whole brooch also surrounded by a similar border, with a simple eye motif between the points of each star. The lip is set at an angle of 45° .

In the same grave were a small knife and an ivory bracelet†.

- 222† Pair of cast brooches, gilt, diameter 3.6 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.), found beneath the skull. London Museum A20123-4, *London and*

the Saxons, p. 127, Fig. 13; *Ant. J.*, XIII, 241, plate xxxv, b. A rosette of nine petals with a central depression is surrounded by two double-grooved borders; between them a moulding, interrupted by seven sets of three nicks, giving the effect of a border of alternating "light and shade," a motif not uncommon on saucer-brooch borders, and also found on some Kentish brooches. The lip is set at an angle of 45°. A normal safety-pin catch is soldered to the base.

In the same grave was a large glass bead or whorl†.

- 128† Cast bronze-gilt ornament, diameter 3.5 cm. (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), Cambridge Museum 54. 389, not previously published, of slightly thinner metal than most saucer brooches, but in all other respects similar to a saucer brooch, save that it lacks a pin catch, and apparently never had one. The design is unique, incorporating elements from several different saucer-brooch traditions to make a highly individual human face. To the nose, eyes and eyebrows of a quite common Wessex type are added a milled border, adapted to make the hair, and terminating in scrolls, adapted to form curls, with a moustache on the same model; a "light and shade" border forms the jaw, elements from animal medley brooches the mouth and beard, with dots, or pellets, enlisted to suggest prominent inflated cheeks. The design is set in a simple groove border with a lip set at a sharp angle to the base.

The ornament was pierced with two small holes, for rivets or suspension; but the piercing, which cuts the design, was presumably made by an owner after manufacture. The closest parallel to the design is the bow of the great square-headed brooch from grave 41 at Bifrons, near Canterbury (illustrated, Leeds, *Corpus of Great Square-headed Brooches*, A1, No. 3; Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, p. 83, Fig. 141; Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III, plate xxxiv, 7), which presents a devolved and stylized human face, of much the same proportions, but in a different tradition. The Mitcham ornament may possibly have been the bow of such a brooch, or, less likely, a disc from the spike of a shield boss. It may even have been a reject saucer brooch, to which a catch was never fitted. But whatever its use, the elements of the design derive exclusively from saucer brooches, and it is with them that it should be studied.

The *saucer brooch* is so named from its shape. It is made in one of two ways; either it is *cast* in one piece, or a thin sheet of bronze is worked separately, and then *applied* to an undecorated base by solder or other means.¹ On the whole, most of the fifth-century

¹ English, but not German, scholars commonly use a somewhat misleading

brooches are cast, and most of the late sixth-century brooches applied; but there are plenty of exceptions both ways, and the method of manufacture is no criterion of date.

Dating Anglo-Saxon brooches is at best a tricky business; the principles involved are discussed below, page 150. Saucer brooches are more difficult than most, for they have received less study than they deserve, or than has been devoted to other kinds of brooch. But it is quite idle to try and make sense of the history of any Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Surrey, Sussex or Wessex without reviewing, at the risk of tedium, what is known of the date and distribution of the various kinds of saucer brooch. The 17 examples from Mitcham provide a representative series of most of the main types. The cast brooch from grave 66 has five running scrolls deeply incised in the technique termed "Kerbschnitt," or "Keilschnitt." This is the commonest of all saucer-brooch types, and the best dated. It is also the only type found in any numbers in Europe. Examples mapped on Fig. 10 come from twenty-five burials in England and there are seven in Europe.¹ Of these thirty-two burials, eight were found in the same grave as other objects whose approximate date is

terminology, limiting the word "saucer" to the cast brooches, and contrast them with "applied" brooches. The confusion is more than verbal, for this usage suggests a connection with late Roman disc-brooches, decorated with an appliqué, which is quite unevincend. The word "saucer" applies to the shape of the brooch, whatever its method of manufacture, and is so employed, for example, by Roeder. By courtesy, a small number of perfectly flat brooches, with an applied plate, with or without a separately made shallow rim set at right angles to the base, like the lid of a tobacco tin turned upside down (e.g. Mitcham 61), are considered with the saucer brooches, since they resemble saucer brooches in everything but their flatness, and have nothing in common with the decoration or even the distribution of Anglo-Saxon disc-brooches. In fact, most brooches of this kind have a slightly convex plate, and most of those whose baseplate is flat once had a rim.

¹ These are Mitcham, Beddington, Cassington, (Purwell Farm grave 2) Wheatley (grave 20), and Caistor by Norwich (all in the Ashmolean Museum); Droxford, between Southampton and Portsmouth, Hornton on the Oxford-Northamptonshire border, Kempston by Bedford, and Long Wittenham in Berkshire (all in the British Museum); one from East Shefford (grave 18) (in Newbury Museum) one from Lewes (Malling) and five from Alfriston (*Sx.A.C.*, LVI, 16 ff. and LVII, 208 ff.), in the Lewes Museum, and two from Highdown in the Worthing Museum; three from Abingdon (E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon*, graves 60, 100 and 106), in the Abingdon Museum; one each from Woodstone (*Arch.*, LXIII, 192, pl. 28) in Peterborough Museum, Duston (Baldwin Brown, III, 317, pl. lix, 3) in Northampton Museum, Reading (*V.C.H.*, Berkshire, I, 240) and Marston St. Lawrence on the Northampton-Oxfordshire border (*Arch.*, XLVIII, 338). All but Abingdon 106 are cast brooches. Abroad, six are from Westphalia, from Perlberg, Stade (Roeder, *S.S.V.*, pl. iii, 7-8, a pair), Heeslingen, Zeven, and Kl. Mechelen Zeven (*ibid.*, pl. iii, 4 and 6), Westerwanna grave 404 and Nesse, inhumation 3 (Roeder, *N.F.*, pl. xxiv, xxv), and perhaps Issendorf, Stade (*S.S.V.*, pl. iv, 2), though this brooch is known only from an eighteenth-century sketch of intimidating freedom. This drawing and the Mechelen brooch are also illustrated in *Praehist. Zeitschr.*, XVII, 1926, 135 and 149, the Westerwanna brooch in Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. xi). One was also recently discovered at Alphen in Holland, grave 4 (A. Roes, *De meroving. Begraafplaats van Alphen*, pl. ii, 5, 1955).

approximately known. The Cassington grave also contained a belt tab of a shape found in the Gallo-German cemetery at Vermand, near St. Quentin in north-eastern France, (whose approximate date limits are A.D. 350–410), at Dorchester (Dyke Hills) in Oxfordshire (approximately A.D. 380–400, *Oxoniensia*, XVII / XVIII, 63) and at a few very early Anglo-Saxon burial grounds in England. The brooch from Alfriston grave 60 was found with a cone-beaker of glass (type Aa, No. 5, *D.A.B.*, pl. xva) dated by Harden (*ibid.*, p. 158, cf. 135) to the late fourth or early fifth century; that from Abingdon

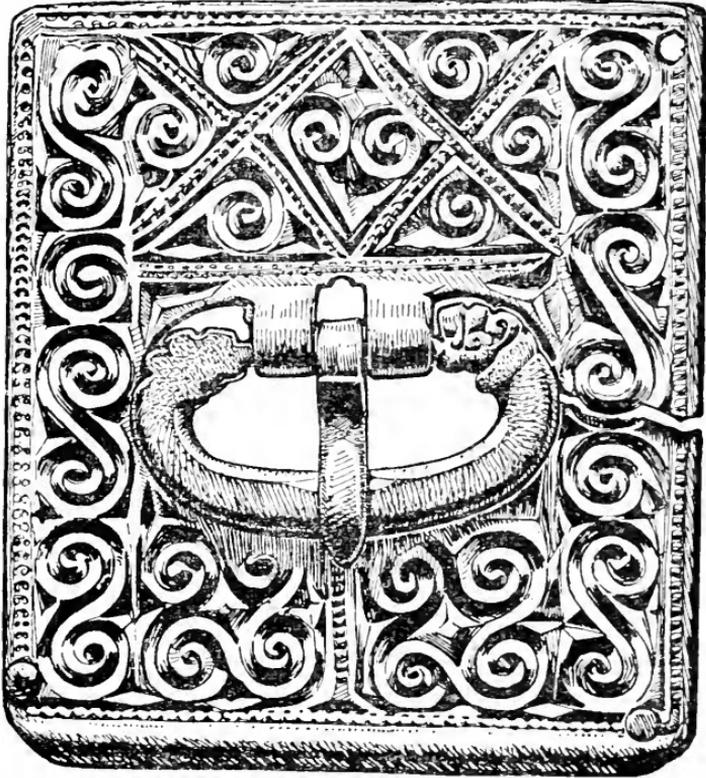


FIG. 5. BUCKLE FROM SMITHFIELD, LONDON. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

grave 106 with a "Tutulus" brooch, the only brooch of this type found in an English burial ground; abroad it dates from the fourth well into the fifth century. The Caistor-by-Norwich brooch was found in an urn (Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. xi) which German scholars would date early in the fifth if not in the fourth century, and that from Westerwanna was found in a similar urn, also with a "Tutulus" brooch. Inhumation 3 at Nesse also contained a "broad equal-armed" brooch, type 7, certainly of the fifth century, similar to those found in England at Haslingfield, Kempston, Sutton Courtenay, and Abingdon (C26). With East

Shefford 18 was a small plain bow brooch, probably of the fifth century (*J. R. Anth. Inst.*, XLV, 1915, 117 and pl. iii). But in grave 4 at Alphen was associated a small simple, typologically early, radiate brooch. The main run of these brooches is quite securely dated to 550 or later by direct or indirect association with coins (Kuhn, G. B. V.) The dating of the typologically earlier examples is much less secure; but in any case Alphen 4 is not likely to be earlier than A.D. 500.

Thus six of the eight are certainly of the fifth century, two of them apparently quite early in it. There is no reasonable doubt that the five-scroll saucer brooch is typical of the fifth century, with an occasional survival into the early sixth.¹ The tooling of the Mitcham brooch is weak and half-hearted in comparison with the bold outlines of, for example, Figs. 5 and 6, A; it may be comparatively late in the series, but on the available evidence it would be rash to date it later than the fifth century. The technique of "*Kerbschnitt*" is also of known date and origin (cf. especially Alois Riegl, *Die spaetroemische Kunstindustrie nach dem Funden in Oesterreich-Ungarn*, Wien, 1904); the bulk of the metal work in this technique is found in or near Roman forts on the Rhine and Danube, and, where it can be dated, belongs to the late fourth and early fifth centuries; it is the art of barbarian federates in the Roman army. In his notes on Col. Bidder's first publication of the Mitcham five-scroll brooch fifty years ago (*P.S.A.*, XXI, 7=*Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 29), Reginald Smith properly emphasized its likeness to the great "*Kerbschnitt*" buckle from Smithfield, itself typical of the art of the Rhine and Danube frontiers (Fig. 5). The design of this brooch is centred on squares of four, not five scrolls. The four-sided figure is ill-adapted to a circular frame; it is occasionally so found, in a saucer brooch from Long Wittenham in the British Museum (*Arch.* XXXVIII, 352, pl. 19) and on the bow of a silver square-headed brooch from Falster, Denmark (Salin, *Thiernornamentik*, p. 162, Fig. 380=p. 53, Fig. 116) (Fig. 6, A). This device evolved to the SS figure common on great square-headed brooches in England in the mid-sixth century, but on saucer brooches the simplest adaptation was to add a fifth scroll.

The Anglo-Saxon metalsmiths developed the brooch by adding more and more scrolls—six, seven, ten, and, in a few late instances, sixteen or seventeen. The cast brooch of Mitcham 61 with ten scrolls is an example. There is just sufficient evidence to show that these developments are later; but examples are fewer, and so therefore are dated examples. The conception of a scroll brooch was losing its popularity. Against thirty or more five-scroll brooches, only seventeen are known with six scrolls, and seven with more than six

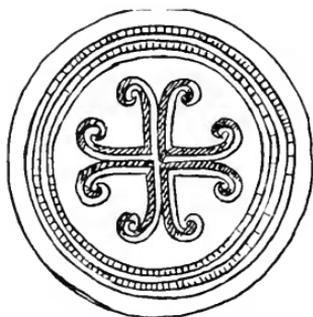
¹ Åberg's statement that the Hornton brooch was associated with a great square-headed brooch (of the sixth century) is not supported by the relevant documents in the British Museum; the brooches were bought, and said to have been "found in a tunnel." They no doubt came from the same cemetery, but nothing suggests they came from the same grave.



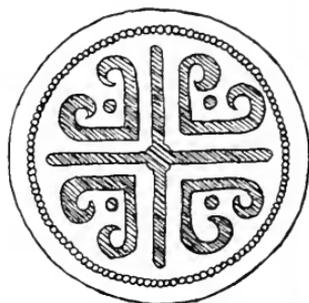
A. FALSTER ISLAND,
DENMARK.



B. LUTON, BEDS.



C. HIGHDOWN, SUSSEX.



D. HIGHDOWN, SUSSEX.



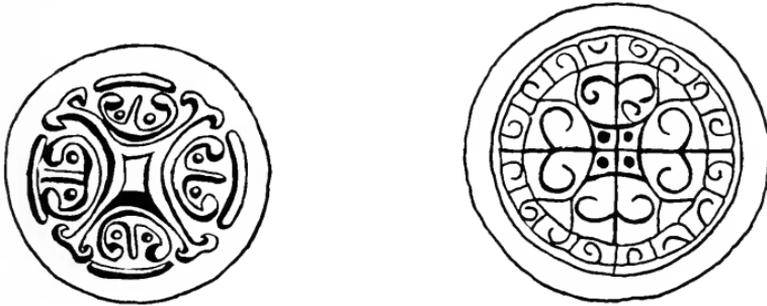
E. KEMPSTON, BEDS.



F. FAIRFORD, GLOUCS.

FIG. 6. Saucer-brooch designs. (All $\frac{1}{2}$)

scrolls. Of these, two six-scroll brooches are dated; one was found in Abingdon, grave 100, with an applied five-scroll brooch, and is therefore probably not much later than the end of the fifth century; the other, from grave 11 at Barrington "A," near Cambridge (*Col. Ant.*, VI, 160, pl. 33, 1) was buried with a great square-headed brooch (Leeds, *Corpus*, A3, 21), whose date must be well on in the sixth century (cf. page 102 below). The evidence of two brooches is weak enough, but it has some slight confirmation; whereas there are seven five-scroll brooches from Low Germany, there are none there with more than five; the only parallel abroad is a seven-scroll brooch from Harmignies in Belgium (Brussels Museum, Baldwin Brown, IV, 553, pl. cxlix 4) well outside the main continental Anglo-Saxon regions. Since the main run of the continental cemeteries seems to have ended by about A.D. 500 (see page 150 below), it is always wise to suspect that brooch forms common both in England and Germany belong to the fifth century, those found in England but not in Germany to the sixth century. Moreover, the carving of the brooches



A. CROYDON, SURREY.

B. BISHOPSTONE, BUCKS.

FIG. 7. Saucer-brooch designs. (½)

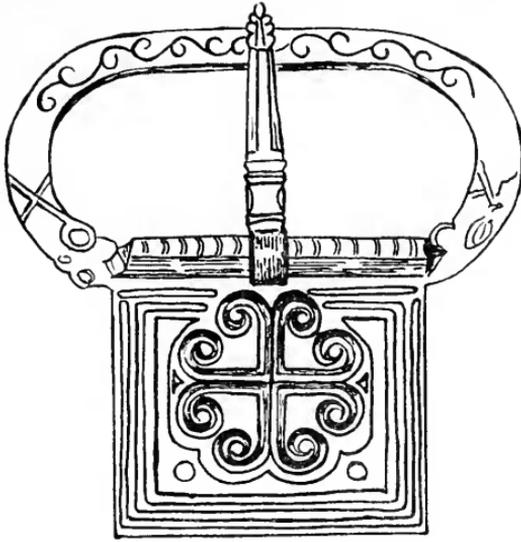
with six or more scrolls becomes shoddy and less precise; though an indifferent technique on an individual brooch may simply mean contemporary poor workmanship as easily as a later date, it is here a general rule on over twenty-five brooches that the more the scrolls, the worse is the workmanship. These varied considerations tend to confirm the isolated dates of Abingdon and Barrington, and suggest that six-scroll brooches begin at the end of the fifth century and run on well into the sixth century, with the addition of yet more scrolls following perhaps at no great interval the first six-scroll designs. The cast brooch of Mitcham 61 is therefore probably well after A.D. 500, and that also seems to be the date of the applied bases found with it (page 93). The distribution of these brooches is however much the same as that of the five-scroll brooches. They are found in Surrey, Sussex and the Middle Thames, like the five-scroll types; they also spread to West Kent, Cambridge and the Cotswolds, but have not been found in the Northampton-Peterborough region or Norfolk, whence came the half dozen most northerly of the five-scroll originals.

It looks as though the addition of a fifth, sixth or seventh additional scroll was an experiment starting from the original four-scroll design of the *Kerbschnitt* buckles. A remarkable brooch from Luton (Fig. 6, B) is perhaps an alternative development from the same original. The four scrolls are doubled, and turned back to back. The Luton brooch may not be the earliest of its kind, and is not itself dated. But the two known parallels, both of simpler workmanship, are both independently dated to the fifth century, and are from continental Saxon cemeteries, Heeslingen and Altenbuls (Roeder, *S.S.V.*, pl. iv, 5-7; Baldwin Brown, IV, 553, cxlix 8). The Altenbuls brooch was found with a buckle, whose animal heads are of the same general type as those of the buckle from Mitcham, grave 38, of the early fifth century (Leeds, *Arch.*, LXIII, 194, Fig. 22), the Heeslingen brooch with a fifth-century urn ("type A. 8"). This design was clearly not very popular, for only three examples are known. But closely allied to it, and perhaps inspired by it, is the "Scroll" or "Floriate" Cross, which, with its numerous derivatives, became one of the most popular brooches of Sussex and Surrey. It is found in its simplest form twice in England, at Highdown in Sussex (Fig. 6, C, Worthing Museum 31-32, Baldwin Brown, IV, 623, clvi, 1, *Ant. J.*, XIII, 240, pl. xxxva), and at Merton (B.M. 1923, 5-7), a brooch which may possibly be a stray from the Mitcham cemetery. It is found on the Continent, at Westerwanna 489 and Galgenberg, inhumation 19, (Roeder, *Neue Funde*, pl. XVI, 2a; *Galgenberg Report*, pl. xlv 1), in both cases with broad "equal-armed" brooches, type 7, of the fifth century. Like other fifth century designs, it is quite common on *Kerbschnitt* buckles, as, for example, Fig. 8, A, from Rome,¹ and is carried over on to the ornament of the large Scandinavian silver square-headed brooches of the middle and later fifth century, as in Fig. 8, B, from Schonen in Sweden (Salin, *Thiernornamentik*, p. 59, Fig. 128).

In Fig. 8, B, the design has become a circle of eight scrolls joined to the centre by eight radii; it could go no further. The variant development from Figs. 6, C, and 8, B, is Mitcham 201, where a central dot emphasizes the scrolls at the expense of the cross, giving four heart-shaped figures. It is closely matched by a parallel treatment in Scandinavia, exemplified in Fig. 8, C, from Gotland (Salin, *Thiernornamentik*, p. 54, Fig. 118), where the central cross is slewed round through half a right angle, so that the scrolls no longer flow out of its ends, but strain backwards and downwards from them. The brutal horseheads, and the mixture of two styles of animal ornament on the headplate, more or less recognizable animals on the outer strip and abstract lines on the inner strips (see page 151 below), suggest that this Scandinavian brooch is late in its own series, after rather than before A.D. 500.

Mitcham 201 seems in its own right to belong to the first half of

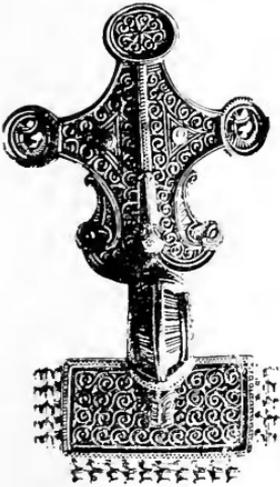
¹ Cf. also, e.g. Riegl, *op. cit.*, (above, p. 83) pl. xvii, 3 (Spalato), pl. xviii 3, (Salzburg); pl. xx, 2 (Linz).



A. ROME (after Riegl). ($\frac{1}{2}$)



C. GOTLAND. ($\frac{1}{2}$)



B. SCHONEN, SWEDEN. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

FIG. 8.

the sixth century. In the same grave was a "trailing cone" glass beaker, whose parallels elsewhere were probably buried in the second or third quarters of the century (page 115 below). An almost exactly similar brooch, very likely the work of the same craftsman, was found twenty miles away at Guildown, in grave 123, with a related but later brooch, very like Mitcham 205.

Mitcham 201 is closely paralleled only at Guildown, and at Luton, and Long Wittenham in Berkshire opposite Dorchester-on-Thames, (cf. *Ant. J.*, XIII, 241, pl. xxxvi *a* and *b*). But a very simple next step was to separate the heart-shaped figure altogether from the parent cross, as in Fig. 6, D from Highdown (three examples, Worthing Museum 23-24 and 20). Four heart-shaped segments suggested six, and produced the brooch of Mitcham 205. The same six hearts reappear in Guildown grave 123 (*Sy.A.C.*, XXXIX, p. 19, pl. xii, 2 *a-b*, cf. p. 39) separated by the arms of a six-pointed star instead of by six simple radii, found with a duplicate of Mitcham 201 (*Ant. J.*, XIII, 241, pl. xxxvi, *e*).

There is a clear typological evolution in all these brooches, but it seems to have been fairly rapid. The earliest and latest of the series occur in the same grave at Guildown; in theory any two objects in a given grave might be widely separated in date of manufacture; one might be the fashion prevailing at the time the girl died, the other an heirloom from her great-grandmother. In practice, no Anglo-Saxon grave has yet been excavated in England, where the associated Teutonic objects are separated by more than thirty or forty years by the evidence of associations elsewhere, and intervals so wide are rare. There are many things whose date is quite uncertain, but also many whose approximate date is secure enough; the quite wide and numerous selection of fifth-century objects regularly turn up with each other, and are not found with the equally numerous and varied selection of mid or late sixth-century ornaments.¹ In this instance, the dozen and a half brooches concerned look like the product of one craftsman or workshop; they are mostly applied brooches, made in the same technique with related designs, and with identical milled borders, secured to exactly similar base-plates of the same size, and with identical rims. They are found at Highdown, but not at Alfriston, at Mitcham and Guildown but not Croydon, and at separate Wessex sites north of the Thames. Six out of eighteen were found on the Wandle. This distribution suggests that Stane Street may have been the route of their distribution, Mitcham perhaps the place of their manufacture.

¹ Associations casually claimed for objects of widely differing date rarely stand up to examination; where they do not depend on unevidenced typological speculation, they are not borne out by the available evidence of the circumstances of discovery; instances are the alleged grave group from Hornton (page 83, note 1) and Mitcham 205, where the London Museum catalogue-entry demonstrates that there is nothing to show whether or not the early fifth-century urn did or did not come from the same burial as the sixth century brooches.

The products of this workshop extend no further, but their imitations are considerable. To the maker of a cast brooch from Croydon (Fig. 7, A),¹ the four hearts suggested human faces; at Abingdon (grave 118) an almost identical brooch was found with a "Leg centre" brooch (see page 90 below), also probably of the first half of the sixth century, and similar brooches were found at Sutton Courtenay near Abingdon, Aston near Henley, and Reading, Horton Kirby in the Darent valley, and perhaps at Beddington, where an applied fragment, now in the Ashmolean Museum, may have borne this design.

The six hearts were weakly imitated, the ends of the scrolls continued to make petals, in a brooch of a somewhat different technique, recently discovered at Harwell near Abingdon, now in the Ashmolean Museum. The Harwell design was precisely imitated on a minute gold brooch found long ago at Amiens by Sir Arthur Evans, also in the Ashmolean, evidently the work of a skilled Merovingian jeweller, hardly earlier than the mid or late sixth century. At Highdown (Worthing Museum 19) the ends of the scrolls disappeared, leaving six open triangles, with dots still in their centre. In Warwickshire, perhaps influenced by the Kentish wedge-style brooches of the mid sixth century, the ends of the Highdown triangles were closed, and a considerable variety of patterns of six triangles or petals became popular among the large applied saucer brooches of Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Kempston towards the end of the century.

Another very complicated adaptation of Mitcham 201 had a long life (Fig. 7, B, identical brooches from Bishopstone and from a recently discovered cemetery at Lyminge, Kent, in Maidstone Museum, with parallels at Barrington "B," near Cambridge, found with a late sixth-century wrist clasp, and on a fragment from Howletts, near Canterbury, in the British Museum). It reappears in the Book of Durrow in late sixth- or seventh-century Ireland; its essentials are reproduced on a variety of pewter ornaments of Christian Saxon England, and on panel C1 of the great silver ornament called the Fuller Brooch, of the mid or late Saxon period (*Dark Age Britain*, pl. XX, p. 174, cf. p. 175).

Yet another adaptation was to turn the dots and scrolls of Mitcham 201 into eyes and eyebrows, giving a comic effect that recalls the "Mr. Chad" face, familiar in wartime England. The most popular variety, called "Maltese Cross" (Fig. 6, E), is very localized, with eight examples from Kempston near Bedford, ten from the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge, and isolated examples at Kettering in Northamptonshire and Frilford in Berkshire. Fig. 6, F, from Fairford, near Cirencester, is an even more imaginative development. Two of the "Maltese Cross" brooches (Linton Heath 72, near Cambridge, and Lakenheath, just across the Suffolk border) were found with great square-headed brooches of the mid or late sixth century.

¹ *Ant. J.*, XIII, 241, pl. xxxvi f, cf. g (Highdown).

The scroll or floriate cross brooches are a Surrey type which reached to Highdown and spasmodically to Wessex, where they were later widely imitated and adapted. Their Wessex equivalent placed the emphasis on a leg motif. They begin in Sussex. Fig. 9, A, from Alfriston, is clearly a direct imitation of the Luton brooch (Fig. 6, B), imaginatively or perhaps unintelligently copied. Fig. 9, B, which may be termed "Leg Centre," is plainly inspired by it. One example comes from Selmeston, a mile from Alfriston, now in Lewes Museum. These are the only two "leg" brooches of any kind in Sussex, but there are half a dozen duplicates of the Selmeston brooch in the



A. ALFRISTON, SUSSEX.



B. BROUGHTON POGGS, OXON.



C. LONG WITTENHAM, BERKS.

FIG. 9. Saucer-brooch designs. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

middle Thames cemeteries and one of them, Abingdon 118, was buried with a close duplicate of the Croydon "Scroll Face" brooch (Fig. 7, A). The whole group is probably of much the same date, the first half of the sixth century, perhaps its second quarter, for it led to fanciful whirligigs of legs, found in Worcestershire and Warwickshire as well as the middle Thames; one of them, with wild legs like a spider, was found at Luton with a great square-head of the mid-sixth century or later. These brooches are confined to Wessex, but the brooch of Fig. 9, C, styled "Leg and Stroke," seems an

attempt to rationalize the chaos of the "Leg centre" and its wilder derivatives. There are half a dozen almost identical specimens on the Middle Thames, at Ewell in Surrey, Hanwell in Middlesex and Northfleet in Kent. None of them is clearly dated, but they seem scarcely earlier than the "Leg centres," for they are large brooches, between 4 and 5 cm. in diameter, set in complex borders exactly matched on the "Star" type brooches of the mid or late sixth century (see below), and one of them (Abingdon C29) was buried above and after an early sixth-century burial. Ewell is the only Surrey example.

The remainder of the Mitcham saucer brooches call for less comment. The sharply cut "Star of David" from grave 221 is unique in England, but is closely matched by a brooch from Germany, Galgenberg inhumation 18, found with an urn and an "Armbrust-fibel" ancestral to the fifth century equal-arm types, both of types common in Germany but not found in England. The inference is that the Galgenberg brooch was buried well before the migration to England. Its Mitcham duplicate ought therefore to have belonged to the earliest settlers. The design is late Roman, cf. for example a silver fragment from the Coleraine hoard, (*D.A.B.*, 113, Fig. 21 B, British Museum, *Guide to . . . Roman Britain*, (1922), p. 74, Fig. 96). The star with five blunted points from grave 11 is closely matched at Brixthampton in Oxfordshire; similar brooches with a more elaborate border have been found at Luton, at East Shefford, and twice at Frilford in Berkshire, and brooches with the same design, applied in a different technique and with a raised wavy border, at Islip in Northamptonshire. None of them has dateable associations, though they seem typologically no later than the finely chiselled sharp-pointed stars common in Wessex; two of these are dated; one from Guildown, grave 116, was found with a great square-head (Leeds, *Corpus*, B2, 76, there wrongly described as from grave 46), and another from Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamshire was buried with a glass claw-beaker, (Harden, II C2); both associations are of the mid to late sixth century. Mitcham 11 might therefore perhaps be about the middle years of the century. A brooch somewhat like Mitcham 222 was found in grave 210 at Guildown, with Kentish square-heads not earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century. There is a very close parallel at Fairford. The brooch from grave 208 contains a medley of broken-down animal limbs. Such ornament is the most consistent feature of the great square-headed brooches of the middle and late sixth century, and is reproduced in limitless different varieties of saucer brooches, found all over the country, but especially popular in the midlands, of much the same date. The striking ornament of the human face from grave 128 is unique. Its history is however fairly clear. The elements of the human face appear sometime in the fifth century on a diminutive copy of the saucer brooch, commonly called the "Button brooch." The earliest dated specimens are from Droxford, in Hampshire, found with a rather late-looking five-scroll brooch, and from Alfriston, grave 62, found with the brooch of Fig. 9, C; but

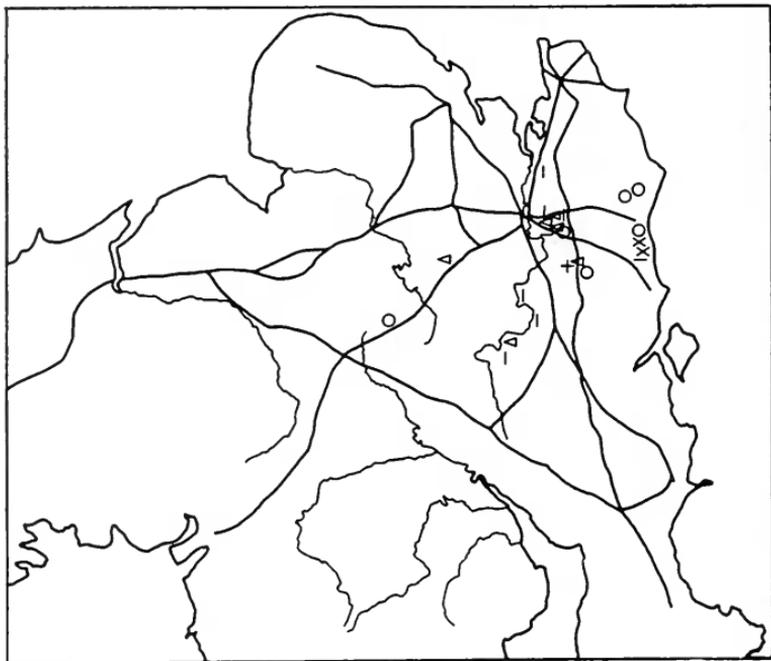


FIG. 10. DISTRIBUTION OF SAUCER BROOCHES WITH FIVE RUNNING SCROLLS.

On both these maps each symbol represents one burial

Scroll or Floriate Cross (Fig. 6,C) |
 Scroll Cross and Dot (Mitcham 201) ⊙
 Four Hearts (Fig. 6,D) ♥

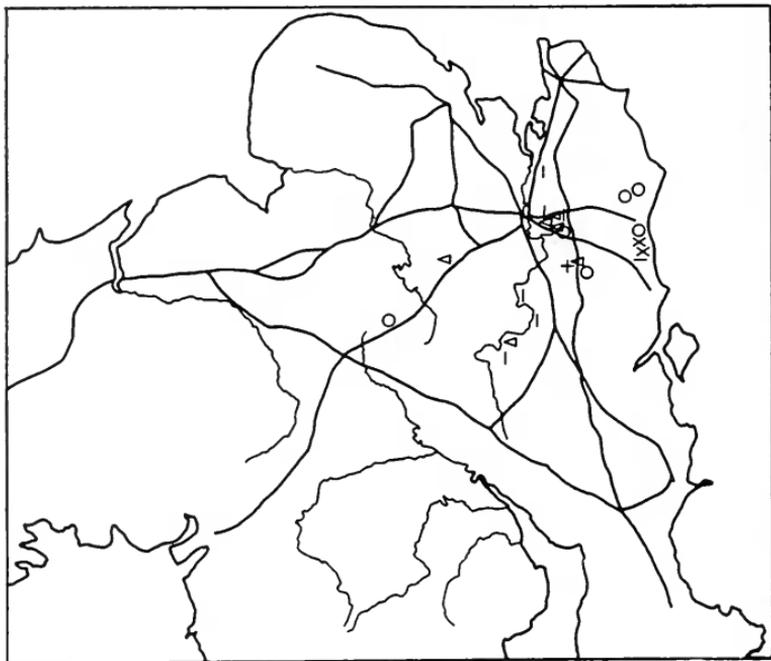


FIG. 11. FIFTH TO MID-SIXTH CENTURY SAUCER BROOCHES SUSSEX-SURREY TYPES.

On both these maps each symbol represents one burial

Six Hearts (Mitcham 205) ♥
 Four Faces (Fig. 7,A) ⊙
 Concentric Spokes (Mitcham 222) ⊙

the button brooch certainly persisted through the sixth century, and occasionally reached the size of a small saucer brooch. Some time after the middle of the century it occurred to some artist at Stratford-on-Avon (Alveston) to solder a button brooch upon the raised central stud of a medley brooch; thereafter, half a dozen brooches from Gloucestershire and Wessex leave out the clumsy stud, and place a human face as the central roundel of a medley brooch; examples are from Fairford (*Arch.*, LXIII, 170, pl. xxvi 4; Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, 37, pl. xix 4) and Oddington near Stroud (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1787, 292, pl. ii, Fig. 9).

These brooches are very late, not earlier than the late sixth century, and the Mitcham ornament probably belongs somewhere in the second half of the century. In conception, it strikingly recalls the bow of a square-head brooch from Bifrons (cf. page 80 above), but the style is so different that it would be idle to argue which came first. The Mitcham ornament derives from the saucer and the button-brooch: the Bifrons roundel does not.

As well as the complete brooches, grave 206 contained the base of an applied brooch exactly similar to those of graves 201 and 205. Two much larger bases survived in grave 61, over 2 in. wide, perhaps with traces of a punched appliqué, now lost. As a general rule, saucer brooches grew larger, with more and more elaborate borders, as the sixth century advanced; bases of this size and shape are commonly associated with the larger "medley" types of the second half of the century. The ten-scroll cast brooch from the same grave (p. 83 above) is not much earlier.

The Mitcham saucer brooches run through from the fifth century to the second half of the sixth century. Throughout, the brooches are paralleled in Wessex, and for the most part in Sussex. It is clear that the Saxons of Mitcham maintained contact throughout, by trade or intermarriage or both, with the peoples of the Icknield Way and of the middle Thames. But within the pagan period the nature of those contacts changed. Of two fifth-century brooches, one, (221), is unique in England, but the other, (66), is of a type common to all Saxon areas. Both brooches point to a homeland by the Elbe and the Weser, not in Frisia or the Danish peninsula. But in the first half of the sixth century it is otherwise. The four¹ burials which seem to belong to this period, 201, 205, 206 and 222, all incidentally very close to one another, contain a brooch of a local type, which spreads only incidentally up the Thames into Wessex. In contrast, the popular brooch of contemporary Wessex, the "Leg" type, is not found at Mitcham, and occurs only once in Surrey. Contact with Wessex there was, but not very much. In the second half of the century the distribution is different again. North of the Thames, saucer brooches were extremely numerous, executed in a wide variety of ingenious, and usually localized, designs. At Mitcham they are relatively few and none of them are local; in the

¹ The Merton brooch, if it came from Mitcham, would probably make a fifth.

four or five burials (61, 128, 208, and perhaps 11), all are individual specimens of types at home north of the Thames. They are either alien types or imitations thereof. A native style no longer existed, and the products of Wessex craftsmen are all that is found.

Small-long Brooches. (Plates IX-X.)

45† Silvered brooch, 6.4 cm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long, found on the left collar bone. Sub-rectangular head-plate with notches at the bottom, short fat bow with flattened centre, circular centre piece with short wide lozenge below, ending in hammer-head foot, the edges of the whole brooch punched with crescent-shaped indentations. Cambridge Museum 54.383; *Arch.* LX, 55, Fig. 7=*Sy.A.C.* XXI, 8, Fig. 7.

Leeds (*Arch.*, XCI, 26) includes the brooch with his class of "cross-pattee derivatives," with square-topped head-plates and lappets, comparing his Fig. 16*d*, but notes the "advanced stage of lozenge-shaped foot" (p. 36).

In the same grave were a set of belt-fittings† and a bone comb†.

107† Pair of bronze brooches, 5.7 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.) long, one on each collar-bone. Rectangular head-plate, foot imitating the outline of a square-headed brooch, punched with five dots and circles on the head-plate, six on the foot. Cambridge Museum 54.376, not previously illustrated.

The type, most closely paralleled at Bifrons near Canterbury (Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, p. 41, Fig. 25*a*=Baldwin Brown, p. 245, pl. xxxiv 9), Croydon, (Leeds, *ibid.*, Fig. 25*e*), and Guildown (Leeds, *ibid.*, p. 64, Fig. 34*c*=*Sy.A.C.*, XXXIX, p. 22, Fig. 6), derives from the square-headed brooch, whether the widespread large variety or the small Kentish brooch, and is hardly likely to be earlier than the mid-sixth century. The type is not common.

There were no other objects in the grave.

112† Two photographs of the skeleton, as found, together with a rough pencil sketch beside one of them in the field notebook, identify this brooch, found on the left shoulder of the skeleton, with Cambridge Museum 54.377*a*, not previously published, a stubby ugly brooch 4.3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{8}$ in.) long, with oblong head-plate, very wide short bow, with squared projections above a curved centre piece, above a small oblong foot. The edges of the head-plate and the foot are decorated with faintly stamped double circles.

The brooch is best matched, though not very closely, by Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, 64, Fig. 34*h*, from Driffield, Yorkshire; it certainly however belongs to the same general class of imitations of square-headed brooches as that from grave 107.

In the same grave were a small knife, the remains of a purse or bag, and a kidney-shaped bronze plate†.

116† Silvered brooch, now 4.5 cm. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) long, foot missing, on right collar-bone. Square head-plate, with a half panel in its centre, and roughly faceted bow, the head-plate decorated with a border of stamped circles. Cambridge Museum 410*d*, not previously published. The brooch is quite closely paralleled at Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, north Suffolk (Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, p. 33, Fig. 20*b*), and the type certainly imitates the cruciform brooches. It is common in north Suffolk and rare elsewhere.

In the same grave, the richest in the cemetery, were a disc brooch†, a flat ring†, perhaps part of a belt-fastening, five beads, a needle-case†, the contents of a bag or purse† and a fragment of a great square-headed brooch†, which dates the grave to the end of the sixth century.

143† "Two bronze cruciform or short square-headed brooches, tinned, one at the right elbow, one loose in the surrounding mould," in the field notebook, probably refers to the pair Cambridge Museum 54.382, (not previously published), the only pair of brooches in the Cambridge collection whose grave number is not otherwise known.

3.25 cm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long, the brooches are identical with that from grave 45, save that the head-plate is more nearly rectangular, and the pattern round the edges was made with a small oblong, and not a crescent-shaped, punch.

In the same grave was a small knife, with traces of a sheath.

194† Pair of gilt brooches, 6.4 cm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long, one broken, position in grave not stated. Small square head-plate, with a hole at each corner; the bottom two holes opened at the bottom ends, two diagonals scratched across the head-plate; a long narrow faceted bow, as on cruciforms of Åberg group II, ending in a shovel foot. The head-plate and foot are decorated with a double crescent stamp. Cambridge Museum 54.403, *P.S.A.*² XXVIII, 231, Fig. 1*b*; Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, 27, Fig. 15*c* (where the drawing of the stamp should be amended).

Leeds regards the type as derived from a cross with splayed head and arms, heraldically known as "cross pattee," the perforations being survivals of the intervals between arms and head of the cross. The type is widespread in the Cambridge region and among the middle Angles, with isolated examples in the Humber area, and at Bidford-on-Avon in Warwickshire.

195† Small gilt brooch, about 3.3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.) long, with small square head-plate and sharp shoulders, terminating in a ribbed double hammer-headed foot, with punched decoration on the head-plate and in the centre. *P.S.A.*² XXVIII, 231, Fig. 1*a*; Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, 64, Fig. 34*i*, present whereabouts not known.

The brooch is an imitation of the small Kentish square-headed

brooches, of the same general type as the brooch from grave 112.

No other objects were reported from the grave, which contained two bodies, one of them a youth or child.

- 231† Gilt brooch, 6.4 cm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long, oblong head-plate with projecting top, with four holes at the corners opened at the edges, tapered bow and shovel foot, head-plate and foot decorated with double crescent stamp. Cambridge Museum 54.402, not previously published.

The type is named by Leeds from the heraldic figure "cross potent," not always easy to distinguish from the "cross pattee" derivatives. The brooch is quite closely paralleled by his typologically earliest example (*Arch.*, XCI, 17, Fig. 8a) from Sarre in Thanet, but is primarily at home in the same area as the brooch of grave 194.

- 232† Gilt brooch, 6.7 cm. ($2\frac{5}{8}$ in.) long, square head-plate with milled edge and four holes at the corners, rounded bow, and shovel foot, stamped on head and foot with a dot in a double circle, foreshortened on the head-plate to give a half or three-quarters of a circle. Cambridge Museum 54.404, not previously published.

The brooch is of the same general type as that from grave 194, with the same distribution, the head-plate being most closely paralleled at Haslingfield, Cambridge (*Arch.*, XCI, 27, Fig. 15b).

- 233† Gilt brooch, 6.7 cm. ($2\frac{5}{8}$ in.) long, square head-plate with three holes, one in the middle of each side, opened to the edges, rounded bow and shovel foot with rounded corners, stamped on foot and head with a dot in double circle, foreshortened as on brooch 232. Cambridge Museum 54.406, not previously published.

The use of three instead of four notches is very rare, but the brooch clearly belongs to the same general type as brooch 231, and the two might have come from the same grave.

- 234† Roughly fashioned bronze brooch, 6.2 cm. ($2\frac{7}{16}$ in.) long, with small square head-plate, rounded bow, lappets with rounded edges, and long foot tapering to a wedge shape. Cambridge Museum 54.405, not previously published.

The brooch is not easily paralleled (*cf.* Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, 64, Fig. 34e, for the basic shape); the lappets and long thin foot suggest that the maker had seen sixth-century cruciform brooches with lappets, while the rounded edges of the lappets suggest that he had also seen great square-headed brooches. The brooch is presumably the work of a local craftsman.

The *small-long brooches* defy historical classification. Though certain types can be isolated and named, and the ancestry of certain

elements determined, their date remains obscure. Some examples have been found in Germany and Scandinavia, though in far smaller numbers than in England; many of these are of types which may fairly be claimed as ancestral to the English varieties, or as parallel developments. In England, no small-long brooch has yet been discovered in a clearly fifth-century burial, while an appreciable number have been found buried with later cruciform brooches, or with square-headed brooches of the sixth century. Though isolated examples may prove to be earlier, it is at present well to regard the brooch as in the main a sixth-century development, originating as a cheap imitation of the cruciform brooch. Of the Mitcham brooches, those from graves 45, 143 and 234 seem to copy developed sixth-century forms, while grave 116 is certainly a burial of the late sixth century. The brooches from graves 107, 112 and 196 imitate square-headed brooches, and are not likely to be much before the middle of the century. Less can be said of the date of the "cross-pattee," and "cross-potent" types; some might possibly be earlier in the century, but there is nothing to show that they are.

Their distribution is however somewhat easier to assess. Most of the main types of small-long brooch are in some way or other represented. The most notable absentee is the "trefoil-headed" class, imitating the "battle-axe" cruciform brooches that mark the transition from Åberg's group IV to his group V (*Anglo-Saxons in England*, pp. 48-9, Figs. 80-82). They date well after the middle of the century. These "trefoil-headed" brooches are virtually limited to the Cambridge region, the Midlands and Lincolnshire (Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, 15, Fig. 7). The types represented at Mitcham have two clearly marked distribution areas; the panelled and heraldically named types of graves 116, 195, 231, 232 and 233 are paralleled in the Cambridge area, among the middle Angles and about the Humber; those which copy square-headed brooches, whether Kentish or otherwise, from graves 107, 112, 196 and 234 are found south of the Thames and in the Cambridge region. The two areas are sharply demarcated, meeting only in the Cambridge region, at Bidford-on-Avon, and in Kent and Surrey. These distributions are as exclusive as are those of the great square-headed brooches (p. 130).

Disc-Brooches. (Plate XI.)

16† Tinned brooch, 3.3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.) diameter, found on right collar-bone. Raised central boss, surrounded by concentric grooves and circles of round and S-shaped punch-marks. Cambridge Museum 54.386, *Arch.*, LX, 52, Fig. 3 = *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 6, Fig. 3, *P. Croydon N.H. & S.S.*, VIII, pl. ix, p. 128. The design is fairly closely paralleled at East Shefford, Berks., British Museum, 1893, 7-16, 60.

Nothing else was found in the grave.

111† "Two disc-brooches on breast," field notebook and photograph.

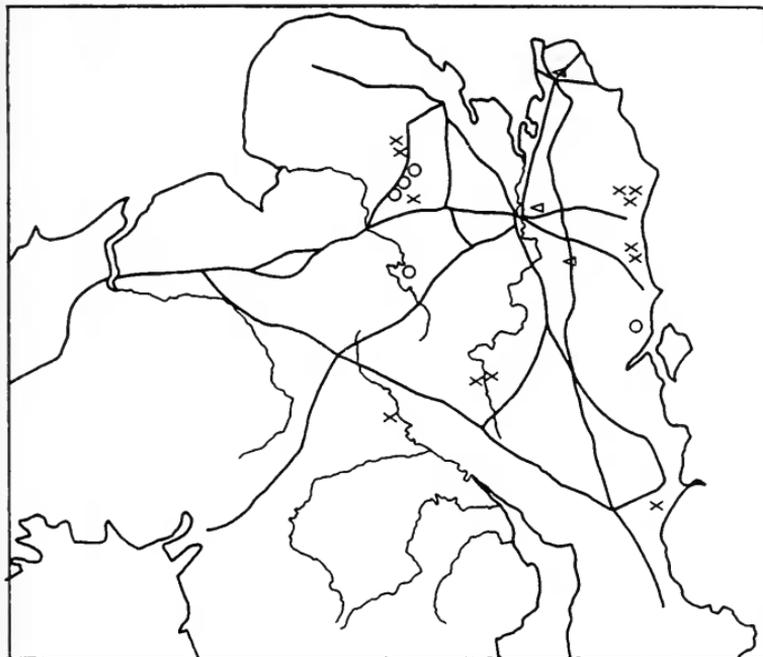


FIG. 15. SMALL-LONG BROOCHES. DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES WITH KENTISH INFLUENCE FOUND AT MITCHAM (Mitcham finds not shown). (After Leeds *Arch.*, XCI, Fig. 35.)

- 107 Δ
 112, 195, and 234 \circ
 Lozenge foot, copied in 143 and 45 \times
 Each symbol represents one burial.

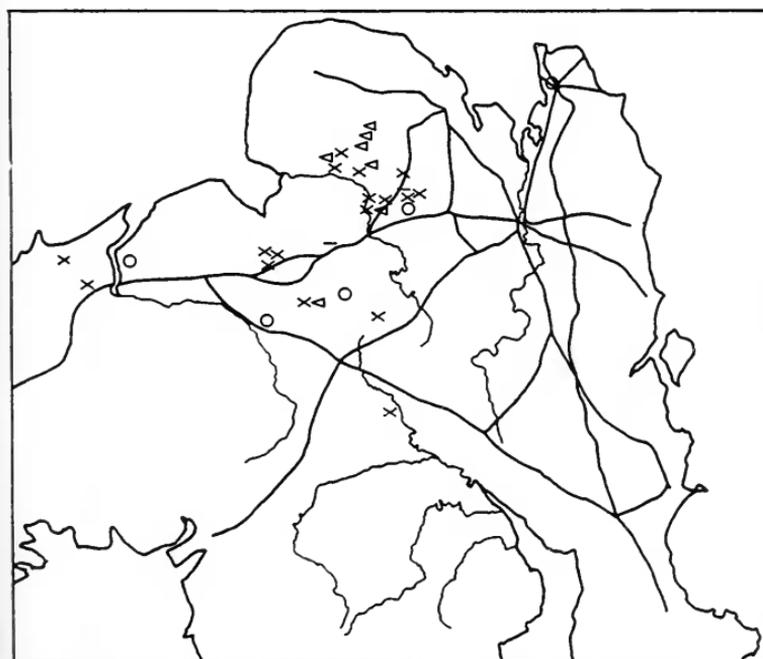


FIG. 14. SMALL-LONG BROOCHES. DISTRIBUTION OF NON-KENTISH TYPES FOUND AT MITCHAM (Mitcham finds not shown). (After Leeds *Arch.*, XCI, Figs. 17 and 21.)

- 194 and 232 \times
 45 and 143 $\bar{\text{I}}$
 116 Δ
 231 \circ
 Each symbol represents one burial.

These are presumably Cambridge Museum 54.390, not previously published, the only pair of disc-brooches in the collection, 3.3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.) diameter, with fifteen ringed circles punched round the circumference, and a single hole punched off centre in the middle of the brooch.

The design is common, cf. *e.g.* East Shefford, British Museum 1893, 7-16, 67.

In the same grave was a black earthenware pot†.

- 116† Brooch, diameter 3.3 cm. ($1\frac{5}{16}$ in.), found on the left collar bone. Roughly worked, with circular grooves and circles of punched semicircles and S-shaped stamps. Cambridge Museum 410c, not previously published.

In the same grave were a short-long brooch†, a flat ring-brooch or belt-fastener†, five beads, a needle-case†, the contents of a bag or purse† and a fragment of a great square-headed brooch† dating the grave to the end of the sixth century.

- 229† Tinned brooch, diameter 2.6 cm. (1 in.), found on the breast. Comparatively finely worked, with five sets of concentric circles incised. London Museum 34.67/2, *London and the Saxons*, p. 131, Fig. 14, 2, p. 130.

The type is common; a somewhat similar brooch was found at Brighthampton, Oxfordshire, grave 51, with a great square-headed brooch (Leeds, *Corpus* B3, 76) of the mid or late sixth century.

In the same grave were a long bronze pin†, part of a flat ring-brooch or belt-fastener†, a buckle†, knife, and ring†.

- 196† and 235† Tinned brooch, 3.4 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.) diameter, with nine ringed circles round the circumference and one in the centre. Cambridge Museum 54.401a, not previously published. The design is common.

Finely worked brooch, 2.8 cm. ($1\frac{1}{8}$ in.), with a central perforation and evenly spaced finely etched concentric circles. Cambridge Museum 401b.

There are almost identical brooches from Luton and East Shefford.

One or other of these brooches is presumably 196: there is no information on the provenance of the other.

Disc-brooches are even harder to date than small-long brooches; the simple types evidently had a long life with little change, using elementary patterns found on many kinds of objects in many different civilizations. The brooch is rare on the Continent, and is not normally found in clearly fifth-century burials in England. The dateable burials in which it occurs are sixth-century in England, and most of them, as at Mitcham, of the late sixth century.

The area of its distribution is however clearly defined (Leeds, *Arch.*, XCI, 50, Fig. 30); apart from two strays around the Hum ber,

it is found south and east of the Avon and Ouse. But, of some 250 examples listed by Leeds, nearly half, 119, came from the upper and middle Thames, seventy-one of them from the two cemeteries of Abingdon and Long Wittenham, and another forty-one from the cemeteries of the Cambridge region. The brooch is clearly characteristic of the Oxford and Cambridge areas.

Flat Ring-Brooches. (Plate XII.)

116† Flat bronze disc with large central hole, found on the middle of the stomach. External diameter 3.9 cm. ($1\frac{9}{16}$ in.), internal diameter 1.7 cm. ($\frac{11}{16}$ in.), ornamented with eleven ringed circles, and with double crescent punching round the outer circumference, stabbed dots round the inner circumference, with a single perforation near the inner circumference. Cambridge Museum 410*b*, not previously published.

Rather less than half a smaller similar disc, Cambridge Museum 410*a* ix.

Such discs are fairly common, with or without a brooch pin. The position in which this was found suggests that it may have been a belt-fastener; the date of the grave, which also contained a small-long† and a disc-brooch†, is of the end of the sixth century.

117 "Ring brooch," type and whereabouts unknown.

229† Rather less than half of a disc similar to 116, London Museum 34/67.3, found above the left hip. External diameter about 4.8 cm. ($1\frac{7}{8}$ in.), internal diameter about 1.2 cm. ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.), ornamented with ringed circles and double crescent stamps, with a single perforation near the inner circumference. The absence of a pin and position in the grave suggests that it was here used as a belt-fastener.

In the same grave was a disc-brooch†, a bronze pin†, a buckle, knife, and ring†.

Equal-Armed Brooch. (Plate XII.)

138† A delicate little equal-armed brooch, 4.4 cm. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ in.) long, found on the left shoulder. The bow ribbed, the ends tooled with deep-cut grooves, swelling immediately below the bow, narrowing, and swelling again at the ends. Cambridge Museum 54.393, not previously published.

The shape derives from the brooches called "anseate," from *ansa*, a handle, because they are formed like drawer-handles. The closest parallel is at East Shefford, British Museum 1893, 7-16, 73, an almost identical brooch, 4.2 cm. long. The bow is 0.2 cm. shorter, and there is a slight difference in the carving of part of the longer end. The workmanship of the East Shefford brooch is less careful, and it may be a copy of the Mitcham brooch.

The Great Square-headed Brooches. (Plate XII.)

116† Fragment of a brooch, pierced, either for suspension or for a repair with a rivet, found against a finger of the left hand, perhaps part of the contents of a bag or purse. Cambridge Museum 54.410, *a*, X; Leeds, *Corpus*, type B6, No. 100. The head-plate is surmounted by masks, or devolved human faces, of which two survive; its inner panel, now lost, is surrounded by a border of broken-down "animal" ornament; there is at least one recognisable limb.

Though the date of the first appearance of the earliest square-headed brooches in England is disputed (between about the limits of 490 and 530), there is little disagreement that developed brooches such as this are normally of the middle or late sixth century. A very similar brooch from Luton (No. 95), of the same sub-group was found with a pair of quite late "spiders' legs" saucer brooches (p. 90 above), and another, with similar masks, was found at Herpes in south-western France, a cemetery that does not seem to have come into existence till after Clovis' conquest of the area in A.D. 507 and lasts into the seventh century. The brooch had been used, broken, and the fragment pierced; the broken edges were worn smooth by constant use, and the brooch can hardly have been buried before the last quarter of the sixth century.

In the same grave were a small-long brooch†, a disc-brooch†, a flat ring-brooch or belt-fastener†, five beads, a needle-case† and the contents of a purse or bag†.

225† Small square-headed brooch, found crossways on the shoulder; London Museum A20248, *London and the Saxons*, colour plate 1, frontispiece, Leeds, *Corpus*, B1, No. 67 (plate), mid to late sixth century.

There were no other objects in the grave.

Type B6 is confined to Anglian areas, B2 to Surrey and Sussex.

Traces of Brooches

Stains on the clavicle in graves 54, 78, and 113 probably represent the remains of brooches of some sort, and graves 177/179 and 191 may also have contained brooches.

Bronze Buckles. (Plate XIII.)

38† Bronze buckle, greatest width 3.4 cm. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ in.), found by the right thigh; has the form of two fishes mouth to mouth, with curled tails. Cambridge Museum 54.385, *Arch.*, LX, 56, Fig. 5 = *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 7, Fig. 5, Baldwin Brown, IV, cliv 3, cf. 2, an almost exact parallel from Lakenheath in north Suffolk. Cambridge Museum has a third similar buckle of uncertain local provenance.

In Hull Museum (replica in Grantham Museum) is a buckle of very similar conception, of elongated shape, with heads more like horses than fishes, and tails transformed to human faces, decorated with knobs in the shape of birds. It is illustrated in *Arch. J.*, XCI, pl. xxviii*b*, and came from an extensive late Roman settlement at Saltersford (Little Ponton) in Lincolnshire. It is exhibited with a knife of Anglo-Saxon type, though everything else from the site is Roman. Analogous buckles are known from Villa d'Ancy, Aisne, France (*Album Caranda*, pl. 74), Long Wittenham, *V.C.H.*, Berks., I, 240, pl. 1, and Ash, Kent, *Col. Ant.* II, 161, pl. xxvii, 8. They have a strong family resemblance to the buckles whose plates bear *Kerbschnitt* ornament, (cf. Fig. 5, p. 82 above), the product of the metalsmiths of the Romano-barbarian tradition of the frontier *foederati* of the late fourth and early fifth century.

In the same grave was a bronze finger-ring† of late Roman type.

50† Bronze buckle, 4.7 cm. ($1\frac{7}{8}$ in.) long, in the shape of a boar's head, found at the waist. Cambridge Museum 54.380, *Arch.*, LX, 57, Fig. 11 = *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 11, Fig. 11.

The buckle is of a common type, specifically Frankish, and in England, Kentish.

In the same grave were two spearheads and a large knife.

125† "An inlaid fragment decorated with a small garnet disc, backed by a piece of hatched gold foil," found by the bottom right rib (field notebook and sketch). This object was a strap-end or buckle, and is to be identified with Cambridge Museum 54.378; the small bronze buckle numbered with it is presumably the bottom portion of the missing iron buckle. It is of a shape and style common in Kent.

In the same grave was a very large spearhead†.

133† Long openwork bronze buckle, 7.4 cm. ($2\frac{7}{8}$ in.) long, found loose. Cambridge Museum 54.394, not previously published.

The outline, shape and size of the buckle are fairly well matched at Kingston Down, Kent (Baldwin Brown, III, pl. lxxii, 3), now in Liverpool Museum. The earliest datable objects from the site, which produced the famous Kingston brooch, are of the late sixth century. The open work of the Kingston buckle is however rectangular, recalling the openwork of Saxon Swastika and related brooches and plates, and is closely matched on a smaller similar buckle from Uncleby, in Yorkshire (Baldwin Brown, pl. lxxii, 6). The curving work, and resulting kidney shapes, of the Mitcham buckle may owe something to the motifs of Celtic art.

208† Small bronze buckle, 2.8 cm. ($1\frac{1}{8}$ in.) wide, position in grave not stated. London Museum A19889, *London and the Saxons* p. 122, Fig. 11, 2, p. 123.

The type is Frankish, and is almost exactly paralleled at

e.g., Rhenen in Holland (Glazema-Ypey, *Merovingische Ambachtskunst*, pl. 18, top right).

In the same grave was an animal medley saucer brooch† and an iron knife.

Iron Buckles. (Plate XIII.)

- 11† Iron buckle with the stub of a tongue, Cambridge Museum 54.409*a*; it is presumably the "iron buckle and tongue" mentioned in the field notebook.
- In the same grave were a saucer brooch† and a piece of iron.
- 44 48† and 113† are the only graves for which the field notebook records "a small iron buckle." These are presumably Cambridge Museum 54.409*b* and *c*, and Kingston Museum, the only other iron buckles in the collection.
- In grave 44 were a knife and some beads†, in grave 48 a small knife, in grave 113, two spearheads, strap-end, boss and knife.
- 61 The field notebook records a "large iron buckle," present whereabouts unknown.
- 73 Iron buckle, with bronze studs, found at the waist, of a similar shape to the buckle of grave 50, (field notebook and photograph of skeleton as found). A thin plate of iron filled the triangular space. Present whereabouts not known.
- In the same grave was a sword, a conical shield-boss†, an iron ring, and a knife.
- 125 "A leather covered piece of iron," of open triangular shape, similar to that of the boar's-head buckles of graves 50 and 73, (sketch in field notebook) with a large iron buckle-loop at the top and a small bronze buckle below, found at the left of the waist. Present whereabouts not known.
- 213† London Museum A20034, iron buckle-ring (*London and the Saxons*, p. 124), found with a spearhead, boss and knife.
- 229 Iron Buckle, 2.6 cm. (1 in.) wide, London Museum 34/67.4, *London and the Saxons*, 130, Fig. 14, 4. An X-ray obtained by Miss Evison suggests that the buckle may have been inlaid with transverse wires. (*Ant. J.*, XXXVIII, 242, pl. xxvi.) In the same grave were a disc-brooch†, ring-brooch or belt-fitting, as in grave 116, a pin†, knife and ring†.
- 201/229. 2. Iron Buckle of square form. London Museum A19798, *London and the Saxons*, 131.

Traces of Buckles

- 102 A bronze stain on the vertebræ may be the trace of a buckle.
- 183 "Buckles or brooches" were reported.

Bronze Bowl. (Plate XXIII*a*.)

- 230† Basin of thin beaten bronze, 10½ in. wide, 3¾ in. high, with an

overhanging rim, decorated by small punched bosses. The bowl originally stood on a small pedestal foot, whose traces survive on the base.

A dozen or more almost identical bowls have been found in cemeteries of the early Iron Age in Greece,¹ Italy,² and Sicily² of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and in Hallstatt graves of the same period in Switzerland² and Germany.³ In illustration they are virtually indistinguishable, save that they do not seem to have a foot. If it were possible to place one of these bowls beside the Mitcham bowl, other differences of technique might become apparent.

Somewhat over fifty bowls⁴ have been found in Germanic graves of the migration period, from the lands on both banks of the Rhine along its whole course, from Normandy, Belgium, southern Holland, Picardy and Switzerland, from Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg in the interior of Germany,⁵ and from Norway.⁶ Wherever the circumstances of burial are known, they come from the graves of warriors, often from single burials rather than from cemeteries. Found all over the territories of the Franks, Alamanni, Thuringians and Burgundians, they are distributed considerably more widely than most of the objects found in Germanic graves; but they are strikingly absent from the record of the continental homeland of the Anglo-Saxons, Frisia, Hannover and Denmark.

It is a remarkable fact that such bowls are found in some numbers in two overlapping areas of Europe, at two very different periods, apparently without record of their discovery in the thousand years between.⁷ Only surmise can attempt to explain the fact. The simplest supposition is that at some date towards the close of the Roman period, when warriors again began to demand metal bowls, some metalsmith in the overlap area, perhaps on the upper Rhine,

¹ *Olympia*, Tafelband IV, Tafel xxxv, 646; Textband IV, 94, with other examples there cited.

² Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Premier Age du Fer, II, 2, 778. L. Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi*, (Caere), 1947, Tav. XXII, 210-214 (five bowls); Randall-McIver, *Villanovians and Early Etruscans*, 1924, pl. 45, p. 246, (Poggio alla Sala), etc.

³ Lindenschmit, *Unsere Heidnische Vorzeit*, V, Tafel 56, 1033, with other examples there cited.

⁴ In 1901, M. C. Barrière-Flavy, *Les Arts Industriels des peuples barbares de la Gaule du Vme au VIIIe siècle*, listed over thirty examples, cf. also Déchelette, *Revue Archéologique* XIX, 1912, 101 (examples from Alésia and elsewhere in Burgundy). A score or more have been discovered in the last half-century.

⁵ *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, I, 1909, 379.

⁶ Shetelig, *Vestlandsgraver fra jernalderen*, 1912, 80, 83, fig. 185.

⁷ The Furfooz burial (note 2, p. 107) dates within the Roman period, but comes from a mixed Gallo-German cemetery. The basin which Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, 479 lists from the Roman fort at Neuwied (Neiderbieber), "with a Roman inscription," appears to come from the normal Frankish occupation of the site, *Mannus*, III, 1911, 25 and pl. xi, 3. There are a few Roman bronze bowls with bosses on the rim; but they are in a quite different technique, highly finished and usually tooled and decorated. The Greek, Hallstatt and Germanic bowls are much more like each other than any of them to these precise products.

chanced upon one of the ancient bowls and copied it, to find he had set a fashion which became widely popular in succeeding generations.¹

The basin-shaped bowl is occasionally found in England; examples include Alfriston, Sussex;² Sawston, near Cambridge;³ Queniborough, Leicestershire;⁴ Stowting⁵ and Ash (Gilton),⁶ Kent, as well as Mitcham. The finds are widely scattered, as in Europe, but, in proportion to the total quantity of recorded grave-goods, they do not seem quite so numerous.

The Mitcham basin has several times been found in the same grave as an equally distinctive vessel, the cauldron of the Croydon type two or three times in Norway⁷, at Teterow in Mecklenburg⁸ a hundred miles north of Berlin, near Cambridge,³ and also at Queniborough,⁴ if, as seems probable, the finds there came from a single warrior's grave. The Croydon cauldron recalls, in a general way, the metalwork of the later Iron Age.⁹ Very similar vessels have once or twice been found with objects certainly or probably of the Roman period.¹⁰ The very sharp profile with or without lugs for suspension, however, became popular only in the fifth and sixth centuries. Occasionally found in the Frankish and Alamannic

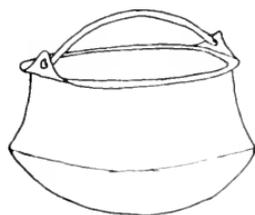


FIG. 16. BRONZE CAULDRON FROM CROYDON (restored)

Rhineland, once or twice among the continental Saxons and the Burgundians, it is common only in Norway, where some scores have been found;¹¹ there and there only it comfortably outnumbers the Mitcham bowl. In England several cauldrons have been found at Long Wittenham, Berkshire,¹² and they have also been discovered at Little Wilbraham, near Cambridge,¹³ Ixworth, Suffolk,¹⁴ and

¹ A few other kinds of object show a similar distribution in time and place, perhaps for the same reason; one kind of double-spiral wire clasp is also proper to Dorian Greece, Hallstatt Germany and Anglian Yorkshire. But the individual specimens are here much easier to tell apart.

² *Sx.A.C.*, LVI, pl. xiii, 1. Baldwin Brown, IV, 471, cxvi, 1.

³ *Arch.*, XVIII, 341, pl. xxiv-xxv.

⁴ Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, I, opp. p. 136, pl. 50.

⁵ Baldwin Brown, IV, 471, cxvi, 3.

⁶ *Arch.*, XXX, 133.

⁷ Shetelig, *Vestlandsgraver, fra jernalderen* 1912, 80, 83, fig. 185.

⁸ *Præhistorische Zeitschrift*, I, 1909, 379.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Baschurch, Shropshire, British Museum, 1906, 11-14, *P.S.A.*,² XXI, 324, fig. 5; Austwick, Yorkshire, British Museum, 1954, 7-1, 1. The evolution is studied by F. Behn, *Germania*, XX, 1936, 120-7; cf. also C. F. C. Hawkes, *Aspects of Archaeology*, (ed. W. F. Grimes), 1951, 180-2, referring to J. Werner, *Marburg Studien*, 1938, 259-267.

¹⁰ Filzen on the Moselle, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 2, 1927, Taf. 10, cited by Behn and Hawkes (note 9 above). Long Rake, Flintshire, *Arch.*, XIV, 275, pl. xlix; *P.S.A.*,² XXVII, 80, fig. 3.

¹¹ Shetelig, Falk and Gordon, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, 1937, 240; Shetelig, *Vestlandsgraver*, cf. note 7 above; *Norske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, 1929, 6, cited by Behn, note 9 above.

¹² *Arch.*, XXXVIII, 352, pl. xviii.

¹³ Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xvi.

¹⁴ Ipswich Museum.

Loveden Hill, Lincolnshire,¹ as well as at Croydon, Sawston and Queniborough. The English examples are slightly more numerous than those of the Mitcham bowl, and almost as many as those recorded from the whole of Europe outside Norway.

The two vessels were clearly in use during the same period, since they have half-a-dozen times been found together. That period seems to cover the fifth and sixth centuries. A basin from grave 4 at Furfooz near Namur² is hardly later than A.D. 400 and may be a decade or two earlier; on the other hand one from the Liebfrauenkirche churchyard at Worms on the Rhine came from a Christian grave whose headstone survives, scarcely earlier than the sixth century.³ Of three basins from Selzen in Rheinhesse,⁴ two (graves 7 and 10) were found with domed bell-beaker glasses of Harden's class V b i, "typical of the sixth century," and one of them, (grave 10) was also accompanied by a pair of bow brooches whose comparatively simple linear ornament should put them nearer the middle than the end of the century. The Teterow⁵ and Weimar⁶ bowls were buried with Merovingian glass of the fifth or sixth centuries, and a recent discovery at Rhenen in Holland⁷ was found with a bucket of the same general date. Grave 28 at Alfriston in Sussex⁸ contained a basin, a great square-headed brooch (Leeds, *Corpus*, B1, 66) of the mid or late sixth century, a pair of animal medley saucer brooches of the same date and a glass vessel.⁹

Rather fewer of the cauldrons are dated. Two seem to be Roman.¹⁰ One from Norway was buried with a fourth-century brooch,¹¹ and one from Trebur in Rheinhesse¹² with a glass vessel of the fifth or early sixth century.

The present evidence suggests that two rare and ancient bowl forms were revived towards the end of the Roman period, and attained a wide popularity in the late fifth and early and middle sixth centuries. The Croydon cauldron was the prevailing fashion

¹ Lincoln Museum, containing a cremation, as in Norway.

² J. A. Nenquin, *La Nécropole de Furfooz*, 53, found with a glass bowl and pottery, probably of the late fourth century.

³ Lindenschmit, *Heidnischer Vorzeit*, I, Heft 3, Tafel VIII, "Hic quiescit in pace Ludino qui vixit annis XXX, titulum posuit uxor Duda," with Chi-Rho, Alpha and Omega and doves. There was also a knife with the burial; no foot is preserved on the bowl. *C.I.L.* XIII, 6257.

⁴ W. and L. Lindenschmit, *Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen*, 1848.

⁵ *Præhistorische Zeitschrift*, I, 1909, 379.

⁶ Cf. note 5 above and instances there cited. The glass is compared with Kisa, *Antike Gläser der Sammlung Roth*, 58.

⁷ Glazema-Ypey, *Merovingische Ambachtkunst*, pl. 28-29.

⁸ Cf. note 2, p. 106.

⁹ Harden, *D.A.B.*, 136, very hesitatingly included the glass vessel with his late Roman survivals, rather than with his later pieces. If so, the vessel survived long. The brooches date the grave.

¹⁰ Filzen on the Moselle, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 2, 1927, Taf. 10, cited by Behn and Hawkes (note 9, p. 106). Long Rake, Flintshire, *Arch.*, XIV, 275, pl. xlix; *P.S.A.*,² XXVII, 80, fig. 3.

¹¹ *Norske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, 1926, 6, 6, cited by Behn, note 9, p. 106.

¹² Lindenschmit, *Alterthuemer Unserer Heidnischer Vorzeit*, V, Tafel 6, 106.

in Norway, the Mitcham bowl among the Franks and their neighbours. Neither is common among the Anglo-Saxons. In England both types are equally common, and both might be the result of Norwegian influence, brought either by traders or by immigrants. The Loveden bowl, which held a cremation, as in Norway, is perhaps more likely to have been brought by an immigrant. There is nothing to suggest that either vessel remained in use in the seventh century in Europe, while in England none has yet been discovered in the same grave as any of the hanging-bowls, found in very large numbers in Anglo-Saxon burials of the very late sixth and of the seventh century.¹ It is possible that the Mitcham and Croydon vessels were the precursors of the hanging-bowls, displaced from favour by the new fashion towards the end of the sixth century.

Miscellaneous Bronze ornaments. (Plate XIV–XV.)

Belt-fittings, 45 (cf. also Flat ring-brooches, p. 101 above); Buckets, 61, 198; Clips, 116, 140; Handles, 205, 209; Needle-case, 116; Pin, 229; Plates, 112, 140, 193, 210; Rings, 38, 116, 117, 229; Square, 113; Strips, 209, 229; Stylus, 140; Tweezers, 116, 192/3, 223.

38† Bronze finger-ring, with the setting missing, late Roman. Cambridge Museum 385*b*.

A fifth-century buckle† was found in the same grave.

45† Set of belt fittings, photographed as found, the end-plates on the opposite hips, the position of the belt marked by bronze studs. Cambridge Museum 54.383*a*. *Arch.*, LX, 54, Fig. 6 = *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 7, Fig. 6, Baldwin Brown, III, 358, pl. lxxv 1.

The two central plates have a red and yellow glass jewel in the centre, the two end-plates stamped concentric circles. All four plates have a stud encircled by a minute bronze ring at each corner.

No very close parallel is known; similar plates, with a quite different ornament, from Bifrons near Canterbury, are illustrated by Baldwin Brown, III, 358, pl. lxxv 2, and the inset glass jewel is a feature commonest in Kent and Sussex.

In the same grave was a small-long brooch† and a bone comb†.

61† Bronze binding, probably from a wooden bucket, found in the mould above grave 61. Cambridge Museum, 54.388*c*, not previously published.

Grave 61 contained a cast saucer brooch†, the bases of a pair of applied saucer brooches†, and an iron buckle†.

¹ The Loveden vessel, without suspension lugs, came from a part of the cemetery whose other dateable graves are of the seventh century and include hanging-bowls; but no dateable objects were found with the burial itself. The Norwegian and German scholars cited above independently conclude that in their countries the vessels did not survive into the seventh century, as also does M. A. Béquet, *Annales Soc. Arch. de Namur*, XIX, 14–15 in Belgium.

112† Kidney-shaped plate, 3.5 cm. ($1\frac{3}{8}$ in.) wide, Cambridge Museum 54.377a, found in the grave fill. The terminals have a rough resemblance to horse-heads. Similar "amazon shield" or "pelta" plaques are sporadically found, throughout the fourth and fifth centuries. There are four finely worked examples in a grave at Vermand of about A.D. 400, Baldwin Brown, IV, 551, pl. cxlviii, and somewhat similar plates occasionally occur on the metal binding of grave buckets. The objects are neither numerous enough, nor clearly enough associated with other objects, to allow any inference on the date or distribution.

In the same grave was a small-long brooch†, a bag or purse, and a knife.

113 A small thin square of bronze, with two studs, sketched in the field notebook, found at the waist, probably a strap-end.

116 Bronze tweezers, from an elaborately furnished woman's grave. Cambridge Museum 54.410a vii.

116 Bronze ring, perhaps from a purse. Cambridge Museum 54.410a vii.

116† Bronze needle-case. Cambridge Museum 54.410.

116† Bronze Clip. Cambridge Museum 54.410a viii.

117 Bronze finger-ring. Cambridge Museum 54.372d.

In the same grave were a necklace† and wire ring†.

140† Bronze stylus. Cambridge Museum 54.382, not previously published.

140† Thin bronze clip, found by the right foot. Present whereabouts unknown; illustrated from sketch in the field notebook.

In the same grave were a bronze rod, iron knife and iron "stiletto"†.

148 Four small plates near the shoulder.

192/3 Bronze tweezers, apparently from a male grave, with sword, shield, sword-knot bead†, and glass beads. Perhaps Cambridge Museum 54.413.

193† Cambridge Museum 54.398 is presumably one of the two "silver" plates found with a sword in this grave. It is of tinned bronze, 4.3 by 2.2 cm.

198 Rim, perhaps of a bucket, whereabouts unknown.

205† Bronze link or handle, whose loop is considerably worn by swinging on a chain. London Museum A19847. *London and the Saxons*, p. 119, Fig. 10, 2, p. 120.

209† Reused Roman key-handle. London Museum A19900. *London and the Saxons*, p. 122, Fig. 11, 3, p. 123.

209† Two pierced and decorated bronze strips, possibly from a purse or bag similar to that in grave 49. London Museum A19901-2. *London and the Saxons*, p. 122.

210 Bronze plate, London Museum A19916, *London and the Saxons*, p. 123, Fig. 114, whose shape recalls the feet of cruciform brooches of the mid-sixth century.

- 223† Broken bronze tweezers. London Museum A20221. *London and the Saxons*, p. 128.
- 229 Pierced and decorated bronze strip, similar to grave 209. London Museum 34/67.5.
- 229† Bronze ring. London Museum 34/67.6, catalogued as "ferrule."
- 229† Elaborately tooled "Klapperschnuck" pin, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. Fifth century parallels exist at Alfriston.

Bronze Coins

- 57 Small coin of Constantius II (*Gloria Exercitus*); found above the right breast. Cambridge Museum 54.408.
- 116 Two pierced coins, found among what were probably the contents of a purse or bag. Cambridge Museum 54.410a vi.

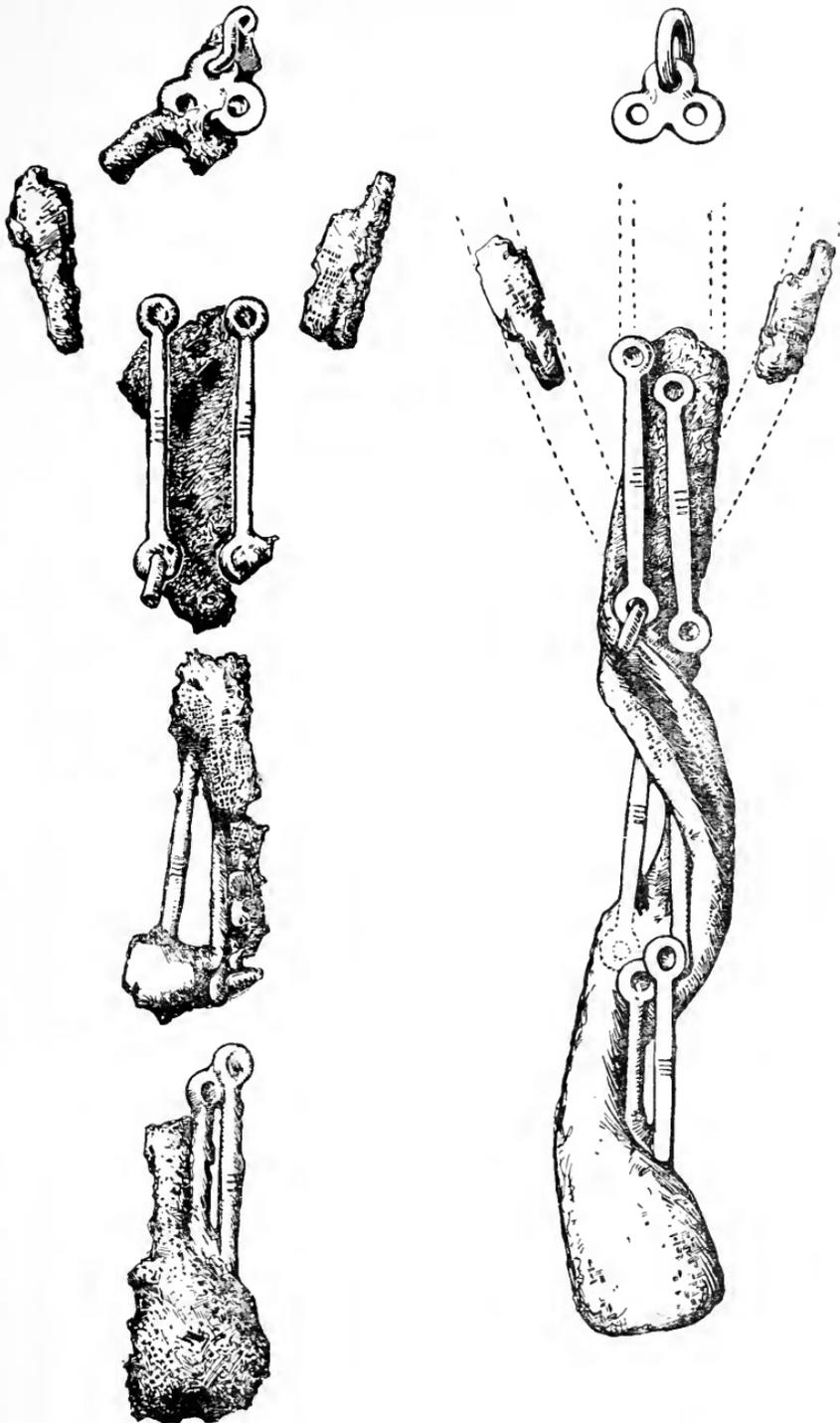
"*Chatelaine*"

- 49† *Archæologia*, LX, 56, Fig. 9. Cambridge Museum 409b. "It consisted of three pairs of bronze rods, each 2 in. in length, wound round with a strip of material, and hanging from a small triangular plate of bronze, with eyelet holes for attachment to the garment. These rods were not connected, and were perhaps sewn on to the material. The latter was in several layers, including one of canvas-like texture. The pad at the lower end suggested a leathern surface. Small pieces of iron covered with material appeared to have formed side attachments."

The object lay between the legs. It was unique in 1908, and in fifty years nothing similar has been identified. However, some comparable rods were found long ago, with a quantity of material, in an Anglo-Saxon burial in Painsthorpe Wold in Yorkshire. (Mortimer, *Forty Years' Diggings*, pl. 35, Fig. 281, p. 117). There the material seems to have been laid out as an oblong bag or satchel. It is just possible that the Mitcham object was such a bag, which became rolled and twisted into the shape in which it was found during the course of the burial.

Strings of Beads (none previously published). (Plate XVI.)

- 2 Beads at the neck.
- 30 Amber beads by the right knee.
An iron ring and chain were in the same grave.
- 34 Some glass beads by the neck.
- 44† Glass beads at the neck, including two with fine red, white and blue inlay. Presumably Cambridge Museum 54.384a.
In the same grave were a knife and iron buckle.
- 62† Thirty-nine beads among the ribs on the right-hand side, including some large ones of red amber, some of paste with designs, a few of blue glass. Presumably Cambridge Museum 54.391.



(i) As found, except that the three main sections were in contact.

(ii) Suggested partial restoration.

Fig. 17. Grave 49: Chatelaine. Illustration from the original report.

- 109† Nine beads near the neck, five vitreous, blue and green, two amethysts, one white, one like pumice. Presumably Cambridge Museum 54.371.
- 116 Four bugle beads, and a green glass one, all about and under the pelvis.
- 117† Necklace of fifty-two beads around the neck, of which six were amber. Also a small thin pierced disc of silver and a little ring of wire† Presumably Cambridge Museum 54.372a. In the same grave were a finger-ring, ring-brooch, and knife.
- 129† "Sixty-four beads at the neck and breast." Cambridge Museum 54.392. *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVII, 94.
- 192/193† A few glass beads, found with a sword and boss. *P.S.A.*,² XXVIII, 230, evidently additional to the single bead of grave 192.
- 197† 100 beads of glass and pottery. Presumably Cambridge Museum 54.396.

Single Beads. (Plate XVII.)

- 121 One amethyst bead, in the mould.
- 192† Bead of spar "that must have come from a stone district" Cambridge Museum 54.397, of limestone, not previously illustrated. Found with a sword with a cocked-hat pommel and a shield-boss.
- 193† "Large spindle whorl . . . or glass ring" discussed in *P.S.A.*,² XXVIII, 231, compared with Long Wittenham, *Arch.*, XXXIX, 39, pl. xi, 10, and rightly identified as a swordknot. Cambridge Museum 54.399.
- 222† Similar glass bead or whorl found "at the left of the waist". London Museum A20125, *London and the Saxons*†, p. 128, Fig. 13, 4, p. 127. Found with two saucer brooches, at the shoulders. It may perhaps therefore have been the centre-piece of a necklace, as in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. v. Similar beads are known from Guildford, Haslingfield near Cambridge, East Shefford near Lambourn, and elsewhere. Designed as elaborate spindle-whorls, they were clearly worn by both men and women as ornaments, in appropriate parts of their dress.
- 223† Dark blue glass bead with white zigzag decoration. London Museum A20222, *London and the Saxons*, p. 128, not previously illustrated. Found to left of the waist, with spear, knife, and tweezers. Perhaps also used as a sword-knot.

Pottery. (Plates XVIII-XIX.)

- 49† Coarse dark grey urn, 6 in. high, 4 in. wide at the mouth, greatest breadth, 6 in., pouch-bottle shaped. Incised chevrons separated by bands of incised horizontal lines reach down for three quarters of the depth of the bowl; six shallow vertical lugs at the bulge. *Arch.*, LX, 57, Fig. 10 = *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 8, Fig. 10, Kingston Museum.

An urn of this shape, with decoration so low down, is probably not earlier than the mid-sixth century.

In the same grave were a sword-batten†, a chatelaine†, and the fastenings apparently of a belt and pouch, and of a box or bag.

Near 68† "An earthenware vase, unconnected with any burial, but at about the level of the skeletons; it was of smooth black paste without ornament." The field notebook adds a sketch of Cambridge Museum 54.373, not previously published.

The urn is wheel-turned and biconical; maximum breadth $4\frac{3}{16}$ in., surviving height $2\frac{7}{8}$ in.; of Frankish type.

69a† "At the foot a jar of coarse red paste, wheel made, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. across the mouth, with a rough pattern of parallel lines around the shoulder." The measurements are those of the Kingston Museum urn here figured, not previously published, greatest breadth 6 in. Beneath the parallel lines is a line of shallow looped curves. The exterior of the bowl is now a uniform dark grey, save in a few patches overfired, where the colouring is orange red, with the appearance of burnt brick. Where the rim has been recently chipped, the paste is of an unusually bright light salmon-pink, and contains grit. The bowl may possibly have been made from a deposit of violent yellow clay which occurs locally in the Croydon area. It is extremely well made.

69b† "Within this a smaller vase, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. high, of fine black paste, without ornament, similar to 68†." The measurements are those of Cambridge Museum 54.374, also a Frankish type, not previously published.

In the same grave was an iron knife, lying under 69a.

111† "To the left of the head, a black earthenware pot." All the urns recorded are readily identifiable, except those from graves 111, and 146, with a "curved stamp." The globular urn Cambridge Museum Z11388, labelled Mitcham, not previously published, is the only urn not directly to be identified with a particular grave. It has no stamp, curved or otherwise, and cannot therefore come from grave 146. It is therefore presumably the urn of grave 111. It measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide at the mouth, with horizontal and diagonal incisions, the only urn at Mitcham made after the prevailing fashions of Anglo-Saxon potters. It is perhaps of the late fifth or early sixth century.

In the same grave were a pair of disc-brooches.†

118 "Small pottery scalloped disc, in the mould near the head." Present whereabouts unknown.

146 "By the head, earthenware pot decorated with a curved stamp." Present whereabouts unknown.

193† "A small black pot, similar to that from St. Martha's, Guildford" (Reginald Smith), presumably Cambridge Museum

54.375, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, not previously published. This is a small black pot roughly made. It is of better fabric and workmanship than the St. Martha's pot, and not so tall. Wilks' pot passed to Col. Bidder and from him to Cambridge. No other pot at Cambridge resembles this description, and no other pot like Cambridge 54.375 is described in the note-books.

In the same grave was a sword and scabbard-plate, and perhaps beads and tweezers.

192/200. Two fragments of pottery, present whereabouts unknown.

202 Two fragments of Roman pottery, present whereabouts unknown.

205b† Dark grey wheel-turned pedestal urn, with fluting round the widest part, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, greatest breadth $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., London Museum A19917, *London and the Saxons*, p. 119, Fig. 10, 3, p. 120. Graceful little cups on pedestals were among the forms taken over by the Germanic Iron Age from the Greeks. Cups of roughly this shape and size were popular among the Chauci, who inhabited the Elbe-Weser region before the Saxons, in the early Roman Empire; they spread from them to the Frisians, and were adapted and developed by the Saxons (Plettke, *Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Angeln und Sachsen*, plates 24 ff; Boeles, *Friesland tot de Elfde Eeuwe*, pl. XXV, 8-10, cf. 20). Within this general tradition, there is one very close parallel to the Mitcham pot, from an Anglo-Saxon burial at Hallum (111.67) in Friesland, (Boeles, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, 1). The pots are almost identical, save that the Frisian example is ribbed with horizontal mouldings all the way up the foot and lower part of the body; they may well be the work of the same potter. Almost without exception, the Anglo-Saxon graves of Frisia are of the fifth century; the pots are certainly fifth century Anglo-Saxon, and not Chaucian or fourth century Saxon; but they are sufficiently close to the earlier tradition to suggest that they may be very early in the fifth century; no other such pots are known in a fifth century context, and the form evidently did not become popular.

It was rescued in gravel-digging operations from "a disturbed grave," whence also came two applied saucer brooches†, of the first half of the sixth century, and a bronze handle†, but was not catalogued until three months after the other objects (see p. 73 above). It is not necessarily from the same interment, and the association should not be stressed.

212† Very rough cup, hand-made and home-made, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide, found at the head of a skeleton. London Museum A20036, *London and the Saxons*, p. 124, Fig. 11, 5, p. 123.

In the same grave were a pair of iron shears and a knife.

- 220 Fragment of Roman pottery, at the top of the skull. London Museum, A20289.

Glass Vessels. (Plate XX.)

- 34† Domed bell-beaker, Harden BV b4, sixth to seventh centuries, *D.A.B.* p. 141. Cambridge Museum 54.370a, *Arch.*, LX, 53, Fig. 4. "The commonest types of glass in Merovingian . . . France and Germany."
- 34† Squat jar, Cambridge Museum 54.370b. Baldwin Brown 485, cxxvi 5, Harden B VIII, c. 29, sixth to seventh century. Seventy-one out of eighty-two known examples were found in Kent, forty-three of them at Faversham; the vessels were presumably made in Kent (*D.A.B.*, p. 141).
- 199† Amphora, Harden I f i. A Roman survival from the fourth century, *D.A.B.* p. 137, Cambridge Museum 54.400b. Harden, *D.A.B.* p. 142 pl. XV k.
- 200† Fragment of steep-sided bowl of green glass, Cambridge Museum 54.400a presumably Bowl XI b, Harden, table p. 162, (not mentioned in the text, p. 165).
- 201† Trailed cone-beaker, Harden B III a i 8. London Museum A19747, *London and the Saxons*, p. 116, Fig. 9, 1, p. 117. Harden dates these glasses to the "fifth to early sixth century at latest" (*D.A.B.*, p. 140), Wheeler to the "sixth and early seventh rather than to the fifth century" (*London and the Saxons*, p. 118). Harden deliberately paid "little or no attention to the evidence of associated objects" in England (p. 139), basing his dates on "comparison with continental finds" (p. 137). In general, the associated finds match Harden's continental dates for other glasses, but not for this variety, which is an important group. The examples are numerous (Harden lists 18, to which should be added recent discoveries at Selmeston, Sussex, now in Lewes Museum), and an unusually high proportion have been discovered in dateable graves. These are:
- Harden's No. 1, *Kempston*, Bedfordshire, (grave of 20 Oct. 1863), was found with a "pear-shaped gold-mounted garnet carbuncle" (presumably BM. 1891 6-24, 4) of a common Kentish type, scarcely earlier than the mid-sixth century.
- No. 2, *Alfriston*, Sussex, grave 39, was found with an iron axe commonly associated with Frankish burials, not earlier than the early sixth century and possibly later.
- No. 3, *Alfriston*, grave 43, found in an exceptionally rich grave with an elaborately chased silver quoit-brooch, a quite developed pair of small Kentish square-headed brooches, a great square-headed brooch (Leeds, *Corpus*, 68, type B2) a pair of equal-armed brooches, comparable with but typologically later than the brooch of Mitcham 138, a crystal sphere-holder, and a considerable number of beads and bronze and silver rings and buckles. The majority of

these objects are closely paralleled in a variety of cemeteries, mostly in Kent, and have been much studied. It would be quite provocative to date this grave earlier than about 520, and it may well be later.

No. 11, *Howletts*, Kent, grave 18, also came from an unusually rich grave, with a similar pair of small Kentish square-headed brooches, three "garnet disc" beads, and a number of other beads, straps, buckles and toilet implements. The grave is of a similar date.

No. 12, *Howletts*, grave 30, was found with a wheel-made pot with two bands of basket-weave incisions, which also belongs to the Frankish phase in Kent.

No. 14, *Cassington*, Oxfordshire (Smith's Pit II), was found "apparently in the same grave" as a shield-boss and the bronze fittings of a wooden bucket or stoup. Such of these vessels as have been found in dateable graves are of the sixth century or later.

No. 15, *East Shefford*, Berkshire, grave 24, was found with a small perforated glass bead, and a pair of applied brooches with an involved medley pattern centring on a trident, paralleled only at Sigy (Seine Inferieure) (*P.S.A.*,¹ IV, 327; Baldwin Brown, IV, 553, cxlix 2) and at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, grave 158, from the same grave as a great square-headed brooch (Leeds, *Corpus* 104, type B7). A very similar brooch (Leeds, 107) was found in grave 5 at Nassington, Northamptonshire, with a pair of large applied saucer brooches with a confused animal medley ornament, much devolved from the recognisable animals of the early sixth century (*Ant. J.*, XXIV, 106, pl. xxiii).

No. 17, *Longbridge*, Warwick, came from a site whose earliest surviving grave-goods are sixth-century.

No. 6 (*Guildown*, grave 56) was found with a spearhead, evidently from a male grave, as No. 14. There are no associations for Nos. 4 (*Alfriston*), 5 (*Highdown*, Sussex, grave 27), 7 (*Guildown*, grave 109), 9 (*Ozingell*, Ramsgate), 10 (*Westbere* (Easden) near Canterbury), 13 (*Chessel Down*, Isle of Wight), 16 (*East Shefford*), 18 (*Canterbury Museum*) and the *Selmeston* vessel. Eight of the nineteen vessels have some dateable association; numbers 1 and 15 look more like burials after the middle of the sixth century than before; numbers, 2, 3, 11 and 12 ought to belong somewhere about the second quarter of the century, numbers 14 and 16 to the sixth century in general. Any or all of the eleven undated finds might theoretically belong to the fifth century, but nothing yet has suggested that any do. Whatever the date of these vessels on the continent, it is clear that on present evidence they should be regarded as "full sixth century," in round figures somewhere between 520 and 570, in England. Their distribution is similar to that of the Surrey types of saucer brooch, and of the great square-head brooch B6; they are less markedly Kentish than most types of Anglo-Saxon glass found in England.

Sword-Batten (Plate XXI.)

49† Sword-like object of iron, $22\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, maximum breadth $1\frac{7}{8}$ in., "with slight thickening towards the point," lying to the left of the body, hilt by the waist, point towards the feet. *Arch. LX*, 56, Fig. 8=*Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 8, Fig. 8. London Museum 56/106.5, now shortened to 19 in.

In the same grave were a chatelaine†, a belt or pouch, an urn† and a box or bag.

Similar objects have been found at Sarre and Ozingell (Rams-gate) in Thanet, at Chessel Down in the Isle of Wight, Holywell Row in north-west Suffolk, Luton, Bifrons in Kent, Herpes in south-western France, and elsewhere.

Where evidence is available, these objects are found as at Mitcham in female graves, of the second half of the sixth century. At Chessel Down, the sword-batten lay to the right, the hilt touching the fingers of the right hand, the point towards the shoulder; with it were a variety of small Kentish square-headed brooches, a radiate brooch and a Kentish garnet-studded disc-brooch with three wedges, a crystal ball and sling, a girdle-hanger, and bucket.

In better preserved examples, the point ends in a small squared projection; at Mitcham, the thickening suggests such a projection. The objects have been made very much in the fashion of a weaving batten, but there is little doubt that, buried in such positions in female graves, they are ceremonial emblems of rank or status. *Cf.* Reginald Smith, *P.S.A.*,² XXI, 5-6=*Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 27-28; T. C. Lethbridge, Holywell Row,¹ grave 11, pp. 5, 8, fig. 3, No. 2.

"These implements are common in Scandinavia, etc., and are still known as "swords" in the handlooms of the north. They are used in closing up the threads."

Purse-Mount, or "Strike-a-light." (Plate XVII.)

1† Cambridge Museum 58.25. Objects of this shape are occasionally found in Anglo-Saxon graves perhaps as the frame or clasp of a purse or bag. They are often termed "Strike-a-lights." In the same grave was a spearhead.

Ivory Bracelet. (Plate XVII.)

221† Ivory bracelet, internal diameter 6.5 cm. ($2\frac{5}{8}$ in.), external diameter 8.0 cm. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ in.), built up in sections. London Museum A20122, *London and the Saxons*, 126, Fig. 13, 2, p. 127. Found where the left arm should have been. A certain number of ivory rings of about the same size are known, though they are normally not built in sections nor so finely

¹ T. C. Lethbridge: *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*. Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Quarto Publications, New Series, No. iii.

worked, and could have been worn as bracelets or used to hang keys, etc. (Baldwin Brown IV, 400). The position in the grave here makes use as a bracelet more probable. In the same grave were two saucer brooches† and a knife.

Swords (all previously unpublished, except 163). (Plate XXI.)

- 27 Double-edged flat sword, by left side, pommel level with shoulder, 33 in. long, greatest breadth $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Photograph in field notebook. Traces of a wooden scabbard remained. Cambridge Museum 58.3 measures 33 in by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. The top of the tang is bent over at right angles, (cf. grave 73). In the photograph, the tang of grave 27 might possibly be so bent.

In the same grave were a boss, spear and knife.

- 65 Double-edged flat sword, lying diagonally across the body in a disturbed grave. $34\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, greatest breadth $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. There was a thin rectangular plate as a catch at the hilt end of the scabbard. Photograph in field notebook. Much of the wooden scabbard remained. In the photograph, the last 3 in. or so of the tip are bent; London Museum 56/106.14, whose tip is now lost, now measures $31\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

In the same grave were a boss, spear, knife, and the bones of a dog.

- 73 Double-edged flat sword, by the left side, pommel level with the shoulder. $35\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, greatest breadth $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Arch.*, LX, 60 adds that the end of the tang was bent over at right angles. Parts of the wooden scabbard remained.

Two photographs in the field notebook, however, giving both a front and side view of the sword, show that the tang of the sword in grave 73 was not bent over. (Pl. XXIII, *b.*) The sword with the bent tang is shorter and much narrower than the measurements given, and is probably the sword of grave 27, with whose measurements it exactly corresponds. The sword London Museum 56/106.13 has lost about 2 in. of its tang, now only $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long; its surviving length is $33\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., and it is therefore probably the sword of grave 73.

In the same grave were a conical boss†, spear (type B), and boar's-head buckle.

- 89 "A light sword, with gilt band round the top of the sheath," hilt level with the top of the left shoulder. The man was lamed through an injury; his skull was damaged, and his right collar bone was broken. "The sword was of a lighter type than usual, perhaps because of its owner's infirmities." A photograph in the field notebook shows that the sword was badly bent; its hilt is obscured.

Kingston Museum 2 is similarly bent, but is the largest sword of all; it has an iron cocked-hat pommel, and is probably the sword of either grave 192 or 193.

A photograph taken at Ravensbury Manor probably about 1919, (and therefore probably before the swords of 192-3

were acquired) shows three swords, with two bosses and a spearhead. One of these swords is certainly that of grave 93, and is marked 93?; the second is marked 31? (the provisional notebook numbering of grave 211), and corresponds to the photograph and description of that sword (now Kingston Museum 37) in the field notebook; the third is a short bent sword, with the hilt broken off short, and is probably the sword of grave 89. Its present whereabouts is not known.

There were no other grave-goods.

- 93 "A sword with a fine 'cocked-hat' pommel of bronze†," lying across the waist. The pommel is in Cambridge Museum, 54.381. The sword, with the pommel fitted, is shown in a photograph taken about 1919, cf. grave 89 above. Its present whereabouts is not known.
- 163 "A sword along the left side." The sword London Museum C2444, *London and the Saxons*, pl. XIII, 1, p. 175. cf. 176 and 129, published as from "grave" 28, cf. p. 56, note 1, was lent to the London Museum by Col. Bidder in October 1919. It has a wide iron "cocked-hat" or "humped-strip" pommel, and measures 33½ in. long, its greatest breadth 2½ in., and came from one of the graves excavated by Col. Bidder, or from which finds were brought to him. It did not come from graves 27, 65, 73, or 211, for all these graves were photographed as found, and none of the swords had such a pommel. It is not from 89, for it is neither bent nor light. It is very like the sword of 93, save that the wide iron pommel-support could never have been obscured by the small bronze pommel, as in the photograph of that grave, nor could such a pommel have been fitted thereto. It cannot be the sword of graves 181/4, 186, or 188, all of which were found about 1850 and never reached Col. Bidder, nor of 192 or 193, which he had not yet acquired in 1919. It is therefore probably the sword of grave 163, the only recorded sword not otherwise accounted for.

In the same grave were a boss and a spear.

- 181/4 "A very large sword, in a stone cist," reported in 1910 to have been discovered about 1850, in liquorice-trenching.
- 186 "A double-edged sword with no guard," similarly reported. Numerous other swords were vaguely mentioned on the same occasion.
- 188 "A sword," published at the time in *J.B.A.A.*, VII, 442, from the same trenching.

In the same grave were a boss and a spear.

- 192† "A sword with a 'cocked-hat' pommel," described by Reginald Smith in 1915. The sword is probably Kingston Museum 50, a badly bent sword, 36 in. long, greatest breadth 2½ in. with a bronze cocked-hat pommel-cap, and a gilt band† round the top of the scabbard. In the same grave were a boss and a sword-knot bead†.

- 193† "A sword with a 'cocked-hat' pommel, and a 'silver' (*i.e.* tinned bronze) scabbard-plate†," similarly described. It is probably Kingston Museum 38, with an iron cocked-hat pommel, but with no gilt scabbard-band. It is $35\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, greatest breadth $1\frac{7}{8}$ in., and is at present laid out in a specimen, but not an actual, grave group.

In the same grave was a small black pot†, and in either grave 192 or 193 were a few glass beads and a pair of tweezers.

- 198 "Sword," found with a skeleton near 192-3 and at the same time, and lost at the time.
- 211 "Double-edged flat sword, by the left side, pommel on the shoulder, with a half-perished gilt band round the top of the wooden sheath." Description in the field notebook, with photograph, where however the gilt band is not visible. From the photograph the sword appears to be unusually short, about 30 in. long. The sword is probably Kingston Museum 1, 31 in. long, greatest width $2\frac{1}{8}$ in., with a gilt band† in two pieces, one imperfect, and much of the top of the wooden sheath remaining.

In the same grave were a spear and shield-boss.

Seven of the thirteen swords survive, one in the Cambridge Museum, three in the London Museum, and three in the Kingston Museum.

Sword-knives or Scramasaxes (see Knives).

Shield-Bosses. (Plate XXI.)

- 27† Normal type, diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., with grip, over face of skeleton.

The boss Kingston Museum 41 most closely resembles the photograph in the field notebook, reproduced in *P. Croydon N.H. & S.S.*, VIII, pl. viii, p. 128. It measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 3 in. In the same grave were a sword, spear and knife.

- 65 Normal type, diameter 6 in., height 3 in., at right knee, spike downward, photograph in field notebook. The only boss that fits these measurements is London Museum, 56/106.3.

In the same grave were a sword, spear and knife.

- 73† Conical boss, diameter $4\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., over the right shin, with grip. Photograph in field notebook. London Museum 56/106.4.

In the same grave were a sword, spear, knife and boar's-head buckle. Where they can be dated, conical shield-bosses are normally of the middle or late sixth century.

- 113 Normal type, by the left elbow, the base of the boss 3 in. above the level of the bones. Sketch in field notebook.

In the same grave were two spearheads crossed, a strap end, knife and iron buckle, with traces of bronze, presumably from a brooch, on the left shoulder.

- 114 A MS note says "shield-boss and spear" against this grave, "grubbed up by workmen."
- 125 Normal type, over the left knee, sketch in field notebook. In the same grave was a very large spearhead, the point toward the feet, by the right leg, a large buckle† and a strap end or buckle.
- 126 "Spearhead and boss."
- 145 Apparently normal type, over the centre of the stomach, sketch in field notebook. No other grave goods are recorded.
- 163 Shield-boss over the head. In the same grave were a sword and spear.
- 187 Normal type, exhibited to the Surrey Archaeological Society in 1856.
- 188 Found with a sword and a spear, *J.B.A.A.*, VII, 442, about 1850.
- 190 "Corroded iron vessel . . . supposed . . . to have been a shield boss," found 1880.
- 192 Found with a sword and sword-knot bead, 1915.
- 211 Normal type, diameter $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., with grip, found at right shoulder. London Museum A19912-3, *London and the Saxons*, p. 124, cf. 162, and Fig. 35, p. 160. No other goods were reported from this grave.
- 213 Normal type, diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 3 in., with grip, found at right hip. London Museum A20031, *London and the Saxons*, p. 124, cf. 162, Fig. 36, p. 161. In the same grave were a spear, knife and iron buckle.

Of fifteen shield-bosses, twelve survive. They are Cambridge Museum (1) 58.4 $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.
 Kingston Museum (4) 41. 6 in. by 3 in., probably from grave 27†.
 43. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., top plate missing.
 42. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.
 46. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., with an exceptionally wide top plate.
 London Museum (7) A19912. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{7}{8}$ in., grave 211.
 A20031. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in., grave 213.
 C2447. 7 in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., with five rivets in position.
 56/106.1. Broken boss, probably originally about 6 in. by 3 in.
 56/106.2. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.
 56/106.3. 6 in. by 3 in., almost hemispherical, perhaps from grave 65.
 56/106.4. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 3 in., conical, from grave 73†.

It is possible to identify five of these bosses with particular graves. It is not possible to suggest which of the other seven bosses came from which of the other seven graves.

Spearheads. (Plate XXII.)

On the plate five types of spear are shown, classified according to their shape.

Type A, usually a long spear, whose blade is of even width till very near the point; shaped like a sword.

Type B, usually long; the blade tapers gradually towards the point.

Type C, with sharp shoulders nearly half way from the neck to the point, giving roughly the shape of a diamond or lozenge.

Type D, with sharp shoulders near the neck, thence a concave curve towards the point; called shouldered.

Type E, without shoulders, and with evenly curved edges; shaped like a leaf.

In the following lists, the spears are described according to the type, which refers to the outline of the blade alone; the measured or approximate length is also noted.

- 1 With a "strike-a-light."
- 17 Long spear, to left of head, measuring 5 ft. 1½ in., presumably from tip to ferrule.
- 19 Spear and knife.
- 24 "Knife or small spear at left hand." The position suggests a knife.
- 27 To left of head, with sword, boss and spear. Photograph in notebook. Type C, about 8 in.
- 32 To right of head, with knife.
- 42 Long spear to right of head.
- 50 Two spearheads rusted together by the left shoulder, with a large knife and a boar's-head buckle. Sketch in field notebook, apparently Type C, about 8 in.
- 51 Small spear under the left thighbone, at right angles to the bone. Sketch in field notebook. Probably Type E, about 5 in.
- 54 Above the left shoulder. Sketch in field notebook. Type B, about 12 in.
- 58 Inside left knee, point to the feet. Sketch in field notebook. Type D, about 6 in.
- 60 Against the lower left ribs, point to shoulder. Sketch in field notebook. Type C, about 6 in.
- 63 To the right of the skull, wrapped in canvas-like material. There was a knife at the waist. Sketch and photograph in field notebook. Type D, about 12 in., evidently London Museum 56/106.11, Type D, 11¼ in., with material adhering.
- 65 Above the left elbow, point upward, in disturbed grave, with sword, boss and knife. Sketch in field notebook, and photograph. Type C, about 6 in.
- 73 Long spear to right of head, point upward. Photograph in field notebook. Type B, about 13 in. In the same grave were a sword, boss, knife and boar's-head buckle.
- 90 Spear by the right shoulder, point upward. Photograph in field notebook. Type B, 10-12 in. long.

- 106 Spear by the right shoulder, point upward. Photograph in field notebook. Type D, about 8 in.
- 113 Two crossed spears to right of the head, point upward. Sketch in field notebook. Probably type B, about 10 in., found with boss, knife, iron buckle, strap-end, and bronze staining, presumably of a brooch.
- 114 A MS note says "shield-boss and spear" against this grave, "grubbed up by workmen."
- 125 Very large spearhead, socket missing, point towards the feet, by the right leg, with a shield-boss, large buckle† and strap-end or buckle. Sketch in field notebook. Type A, or B. This is presumably Cambridge Museum 58.5, spearhead with the stub of the socket remaining, surviving length 14 in.
- 126 "Spearhead and boss."
- 127 Spearhead.
- 130 Two spearheads.
- 160 Spearhead.
- 163 On the left side, outside a sword. A boss lay over the head.
- 177/9 Spearhead.
- 185 Spearhead, reported in 1910 to have been found about 1850.
- 188 Spearhead, with sword and boss, *J.B.A.A.*, VII, 442.
- 192/200 Spearhead.
- 207† Spearhead, London Museum A19859, *London and the Saxons*, 121. Type D, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.
- 211 Spearhead to right of head, photograph in field notebook. Type D, 8–10 in. In the same grave were a sword and a boss.
- 213† Hollow-winged spearhead, London Museum A20035, *London and the Saxons*, 124, cf. 168, with boss, knife and buckle. Type E, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- 223† Spearhead to right, London Museum A20289, *London and the Saxons*, 128, cf. 168, with sword-knot, bead, tweezers and knife. Type D, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.
- 228 Spearhead, London Museum A24433, *London and the Saxons*, p. 131, cf. 165, Fig. 38, 1. Type D, $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Thirty-six spears are recorded, three of them nineteenth-century finds which were not preserved. One was mislaid about 1950, and the remaining thirty-two are extant, eight in the Cambridge Museum, eleven in the London Museum, thirteen in the Kingston Museum.

They are as follows:

Type A, sword-shaped, four spears, all well over a foot long.
 Kingston 2, $16\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Kingston 3, $13\frac{7}{8}$ in.
 Cambridge 58.5, surviving length 14 in., grave 125.
 Cambridge 58.18, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Type B, tapering, seven spears, mostly a little under a foot long.
 Kingston 1, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Kingston 12, $6\frac{7}{8}$ in.
 London C 2445, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

London 56/106.7, $11\frac{3}{4}$ in.

London 56/106.8, 8 in.

London 56/106.10, $11\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Cambridge 58.20, $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Type C, lozenge- or diamond-shaped, four spears, three of them between 4 and 8 inches long.

Kingston 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Cambridge 58.7, $7\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Cambridge 58.19, $11\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Cambridge 58.22, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in.

Type D, shouldered, 14 spears, twelve of them between 6 in. and a foot long, two a little over a foot.

Kingston 4, 6 in.

Kingston 6, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Kingston 7, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Kingston 8, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Kingston 10, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Kingston 11, $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

London A19859, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in,
grave 207

London A20289, $13\frac{5}{8}$ in.,
grave 223

London A24433, $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.,
grave 228

London 56/106.9, $6\frac{5}{8}$ in.

London 56/106.11, $11\frac{1}{4}$ in.,
grave 63

London 56/106.12, $10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Cambridge 58.6, $7\frac{1}{8}$ in.
Cambridge 58.21, 7 in.
with wood surviving.

Type E, leaf-shaped, three spears, between 4 in. and 10 in. long.

Kingston 9, 4 in.

Kingston 51, 10 in.

London A20035, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.

In a few cases, the surviving length of the spearhead is not quite complete. There are also two broken sockets, one with much wood surviving, at Kingston.

Knives. (Plate XXII.)

19 With spear, on the left side.

24 "Knife or small spear" at left hand; from the position probably a knife.

32 With a spear, by the left arm.

38 With a fish buckle† and finger-ring†.

43† A very large knife. The photograph in the field notebook is very like Cambridge 58.17. There was nothing else in the grave.

44 To the left of the waist, with beads and an iron buckle.

48 At the waist, with an iron buckle.

50 At the waist, horizontal, point over left thigh, sketch in field notebook. About 8 in. long, possibly a small scramasax. In the same grave were two spearheads and a boar's-head buckle†.

63 In a sheath, among the ribs, with a large spearhead.

65 Among the ribs, with sword, boss, spear, and the bones of a dog.

69 At the feet, under a pottery bowl†.

- 73 To the left of the waist, with a sword, spear, boss and boar's-head buckle†.
- 75 On the left of the waist.
- 87 To the left of the waist, point towards the feet.
- 105 Beneath the bones.
- 106 Above the left of the pelvis, with a spearhead.
- 108 At the right elbow. Through the thigh-joint lay another knife, "with a curve on it," which may have been the cause of death. Sketch and photographs in field notebook.
- 112 By the right hip, point towards the feet. With a small-long brooch, purse or bag, and kidney-shaped plate†.
- 116 Under the pelvis, with a small-long†, disc† and flat ring† brooch, five beads, a needle-case†, a great square-headed brooch† and the contents of a bag†.
- 117 At the waist, with a necklace†, finger-ring and brooch.
- 120 At the waist.
- 140 In the surrounding mould, with a stylus†, stiletto†, and bronze clip†.
- 143 With a pair of small-long brooches†, loose in the mould, in a sheath.
- 192/200 Three knives.
- 202 $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, London Museum A19765, *London and the Saxons*, 118.
- 203 c. 5 in. long, near the head, London Museum A19762, *London and the Saxons*, 119.
- 208 London Museum A19890, *London and the Saxons*, 122, with saucer brooch† and bronze buckle.
- 212 c. 5 in. long, London Museum A20039, *London and the Saxons*, 124, to left of waist, with pottery cup† and shears.
- 213 $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, London Museum A20033, *London and the Saxons*, 124, by the left shoulder, with boss, spear and buckle.
- 216 $3\frac{3}{8}$ in long, London Museum A20091, *London and the Saxons*, 124, with metal fragments.
- 217 Fragment of a knife, London Museum A20094.
- 221 At right of waist, London Museum A20122, *London and the Saxons*, 126, with a pair of saucer brooches† and an ivory bracelet.
- 223 By the ribs, London Museum A20220, *London and the Saxons*, 128, with spear, tweezers, and sword-knot bead.
- 227 $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, London Museum A20299, *London and the Saxons*, 129.
- 229† $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, London Museum 34/67.5, *London and the Saxons*, 129, Fig. 14.5, p. 130, with disc-brooch†, pin†, iron buckle†, belt-fittings† and nail.
- 201/229.3. Broken knife, surviving length 4 in., London Museum A19849.

Of the thirty-nine knives, thirty-one are extant, nine in the Cambridge Museum, fourteen in the London Museum, and eight in the Kingston Museum.

Of these thirty-four burials, ten (19, 32, 50, 63, 65, 73, 106, 213, 223, 228) are certainly male, and seven (112, 116, 117, 143, 208, 221, 229) certainly female. The other seventeen are of less certain sex.

The plate illustrates three types of knife. Type A is the ordinary small straight domestic knife, ubiquitous in Anglo-Saxon graves, as common in women's graves as in men's. Type B is an offensive weapon of the type called "Scramasax." Type C, with curved back and blade, is a purposeful instrument, considerably less usual among the Saxons, and, for its size, as deadly as the scramasax.

Far too many of the Mitcham knives are shapeless fragments for an analysis of the total to have meaning. But those whose shape can be appreciated show marked peculiarities. The domestic knife of type A is noticeably less common than in most cemeteries. The scramasax was normally made in all sizes, but the common types found in pagan Saxon graves run from nine or ten inches up to a couple of feet. The Mitcham scramasaxes (*e.g.* Cambridge 58.14 and 16) are commonly some five or six inches long. Two at least, the fragments Cambridge 56.13 and London A20303 (grave 227), $5\frac{1}{4}$ and $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long respectively, both perhaps originally a fraction of an inch larger, have the handle set at a sharp angle to the blade, to facilitate an upward lunging thrust. The relatively uncommon curved knife of type C is frequent at Mitcham, and is the large knife of the settlement, running up to nine inches (Cambridge 58.17, illustrated, probably from grave 43). The damage it could do is shown in grave 108, where the knife that penetrated a hip joint seems, from the sketch in the field notebook, to have been of this type. Two of the Cambridge knives, and five or six of those at Kingston seem to belong to this variety.

The scramasax is characteristically a Frankish weapon, which does not seem to have reached England much before the middle of the sixth century. Nothing is known of their typological evolution; and what little has been written is built upon too little evidence.¹ But the knife does not appear at Mitcham at its usual large size, and it may be that the Mitcham people, unable to purchase the new weapon, contented themselves with imitating it in the sizes that they normally made themselves.

Iron Stiletto

140† This weapon went astray in 1950. A measured drawing however survives, giving a length of 5 in. and a depth of about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Measurements taken on an earlier occasion made it $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, with a section below the handle of

¹ The most serious study is by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in *London and the Saxons*, pp. 176-181. But Cambridge 58.16 is an example of the shape there regarded as peculiar to the 10th and 11th centuries. The Mitcham example is evidence that the type was in existence at least four centuries earlier. The stratified examples are very few, and it is likely that all types evolved early and lived long.

$\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Possibly the handle was broken short in the interval.

It is not easy to parallel this weapon, which is quite uncharacteristic of Anglo-Saxon burials. It was clearly as effective as it was unusual. It lay by the left leg, perhaps thrust into a stocking or trouser-thongs.

A Roman stylus†, a flat bronze clip, and a knife were found in the same grave.



FIG. 18. IRON STILETTO: GRAVE 140. (3)

Miscellaneous Iron Objects

Fragments: 30, 48, 51(?), 116.

Hooks: 48(?), 110.

Keys: 49, 116(?).

Nails: 229.

Plate: 109.

Purse-Mount or Strike-a-light: 1†.

Purses, bags: 30, 49, 112, 116.

Rings: 6, 30, 49, 73, 87, 112, 116, 119, 204, 206, 209, 201/229.

Rods: 49, 109.

Shears, 212.

Staple: 204.

Wire rings: 51†, 87, 117†, 119†.

There are in the three Museums a quantity of miscellaneous iron objects that cannot easily be reconciled with items in the field notebooks, whose use is for the most part quite unclear.

201/229.4 A sickle is said to have been found "at the level of the interments," during gravel-digging. If it was really part of an Anglo-Saxon burial, it is unique. It will not be possible to tell an Anglo-Saxon from a Roman or a medieval sickle until a sufficient number have been discovered in a less uncertain context. The Mitcham sickle is published on the chance that others may be found, and require comparison.

Skeletal Remains

A score or so of *skulls* and a number of *bones* are preserved in Cambridge, Kingston and London Museums, and at the Royal College of Surgeons. It is rarely possible to connect them with particular graves. References are given on pages 55, note 1, and 56, note 1, to the publications which report the essential details.

SUMMARY

Mitcham is one of the larger Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. It is unusually rich in weapons, while its brooches outnumber those from all other Surrey burials put together. The only other well furnished and adequately recorded site in the county is Guilddown, with only

thirty-five pagan burials. The evidence of Mitcham must therefore be the mainstay of any attempt to evaluate the origins of Surrey, and the part that Surrey played in the formation of England. Such an enquiry is primarily a matter of brooches and buckles, glass and pots; for these are the things with definable shapes and designs, easy to distinguish and plot in space and time. That is why it has been necessary to discuss at some length the date and distribution of what has been found at Mitcham, and to notice what is absent.

Briefly summarized, the Mitcham burials were made over a period of about 150 years. Three or four burials properly belong to the fifth century,¹ two of them (38 and 205b) being really very early. By contrast, there are at least thirty of the sixth century; half of them belong to the middle or later part of the century, and one, 116, cannot be much before A.D. 600. There is little that looks later.² The practice of burying relatively cheap grave-goods in numerous graves almost disappeared with the close of the sixth century. In general, seventh-century burials have either rich and numerous grave-goods or none at all. If the cemetery remained in use for any appreciable time after A.D. 600, it was for the burial of comparatively poor people, interred without grave-goods.

Something may be inferred of the size and nature of the settlement. A large concentrated cemetery suggests a concentrated village rather than scattered farms; for there is adequate record of what the burial place of an isolated farm of the period looks like, a group of ten or a dozen burials, whose ornaments spread over five or six generations.³ But it can hardly have been a large village. Four or five hundred burials spread over a century and a half, in an age of a high natural death-rate and considerable violence is not likely to represent more than 50 or 100 persons living at one moment, on the average. Since the number of dateable burials steadily increases, it may well be that the settlement was very small at the beginning, and appreciably larger by A.D. 600.

Such a community would require a cluster of a score or so of houses. A good many Anglo-Saxon villages are known, but only one has been excavated and published, at Sutton Courtenay, near Abingdon.⁴ It consisted of some scores of small cottages, each sunk a foot or two into the ground. Sutton Courtenay may not be typical; but, within the limits of our present knowledge, it is a village like Sutton Courtenay that is to be expected at Mitcham, somewhere not far from the cemetery.

No evidence of agriculture remains, unless the sickle be part of the cemetery. But the people must have grown and reared their own

¹ 38, 66, 205b, 221.

² Only one object at all suggests a later date, the glass *jar* of grave 34; of this type Harden writes "No doubt some of these jars belong to the sixth century, but the majority are not earlier than the seventh. . . ." *D.A.B.*, 141.

³ *E.g.* Cassington (Purwell Farm) near Oxford; Glaston in Rutland.

⁴ *Arch.*, LXXIII, 174; LXXVI, 59; XCII, 79, cf. *Med. Arch.* 1, 28.

food. The site lies on gravel by the Wandle, and is neatly spaced between three Roman sites, ten minutes' walk from each, one of them probably a roadside village. It is not possible to say whether any or all of these sites were still inhabited when the first Saxons reached Mitcham; but there can be no doubt that they were still remembered, their buildings still to be seen, and their existence may have determined the choice of the site. For they were the nearest known sites, Roman or Saxon, to London. The country between the Mitcham-Merton area and the Thames is a stiff forbidding clay, as yet unsettled by man. It was at once the strength and weakness of early London that it was on all sides surrounded by a belt, some five to fifteen miles wide, of virtually uninhabitable country. In Roman times, the Mitcham area was the nearest agricultural land to London by the main southward roads.

The Roman geography may have decided the place of the original settlement. But it is quite uncertain whether there was any London to feed while the Mitcham cemetery was in use. What the situation meant was that Mitcham was the first habitation an enemy would meet after crossing the Thames at London. It is not surprising that weapons are unusually prominent; the men were proud of their arms, and clearly believed that they needed them in the after-life; something like half the male burials had swords or spears with them, and a number of them had rather unusual weapons, useful only for in-fighting at close quarters. The community clearly needed to be ready for instant defence during the greater part of its existence.

Mitcham was not altogether isolated, but it was something of an outpost. Forty minutes' walk upstream was the Beddington cemetery, and in the Beddington-Croydon area was a relatively thick cluster of sites, centred round three substantial Iron Age forts, all of them used in both Roman and Saxon times. Several of these communities of the upper Wandle are as early as Mitcham itself, and together they were the nucleus of Surrey.

The women were commonly buried with their jewellery, and their ornaments show the external relations of their village. In the fifth century their fashions are indistinguishable from those of Sussex to the south, and of greater Wessex to the north, the cemeteries of the middle Thames about Oxford, and of Northamptonshire. What is noticeably lacking is the fifth-century cruciform brooch, the special property of East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It is found occasionally on the middle Thames and in Kent, but has never yet been encountered in Surrey or Sussex.

In the first half of the sixth century there is more evidence, and it points to a rather different external relationship. The brooches of the Surrey women are their own. The Wandle is the centre point of their distribution, perhaps the place where they were made. They still have nothing in common with the fashions of Kent beyond the Medway, though the ornament of Sussex is much influenced by Kent. They share the saucer brooch with Wessex, but the types differ. Several Surrey brooches find their way to Wessex, but only

one Wessex type occurs in Surrey, and none on the Wandle. Whether the frontiers set to the distribution of brooches were determined by the limits of a peddler's range, by intermarriage, or by some kind of political frontier, the fashions were more localized than in the past or the future. The same local separation is noticeable elsewhere; the cruciform brooch is no longer found in Wessex or Kent, while among the Angles themselves various regional differences are to be observed in the details of the brooch.

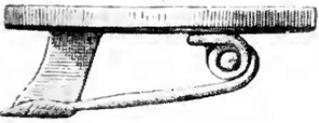
About the middle of the century, or perhaps a little earlier, the local brooches disappear. Henceforth the women of the Wandle imitate the jewellery of all parts of England. A new type of brooch, the great square-head, starting from Ipswich, spread rapidly all over the country, though with various regional varieties. Of the two specimens found at Mitcham, one is a purely Sussex-Surrey type, the other as emphatically Anglian. The differentia which mark off one variety of square-headed brooch from another are somewhat fine, but other brooches of the period tell the same tale. The "small-long" brooches are of two kinds, one decidedly Anglian, the other decidedly Wessex. Several of these brooches are influenced by Kentish art, and there is a small but noticeable volume of the cheaper Kentish buckles, weapons and pots, together with cheap imitations of the wealth of Kent. There is even an ornament that imitates the foot of a cruciform brooch. But there are still no cruciform brooches, and, most striking of all, nothing at all of the characteristic rich jewellery of nearby Kent. Even the saucer brooches are few, poor, and alien. While north of the Thames, these brooches are becoming very numerous, large, flamboyant, and full of original experiment, Mitcham has no more than four or five rather dull brooches, all of them individual outliers of types at home across the Thames. The only striking ornament, the human face of grave 128, has its ancestry on the western fringes of Wessex. Mitcham had become a poor community living on the throw-outs of its greater neighbours; its only luxury is its glass, the one evident consequence of its proximity to Kent.

Nor does Mitcham share much in the internal evolution, noticeable elsewhere. As the sixth century advanced, in many parts of the country burials of outstandingly wealthy women are found, buried with two or more pairs of brooches of different kinds, with crystal balls and silver spoons, very large festoons of elaborate beads, gold and garnet imports from Kent, neatly made toilet-sets, and the like; while around them lie the skeletons of many other women, buried with no grave goods at all, or at best a knife or pin. There is some small sign of such social differentiation at Mitcham, but it is slight; one or two women have bags or pouches, with bronze or iron fittings; one has a sword-batten, and one, 116, a wide variety of objects, including three brooches, two of them broken. It is the richest grave in the cemetery, but it is poor beside the richer graves of Sussex, Bedfordshire or Cambridgeshire, or even of nearby Guilddown. It is also the latest dateable grave.

The relative poverty underlies the absence of seventh-century objects. Seventh-century grave-goods are not very numerous in cemeteries anywhere, except in Kent. The well furnished graves after A.D. 600 are the barrows of great chieftains, in East Anglia and Cambridgeshire, Wessex, the midlands and Derbyshire, ranging from the extravagance of Sutton Hoo to quite simple burials on the Berkshire Downs. There is nothing of this royalty in Surrey.

These considerations suggest that it was during the first half of the sixth century that the Saxons of the Wandle enjoyed a relative independence, prosperity and creative initiative. Thereafter, they were too poor to maintain a brooch-maker of their own, to produce wealthy women or powerful chieftains. After the middle of the century, they passed under the influence of Wessex, the Cambridge region and, perhaps later, of Kent. They remained poor, and it may well have been their poverty which drove them to abandon the practice of interring grave-goods with the dead, some little time before Christianity took root among them. The carefully laid out empty graves of site C (Nos. 119-124) might be just such burials.

205



222



205



201



221



128



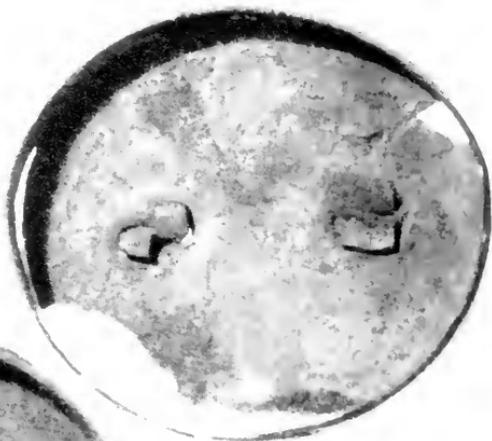
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66

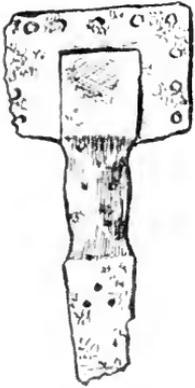


II



61





116



112



107



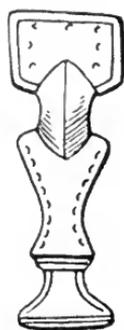
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233



195



231



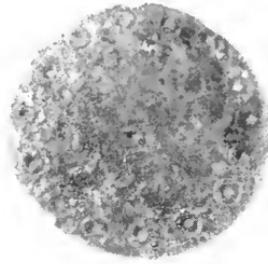
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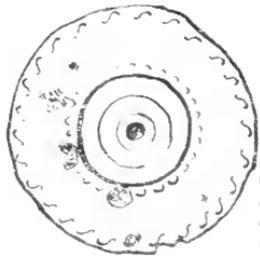
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196



229



116



235



16



116



225



138



229



116



125



133



50



208



?113



38



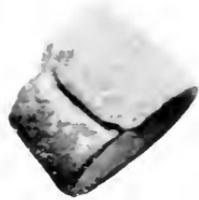
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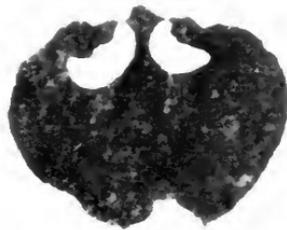
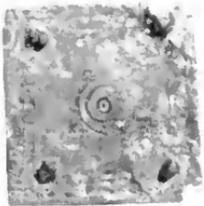
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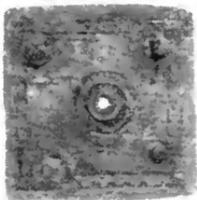
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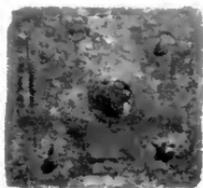
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112



193



45



61



223



116



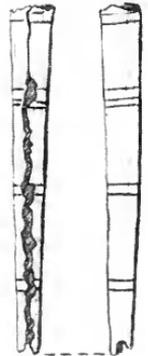
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205



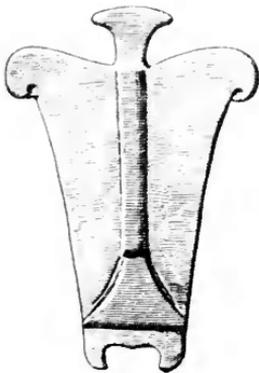
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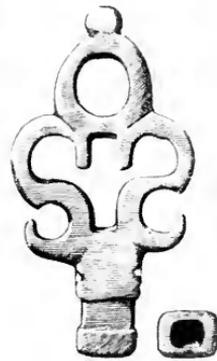
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140



210



209



197



117



44

129

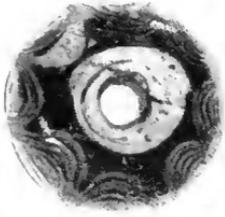


109

62



NECKLACES. (About $\frac{1}{2}$)
(pages 110, 112)



192



223



222



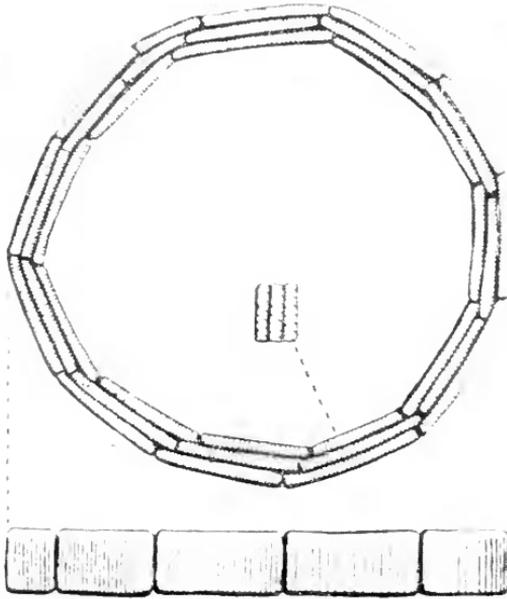
239



45



1



221

PLATE XVIII



Near 68



193



69b



69a

URNS I: FOR SIZES SEE TEXT.
(pages 112-114)



111



212



205



49



200



34



201



199



93



211



?192



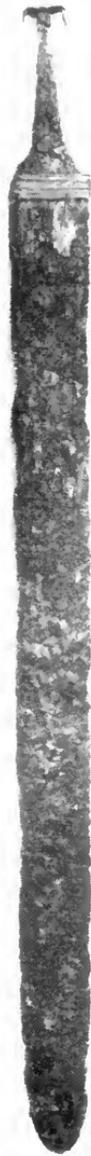
73



Grave uncertain, perhaps 27



49



?192



?193



A



B



C



D



A



C



B



E



a. BRONZE BOWL FROM GRAVE 230. FOR SIZE SEE TEXT. (*p.* 104)



b. GRAVE 73