

TWO ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERIES AT CHAMBERLAINS BARN, LEIGHTON BUZZARD, BEDFORDSHIRE

By MIRANDA HYSLOP

The excavation, between 1931 and 1936, of the two cemeteries at Chamberlains Barn sand pit, Leighton Buzzard, was almost entirely the work of one man, the late Mr. Frederick Gurney, of Eggington, Bedfordshire. It is to his notes and correspondence that we are indebted for all the information about the excavation, and to his perseverance in the face of enormous difficulties that we owe the rescue of valuable evidence from threatened destruction in the course of commercial sand-digging operations.

In spite of Mr. Gurney's industry, however, several problems have arisen in preparing his material for publication. The information for Cemetery I is confined to a list of graves, and to four brief articles written for the *Leighton Buzzard Observer*,¹ for readers more interested in local history than in the details of scientific excavation. Cemetery II is better documented, and Gurney's notes on the graves are still extant. But unfortunately he died before making any ordered account of the excavation, and the references are scattered through several notebooks, along with everything else which interested Gurney whilst the excavation was in progress. The information provided is often incomplete, and even when all relevant details have been extracted much of the evidence remains conflicting or confused. I have indicated this confusion where it seems seriously to affect the issue. Throughout I have accepted Gurney's word for what he saw, and only modified his conclusions where there is no apparent evidence for them, or where existing evidence suggests that he was mistaken. Inverted commas have been used for statements of fact taken from the notebooks, or letters, for which the evidence has since been lost or destroyed.

Many of the finds from Cemetery I were deposited at the offices of Messrs. Arnold, the owners of the sand pit, and remained there until they were removed to Luton Museum in 1958. The rest of the material stayed in Mr. Gurney's possession until his death in 1947 and was only collected together for the museum in the following year. The material is only now undergoing treatment. Although it has undoubtedly been carefully handled at all stages, it has inevitably decomposed since its excavation, and several objects are now missing without trace.

In spite of these difficulties much valuable evidence has been retained, and when Mr. Freeman, Curator of Luton Museum, kindly offered me the opportunity of publishing the material from the two cemeteries, I gladly accepted. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Freeman for this offer, and for the preliminary work he did in sorting out the material. I am also most grateful to Dr. J. N. L. Myres for much helpful advice on parallels for the pottery, to

¹ *Leighton Buzzard Observer*, 13, 20, 27 Aug., 3 Sept., 1935. Ed. J. Dyer and republished as a single article in *The Bedfordshire Archaeologist*, 1, iii (1956).

Mrs. Hawkes for allowing me to make use of the as yet unpublished finds from Finglesham, Grave 7, and to Mrs. M. E. Cox for the drawings. To both Professor and Mrs. Hawkes I am greatly indebted for their willingness at all times to advise and encourage. I am also indebted to the Trustees of the Colt Fund for a grant towards the cost of preparing the drawings.

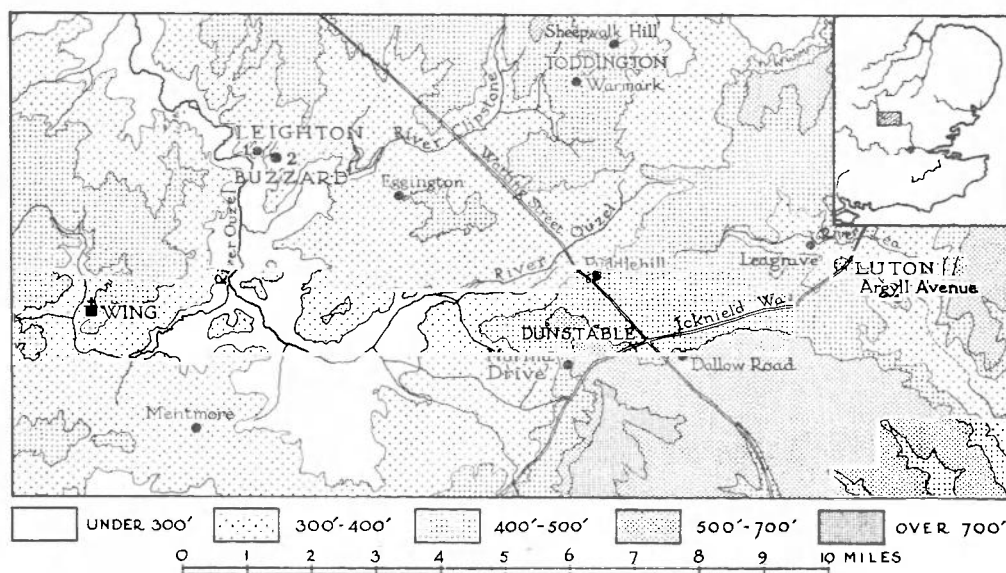


Fig. 1. Anglo-Saxon settlement around Leighton Buzzard. 1: Deadman's Slade
2: Chamberlains Barn

THE SITE

Chamberlains Barn sand pit is situated a little over 300 ft. above sea level, on the eastern side of the Ouzel valley, just north of the modern town of Leighton Buzzard (Fig. 1).¹ The cemeteries lie on a gentle slope, which runs down for half a mile to the river, and which continues up behind the site to Watling Street, two miles away, and the watershed of the Ouzel and the Lea.

The Ouzel valley, in the immediate vicinity of Leighton Buzzard, seems to have been fairly extensively settled in the Anglo-Saxon period. In 1880, several Anglo-Saxon cremation burials were discovered at Deadman's Slade,² 500 yards north-west of our site and rather closer to the river. Though much information about this cemetery was lost, it was undoubtedly earlier than either of the Chamberlains Barn cemeteries, and it is possible that the three cemeteries represent successive burial grounds of the same settlement. Three miles away, at Wing, an Anglo-Saxon church of the 7th century³ suggests a substantial community there, at least at that date. To the south, at Mentmore, there were

¹ O.S. 1-in. sheet 146 (Bucks.), SP926264, lat. 51° 56' N., long. 0° 36' W.

² *Proc. S.A.*, IX, 29.

³ E. D. C. Jackson and E. G. M. Fletcher, 'The Apse and Nave at Wing, Buckinghamshire', *J.B.A.A.*, 3 ser. xxv (1962), 18.

two, possibly three,¹ burial grounds, covering a fairly long period of settlement. There is, however, no sign of any settlement further down the River Ouzel, and the settlers of our area presumably arrived by way of the Icknield Way, which runs close by the source of the River Ouzel, a few miles south-west of our site. One of the closest parallels for Cemetery II, the cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable,² lies about six miles away near the crossing of the Icknield Way and Watling Street.

The Lower Greensand, which underlies the Leighton Buzzard area, comes close to the surface at Chamberlains Barn, and the sandy overlying soil has only been cultivated during the last two centuries. At the time of excavation the site was being worked for the 'silver sands' of the upper part of the Greensand formation, but the area of Cemetery I was honey-combed with medieval pits, varying in depth from 6 to 10 ft., which had apparently been dug to obtain the iron phosphate which occurs at this depth. The area of Cemetery II produced several relics of the prehistoric period. A Bronze Age urn was excavated, and there were several pits and trenches containing animal bones and sherds of Iron Age pottery.³

Both cemeteries have now been completely obliterated in the course of sand-winning operations.

THE EXCAVATION

The significance of the site at Chamberlains Barn was first realized late in 1931 when Mr. Arnold, the owner of the sand pit, brought to Mr. Gurney fifteen polychrome beads which had been recovered by the men working the sand. Mr. Gurney was ill at the time, and was first able to visit the site only in February 1932, but during the course of the following six months he made fairly frequent visits to Chamberlains Barn pit, where nineteen certain graves were excavated and plotted (Fig. 2). Several graves had been destroyed before the presence of the cemetery was recognized, but the rest of the site was searched with great care, and Gurney could be reasonably certain that no further graves in the cemetery had been overlooked. He was less sure, however, that the excavation of the individual graves was in all cases complete, and that the finds had always been attributed to the correct graves. He was frequently unwell, and could not obtain help of any kind for supervision of the excavation. There was no question of halting the digging operations until he himself could supervise them. Although the finds from this cemetery form a compact group, independent of their associations, it must be emphasized that the apparently meagre furnishings of the graves from this site may, partly at least, be due to haphazard excavation.

In October, 1935, an iron shield boss was found in a grave about 80 yds. south-east of Cemetery I, and it soon became apparent that this was part of a second cemetery. The nature of this cemetery was clearly very different from that of the cemetery in the northerly site, and the early discovery of the brooch

¹ V.C.H., *Bucks.*, 1, 198.

² C. L. Matthews, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable', *Beds. Arch. J.*, 1 (1962).

³ These finds are to be published separately at some future date.

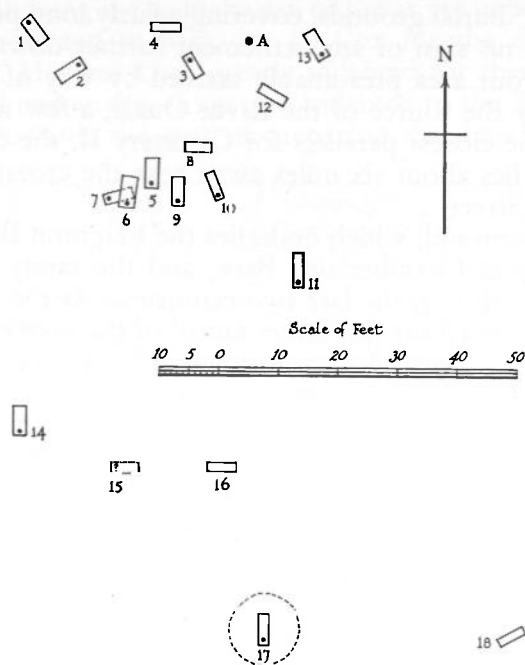


Fig. 2. Plan of Cemetery I

in Grave 11 served to indicate its importance. Again Gurney was unable to obtain help of any kind for the excavation, but he devoted a substantial amount of his time to the site, and kept fairly detailed notes and a rough plan of the graves (Fig. 3). This plan can only have been approximate. It is clear from the notebooks that there was no fixed point from which the positions of the graves were triangulated. The graves were located only in their relation to each other, and the distance between one grave and the next was measured in paces. There is no indication that compass directions were determined by anything but guesswork. Measurement of the graves themselves seems, on the whole, to have been more exact, but in many cases records of these measurements are contradictory. On the other hand Gurney's description of the graves is careful, and often very detailed. Position of the objects within the graves is rarely recorded, but the minute observation of other details suggests that, in those graves which Gurney excavated personally, little of importance escaped his notice. I have noted in the inventory those graves where Gurney specifically mentions that this was not the case.

THE GRAVES

CEMETERY I

The working surface at Chamberlains Barn pit lay at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. – 3 ft. from the natural surface, and the whole of Cemetery I had been stripped to this depth before its presence was detected. At this stage the graves showed

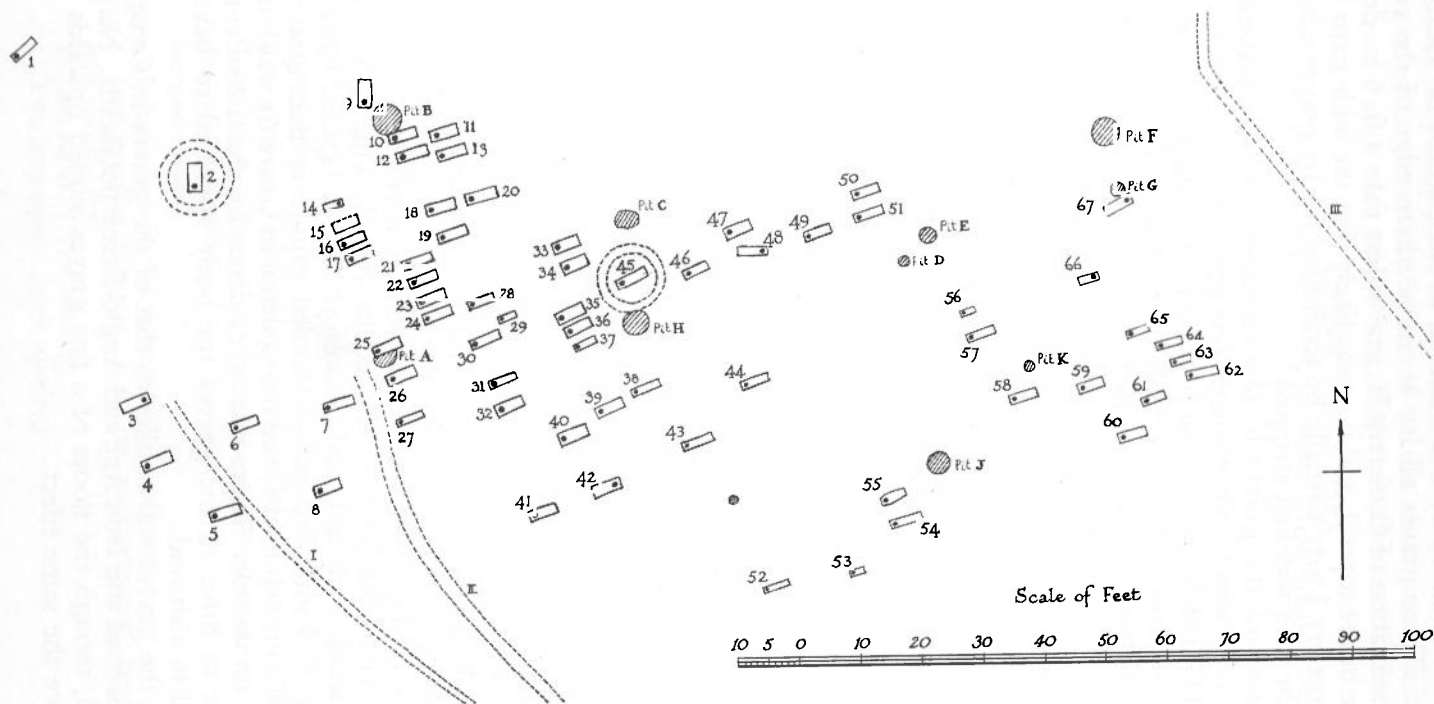


Fig. 3. Plan of Cemetery II
(Grave 68, not marked on the plan, lay 'about 100 yds. N.E. of the main cemetery'.)

up clearly as dark patches in the sand, and when Gurney first visited the site at least eight of them had already been cleared in the process of 'cleaning' the working surface. These graves all lay at the northern edge of the cemetery, but during the excavation of Cemetery II, graves less than 2 ft. 6 in. deep were noticed in profile in the topsoil, and it seems likely that the wide gaps between the graves in Cemetery I may partially be accounted for by graves which were removed when the area was first stripped.

The orientation of the graves in this cemetery varies considerably, but the only two graves which cut through one another contained no datable grave goods, and Gurney's notes are so confused at this stage that it is impossible to determine any sequence. The few finds from other graves on this site are of much the same date and provide no further help in this respect. No irregularity in the shape of any grave was noted, and the skeletons all lay extended and, as far as is known, supine within them. In only one grave (Grave 2, which had been disturbed by the workmen) was there anything which might have been a coffin.

In one grave (unspecified) a sod of turf had been used to pillow the head, and in several graves small stones had been grouped together for the same purpose. The filling of practically all the graves contained both Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon potsherds, as well as small pieces of charcoal. In many cases flint flakes had been scattered on the grave floor.

CEMETERY II

All but six graves in this second cemetery were orientated with the head to the south-west. Of the remaining graves, three (Graves 3, 14 and 67) were orientated with the head to the north-east, one (Grave 48) with the head to the east, and two (Graves 2 and 9) with the heads to the south. The graves had been arranged with considerably greater regularity than those in Cemetery I. None of them overlapped, and there even seems to have been some attempt at laying them out in rows.

Most of the graves lay only a few inches below the working surface of the sand, and where Gurney has noted the depth of a grave he apparently estimated it from the original surface. Graves 2 and 45 were surrounded by shallow trenches (as may have been Grave 17, Cemetery I) but no trace of any burial mound could be seen from the surface. Few irregularities occurred in the actual form of the graves, but Grave 55 was 'coffin-shaped', wide at the shoulders and narrowing towards each end, and Graves 31 and 32 tapered towards the feet. Most of the skeletons had been extended supine in their graves, but Grave 29 contained a crouch burial, and the skeleton in Grave 63 was lying in a crouched position on its side. There was no evidence for the use of coffins in this cemetery, but in three of the graves the body appeared to have been wrapped for burial in a shroud.

The filling of the graves was similar to that of the graves in Cemetery I, with flint flakes, charcoal and Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon potsherds. No pillow stones were found, though the floors of a few graves sloped upwards at the head end to achieve the same effect.

On both sites the skeletons had all reached an advanced stage of decomposition, in which only fragments of the skull and the shells of teeth had survived. In most graves however the 'shadow' of the skeleton remained clear in the sand giving a rough idea of the size, and even the sex of the body.

GRAVE INVENTORY

Compass directions, given first, are those of the head of the grave.

B. = breadth, L. = length, D. = depth.

The Luton Museum accession number for the finds from both cemeteries is 14/57. The number given in brackets following the description of each object is the subsidiary accession number for the individual find.

CEMETERY I

Grave 1 W.; B. 2 ft. 9 in.; L. 6 ft. 6 in. Excavated by workmen.

No grave goods.

Grave 2 N.; B. 2 ft. 10 in.; L. 6 ft. 3 in. Disturbed by workmen, contents sifted by Gurney. 'On the left of the skeleton were indications of a very narrow slip of board or shaft.'

1. Amber *bead* (Fig. 4, r), at waist. Oval, with rectangular section. (27)
2. Iron *buckle* (Fig. 4, s), B. c. 2.5 cm. Oval loop, heavily corroded. (29)
3. Bronze *pin* (Fig. 4, t), L. 3.9 cm. Flattened circular head, linear decoration on shaft. (28)
4. Iron *knife* (Fig. 4, u), L. 11.5 cm., at waist. (30)

Grave 3 N.W.; B. 2 ft. 2 in.; L. 5 ft. 6 in. Excavated by workmen, 'much probably lost'.

1. Fifteen large glass *beads* (Fig. 4, a-o), (31):
 - a, b. Ring-shaped, grey opaque glass, with clear blue marvered interlacing trails.
 - c, d. Barrel-shaped, grey opaque glass, with clear blue marvered interlacing trails and red opaque spots.
 - e, f, g. Ring-shaped, grey opaque glass, with clear blue marvered interlacing trails and red opaque spots.
 - h. Ring-shaped, red opaque glass, with grey opaque marvered interlacing trails and grey opaque spots.
 - i. Ring-shaped, red opaque glass, with grey opaque marvered interlacing trails and 'eye' design in clear blue on grey opaque glass.
 - j. Ring-shaped, red opaque glass, with grey opaque marvered interlacing trails and clear yellow glass spots.
 - k. Ring-shaped, red opaque glass, with grey opaque marvered interlacing trails.
 - l. Truncated bicone, red opaque glass, with yellow opaque marvered inlay.
 - m. Ring-shaped, red opaque glass, with grey opaque marvered speckle.
 - n, o. Truncated bicones, grey opaque glass, with red opaque spots.
2. Amber *bead* (Fig. 4, p), at waist. Cylindrical. (34)
3. Iron *knife* (Fig. 4, q), L. 9 cm. (33)
4. Four iron *keys*, with simple hooked ends and loops for suspension. Fragmentary. (32)
5. Iron object, possibly part of a second knife. (32)

Grave 4 E-W.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 6 ft. 6 in. Excavated by workmen, who were unable to establish orientation.

No grave goods.

Grave 5 S.; B. 3 ft.; L. 6 ft. 7 in. Excavated by workmen.

1. Iron *spearhead* (Fig. 6, a), L. 44 cm., socket broken. Straight-edged blade and split socket. (79)
2. Iron *buckle*. (Now missing)
3. Two iron *knives*. (Now missing)

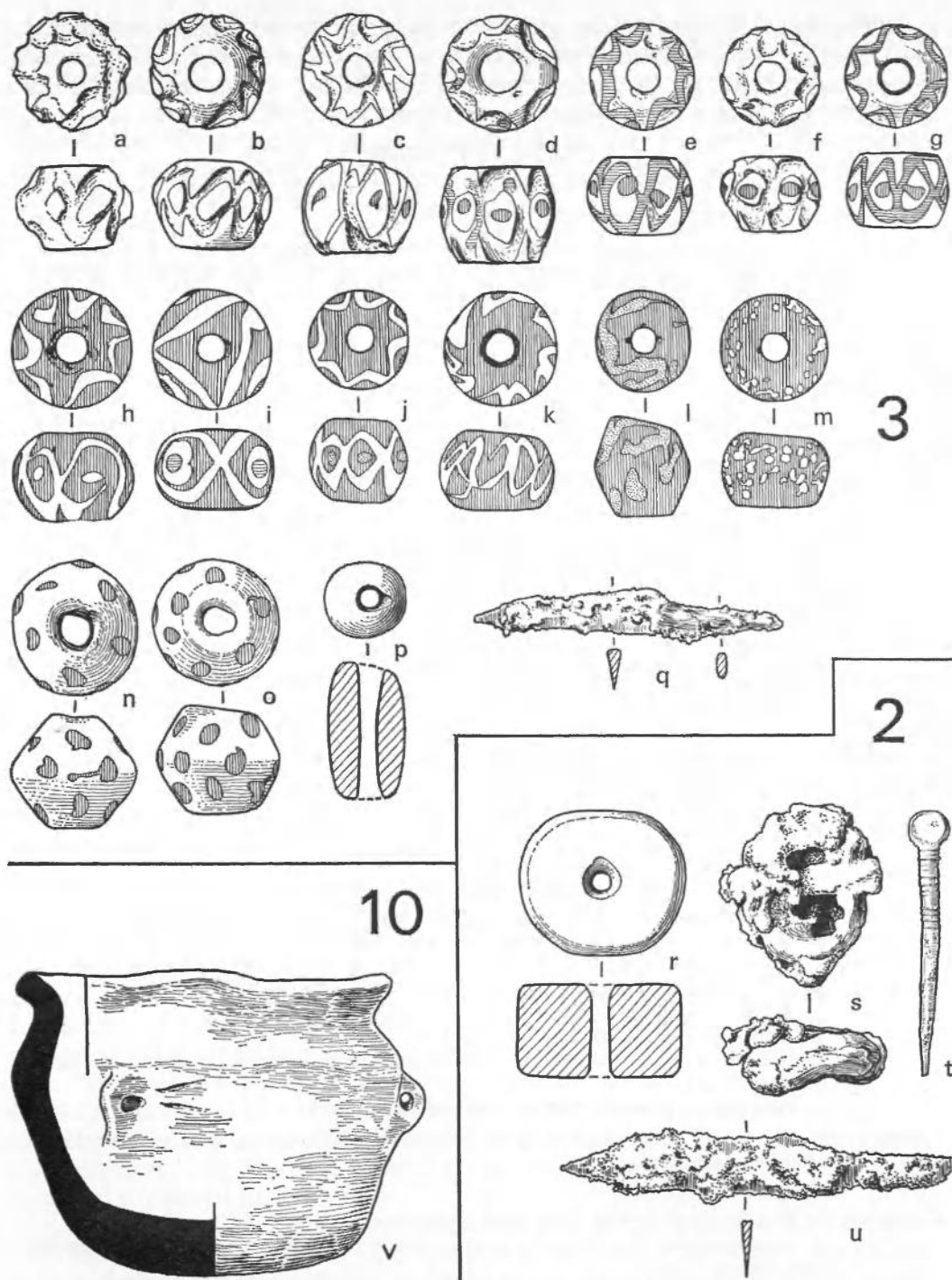


Fig. 4. Cemetery I: finds from graves 2, 3, 10. ($\frac{1}{4}$), except q, u, v ($\frac{1}{2}$)

- Grave 6 S.; measurements not recorded. Disturbed by workmen, contents sifted by Gurney.
1. 'Very small' iron *pin*. (Now missing)
- Grave 7 S.; measurements not recorded. Either this grave or Grave 5 encroached upon Grave 6, but Gurney's notes and plan contradict each other at this point. His opinion that the three graves lay under a single mound was apparently based only on their proximity to each other.
No grave goods.
- Grave 8 S.; B. 2 ft.; L. 5 ft. 6 in. Excavated by workmen, 'probably incompletely'.
1. 'Small grey' *bead*. (Now missing)
- Grave 9 S.; B. 2 ft. 8 in.; L. 6 ft.
1. Bronze *ferrule*, D. 0.6 cm.; diam. 1 cm. Ribbed exterior, soldered joint. Pierced by a single bronze rivet. (62) A small scrap of leather bearing the impression of the ferrule was also recovered.
- Grave 10 S.E.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. Excavated by workmen, associations uncertain.
1. *Pot* (Fig. 4, v), H. 9 cm. Hand-made, of rough, greyish ware, with short hollow neck, everted rim and rather angular shoulder. Three pierced lugs, presumably for suspension, are set just below the shoulder.
2. Iron *buckle*, 'with bronze pins on chape (detached)'. This is probably the buckle elsewhere ascribed to Grave 11. There is some confusion about the finds from these two graves, and all except the pot are now missing.
3. Iron *knife*. (Now missing)
- Grave 11 S.; no measurements recorded. Excavated by workmen.
1. 'Two iron *buckles* . . . , one of them with a thin bronze guard over the iron for the pin to turn on, and two flat bronze studs in the now detached buckle plate.' (Both now missing)
2. Iron *knife*. (Now missing)
- Grave 12 N.W.-S.E.; no measurements recorded. Excavated by workmen, who were unable to establish orientation. Contents sifted by Gurney.
1. Glass *bead* at N.W. (? head) end of grave. 'Bright blue.' (Now missing)

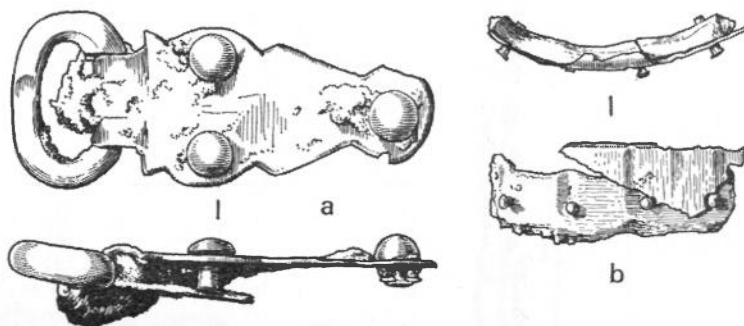


Fig. 5. Cemetery I: finds from grave 13 (†)

- Grave 13 E.S.E.; B. 2 ft. 8 in.; L. 6 ft. 2 in.
1. Bronze *buckle* (Fig. 5, a), B. 2.4 cm. Solid oval loop and triangular chape with three large, hemispherical rivets. (25) The buckle was found with part of its leather belt, and the 'tin' guard which protected the end of the belt. These have not survived.
2. Fragments of wood and bronze, probably the remains of a wooden *drinking cup* with bronze rim (Fig. 5, b). (26)
3. Two iron *knives*, lying one on either hip. (Now missing)

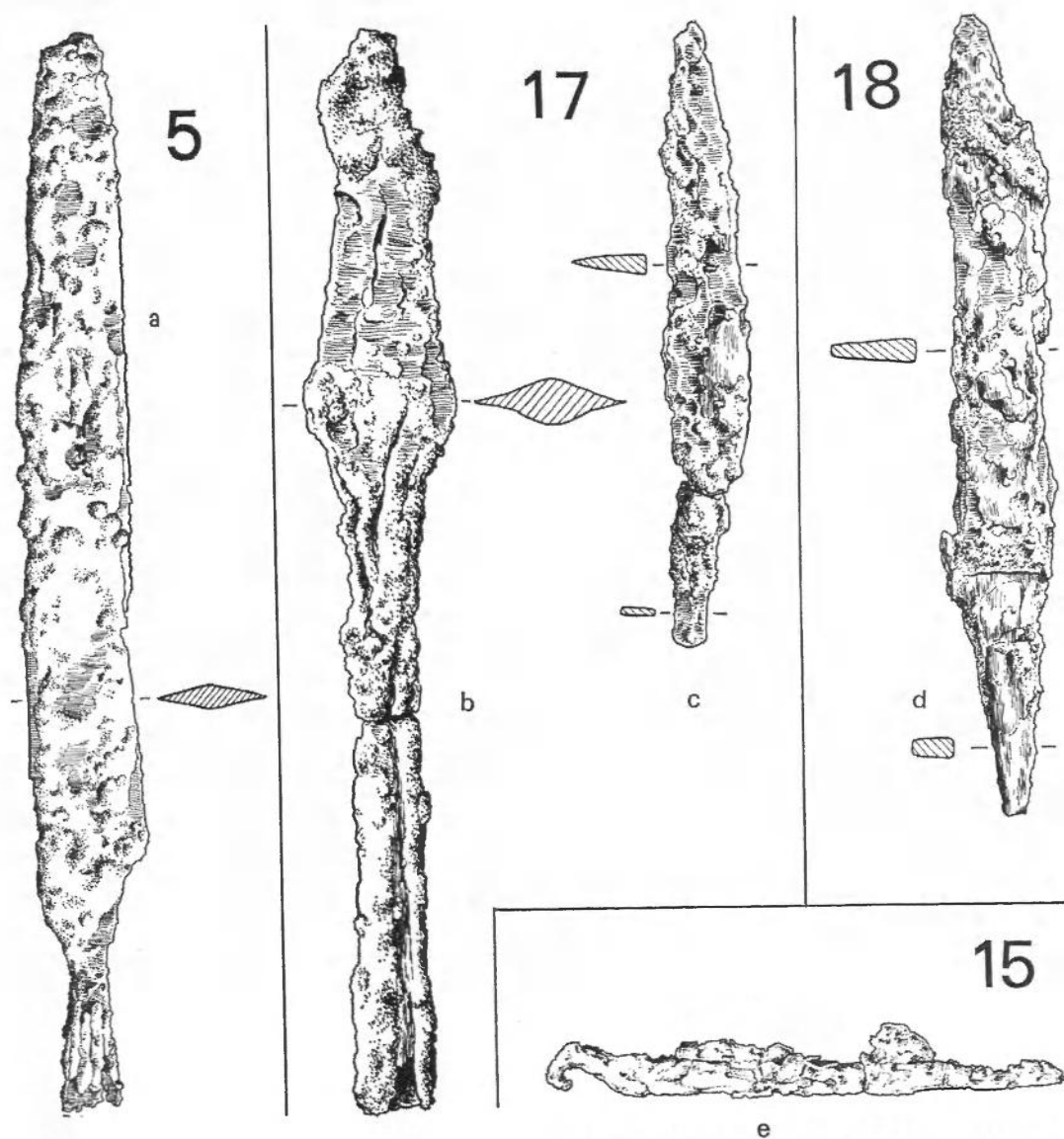


Fig. 6. Cemetery I: finds from graves 5 ($\frac{1}{2}$), 15, 17, 18 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

- Grave 14 S.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 6 ft. 2 in.; 'deep'.
No grave goods.
- Grave 15 ?W.; no measurements recorded. Disturbed by workmen before excavation by Gurney.
1. Iron *key* (Fig. 6, e), L. 14.2 cm., on left hip. (87)
 2. Iron *knife*, on left hip. Fragmentary. (88)
 3. Iron fragment, probably part of a second key. (89)
- Grave 16 Orientation indeterminable; no measurements recorded. Excavated by workmen.
1. Iron *knife*, with traces of wooden sheath. (Now missing)
- Grave 17 S.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 6 ft. 2 in. The grave was probably surrounded by a circular ditch, a short section of which appeared in the bank just to the S. Any positive evidence for this, however, was removed in the topping process.
1. Iron *spearhead* (Fig. 6, b), L. 29.1 cm., to left of skull. Angular blade, split socket. (73)
 2. Iron *knife* (Fig. 6, c), L. 17 cm. (163)
 3. Iron *knife*, fragmentary. (75)
- Grave 18 Orientation and measurements not recorded. Disturbed by workmen, contents sifted by Gurney.
1. Iron *knife* (Fig. 6, d), L. 22 cm. The sheath is preserved and appears to have two circular iron studs on the upper side. (76)
- Grave 19 Orientation and measurements not recorded. Excavated by workmen and not recorded on plan.
1. 'Perfect *pot*' rejected by workmen, and not seen by Gurney.

Three further burials were excavated by the workmen. All were cremation burials without urns, and none contained any grave goods. Only one of them was excavated thoroughly, but the bones in this were undoubtedly human, and there seems little doubt that the other two were also human cremation burials. The date of the cemetery and the absence of any form of cinerary urn weigh strongly against the likelihood of these burials being Anglo-Saxon. Possibly, like the cremation burial in Cemetery II, they belonged to the Bronze Age.

CEMETERY II

- Grave 1 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft.
No grave goods.
- Grave 2 S.; measurements indeterminable. Disturbed by workmen, contents sifted by Gurney. A circular ditch, diam. c. 14 ft., surrounded the grave, but no trace of a burial mound was visible from the surface, and this was apparently the primary burial.
1. Iron *shield boss* (Fig. 7, a), H. 17.3 cm.; diam. 13 cm. Conical, with slightly convex sides, slight carination and a small sloping rim. (35) The knob (now missing) was tall and flattened into a disc at the top. The grip (also missing) was 'slightly curved, with rounded ends' (L. 14.8 cm.; B. 1.8 cm.), and fastened with two iron rivets.
 2. Iron *knife* (Fig. 7, b), L. 9.9 cm. Traces of sheath intact. (83)
- Grave 3 N.E.; measurements not recorded.
1. Iron *buckle*, at waist. (Now missing)
 2. Two iron *knives*, on left hip. (Now missing)
- Grave 4 S.W.; measurements not recorded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 5 S.W.; measurements not recorded.
1. Two iron *knives*. (Now missing)
 2. Iron *nail*, probably not Anglo-Saxon. (84)

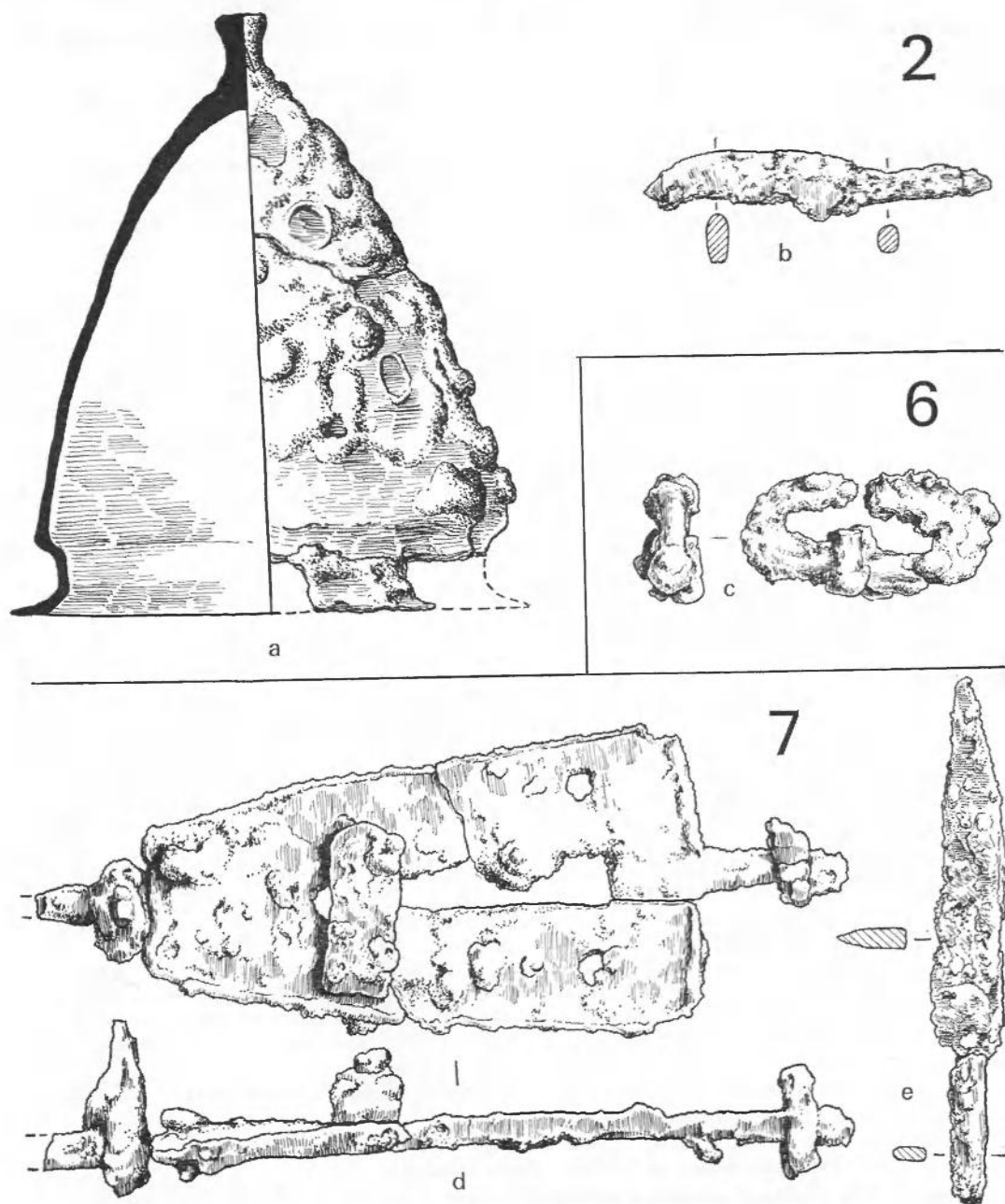


Fig. 7. Cemetery II: finds from graves 2, 6, 7. ($\frac{1}{2}$), except c, d ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- Grave 6 S.W.; measurements not recorded.
1. Iron *buckle* (Fig. 7, c), B. 3.6 cm. Oval loop, iron chape now missing.
 2. Fragments of two iron *knives*. (122)
- Grave 7 S.W.; measurements not recorded. Skeleton completely cut away below the hips by mechanical excavators.
1. Iron *lock* (Fig. 7, d), L. 11.6 cm., 'on or under' left hip. Flat, triangular, cut away at the centre and surrounded by a small flange. An iron bar, fitted with a ringed staple protrudes from either end. Although it is not entirely clear how locks of this type were operated, they are almost invariably associated with small wooden chests and there seems little question of their actual function. (38)
 2. Iron *knife* (Fig. 7, e), L. 15.1 cm. (40)
- Grave 8 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 4 in.; L. 5 ft. 6 in.; D. 3 ft. 9 in.
- 1-2. Necklace of *rings* and *beads* (Fig. 8, a-c). The rings were graduated in size, and arranged with the larger rings in the centre of the necklace and the smallest at either end. Surviving fragments of thread showed that the rings have been tied together, and that the beads were strung across them. (21)
 1. Fragments of at least eleven rings were recovered, of four varieties:
 - (i) two strands of ribbon wire, twisted together to form a spiral, probably fastened with a 'sliding' knot;
 - (ii) single strand, ornamented with incised lines, the ends twisted round each other to form a 'sliding' knot;
 - (iii) single strand, undecorated, soldered joint;
 - (iv) single strand, undecorated, 'sliding' knot.
 2. Only two beads were recovered:
 - (i) ring-shaped, opaque red glass (Fig. 8, b);
 - (ii) ring-shaped, clear olive-green glass with zig-zag trail of opaque yellow glass (Fig. 8, c).
 3. *Pot* (Fig. 8, g), present H. 18.2 cm., at feet. Hand-made, of soft, grey, gritty ware. The pot was broken when deposited, and only fragments were recovered, but it must have been similar in form to the pot in Grave 18, with globular base and conical neck. The single surviving fragment of the neck is decorated with a panel of lightly incised fishbone ornament. (95)
 4. Three small iron *buckles* (Fig. 8, d-f). Heavily corroded oval loops, chapes missing. (98)
 5. Iron *knife*, fragmentary. (22)
- Grave 9 S.; no measurements recorded.
- 1-2. Necklace of silver *rings* and *beads* (Fig. 9, a), arranged in the same manner as those in Grave 8, with the rings tied together and the beads strung across them. (12)
 1. Nine rings were recovered, and the remaining eight are all of the same type: single strand of silver wire, undecorated, with the ends turned round each other to form a 'sliding' knot.
 2. The beads are barrel-shaped, of coiled silver wire. Only four were recovered, but traces of a further five were noticed at the time of excavation.
 3. Second necklace of seven glass *beads* (Fig. 9, b-h). (12)
 - b. Ring-shaped, clear blue glass with marvered white opaque interlacing trails.
 - c. Truncated bicone, yellow opaque glass.
 - d. Truncated bicone, clear turquoise glass.
 - e, f, g. Ring-shaped, green opaque glass.
 - h. Ring-shaped, fluted, clear turquoise glass.
 4. Iron *ring* (Fig. 9, i) in oxidized mass with three iron links. (13)
 5. Black *pot*, broken when deposited. (Now missing)

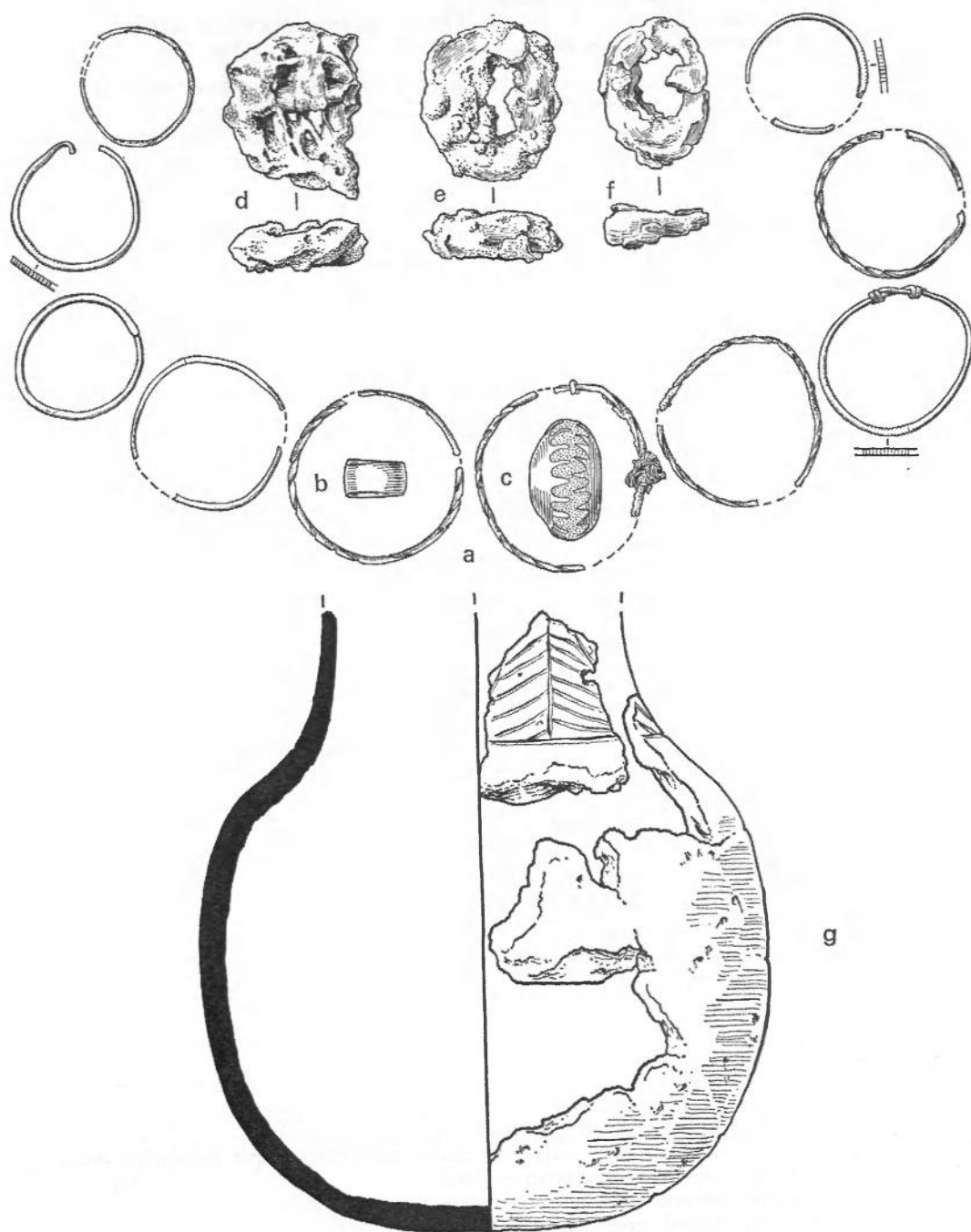


Fig. 8. Cemetery II: finds from grave 8. a-f ($\frac{1}{4}$), g ($\frac{1}{2}$)

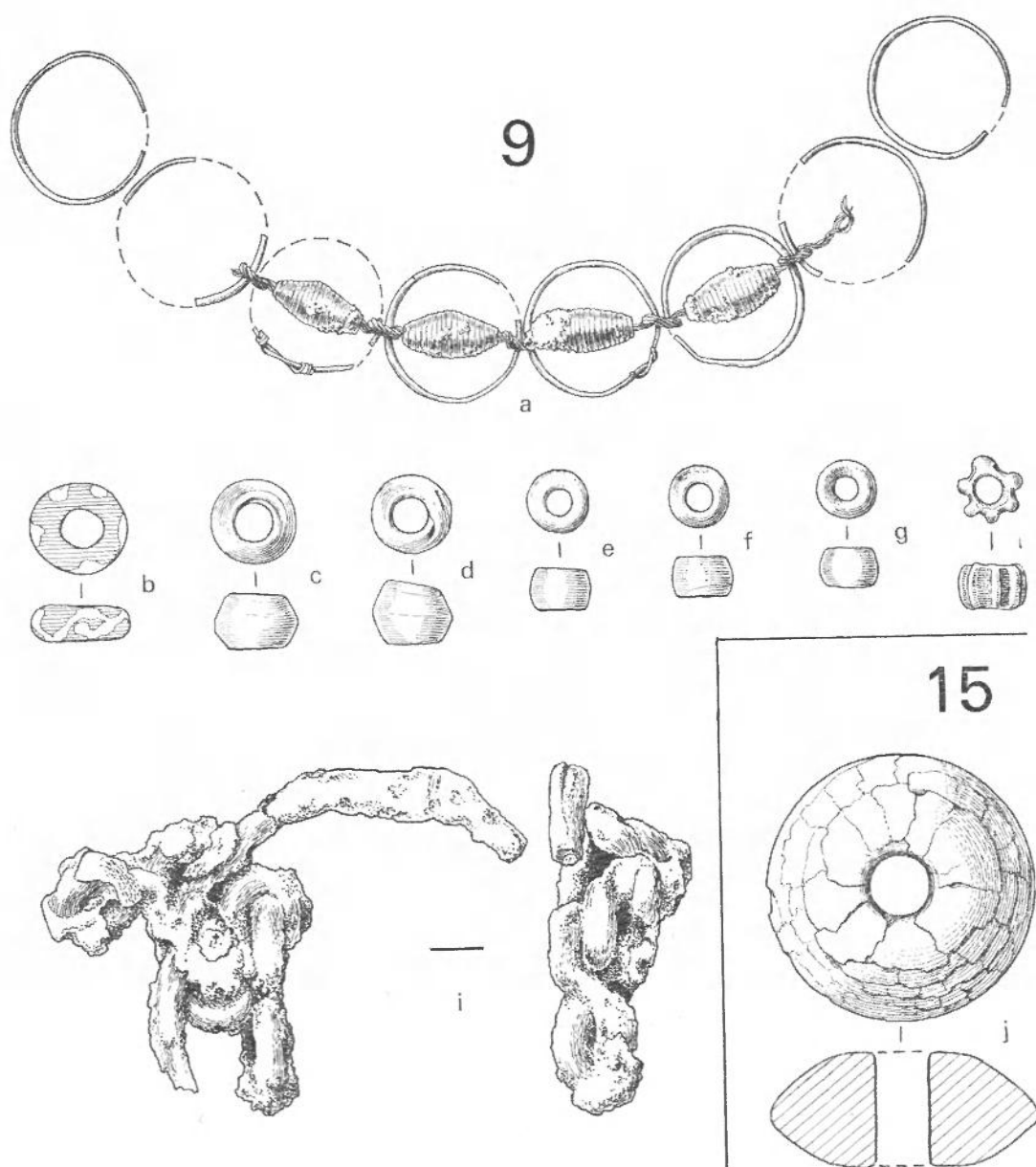


Fig. 9. Cemetery II: finds from graves 9 and 15. (1)

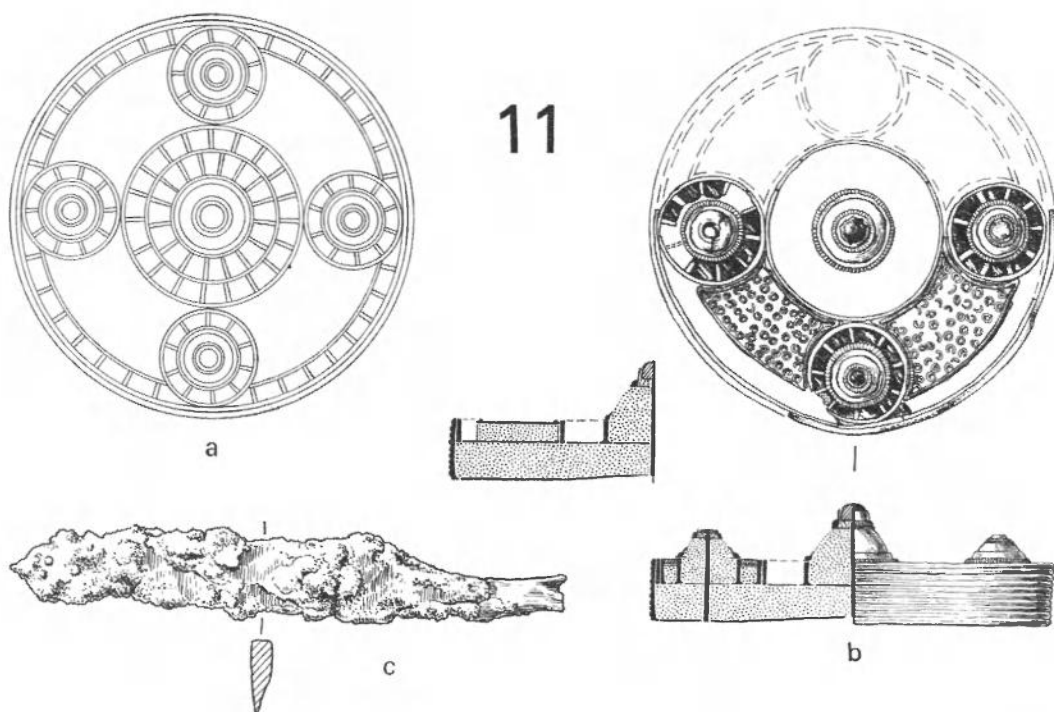


Fig. 10. Cemetery II: finds from grave 11. a, b ($\frac{1}{4}$). c ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Grave 10 S.W.; no measurements recorded.

No grave goods.¹

Grave 11 S.W.; no measurements recorded. Disturbed by workmen, contents sifted by Gurney.

1. Fragments of a *composite disc brooch* (Fig. 10, b), original diam. 5.4 cm. Type Sarre 1, with large central boss surrounded by a circular arrangement of four smaller bosses, spaced by gold filigree plates. The bosses are all of white paste, with a central cabochon garnet. Both paste and garnets are mounted in gold and encircled with a ring of beaded gold wire. The three surviving outer bosses are each surrounded by a ring of flat, sub-rectangular garnets, set in bronze cloisons. A similar ring probably ran round the outer edge of the brooch, but only one garnet from this was recovered. Nothing remained of the cloisonné surround of the central boss, and the reconstruction suggested here (Fig. 10, a) has been completed with the fragmentary central setting of a similar brooch found at Winnal, Hants, Grave 5.² The Winnal fragment, which fits our brooch exactly, had been remounted as a pendant. Two gold plates, ornamented with a crude filigree pattern of circles and imitation S-shaped scrolls, have survived.

The fragmented condition of our brooch gives a clear picture of how such a brooch was constructed. The gold filigree plates were raised to the thickness of the

¹ Fragments of a composite disc brooch were assigned by Gurney to this grave, but they are fragments of the brooch in Grave 11. Both graves had been considerably disturbed by the workmen before Gurney saw them, and nearly all the fragments were recovered from the spoil heap. Further finds, from either grave, may well have been overlooked.

² Forthcoming in *Proc. Hants. F. C.* (1964).

neighbouring cloisonné settings with thin plates of white paste. The whole brooch was then backed with a much thicker plate of white paste, on to which the bosses were fixed, each with a single bronze rivet. Each cloisonné unit was bound with bronze, and a broad band of ribbed bronze bound the outer edge of the whole brooch. Traces of bronze remain to suggest that this was the metal used for the final backing plate, but neither this nor the pin of the brooch were recovered.

2. Iron *knife* (Fig. 10, c), L. 14.9 cm., handle broken. (109)

3. Fragmentary iron *knife*. (82)

Grave 12 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 4 in.

1. 'A small silver *chain* lay near the head, with what appeared to be fragments of leather.' (Now missing)

2. ? loop of iron *wire* by the wrist. Not recovered.

Grave 13 S.W.; no measurements recorded. Excavated by workmen.

1. A complete *composite disc brooch* of the type found in Grave 11 was apparently excavated by the workmen and thrown away by them before Gurney had a chance to see it. It was attributed by them to this grave.

Grave 14 N.E.; B. 1 ft. 8 in.; L. 4 ft. 7 in.

No grave goods.

Grave 15 Orientation and measurements not recorded. Destroyed by workmen.

1. Shale *spindle whorl* (Fig. 9, j), diam. 3.7 cm. Circular with oval section. (52)

Grave 16 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

No grave goods.

Grave 17 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

No grave goods.

Grave 18 S.W.; measurements not recorded. Destroyed by workmen.

1. *Pot* (Fig. 11, a), H. 18.1 cm. Hand-made, of smooth grey ware fired unevenly round the base to a light red colour. Globular base and conical neck with comb-point decoration of horizontal lines and chevrons. (3)

Grave 19 S.W.; measurements not recorded. Destroyed by workmen.

1. *Pot* (Fig. 11, b), H. 8.3 cm. Hand-made, of smooth buff ware. Globular base, conical neck and everted rim. Undecorated.

Grave 20 S.W.; measurements not recorded. Excavated by workmen.

1. 'Silver *ring* with blue glass *bead* (?) attached.' (Now missing)

Grave 21 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

No grave goods.

Grave 22 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

No grave goods.

Grave 23 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

1. Iron *knife*. (Now missing)

Grave 24 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

No grave goods.

Grave 25 S.W.; measurements not recorded. The grave had been cut into Iron Age Pit 'A'. No grave goods.

Grave 26 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 10 in.; L. 6 ft. 4 in.

1. Iron *knife*, L. 17.1 cm., on left hip. (77)

Grave 27 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 2 in.; L. 6 ft.

1. Iron *knife* (Fig. 14, g), present L. 19 cm., on left hip. Broken at tip. (86)

Grave 28 S.W.; measurements not recorded.

1. Fragmentary iron *knife*. (180)

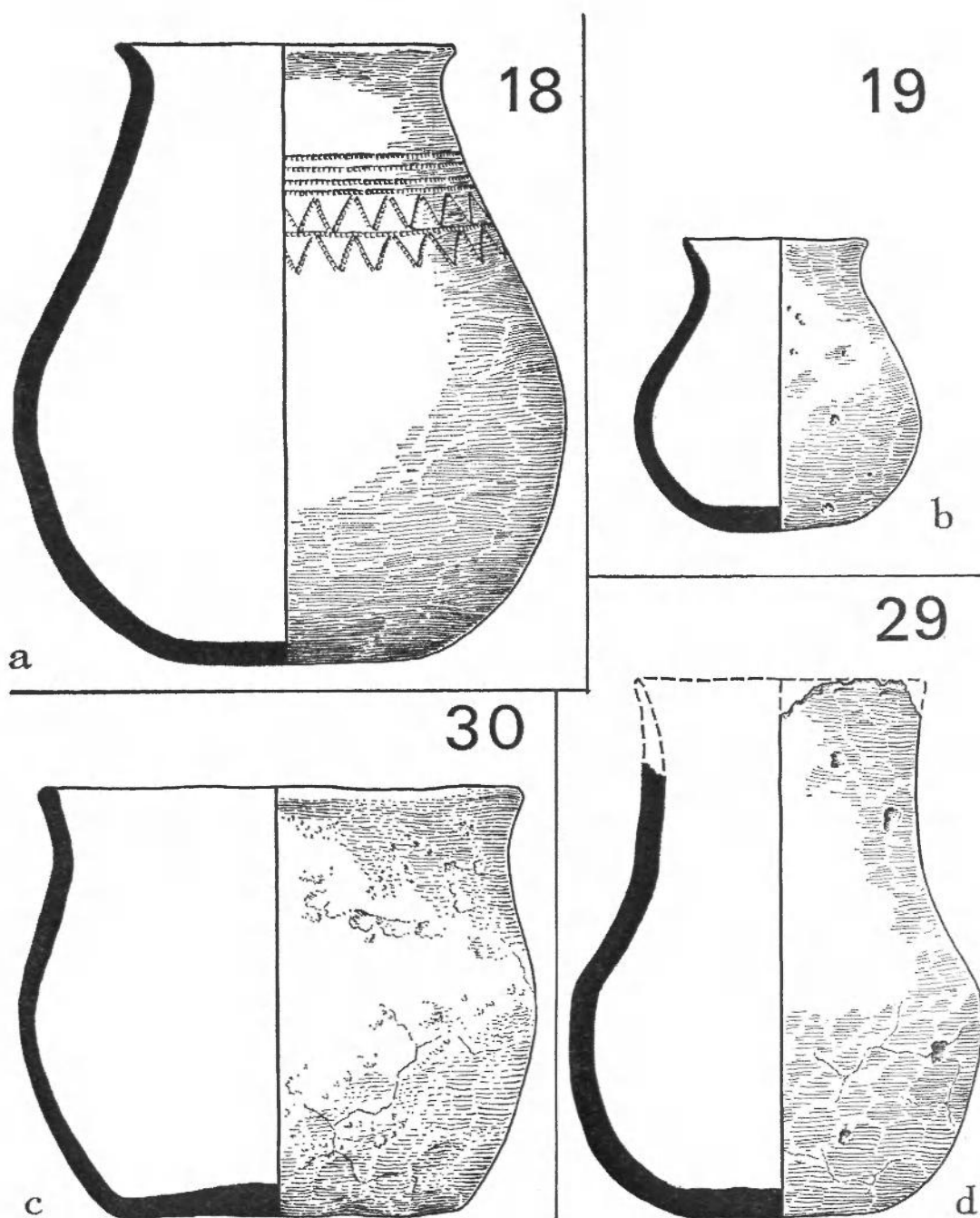


Fig. 11. Cemetery II: pottery from graves 18, 19, 29, 30. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

- Grave 29 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 9 in; L. 3 ft. 6 in; D. 3 ft. 8 in. Child's grave. The body had been laid in a crouched position on its right side. 'It appeared to have been wrapped in a sackcloth covering.'
1. *Pot* (Fig. 11, d), H. 15.9 cm. Hand-made, of hard dark grey ware. Globular base, rather angular shoulder and tall cylindrical neck. Undecorated. (1)
- Grave 30 S.W.; measurements not recorded. Only partly excavated before destruction.
1. *Pot* (Fig. 11, c), H. 12.7 cm. Hand-made, of soft brown ware, with flat base, slightly curved sides, wide mouth and everted rim. Undecorated. (168)
- Grave 31 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 4 in. at head, 1 ft. 10 in. at feet; L. 7 ft. 'Clearly male.'
1. Iron *buckle*. (Now missing)
 2. Iron *knife* (Fig. 12, o), L. 19 cm. (78)
- Grave 32 S.W.; B. 3 ft. at head end, 2 ft. 7 in. at feet; L. 6 ft. Child's grave. 'A soft black substance surrounded the body at all sides, coming together at the head and feet.' Possibly a shroud. Textile fragments were recovered from the upper side of the brooch in this grave.
1. *Quoit brooch* (Fig. 12, a), diam. 4.6 cm. Silver sheet, stamped all over with concentric rings of circles and crosses within shields. The brooch was exceptionally well-preserved, and showed no signs of heavy wear, but the pin had been broken, reset, and apparently broken a second time. There was no trace of it in the grave, and the brooch was presumably sewn on to the dress. (7)
 - 2-3. Necklace of *rings* and *beads* (Fig. 12, b-h). A collection of oddments probably never strung together as a whole. Only one ring had a bead strung across it, two rings had had beads threaded on to them. The remaining beads had no visible means of attachment and may well have been sewn on to the dress. (11)
 2. Only two rings were recovered, though traces of others were noted at the time of excavation. Both seem to have been single strands of silver wire, decorated with incised lines, and fastened with a 'sliding' knot. Both are now missing.
 3. Seven beads or parts of beads were recovered (Fig. 12, b-h):
 - a. Ring-shaped, clear pale green glass, broken and mounted in silver.
 - b. Hemispherical piece of clear light green glass, mounted on silver. Possibly the remains of a pendant.
 - c. Silver bulla pendant bead.
 - d. Ring-shaped, opaque white glass.
 - e. Ring-shaped, amber. Had been broken and worn in fragmentary condition.
 - f. Ring-shaped, opaque white glass with encircling spiral trail of clear turquoise glass. Also worn in fragmentary condition.
 - g. Truncated bicone, with mosaic chequer of clear blue glass with flower pattern in clear grey and opaque red glass; clear light blue glass with marvered eye design in opaque red on opaque grey glass.
 4. Amber *bead* (Fig. 12, i), by left shoulder. Globular, broken.
 5. Iron *key* (Fig. 12, j), present L. 13.1 cm., shaft broken. F-shaped. (41)
 6. Shale *spindle whorl* (Fig. 12, k), diam. 2.9 cm. Lathe-turned, hemispherical section. (8)
 7. Fragmentary shale *spindle whorl* (Fig. 12, l), diam. c. 3.2 cm. Very worn, rough lozenge-shaped section. (10)
 8. Shale *spindle whorl* (Fig. 12, m), diam. 3.3 cm. Very worn, lozenge-shaped section. (9)
 9. Small pottery *cup* (Fig. 12, n), H. 4 cm., by left foot. Very roughly shaped, of hard, light red ware. (42)
 10. Five *rivets*, three at left elbow, two at feet. (44)
- Grave 33 S.W.; no measurements recorded.
No grave goods.

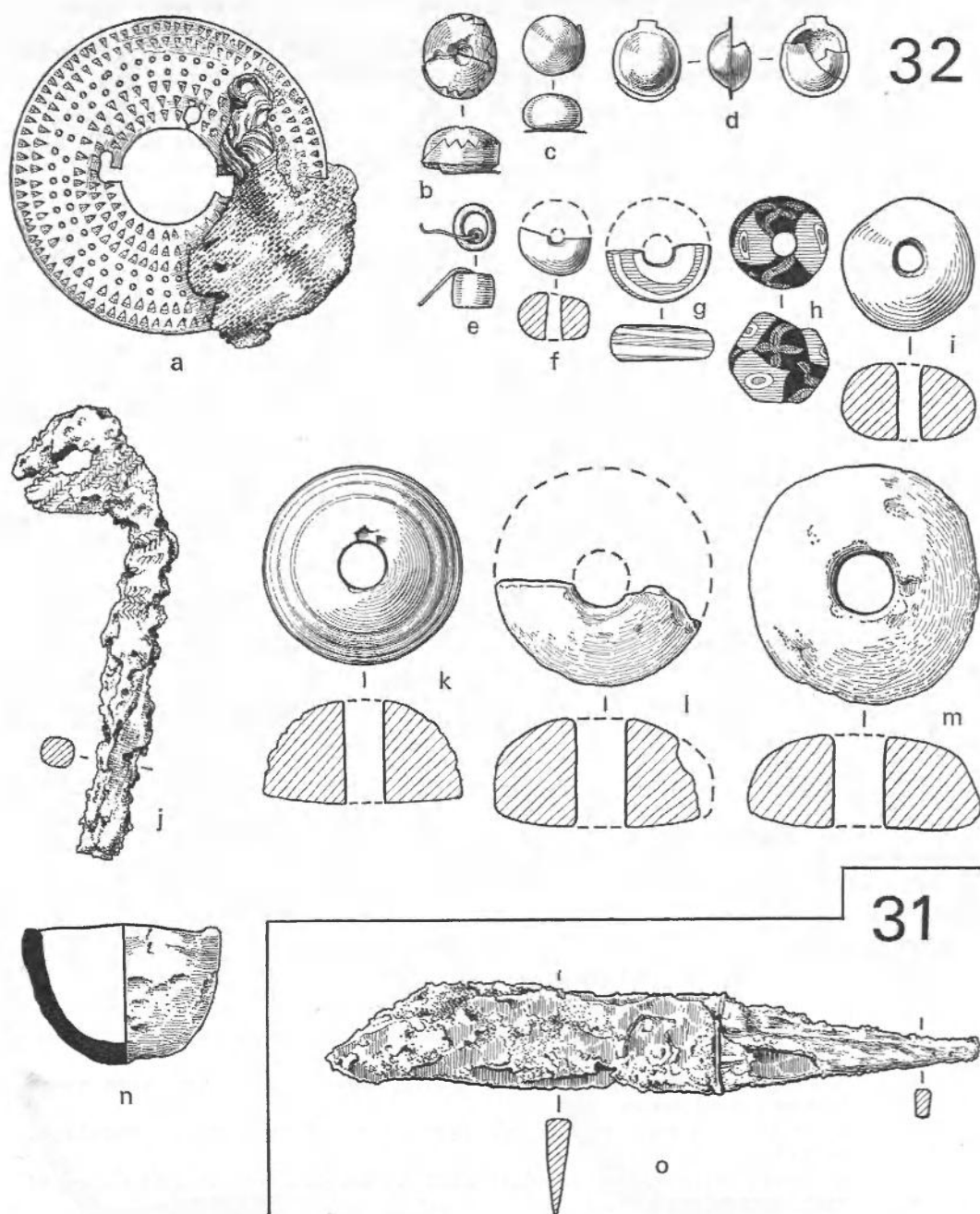


Fig. 12. Finds from graves 31 and 32. ($\frac{1}{4}$), except j, n, o ($\frac{1}{2}$)

- Grave 34 S.W.; no measurements recorded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 35 S.W.; no measurements recorded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 36 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 3 in.; L. 5 ft. 9 in. 'Child's grave.'
No grave goods.
- Grave 37 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 10 in.; L. 5 ft. 4 in. 'Child's grave . . . The body had been wrapped for burial in a shroud of coarse cloth which was open at the head, but tied at the feet.'
No grave goods.
- Grave 38 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 3 in.; L. 6 ft. 'Male'.
1. 'Very small' iron *knife*. (Now missing)
- Grave 39 S.W.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 6 ft.; D. 3 ft. 9 in. The excavation notes for this grave are very incomplete, but it appears that the skeleton was covered with at least three different layers of textile, one of which may have been a shroud.
1. Pair of *linked pins* (Fig. 13, a), L. 8.6 cm. Silver, with plain shafts, flattened circular heads, ornamented on either side with a flat garnet set in beaded silver wire. The silver chain linking the pins was of doubled oval loops and lay just below the chin. The pins fastened two layers of fine fabric, and were covered by a third, coarser layer, either a shroud or cloak. One pin is now missing. (16)
2. Circular *pendant* (Fig. 13, b), diam. 3 cm. Thin silver sheet, ornamented with a central repousse boss and two concentric circles of stamped rings. The loop is soldered on, and ornamented with vertical ribbing. (19)
3-4. Necklace of *rings* and *beads* (Fig. 13, c-h). The rings were tied together, and the beads were strung across the three central rings. As in all the necklaces, a single, continuous thread had been used. The necklace lay between the two layers of fabric fastened by the pins. (18)
3. Seven of the ten rings recovered have survived (Fig. 13, h). All are of the same type and size, and formed of a single strand of silver wire, ornamented with incised lines. The ends have been twisted round each other to form a flat bezel, and have then been given several turns round the ring beside the bezel.
4. Five beads (Fig. 13, c-g):
c, g. Truncated bicones, clear turquoise glass.
d. Ring-shaped, green opaque glass.
e. Ring-shaped, fluted, clear turquoise glass.
f. Ring-shaped, red opaque glass.
5. Iron fittings of a *bucket* (Fig. 14, a), to right of head. Fragments of one hoop, B. 1.2 cm.; diam. 15.1 cm., were recovered, and a handle composed of two strands of iron wire, twisted together and flattened into a band at the centre. The ends of the handle were attached to staples, and riveted through the hoop on to the bucket. Two further staples were recovered.¹
6. Iron *object* with bronze *buckle*? attached (Fig. 14, c, d), to right of head. Both of these are heavily corroded, and, though the iron object is not identifiable, it and the buckle are probably separate articles. Of the iron object all that remains are two linked rods, broken at both ends. The buckle has a plain oval loop, B. 2.1 cm., and rectangular chape. (37)
7. Amber *bead* (Fig. 14, b), to right of head. Globular, broken. (17)
- Grave 40 S.W.; B. 3 ft.; L. 6 ft. A small recess had been cut in the W. end of the grave for the head.
1. Melon *bead* (Fig. 14, e), to left of head. Clear, dark blue glass. (14)
2. Fragmentary iron *knife*. (35)

¹ The bucket was seen complete before being crushed by a fall of sand, and Gurney's sketch from memory shows vertical staves, bound at the top by a single hoop. No nails were recovered, and if Gurney's sketch is accurate the bucket must have been unfit for use when it was buried.

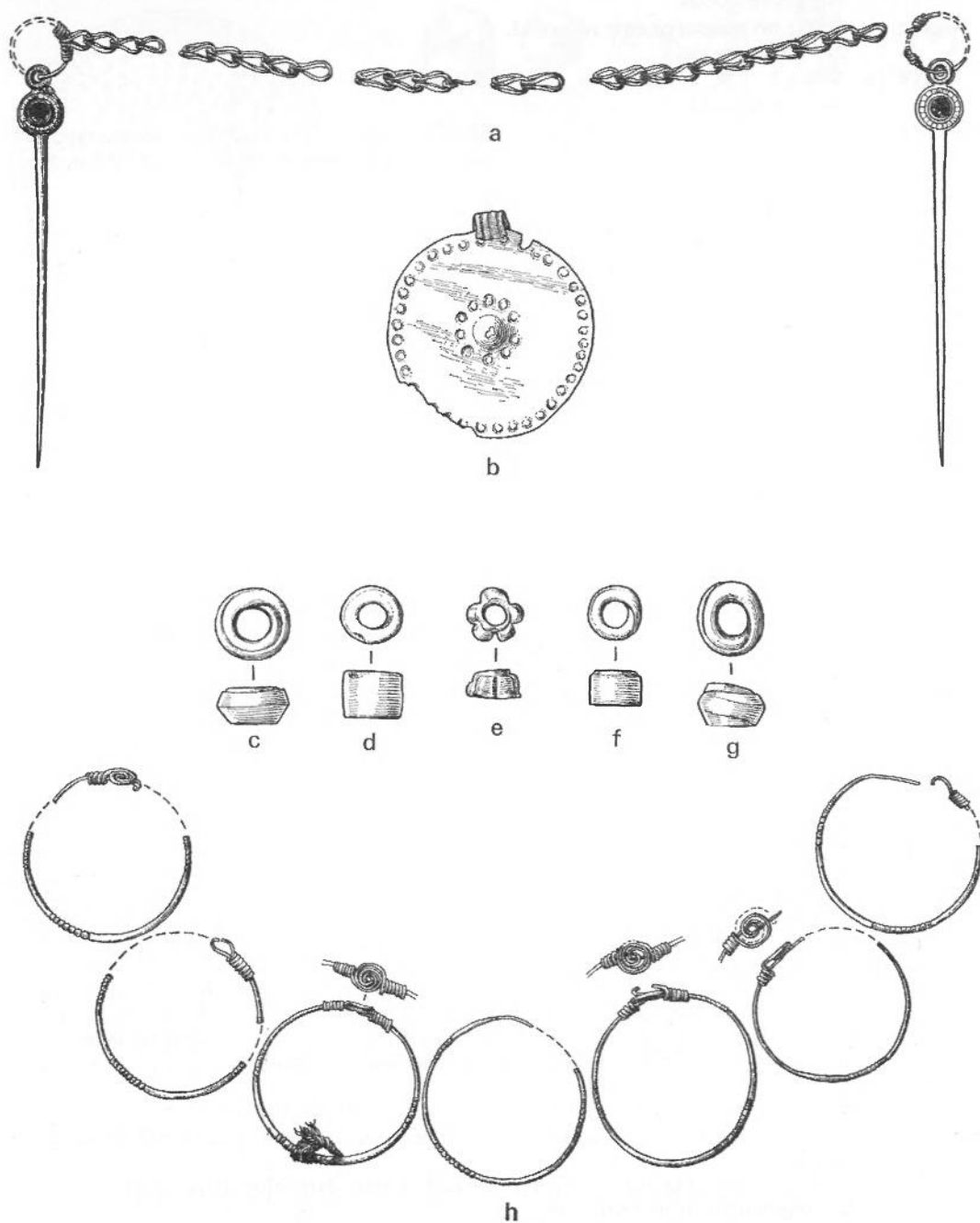


Fig. 13. Cemetery II: finds from grave 39. (†)

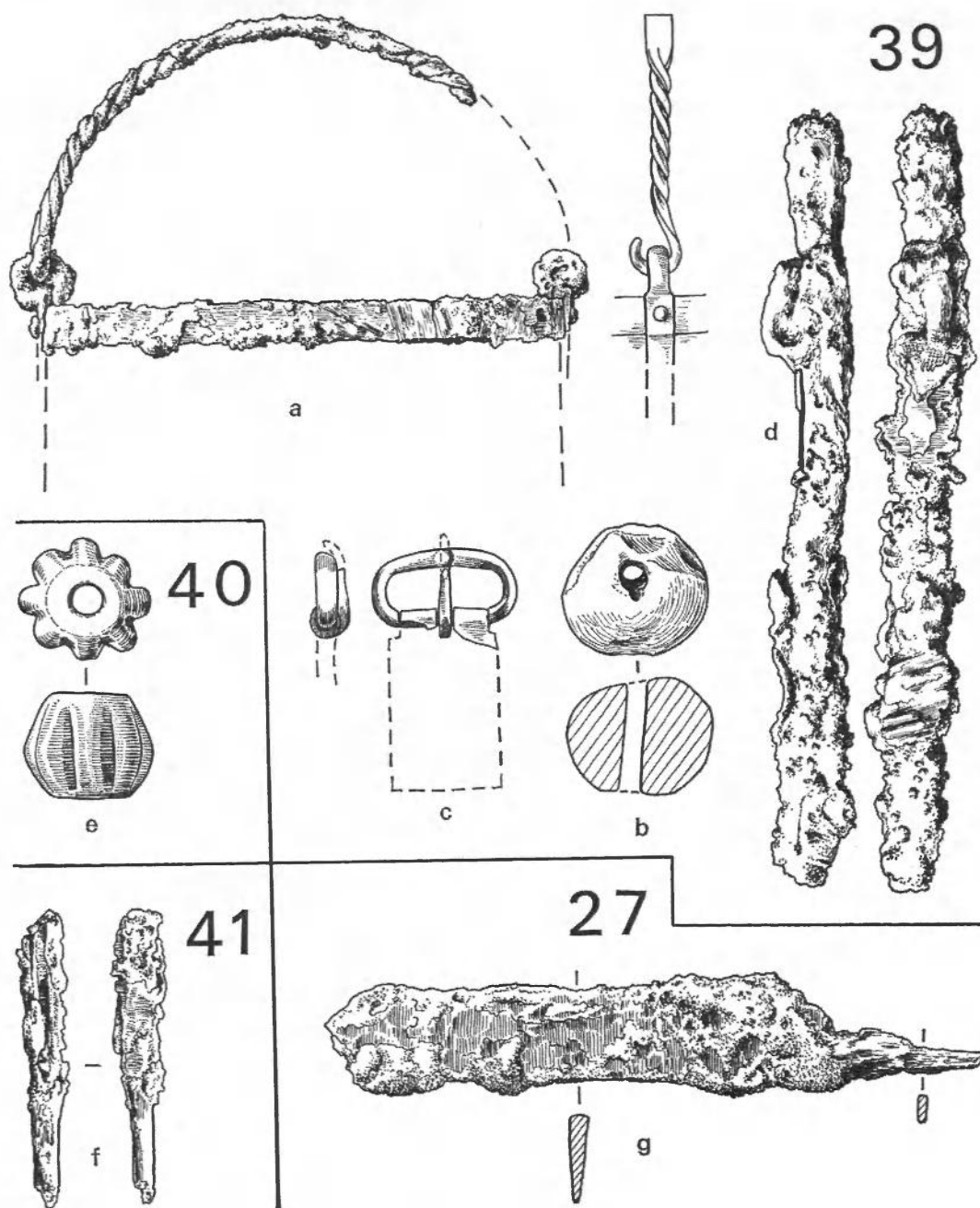


Fig. 14. Cemetery II: finds from graves 27, 39, 40 and 41. a, f, g ($\frac{1}{2}$), b-c ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- Grave 41 S.W.; measurements not recorded. 'Obviously male.'
1. Iron *knife* (Fig. 14, f), L. 8.6 cm. Wooden sheath preserved. (90)
- Grave 42 ?E.; B. 2 ft. 9 in; L. 6 ft. Both ends of the grave were rounded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 43 S.W.; B. and L. not recorded; D. 2 ft. 9 in.
1. 'Ribbed' *bead* to left of head. Presumably a melon bead. (Now missing)
2. Fragmentary *knife* on left hip. (71)
- Grave 44 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 2 in.; D. 2 ft. 9 in.
1. Iron *buckle*, B. 1.7 cm. Oval loop, and plain rectangular chape. (174)

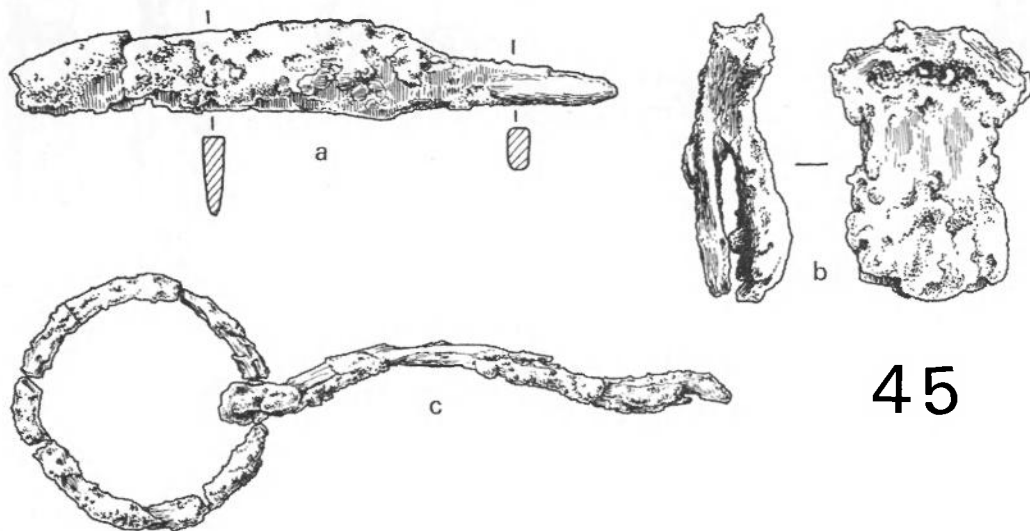


Fig. 15. Cemetery II: finds from grave 45. a, c ($\frac{1}{2}$), b ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- Grave 45 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 6 in. A circular trench, diam. c. 16 ft. 6 in., surrounded the grave, but no burial mound was visible from the surface, and this was apparently the primary burial.
1. Iron *snaffle bit* (Fig. 15, c), at feet. The mouthpiece is constructed in one piece. Only one ring, diam. c. 7 cm. was recovered. (45)
2. Iron *buckle* (Fig. 15, b), B. 2.6 cm., above head. Oval loop, and double rectangular chape with three rivets along the base. (46)
3. Iron *knife* (Fig. 15, a), L. c. 16.3 cm., above head. (47)
- Grave 46 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 5 ft. 6 in.
No grave goods.
- Grave 47 S.W.; no measurements recorded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 48 E.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft.; D. 2 ft.
No grave goods.
- Grave 49 W.; B. and L. not recorded; D. 2 ft. 4 in.
1. Fragmentary wire *ring*. (Now missing)
2. *Beads*. (Now missing)
- Grave 50 S.W.; measurements not recorded.
No grave goods.

- Grave 51 S.W.; measurements not recorded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 52 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 5 in.; L. 5 ft. 6 in.
1. Bronze *buckle* (Fig. 16, b), B. 2.7 cm., high on left femur. Oval loop, fragmentary iron chape. (147)
2. *Pot* (Fig. 16, a), H. 12.5 cm., but neck and rim are missing. Hand-made, of smooth, hard, buff ware; globular base. (148)
- Grave 53 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 6 in.; L. 3 ft. 2 in. Presumably a child's grave.
1. Fragmentary iron *knife*. (Now missing)
2. (?) *Buckle*. (Now missing)

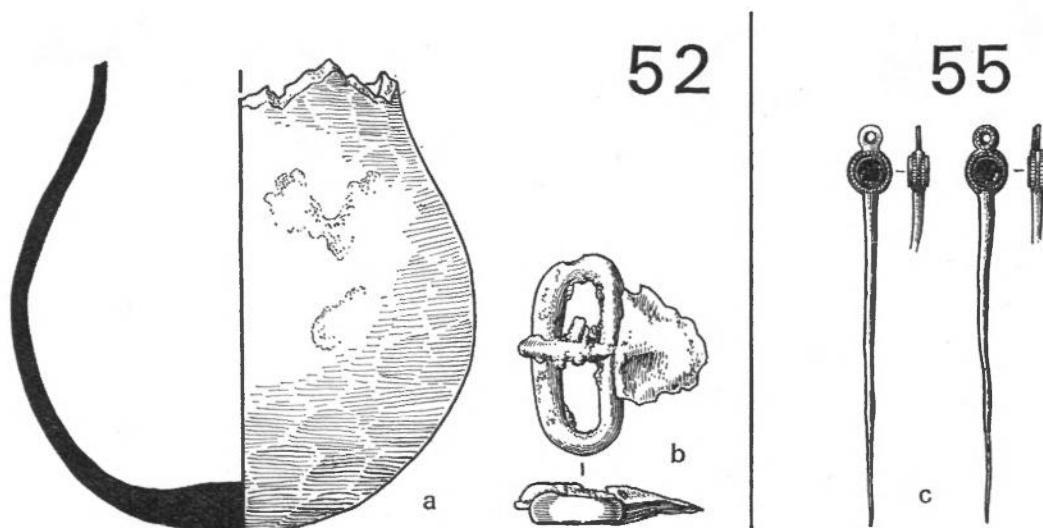


Fig. 16. Cemetery II: finds from graves 52 and 55. a ($\frac{1}{2}$), b, c ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- Grave 54 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 9 in.
1. Fragmentary iron *knife*. (74)
2. Fragmentary iron *spearhead*, L. c. 27.3 cm. Angular blade, split socket. (80/81)
3. (?) *Buckle*. (Now missing)
- Grave 55 S.W.; B. 2 ft. at each end, 2 ft. 5 in. at shoulders; L. 5 ft. 5 in.
1. Pair of silver *linked pins* (Fig. 16, c), L. 5.4 cm. Plain shaft, flattened circular heads ornamented on either side with flat garnet set in beaded silver wire. The chain linking them was very fragile and only fragments were recovered. (15)
- Grave 56 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 2 in.; L. 3 ft.; D. 3 ft.
No grave goods.
- Grave 57 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft.; D. 3 ft. 8 in.
1-3. Necklace of *rings*, *beads*, and a *pendant* (Fig. 17, a-h). The rings were graduated in size and arranged with the largest in the centre of the necklace. The beads were strung across them, and the pendant was tied on to the central ring. (23/24)
1. Six of the seven or eight rings recovered have survived. (Fig. 17, a). All are of the same type, with a single strand of silver wire, ornamented with incised lines, fastened with a 'sliding' knot.

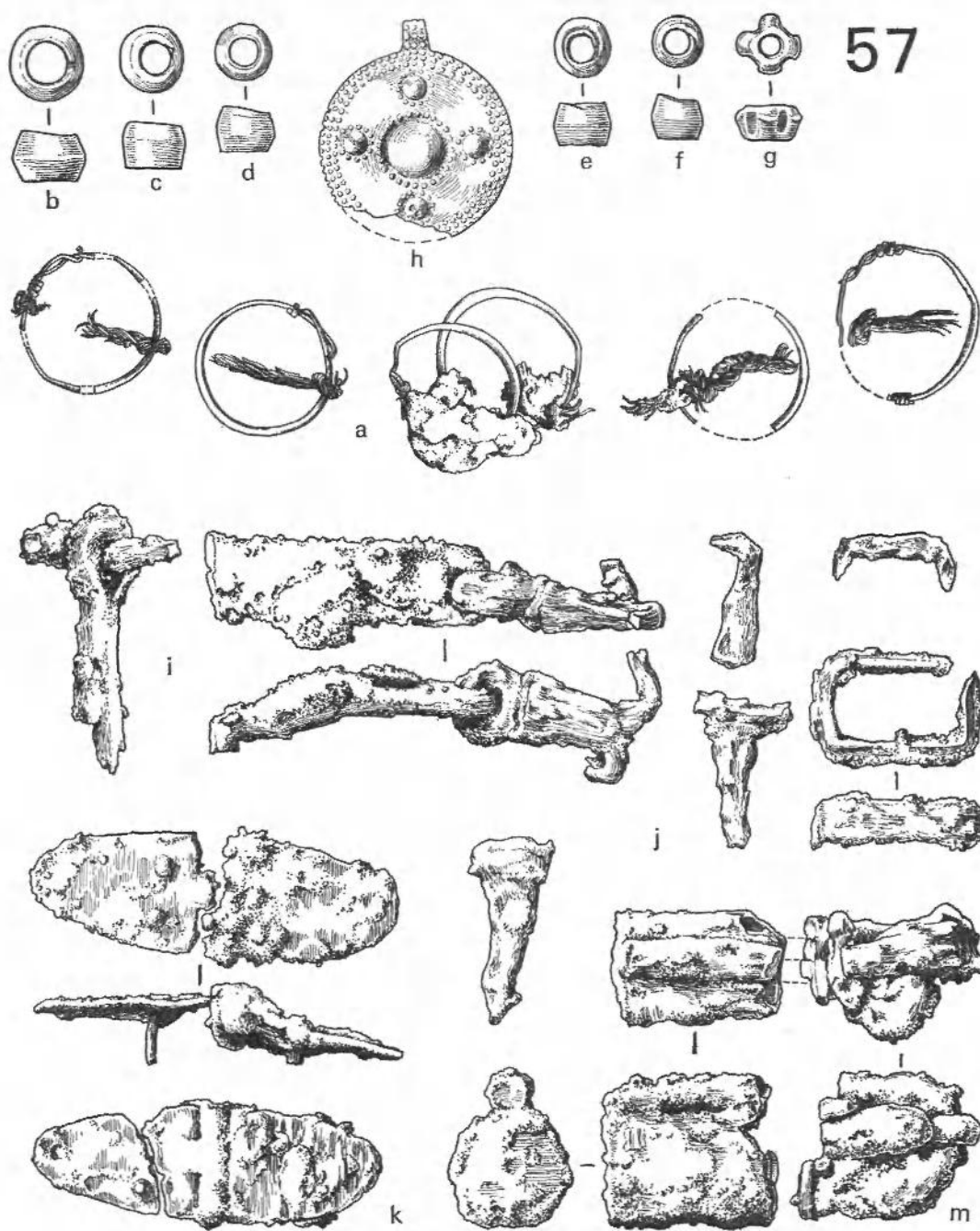


Fig. 17. Cemetery II: finds from grave 57. (†)

- Grave 57
(continued)
2. Six beads (Fig. 17, b-g):
 - b. Truncated bicone, green opaque glass.
 - c. Truncated bicone, turquoise opaque glass.
 - d, e, f. Truncated bicones, green opaque glass.
 - g. Ring-shaped, fluted, clear turquoise glass.
 3. Circular pendant (Fig. 17, h), diam. 2.8 cm. Thin silver sheet, with central repousse boss, and four smaller repousse bosses arranged round the outer edge. The outer bosses are each surrounded by a ring of repousse dots, and a triple row of repousse dots decorates the outer edge and loop of the pendant.
 4. The iron fittings of a small *chest* lay at the feet (Fig. 17, i-m) (162):
 - i. Handle formed of two strands of iron wire, which had been hammered into a flat band at the centre. Each end was looped through a ringed staple.
 - j. Various rivets and iron fragments.
 - k. Two pairs of interlocking, shield-shaped hinges.
 - m. Iron padlock, with barbed bolt.
 5. Belgic *pot* (Fig. 18, a), H. 14 cm. but the base is missing. Wheel-turned, of black burnished ware. (178) This is the only grave in which large portions of the same Iron Age vessel occur, and it is possible that the two pots had been dug up and re-used by the occupant of the grave during her lifetime.
 6. Belgic *dish* (Fig. 18, b), H. 4.2 cm., diam. 24 cm. Wheel-turned, of light red ware, with two pairs of holes pierced just below the rim. Broken when deposited. (177)

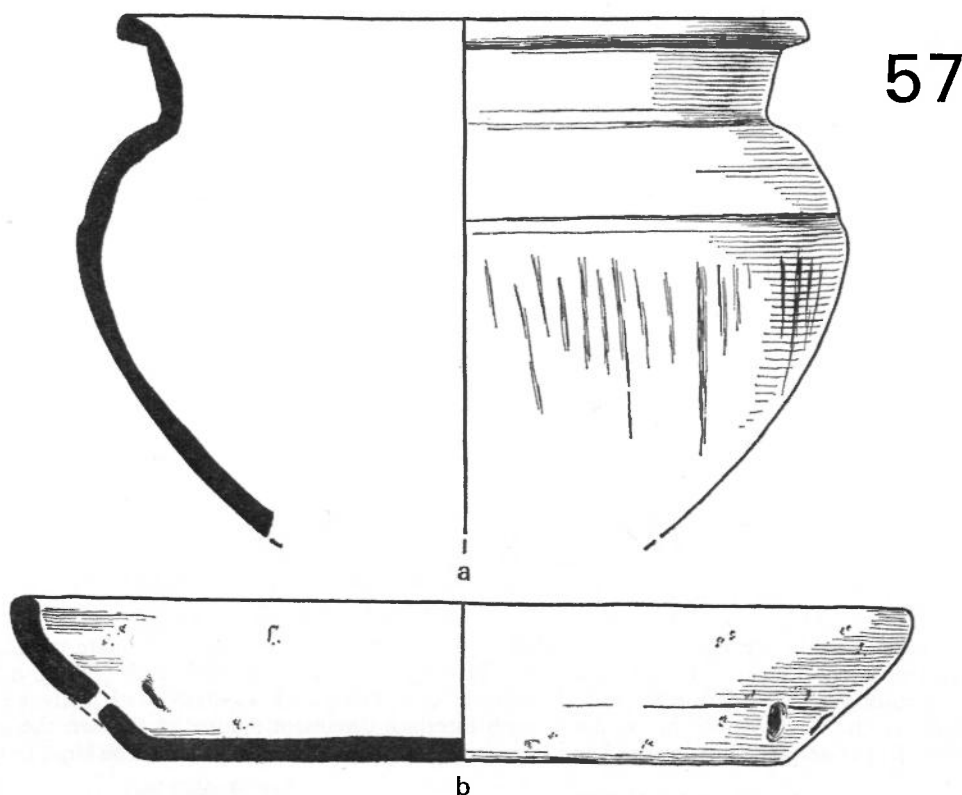


Fig. 18. Cemetery II: pottery from grave 57. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

- Grave 58 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. Disturbed by workmen.
No grave goods.
- Grave 59 S.W.; no measurements recorded.
No grave goods.
- Grave 60 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 10 in.; L. 6 ft. 10 in. The body had been laid on its side in a crouched position.
1. Iron *knife*, between the thigh bones. (Now missing)
- Grave 61 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 5 ft.
1. Iron *knife*. (Now missing)
2. Iron object 'of several blades with a single tang'. Probably a much corroded knife, with sheath. (Now missing)
- Grave 62 S.W.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 8 in.
No grave goods.
- Grave 63 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 8 in.; L. 4 ft. 10 in.
No grave goods.
- Grave 64 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 10 in.; L. 5 ft. 10 in.
No grave goods.
- Grave 65 S.W.; B. 1 ft. 6 in.; L. 4 ft. 4 in.
No grave goods.
- Grave 66 N.E.; B. 1 ft. 6 in.; L. 4 ft.; D. 4 ft. 6 in. Crouch burial, with knees high. 'Traces of sacking under body.'
No grave goods.
- Grave 67 N.E.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 6 ft. The 'shadow' of the skeleton was clear in the sand, but there was no trace of a skull. The position of the skeleton was normal, supine extended.
No grave goods.
- Grave 68 S.W.; B. and L. not recorded; D. ? 4 ft. Excavated by workmen. The grave lay about 100 yards north-east of the main cemetery, but it seems reasonably certain that there were no graves between this one and Grave 67.
1. Iron *knife*. (Now missing)
2. ? Iron *knife*, thrown away by workmen.

DISCUSSION

CEMETERY I

The material from Cemetery I is too meagre to warrant exhaustive treatment, and the evidence it affords is too incomplete to provide a firm basis for discussion. The few datable finds, however, all suggest a late 6th/early 7th-century date, and, in the absence of any contradictory dating evidence, it must be assumed that this was the period within which this group of graves was dug.

BEADS (Grave 3. Fig. 4, 2-0)

Beads of this size and type are not common, and are almost impossible to date with any certainty. The only parallel I have found for the very exceptional spotted beads (Fig. 4, n-o) comes from a grave at Castle Bytham, Lincolnshire¹ where it was associated with a silver-gilt quoit brooch. This brooch is decorated with interlace ornament similar to that on the gilt mounts from Caenby, Lincolnshire,² and is probably of early 7th-century date. The large beads

¹ J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. XII.

² B.M., *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 104.

with marvered interlacing trails and spots (Fig. 4, c-h, j) are closely paralleled by the beads from Grave 28 at Little Wilbraham,¹ which also contained a square-headed brooch of Leeds' Type B 8,² and a bronze buckle with triangular chape. The square-headed brooch may 'safely be assigned'³ to the early 7th century, and a similar date for the Chamberlains Barn beads seems fairly probable.

POT (Grave 10. Fig. 4, v)

The short hollow neck, everted rim and rather angular shoulder of this pot are characteristic of a group of small domestic pots of the pagan period, and similar examples (also with lugs) can be quoted from Northfleet, Kent,⁴ Brixworth, Northants.,⁵ and Lackford, Suffolk.⁶ Dr. Myres suggests that the form, without the lugs, shows Romano-British influence, and cites an example from Sittingbourne, Kent.⁷ Further examples were also found at Richborough.⁸ It is not, however, a very distinguished form, and very similar pots, with the same, slightly sagging, base occur in late 7th- and early 8th-century contexts at Whitby.⁹ This form of base is usually late, but is not sufficiently distinctive to date the pot very precisely.

BUCKLE (Grave 13. Fig. 5, a)

Buckles with triangular chapes are a common form on the Continent, where they are assigned to a period lasting from 550 to about 700.¹⁰ On the basis of the current chronology for this period in England, however, they cannot be said to have appeared in Kent before 575 at the very earliest, and they may well have spread to Anglian and West Saxon areas somewhat later than this. Certainly the form is not still current in 700. A small and elaborate cloisonné buckle from Sutton Hoo¹¹ still maintains vestiges of the form, but the plain bronze examples seem to go out of fashion fairly early in the 7th century.

DRINKING CUP (Grave 13. Fig. 5, b)

Wooden or leather drinking cups with bronze or silver mounts are relatively common in the 7th century. An undecorated example from Holywell Row¹² may date from the end of the 6th century, but the decorated mounts from Taplow,¹³ Faversham¹⁴ and Sutton Hoo¹⁵ were all probably produced at least in the first quarter of the 7th century, and the appearance of a cup in an undoubtedly late grave at Melbourne, Cambs.¹⁶ suggests that they were still in use as late as 650. The association of our cup with the triangular buckle makes it reasonable to place it in the first half of the 7th century.

CEMETERY II

This belongs to a widespread group of cemeteries which, though related neither racially nor geographically, may be classed apart from all other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries by virtue of their arrangement and by the nature of the material their graves contain. In 1936, E. T. Leeds¹⁷ treated a number of the larger cemeteries to fairly full discussion, but regarding their material as a

¹ R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. V.

² E. T. Leeds, *Anglo-Saxon Square Headed Brooches* (1949), 67 ff.

³ *Ibid.* 121.

⁴ In Maidstone Museum.

⁵ In Northampton Museum.

⁶ T. C. Lethbridge, 'A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk', *Cambs. Ant. Soc. Quarto Pub.*, N.S., VI (1951), fig. 24.

⁷ In the British Museum.

⁸ J. P. Bushe-Foxe, *Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXIX.

⁹ C. Peers and C. A. Raleigh Radford, 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX, fig. 25.

¹⁰ K. Böhner, *Die Fränkischer Altertümer des Trierer Landes*, 23.

¹¹ B.M., *Provisional Guide*, Pl. 19.

¹² T. C. Lethbridge, 'Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk', *Cambs. Ant. Soc. Quarto Pub.*, N.S., III (1931), fig. 14, I.

¹³ B.M., *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 72.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 43.

¹⁵ B.M., *Provisional Guide*, Pl. 13.

¹⁶ D. M. Wilson, *P.C.A.S.*, XLIX (1955), 31.

¹⁷ E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art & Archaeology* (1936), 96 ff.

continental fashion, introduced in Kent and making 'sporadic, and usually humbler' appearances in the 'less well-to-do' areas, he obscured the striking contrast between this material and that of all earlier Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and seriously underestimated its importance outside Kent.

The large proportion of unfurnished graves, which is a characteristic of cemeteries of this group, has probably led to many being ignored or incompletely excavated. There are, nonetheless, few areas of Anglo-Saxon England where the group is not represented. The many cemeteries in Kent are mostly too well known to need relisting here, but in areas outside Kent typical cemeteries may be cited at Dunstable, Bedfordshire,¹ Long Wittenham, Berks.,² Shudy Camps,³ Burwell⁴ and Melbourne,⁵ Cambs., Winnall, Hants.,⁶ Desborough, Northants.,⁷ North Leigh,⁸ Ducklington⁹ and Standlake,¹⁰ Oxon., Camerton, Somerset,¹¹ Farthingdown, Surrey,¹² Garton Slack¹³ and Uncleby,¹⁴ Yorks. Characteristic material has also been found (in single barrow graves or as stray finds) in Derbyshire, Essex, Staffordshire and Wiltshire.

No attempt has been made here to provide a complete list of characteristic cemeteries, but the list given is sufficient to show that we are dealing with a substantial movement whose influence was by no means confined to Kent. Kent and the Continent undoubtedly played a primary rôle in the early stages of this movement, but its effect must soon have been felt in all areas of England, where material comparable to that of Kent is found in sufficient quantity to suggest that it was being produced in local workshops to satisfy the demands of widespread fashion.

The homogeneity of this material is as striking as the extent of its distribution. Certain characteristics have already been noted,¹⁵ but the unique quality of the cemeteries as a group has never been fully emphasized, and it seems justifiable to restate their salient features:

- (a) Brooches are either entirely absent or few in number. The cruciform and square-headed brooches, which are such a common feature of 5th and 6th-century graves, appear altogether to have gone out of fashion. Apart from a few exceptions, most of which are almost certainly survivals, the only brooches are the diminutive annular brooches, occurring principally in the north, and the rich composite brooches, unfortunately rare outside Kent. Neither of these types occurs before the 7th century.

¹ C. L. Matthews, *Beds. Arch. J.*, 1.

² *Proc. S. A.*, 2 ser., 11, 133.

³ T. C. Lethbridge, 'A Cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire', *Cambs. Ant. Soc. Quarto Pub.* N.S., v, (1936).

⁴ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931).

⁵ D. M. Wilson, *P.C.A.S.*, XLIX (1955).

⁶ Forthcoming in *Proc. Hants F. C.* (1964).

⁷ *Archaeologia*, XLV (1880), 466-71.

⁸ V.C.H., *Oxon.*, 1, 359; *Oxonienis*, V (1940).

⁹ *Proc. S. A.*, 2 ser., 1, 100.

¹⁰ V.C.H., *Oxon.*, 1, 362.

¹¹ *Proc. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, LXXIX (1933), 39-63.

¹² *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, VI (1874), 109.

¹³ J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, 247.

¹⁴ *Proc. S. A.*, XXIV (1912), 146.

¹⁵ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936), 27; E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.* (1936), 96 ff.; V. Evison, 'Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Holborough', *Arch. Cant.*, LXX (1956), 108.

- (b) The great necklaces of amber and glass beads are generally replaced by festoons of a few beads strung together with silver wire rings. The silver wire rings are a new feature, beads of silver or gold make their appearance, and amethyst beads are relatively common in all areas.
- (c) Pendants of all sorts are a common feature.
- (d) Clothes may be fastened with linked pins, in gold or silver, sometimes with garnet settings.
- (e) Buckles are mainly small, usually with plain, oval loops.
- (f) Thread boxes in bronze or silver appear in female graves. Also small wooden chests, with bronze or iron fittings.
- (g) Weapons are relatively rare. Amongst those that do occur the large scramasax plays a more important part than hitherto. Shield bosses are usually tall, and the sugar loaf variety develops.
- (h) Cremation graves are altogether absent. Amongst the pottery occurring in inhumation graves globular forms with tall necks, and squat, wide-mouthed vessels are most common.
- (i) Orientation is markedly consistent within the cemetery, and the graves often appear to have been arranged in regular groups or rows.
- (j) One or more graves may be contained in a barrow, as a primary or secondary burial. Where no trace of such a mound is visible from the surface, its former existence is often suggested in the site-name or by ring-ditches surrounding the grave.
- (k) The proportion of graves containing no furniture, or only a knife, is high.

Few of the cemeteries of this type are distinguished by all these features, but all contain a combination of such characteristics, to the exclusion of all others which may be taken as typical of earlier cemeteries. Thus whilst cemeteries such as Holywell Row and Kempston contain graves with pendants, thread boxes, small buckles and other 'Kentish' objects, they differ from the cemeteries under discussion in that they also contain graves which are to be dated well before the 7th century. None of the late group of cemeteries contains any grave which can be dated before the 7th century, and in some places (*i.e.* Chamberlains Barn, Long Wittenham, Desborough) a neighbouring cemetery has been found which seems to have gone out of use at some point in the 7th century precisely when the second cemetery was begun.

Thus we find that, all over England, more or less at the same period, settled people are abandoning their old cemeteries and starting up new ones. With this change in burial custom comes the totally new material culture demonstrated by the grave finds of these new cemeteries. There is no difficulty in tracing the archaeological material directly to Kent, and it is in the same area that the historical origins of this new movement must be sought. The old explanation of this phenomenon¹ as the result of Æthelbert's *imperium* can no longer be accepted. We have no reason to believe that the *imperium* meant

¹ E. T. Leeds, *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913), 66.

anything in terms of practical dominion,¹ and certainly any influence that Æthelbert may have had outside Kent must have ended with his death in 616. The only known historical influence which also fits the mid 7th-century date of our material is that of the Conversion, and we are forced to reconsider the much disputed theory that these cemeteries are those of newly-converted Christians.

We know that converts to Christianity were ordered to desert their pagan burial grounds. This is an order easy to enforce, and one which presumably upset no pagan beliefs. There is no reason why it should not have been effective when the order not to bury goods with the dead was not. We have abundant evidence that pagan practices of all kinds continued well into the 8th century. By A.D. 680, Christianity must be assumed to have been firmly established in England, yet we find in the *Penitential* of Theodore specific penances for Christians performing pagan rites for their dead.² A letter from Boniface to Cuthbert, written in about A.D. 750, leaves little doubt that pagan practices were still rife in England at that date.³ By the 7th century the appeal of the pagan gods was probably very much weakened, but the provision of goods for an after-life is a custom deeply rooted in superstition and we should expect it to die hard. We know that the burial of goods with the dead continued in France up to the time of Charlemagne, and it seems in no way remarkable that it should have continued in England for some time after the Conversion. And where, if not in these cemeteries, were the Christians burying the dead? The churchyard cemeteries are mostly later, and where this is not the case (e.g. at St. Martin's, Canterbury) they could contain graves with grave goods. We apparently have nothing else which can be described as a 7th-century Christian graveyard.

Somewhat insubstantial claims for evidence of Christianity in these cemeteries have been based on the frequent east-west orientation of their graves, and the many finds which incorporate crosses or other Christian symbols. These need not be ignored, but the vast bulk of the material involved has no particular Christian significance, and a more important consideration is the part played by Christianity in spreading a uniform fashion throughout England.

Mr. Leeds has already dealt with the Continental influences apparent in some of the material of this period,⁴ but it is worth noting that, for the first time in the Anglo-Saxon period, parallels for our material are not found in North Germany and Scandinavia, but in South Germany, Switzerland and, more particularly, Italy. In the two Italian cemeteries⁵ mentioned by Mr. Leeds, alone, we find necklaces incorporating bronze and silver rings, thread boxes, amethyst and bulla beads, small oval buckles and silver pins. Throughout the ornamental influences apparent in our later material are unmistakable. Most probably it is also to this source that we should trace those articles,

¹ F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 34.

² (Ed.) Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils & Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain & Ireland*, iii, 194.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.* (1936), p. 96 ff.

⁵ *Monumenti Antichi*, xii, xxv.

dealt with more fully below, for which the prototypes were undoubtedly Roman.

The material under consideration seems to appear in Kent at the beginning of the 7th century, about the time of the first Roman mission to England. The first forty years or so after the landing of Augustine saw the introduction, and subsequent rejection, of Christianity in most areas of England, but from 633 onwards the Conversion made steady progress, and it is about this time that our cemeteries and the spread of this material outside Kent begin. The first kingdom, outside Kent, to see the permanent establishment of Christianity was East Anglia. In A.D. 633 Sigebert returned from exile in Gaul and, with the help of Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury, established the Burgundian Felix as bishop of Dunwich. At the end of the same year Christianity was re-established in Northumbria, by Oswald and, though this was largely a Celtic affair, it was through the Church that connections with the south were maintained. Oswald was actually present at the baptism of Cynegils when Birinus was given the see at Dorchester.¹ His brother, Oswiu, who succeeded in A.D. 641, had a wife who had been brought up in Kent, and who, like her son Alfrith, supported the Roman Church.² When Christianity was re-introduced into Wessex, both Cenwalh, who had been converted in East Anglia, and Agilbert, his Frankish bishop, remained in close communication with Alfrith and his bishop Wilfred.³

There is no need to labour these connections, but from them it becomes clear how Christianity could have laid the way towards a greater homogeneity of material culture. Missions came from Gaul and Italy, and in each case they concentrated their attentions on the leaders of fashion, the rulers of the lands they aimed at converting. There is no doubt that 'judicious gifts from the Pope himself proved powerful weapons in the Christian armoury',⁴ and it is unthinkable, for instance, that Oswald's sponsorship of Cynegils' baptism, or Cenwalh's baptism at the court of Anna, were not marked by the exchange of gifts. There were several marriages between courts at this time, two of them leading directly to the conversion of the ruler concerned. Communications between the kingdoms of England were undoubtedly strengthened by the establishment of Christianity, and the interchange of fashions must thereby have been increased.

There are no records of the conversion of the Leighton Buzzard region. As part of Wessex, situated only about thirty miles from Dorchester, it was clearly within the scope of Birinus' mission, but if, as seems unlikely,⁵ the area was converted by Birinus, it must certainly have fallen to Penda when he drove Cenwalh into exile in A.D. 645, and it probably remained in Mercian hands for some time after this. In 648, 'Cenwalh gave his kinsman Cuthred three thousands of land by Ashdown'.⁶ At the end of the 7th century the Mercian kings were

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 7.

² *Ibid.*, 25.

³ Eddi, *Vita Wilfridi*, chap. 7.

⁴ H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, 227.

⁵ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 117-118.

⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS.A.

giving just such grants of land to 'under kings' for the protection of their south-western frontiers. It is quite probable that in 648 the Berkshire Downs formed the frontier between Wessex and Mercia, and that Cuthred was established there to defend it. It is unlikely that Cenwalh actually advanced his frontiers before the death of Penda in 654, but in 661, Wulfhere, then king of Mercia, 'ravaged as far as Ashdown',¹ and it must be supposed that the land north of Ashdown, including the Leighton Buzzard area, was recovered sometime between 654 and 661, probably during the reign of Peada (654-6), when Mercia was at her weakest. It would almost certainly have been converted at this time.

Cenwalh was still pagan when he succeeded Cynegils in A.D. 643, but he was converted during his exile in East Anglia, and what record there is of his activities after his return to Wessex in 648 is largely concerned with his support of the Church. He has already been mentioned as the friend of Alfrith, and he was named by Bede as the helper of Benedict Biscop, founder of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow.² Agilbert, who was consecrated bishop of Dorchester in 650, was also closely concerned with the fate of the Roman Church in Northumbria.³ One must assume that these two would first have attended to the conversion of the people of their own kingdom.

More positive evidence of Christianity in this area is provided by the recent excavations in the church at Wing. There is now little doubt that the church was founded in the 7th century, and its probable date within this period is fixed more exactly by its rare basilican plan and crypt which must have been built by someone aware of Roman fashion. The excavators of Wing consider Birinus, Agilbert and Wilfred as possible founders of the church.⁴ It seems unlikely, on practical grounds, that Birinus built any church in this area, but Wing could well have been built either by Agilbert, before A.D. 661, or by Wilfred between 666 and 669 when we know he was building churches in Mercia.⁵ It is enough for the purposes of this paper that we can be fairly certain that by 669, at the latest, there was a substantial, stone-built church within four miles of Leighton Buzzard. There is nothing to indicate why Wing should have been chosen as a site for this exceptional building, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Christianity was an established force in the area at the time, and a date in the late 650's remains the most likely for its introduction.

It is in the light of these facts that the two cemeteries at Chamberlains Barn must be assessed. Though little can be said of Cemetery I, it may be claimed that Cemetery II, like the Marina Drive cemetery at Dunstable, has made a substantial contribution to the *corpus* of late 7th-century material from areas outside Kent, making it necessary that we reconsider the cemeteries which contain this material. Taken together, our two cemeteries provide most convincing examples of a pagan cemetery abandoned in accordance with Christian law, and a new, Christian, cemetery containing the material which the spread of Christianity helped to make familiar throughout England.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Bede, *Hist. Abbatum*, chap. 4.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 25.

⁴ E. D. C. Jackson and E. G. M. Fletcher, *J.B.A.A.*, 3 ser. xxv (1962), 18-20.

⁵ Eddi, *Vita Wilfridi*, chap. 24.

POTTERY (Graves 8, 18, 19, 29, 30, 32, 52, 57. Figs. 8; 11; 12; 16; 18)

Apart from the small cup found in Grave 32, a somewhat exceptional form which seems to occur only in the graves of children, the pottery from Cemetery II forms a compact group of 7th-century date. The globular, or gourd-shaped, forms are characteristic, and Dr. Myres has kindly drawn my attention to several parallels with associations of this date. Two pots from Shudy Camps (Graves 18, 25)¹ are very similar to the pot from our Grave 52, an unassociated pot from Holborough² is almost identical in form to the one from Grave 19, and further examples may be cited from Risely (Horton Kirby) and Farningham, Kent,³ Hardingstone, Northants,⁴ Market Overton, Rutland⁵ and Elkington, Lincs.⁶ Parallels for the two remaining undecorated pots (Graves 29, 30) occur in still later contexts. A large pot from Breedon-on-the Hill, Leics.,⁷ has a low-set shoulder and tall neck strongly reminiscent of the pot from Grave 29. It is probably from the site of the early monastery, and, if so, must be dated to the end of the 7th century at the earliest. The pot from Grave 30 is of a common basic form which evidently enjoyed a long life. There are several examples among the pots from Ruskington, Lincs., which Dr. Myres⁸ dates to the late 6th and 7th centuries, but the occurrence of very similar pots on the site of Whitby monastery⁹ indicates that the form was current at least until the end of the 7th century.

The form of the pot from Grave 8 marks it out as a member of this 7th-century group, but, whatever its whole scheme of decoration may have been, the vertical feathering on the single surviving decorated sherd is most unusual at this date. Other examples of such vertical feathering occur largely on 5th and 6th-century vessels, in 'biconical' schemes of decoration. A pot from High Down, Sussex,¹⁰ where panels of both vertical and horizontal feathering form part of a highly elaborate ornamental scheme, is also much earlier. Where feathering closely resembling that on our example occurs on a late pot form (at Horndean, Hants., Grave S.4)¹¹ it is arranged horizontally in a continuous band round the shoulder.

The comb point decoration on the pot from Grave 18 is fairly common in late 6th and 7th-century contexts. Other examples come from North Luffenham, Rutland,¹² Rainham, Essex,¹³ Eastbourne, Sussex and Lovedon Hill, Lincs.,¹⁴ where the decoration is also arranged in a chevron design. A pot very similar in form to our example, decorated with incised horizontal lines and stabbed chevrons, comes from Westbere, Kent.¹⁵ The closest parallel, however, is undoubtedly the pot from Grave G. 2 at Marina Drive, Dunstable,¹⁶ which echoes not only the form but also the comb-point lines and chevrons of the Chamberlains Barn pot. When well executed, as on our pot, the similarity between comb-point decoration and rouletted ornament is very striking. Dr. Myres has noted¹⁷ that comb-point decoration occurs mainly in the south-eastern regions of England. It may well be that we have here yet another example of influence from Kent, where comb-point ornament may have imitated the rouletting on imported Frankish pottery.

¹ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936), Pl. 1.

² V. I. Evison, *Arch. Cant.*, LXX (1956), fig. 20, i.

³ Both in Dartford Museum.

⁴ In the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham.

⁵ In the Oakham School Museum.

⁶ G. Webster, 'An Anglo-Saxon Urnfield at South Elkington, Louth, Lincolnshire', *Arch. J.*, CVIII (1951), 30, fig. 3.

⁷ In Derby Museum.

⁸ *Arch. J.*, CVIII (1951), 90.

⁹ C. Peers and C. A. Raleigh Radford, *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX, 77, fig. 25.

¹⁰ In Worthing Museum.

¹¹ Knocker, 'Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Snell's Corner, Horndean', *Proc. Hants. F. C.*, XIX, Part 2, Pl. IV.

¹² In the Oakham School Museum.

¹³ V. I. Evison, 'Anglo-Saxon Finds near Rainham, Essex', *Archaeologia*, xcvi, 171.

¹⁴ In the British Museum.

¹⁵ *Ant. J.*, xxvi (1946), Pl. IV, 31.

¹⁶ C. Matthews, *Beds. Arch. J.*, I, fig. 5.

¹⁷ *Archaeologia*, xcvi, 171.

SHIELD BOSS (Grave 2. Fig. 7, a)

Sugar-loaf shield bosses are relatively uncommon in England, and a full discussion of them in their English context has yet to be published.¹ They were briefly discussed by Zeiss in his paper on the continental sugar-loaf shield bosses but, relying largely on advice from Kendrick, Zeiss was hesitant about ascribing to our examples the mid 7th to mid 8th-century date he ascribed to the continental bosses.² He allowed only that the boss from Lowbury Hill, Wilts.,³ must be later than A.D. 600, and that the group as a whole 'can hardly be placed before the middle of the 7th century'. This was unnecessarily cautious. The hanging bowl found with the Lowbury Hill boss is well advanced in the series,⁴ and must date the grave to about the third quarter of the 7th century. Miss Evison, suggesting a line of development from the bosses found at Holborough, through the Baginton type, to the sugar-loaf shield bosses, places this last type in the late 7th and early 8th centuries.⁵

The boss from Chamberlains Barn, which closely resembles that from Lowbury Hill, seems to represent an early stage in this final typological development. It still bears traces of the carination of the earlier forms, and its sides, though tall, are less markedly convex than, for instance, those of the Sittingbourne shield boss.⁶ It should probably be dated to c. 675.

WOODEN CHESTS (Graves 7, 57)

Small wooden chests, with iron or bronze fittings, occur frequently in Christian graves. Often containing jewellery, tools or amulets, they were clearly used to house the personal treasures of their owners, and, except for one rather dubious example from Garton Slack, appear always in female graves. There were several in the Kingston/Sibertswold group of cemeteries, and others come from Burwell (Graves 42, 76, 121),⁷ Shudy Camps (Grave 48),⁸ Garton Slack (Grave 31),⁹ and the barrow at Cow Lowe, Derbyshire.¹⁰

The two examples from Chamberlains Barn are not very exceptional. Only the lock survived from the chest in Grave 7 (Fig. 7, d), but this is of a reasonably common type for which several parallels might be cited.¹¹ The lock from Grave 57 (Fig. 17, i-m) has no exact parallel from the Anglo-Saxon period, but it is identical in construction to a Roman lock now in the British Museum.¹² The 'whistles' frequently mentioned by Faussett¹³ must also have been locks operating on the same principle, with barbed bolt and cylinder, and must also have been inspired by a Roman prototype, but they were not apparently fitted with the external fastening device common to our lock and the Roman one.

The dating evidence for these chests is unambiguous. Grave 42 at Burwell contained a thread box decorated with advanced Style II ornament, and should be dated to A.D. 650 at the very earliest.¹⁴ The burial at Cow Lowe must be at least as late as this, and though the Kentish graves are less easy to date with any certainty they all fall well within the 7th century. Outside Kent these chests are only found in cemeteries of the late 7th-century group under discussion.

BROOCHES (Graves 11 and 32. Figs. 10, b; 12, a)

Immediate parallels for the composite disc brooch in Grave 11 are suggested by the composite brooches of Leeds' Class III.¹⁵ The arrangement of the bosses and gold filigree

¹ Since this was written Miss Evison has published a comprehensive survey of sugar-loaf shield bosses in the *Ant. J.*, XLIII, 38 ff. She here dates the type to the latter part of the 7th century.

² H. Zeiss, 'Spatmerowingisch-Frühkarolingisch Schildbuckel von Zuckerhutform', *Festschrift für P. Reinecke*, 173.

³ Donald Atkinson, *Lowbury Hill Excavations*, Pl. IV.

⁴ G. Haselof, *Med. Arch.*, II (1958), 77.

⁵ V. I. Evison, *Arch. Cant.*, LXX (1956), 96.

⁶ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. III, Pl. XXIII.

⁷ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931).

⁸ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936).

⁹ Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, 247.

¹⁰ T. Bateman, *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, 93.

¹¹ e.g. Sarre, Grave 23, *Arch. Cant.*, VII, 314; Gilton, Grave 52, B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 19.

¹² B.M., *Roman Guide* (1922), fig. 45.

¹³ i.e. one from Sibertswold, Grave 151, B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Pl. X, 8.

¹⁴ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931), 56.

¹⁵ E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.* (1936), 118.

plates in their cloisonné settings is identical to that on the Sarre I brooch,¹ and the simple, sub-rectangular garnet cells are paralleled on the brooch from Sittingbourne, now in the Dover Museum. The two Abingdon brooches,² the closest to our example on the ground, and the only brooches outside Kent to which we might look for a parallel, differ radically, both in form and ornament. The Chamberlains Barn brooch, however, has peculiar characteristics which distinguish it from the other brooches of the same class. The inspiration for our brooch was undoubtedly Kentish, but it is less obvious that the brooch was actually made in Kent.

Like the two Abingdon brooches, and unlike any of the Kentish brooches except the one from Sittingbourne, the remaining framework of our brooch is entirely of bronze. This may not be particularly significant, and the standard of workmanship remains as high as on any brooch from Kent, but it is therefore all the more remarkable that the work on the decorative gold filigree plates is of very inferior quality, and quite different from anything we find in Kent. The filigree itself is less coarse than that on the Sittingbourne brooch, and the S-shaped scrolls and rings which decorate the Sarre brooch are still clearly recognisable, but these elements of the original style have been lifted from their context and applied without any understanding of the original design. A similar piece of work occurs on the very curious brooch from Welford, Northants.³ This seems to have been a large, silvered annular brooch which was broken and subsequently mended and 'modernised' by the addition of two gold plates, ornamented in the Kentish fashion with filigree and white paste bosses. A rough attempt has been made to arrange the filigree decoration in three concentric zones like those on the Sarre I brooch, but here again only the bare elements of the original are present, and it is hard to believe that the brooch can have been made by anyone at all familiar with the fine Kentish brooches. It is unreasonable to suppose that no inferior brooches were produced in Kent, but it may well be that brooches like those from Chamberlains Barn and Welford, bungled imitations of Kentish prototypes, were also being made outside Kent.

The question of where this brooch was made does not radically affect its dating. It is generally accepted that a date around 625 is the earliest reasonable one for the burial of the pendant coin of Chlotar with which the Sarre brooch was associated. One would expect imitations to appear somewhat later than this, and the cloisonné ornament on our brooch points decisively to a later date. Mr. Bruce-Mitford has pointed out that simple, sub-rectangular cloisons tend to be a feature of later jewels.⁴ The Sittingbourne brooch, which was held by Leeds to be the latest example from his Class III, is decorated entirely with these sub-rectangular cells, and there is no evidence for any more elaborate form of cloisonné ornament on the Chamberlains Barn brooch. These brooches cannot be fitted into a scheme with the exceptionally fine cloisonné pieces of the mid 7th century, but as late examples of composite disc brooches they could be buried as late as A.D. 650.

Quoit brooch (Grave 32. Fig. 12, a). Apart from the early group of brooches, which are peculiar to Sussex and Kent, the quoit brooch is not common in England. The few examples which occur in Anglian or West Saxon contexts are almost all super-annular brooches rather than true quoit brooches. They bear little resemblance to the example from Chamberlains Barn, and by the 7th century have been replaced by the diminutive annular brooch, a utilitarian rather than a decorative article. There are few exceptions to this rule. A gold quoit brooch from Castle Bytham, Lincolnshire,⁵ has interlace ornament of undoubted 7th-century date. A brooch from Barrington, Cambs., is ornamented with *cabochon* garnets. The brooch from Welford has already been mentioned. The Kentish influence on these examples is unmistakable, but no similar brooches have been found in Kentish graves, and it seems most likely that they represent local adaptations of current ornamental fashions to the familiar, but out-moded, form of the annular brooch.

Much the same interpretation must be put on the unique brooch from our Grave 32. I know of no other example of the cross within shield motif, and the use of stamped ornament

¹ B.M., *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 60.

² *Antiquity*, vii, Pl. IV.

³ J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. 32, ii.

⁴ R. Bruce-Mitford, in *Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe, 319.

⁵ J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. 12, ii.

of this kind on thin silver sheet is unparalleled, either on the large annular brooches, or on the earlier quoit brooches. Stamped decoration of rings and triangles is, however, a fairly common feature on the gold and silver sheet pendants of this period (*i.e.* Faversham, Kent,¹ and Melbourne, Cambs., Grave 7²) and in default of any close parallel for our brooch it is in the context of these pendants that it must be viewed.

Silver sheet pendants already occur in several of the late pagan cemeteries, and the techniques necessary for their manufacture must have been familiar to craftsmen in the Anglian areas in the early years of the 7th century. Our brooch is exceptionally well made, and was probably the work of an experienced craftsman, but there is no reason to date its manufacture any later than A.D. 625. This date in no way invalidates the contention that these graves date from the Christian period. All the objects from Grave 32 were apparently of some age when they were buried. The brooch, as was mentioned above, seems to have been broken twice and buried in an unusable state. The necklace, unlike those in other graves, had only two silver rings and most of the beads had been broken at least once. The small cup contrasts strongly with the fine pottery from the rest of the site, and only one of the spindle whorls was in workable condition. It appears as if nothing of any value went into this grave, and it is reasonable to suppose that the brooch was buried only when it was considered worthless.

LINKED PINS (Graves 39, 55. Figs. 13, a; 16, c)

These two pairs of pins are of identical pattern, and are very similar to the single pins from Sibertswold, Grave 180,³ Chartham Down, Grave 40,⁴ and Faversham, Kent,⁵ and to the pairs of linked pins from Roundway Down, Wilts.,⁶ and Cow Lowe, Derbyshire.⁷ These examples all suggest a late 7th-century date, and the few examples of linked pins which occur elsewhere confirm this impression. A pin and part of the chain of a linked pair were found in Barrow A at Chartham Down,⁸ two pairs of linked pins were excavated from the Christian cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berks.,⁹ and a further pair comes from Winnall, Hants., Grave 8.¹⁰ The three barrow graves are probably all from the second half of the 7th century, and though the other examples have no helpful associations, they all come from late cemeteries where nothing can confidently be dated much before A.D. 650.

The pins from Chamberlains Barn contribute much to our information on how such linked pins were worn. From the fragments of textile still intact at the time of excavation, it was clear that the pins had been used to fasten a cloak or outer garment to the dress underneath it. The necklace worn by the woman in Grave 39 was partially covered by the outer garment, and undoubtedly separated by it from the pins. The possibility that this outer garment was some form of head-dress cannot be excluded, but the possibility is not a practical one, and no textile remains were found in the region of the skull.

There seems no reason to suppose that the introduction of these pins in the middle of the 7th century indicated any change in the fashion of dress. In a note on a brooch from Glaston, Rutland, Leeds suggested a parallel between the function of the linked brooches of the early 6th century, and that of the linked pins of the seventh.¹¹ Throughout the 6th century brooches of one sort or another were used to fasten the female dress. When the fashion for wearing pairs of brooches died out, as it clearly did at the beginning of the 7th century, the function of these brooches could well have been fulfilled by the linked pins.

NECKLACES (Graves 8, 9, 32, 39, 57. Figs. 8; 9; 12; 13; 17)

Necklaces of rings and beads occur in almost all of the cemeteries of late 7th-century type, and were clearly amongst the most popular forms of jewellery at this period. The large proportion of rings to beads which occurs in four out of the five necklaces from this cemetery

¹ E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.* (1936), Pl. XXX b.

² D. M. Wilson, *P.C.A.S.* (1955), Pl. IV.

³ B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Pl. XII, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* Pl. XII, 18.

⁵ In the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham.

⁶ J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. I.

⁷ T. Bateman, *Vestiges* . . . , 91.

⁸ Douglas, *Nennia Britannica*, Pl. V.

⁹ *Proc. S. A.*, 2 ser. II, 133.

¹⁰ Forthcoming in *Proc. Hants. F. C.* (1964).

¹¹ *Ant. J.*, xxviii, 109.

is, however, much less common, and the survival of evidence for their particular method of construction is unique. In his discussion of the necklaces from Burwell and Holywell Row, Mr. Lethbridge concluded that the rings were sewn on to the dress and the beads suspended in a festoon between them,¹ and where only two rings occur in a single necklace this may well have been the case. There can be no doubt, however, that the Chamberlains Barn necklaces were constructed in the manner already described (p. 173), and it seems probable that where similar proportion of rings to beads occurs (*i.e.* Kingston, Grave 15; Melbourne, Grave XI b; Camerton, Grave 5) the same method of construction was employed.

Grave 9. The rings of this necklace are all of the most common form, with 'sliding' knot, and parallels could be found amongst the material from almost any cemetery of this period. The biconical wire beads, however, are of a much rarer type. Most frequently made in gold, they have a widespread but sparse distribution, and occur, without exception, in notably rich graves. Two examples in silver come from Shudy Camps, Grave 11,² and one silver bead formed part of the necklace in the barrow at Stand Low, Derbyshire.³ Beads in gold were found in the outstandingly rich graves at Roundway Down, Wiltshire,⁴ Cow Lowe and Brassington, Derbyshire,⁵ and an unpublished grave from Finglesham, Kent. Much work has yet to be done on the more exact placing of all this material within the 7th, and even early 8th centuries, but the barrow graves, at least, seem to stand out as late in the series, and the coins associated with the beads from Finglesham date the burial to the 670's at the very earliest.⁶

Grave 39. (Fig. 13, c-h). The glass beads in this necklace are in no way distinctive. The small fluted beads of turquoise glass seem, unlike the larger melon beads, to be more common in the later period, but this is by no means an absolute rule.

The appearance of the silver rings with coiled bezel in necklace form is most unusual. The form is in itself rare, and similar rings from Finglesham,⁷ Sarre,⁸ Faversham,⁹ Kingston, Kent,¹⁰ and Holywell Row, Cambs.,¹¹ were all finger rings, though the Finglesham example had been broken and probably re-used as an ear-ring. At Burwell,¹² alone, was found a single ring of this type which had been incorporated, with one other ring and seven bulla pendants, as part of a necklace. This is of flimsy construction and was probably, like our rings, never intended to be worn as a finger ring.

The prototype for these rings is Roman, and though some occur in necklaces both in Denmark¹³ and in Germany,¹⁴ they belong at the latest to the early German Iron Age, and cannot be supposed to have influenced the English forms. The earliest Anglo-Saxon example is that from Sarre, Grave 4, and therefore of about the mid 6th century. The other four are all probably from the late 6th or early 7th century, and the type seems to survive into the mid 7th century only in necklace form.

PENDANTS (Graves 39 and 57. Figs. 13, b; 17, h)

Various forms of pendant ornament are found on the Continent in late 6th and early 7th-century contexts, but it is in England that the wearing of pendants really developed into a widespread fashion, which produced some of the finest jewellery of the period. They seem to have come into circulation at the beginning of the 7th century, more or less at the same time as the fashion for wearing large numbers of brooches was dying out. A few occur in

¹ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931), 76.

² T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936), fig. 2.

³ T. Bateman, *Vestiges* . . . , 74.

⁴ J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. I.

⁵ T. Bateman, *Vestiges* . . . , 37, 91.

⁶ S. E. Rigold, 'Two Series of Primary Sceattas', *Numismatic Journal*, x, 6 ff.

⁷ S. Chadwick, 'Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham', *Med. Arch.*, II, fig. 6.

⁸ *Arch. Cant.*, v, 305.

⁹ B.M., *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 45.

¹⁰ B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Pl. XI, 13.

¹¹ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936), fig. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, fig. 36.

¹³ *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1955), fig. 26-7.

¹⁴ *Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit*, xiv, Taf. 43, i.

late pagan contexts, but essentially these pendants belong to the class of jewellery which characterises the later, Christian, cemeteries.

The two examples from Chamberlains Barn are of a variety which, technically simple to produce, is common in all areas. Similar pendants come from late pagan graves at Holywell Row¹ and Longbridge,² and several more were found in the Christian cemeteries of Kent³ and Cambridgeshire,⁴ and at Marina Drive⁵ and Uncleby.⁶ All these later examples occur in poorly furnished graves, and the pendants from Chamberlains Barn, which were associated with a pair of linked pins (Grave 39) and a wooden chest (Grave 57), are therefore important in suggesting that such pendants were being produced well into the second half of the 7th century.

¹ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931), figs. 2, 4.

² *J.B.A.A.*, 1 ser. xxxii (1876), 106.

³ B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Pl. IV, 20, 22, 24.

⁴ T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931), fig. 23, i; T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1936), fig. 4, g; D. M. Wilson, *op. cit.* (1955), Pl. IV.

⁵ C. L. Matthews, *op. cit.* (1962), fig. 3.

⁶ *Proc. S. A.*, xxiv (1911-12), 153.