



NORWICH SOUTHERN BYPASS,
Part II: Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at
Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund

East Anglian Archaeology

Archaeology and Environment, Norfolk Museums Service 2000

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY



Frontispiece
Harford Farm, Site 9794, during excavation April 1990. North at top. Photo Derek A. Edwards (ref. TG 2204/ADY/GFQ7)

In memory of our friend and colleague Sue Margeson,
1948–1997

**Excavations on the
Norwich Southern
Bypass, 1989–91
Part II: The Anglo-
Saxon Cemetery at
Harford Farm,
Caistor St Edmund,
Norfolk**

by Kenneth Penn

with contributions from
Sue Anderson, Trevor Ashwin,
Mark Blackburn, Birte Brugmann,
Elisabeth Crowfoot, Mary Davis,
Glynis Edwards, Martin Henig, John Hines,
Duncan Hook, Susan La Niece,
Penelope Walton Rogers and Jacqui Watson

illustrations by
Steven Ashley, Kenneth Penn and
Sarah Percival

photographs by
Trevor Ashwin, Birte Brugmann,
Mary Davis, Derek Edwards, John Hines
and David Wicks

East Anglian Archaeology
Report No. 92, 2000

Archaeology and Environment Division
Norfolk Museums Service

EAST ANGLIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
REPORT NO.92

Published by
Archaeology and Environment Division
Norfolk Museums Service
Union House
Gressenhall
Dereham
Norfolk NR20 4DR

in conjunction with
The Scole Archaeological Committee

Editor: Peter Wade-Martins
Managing Editor: Jenny Glazebrook

Scole Editorial Sub-committee:
Brian Ayers, Archaeology and Environment Officer, Norfolk Museums Service
David Buckley, County Archaeologist, Essex Planning Department
Keith Wade, County Archaeological Officer, Suffolk Environment and Transport
Peter Wade-Martins
Stanley West

Set in Times Roman by Joan Daniells using Corel Ventura™
Printed by Geerings of Ashford Ltd., Ashford, Kent

© Archaeology and Environment Division, Norfolk Museums Service

ISBN 0 905594 30 4

For details of *East Anglian Archaeology*, see last page

This volume is published with the aid of a grant from English Heritage

Cover photograph:

The composite disc brooch from Grave 11.
Photo D.Wicks

Contents

List of Plates	vi	4. Grave Structure and Burial Practice	
List of Figures	vi	I. Orientation and layout	68
List of Tables	vii	II. Depths of graves	69
Contributors	vii	III. Human skeletal remains	69
Acknowledgements	viii	IV. Coffins, containers and cushions	70
Preface	ix	V. Positions of bodies	74
		VI. Body lengths	74
1. The Excavation		5. Specialist Reports	
I. Summary	1	I. The two <i>sceattas</i> of Series B from	
II. Introduction	1	Grave 18, by Mark Blackburn	75
III. The Site	2	Date of burial	75
Topography and geology	2	Coins in graves	75
The excavation	3	II. Human skeletal remains,	
Phasing	4	by Sue Anderson	76
Finds and archive	4	Summary and discussion	76
2. Catalogue of Graves		III. The composite disc brooch from Grave 11	
I. Graves in Area A	7	and other precious metal grave-goods,	
II. Graves in Area C/D	31	by Duncan Hook and Susan La Niece	76
III. Unassociated finds of probable		Introduction	76
Anglo-Saxon date	42	Methods	76
		Results and discussion	76
3. Grave-goods: Discussion of Types		IV. The runic inscription on the composite	
The spearhead	43	disc brooch from Grave 11,	
The <i>seax</i> in Grave 25	43	by John Hines	81
The composite disc brooch in Grave 11	45	V. The textiles, by Elisabeth Crowfoot	82
The pendants	49	Fibres and dyes	82
Festoons of silver-wire rings	50	Spinning and weaves	89
The gold filigree pendant in Grave 18	50	Clothing	90
The open-work gold pendant in Grave 28	50	Fibre identifications and tests for dye,	
The intaglio in Grave 33	51	by Penelope Walton Rogers	90
The bucket-shaped pendant in Grave 28	51	Scanning Electron Microscope	
Silver pendants (<i>bullae</i>) in Graves 22		examination, by Jacqui Watson	91
and 28	51	VI. The beads, by Birte Bruggmann	91
The beads	52	Description	91
Pin suites in Graves 1 and 18	53	Discussion	91
The silver decorated discs in Grave 28	54	6. Discussion and Conclusions	
The possible chatelaines in Graves 1, 6,		I. Introduction	96
11, 18, 19B, 20, 22, 27, 28 and 33	54	Date and character of the Harford Farm	
The knives	55	cemetery	96
‘Steels’ in Graves 4, 28 and 42	56	II. Final Phase burials	96
The pursemouth/firesteel in Grave 18	56	Individual rank and status	98
The buckles	58	Burial amongst barrows	99
The shoe-buckles in Grave 19A	59	‘Transitional’ character of Final Phase	
The silver toilet sets in Graves 11 and 33	59	cemeteries	99
The dresshooks in Grave 18	60	Cemeteries without churches	100
The shears in Graves 11, 18, 20, 27, 28		Burials within settlements	100
and 33	61	III. The local context	101
The combs in Graves 7, 11, 19B, 22, 25		Contemporary territory	101
and 28	61	IV. Harford Farm and the end of	
The spindle-whorls in Grave 28	62	accompanied burial	104
The coins in Grave 18	62	Burial at proprietary churches	105
The threadbox (‘relic box’) in Grave 18	62	V. Conclusions	105
Wooden boxes or caskets in Graves 7,		Appendix: Archive index	127
18 and 27	64	Bibliography	128
Evidence for textile/leather containers	66	Index, by Susan Vaughan	135
The flint handaxe in Grave 34	66		
The ?heckle-teeth in Grave 21	66		
The suspension complex in Grave 18	66		

List of Plates

Frontispiece: Harford Farm, Site 9794, during excavation April 1990. North at top. Photo D.A. Edwards		Plate XII	Grave 33, showing body stains and remains of ?bag. Photo T. Ashwin	125	
Plate I	Grave 23, with body stain from the east. Photo T. Ashwin	23	Plate XIII	Grave 40, showing body stain and remains of ?mat. Photo T. Ashwin	125
Plate II	Grave 33, object 1 <i>in situ</i> . Photo T. Ashwin	31	Plate XIV	Grave 18, object 8, <i>in situ</i> , from south. Photo T. Ashwin	125
Plate III	Grave 44, with body stain. Photo T. Ashwin	41	Plate XV	Grave 18, object 9, textile remains on inside of lid. Photo Mary Davis	125
Plate IV	The composite disc brooch from Grave 11, reverse, with pin mechanism removed, showing inscribed animal decoration and runic inscription. Photo J. Hines	47	Plate XVI	Grave 33, selected objects. Photo D. Wicks	125
Plate V	Grave 28, objects 6 and 7, silver decorated discs. Photo D. Wicks	123	Plate XVII	Grave 18, object 4, gold and garnet pendant. Photo D. Wicks	126
Plate VI	Grave 28, object 4, spindle-whorl. Photo D. Wicks	123	Plate XVIII	Grave 28, object 3, gold open-work pendant. Photo D. Wicks	126
Plate VII	Grave 19A, object 3, iron buckle, with remains of textile. Photo D. Wicks	123	Plate XIX	Grave 18, object 4, gold and garnet pendant, detail. Photo Mary Davis	126
Plate VIII	Grave 28, object 9b, loop of shears, with remains of textile. Photo D. Wicks	123	Plate XX	Grave 11, object 2, composite disc brooch, detail at rim. Photo Mary Davis	126
Plate IX	Area A from south, during excavation, showing prehistoric ring-ditch and Anglo-Saxon graves, foreground. Photo T. Ashwin	124	Plate XXI	Grave 18, objects 1b and 1a, silver coins (obverse). Photo D. Wicks	126
Plate X	Grave 2, showing body stain. Photo T. Ashwin	124	Plate XXII	Grave 18, objects 1b and 1a, silver coins (reverse). Photo D. Wicks	126
Plate XI	Grave 10, showing body and coffin stains. Photo T. Ashwin	124	Plate XXIII	Grave 18, object 9c, silver chain terminal. Photo D. Wicks	126
			Plate XXIV	Grave 20, object 2, reticella bead. Photo Birte Brugmann	126
			Plate XXV	Grave 33, object 1a, selected beads. Photo Birte Brugmann	126

List of Figures

Fig. 1	Location map: Norfolk, showing the Study Area	x	Fig. 66	The knives from Harford Farm; diagram	57
Fig. 2	Location map: The Wensum–Tas confluence, showing the Harford Farm area. Scale 1:100,000	2	Fig. 67	The knives, diagram of blade lengths	57
Fig. 3	Harford Farm: Plan of excavation. Scale 1:1,000	5	Fig. 68	The buckles from Harford Farm; diagram	58
Fig. 4	Plan of graves in the northern area (Area A). Scale 1:200	6	Fig. 69	The firesteel from Harford Farm, and other examples: diagram	59
Fig. 5	Plan of graves in the southern area (Area C/D). Scale 1:200	6	Fig. 70	The shears from Harford Farm, and other examples; diagram	61
Figs 6–59	Grave plans and field drawings of objects	7–42	Fig. 71	Bronze threadboxes ('relic boxes'), distribution map (after Evison 1987)	63
Fig. 60	Area A; Graves 1–31	43	Fig. 72	The box in Grave 7 (object 1); a reconstruction (after Watson 1992a)	65
Fig. 61	Area C/D; Graves 32–46	45	Fig. 73	Area A; possible layout of Graves 1–31	68
Fig. 62	Composite brooches, distribution map (after Avent 1975)	48	Figs 74–76	The body and coffin stains, diagrams	71
Fig. 63	The polychrome glass beads	52	Fig. 77	The composite disc brooch in Grave 11 (object 2); diagram	80
Fig. 64	Amethyst beads, distribution map (after Huggett 1988)	53			
Fig. 65	The knives; Evison Types 1–6 (after Evison 1987)	56			

Fig. 78	Textile diagram	89	Fig. 80	Wymondham and its suggested <i>parochia</i>	103
Fig. 79	Location map: the area around Harford Farm and the Roman town at Caistor St Edmund (<i>Venta Icenorum</i>)	102	Fig. 81	Caistor St Edmund and its suggested early land unit	103
			Figs 82–97	The grave-goods	107–22

List of Tables

Table 1	The grave-goods	44	Table 4	The composite disc brooch in Grave 11; XRF analysis	79
Table 2	X-ray fluorescence (XRF): results	77–8	Table 5	Textile inventory	83–8
Table 3	Weights of unanalysed objects	79	Table 6	Catalogue of glass beads	92–3

Contributors

Sue Anderson, BA, M.Phil, MIFA

Human Bone Consultant

Steven Ashley, AIFA,

Illustrator, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Trevor Ashwin, BA

Senior Project Manager, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Mark Blackburn, MA, PhD, FSA

Keeper of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Birte Brugmann, D.Phil

Deutsche Verbände für Altertumsforschung e.V.
Postfach 10 30 51, D-68030 Mannheim

Elisabeth Crowfoot

Textile Consultant

Mary Davis, BA, Dip. Arch. Cons

formerly Conservator, Norwich Castle Museum

Glynis Edwards, BA

Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage

Martin Henig, MA, D.Phil, FSA

Research Associate, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford

John Hines, MA, D.Phil (Oxon), FSA

School of History and Archaeology, University of Wales

Duncan Hook, BSc, C. Chem. MRSC

Dept. of Scientific Research, British Museum

Susan La Niece, MA, FSA

Dept. of Scientific Research, British Museum

Kenneth Penn, BEd, MIFA

Senior Project Manager, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Sarah Percival, BA

Project Manager, Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Penelope Walton Rogers

Textile Research in Archaeology, York

Jacqui Watson

Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage

Acknowledgements

The Harford Farm site was first observed by local flyer H. Frederick Low of the Norfolk and Norwich Aero Club, who photographed the ring-ditches of the prehistoric barrow cemetery from the air in the summer of 1932. More recently, the excellent air photography carried out by Derek Edwards of Norfolk Landscape Archaeology has provided a secure foundation for the entire Norwich Southern Bypass Project, and we are very grateful for his assistance.

Our colleagues at the Norfolk Archaeological Unit first drew attention to this and to other important archaeological sites along the Norwich Southern Bypass in 1974, in a far-sighted report which recommended the fullest possible record of such sites before they were destroyed by the bypass (Norfolk Archaeological Unit 1974). Thanks must also be extended to John Wymer, formerly Field Officer (Prehistory) at NAU who undertook the planning of the fieldwork campaign and wrote the excavation research design.

The excavation was funded entirely by English Heritage, who most generously increased their grant support after the unexpected discovery of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery to enable it to be excavated fully and prepared for publication. We are particularly grateful to Philip Walker, the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the region, for his constant help and encouragement.

Arrangements for access were made by John Wymer, Peter Wade-Martins and Andrew Rogerson. The area of the site in the line of the new road was entered by agreement with the Department of Transport, who most kindly accelerated the Compulsory Purchase Order affecting this section of the bypass. The excavator acknowledges the assistance he received from the staff of G. Maunsell and Partners, the consulting engineers. That part of the site which lay beyond the limit of the development was excavated with the permission of the landowner, Dennis E. Smith (Norwich) Ltd., with an agreement arranged by John Fletcher solicitor of Cozens-Hardy and Jewson, Norwich.

Trevor Ashwin wishes to thank the excavation team for their skill, fortitude and good humour in the often difficult circumstances under which the Anglo-Saxon cemetery was dug. Andrew Crowson, Alice Lyons, Anthony Martin, Ros Nichol, Neil Sawyer, Christine Smith, Melanie Stone and David Whitmore all undertook excavation and recording work of consistently high standard, under the guidance of site supervisors Sarah Bates, Stephen Kemp and Tom Gledhill. Judy Sims and Peter Robins were valued volunteers. Metal-detecting was done by Don Bennett, Roy Rushbrooke and Derek Woollestone. Andrew Rogerson was a constant source of encouragement to the team.

The excavator's deepest thanks must be reserved for finds supervisor Twigs Way. In the absence of a full-time conservator, she coped tirelessly and with great skill with the innumerable challenges which were posed by the lifting of fragile artefacts from the graves, often working hours which lay far beyond the call of duty. Julie Saddler undertook emergency conservation work on a number of the items at Norwich Castle Museum immediately after they had been lifted, while Dr Birthe Christiannsen of the

Sainsbury Centre, UEA, helped us lift an exceptionally large soil block from Grave 33. This same soil block was X-rayed with much success by Sgt John Mitchell of the Non-Destructive Testing Flight, RAF Swanton Morley. Peter Robins performed a valuable service by undertaking the initial X-radiographs of the other objects at Norwich Castle Museum.

Post-excavation conservation work of the highest standard was provided by Mary Davis, formerly of Norwich Castle Museum, who also provided many of the X-radiographs and made many important observations on the complex material, which are incorporated in the text. Sarah Bates and Sarah Percival undertook the post-excavation checking and computer input of the excavation archive, a major task, while Sarah Percival did the same for all the finds data.

Much of the organic material was examined and identified by Jacqui Watson and Glynis Edwards at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage, and we are grateful for their reports, which have been incorporated into the text.

Many specialists have contributed to the study of the material from the Anglo-Saxon graves. Comments on threadboxes have also been received from Tony Gibson and on the intaglio from Martin Henig; Mark Blackburn is grateful to John Newman for information about the Ipswich (Boss Hall and Buttermarket) finds. Dr Karl Sandred gave advice on the place-names Markshall and Harford. Birte Brugmann is grateful to Gail and Martin Foreman, Karen Høilund Nielsen, Ursula Koch, Steven Plunkett, Chris Scull, Maren Siegmund, Frank Siegmund, Eva Stauch and Sue Youngs, who discussed beads with her and made unpublished material available which is particularly relevant to the discussion.

The Department of Scientific Research at the British Museum has examined the gold and silver objects and we are grateful for their help, and especially to Dr Paul Craddock for his advice.

Advice and information of various sorts has come from many of our colleagues, and we would like to thank Angela Evans, John Newman, Richard Hall, Rachel Newman, Patrick Ottaway, Helen Geake, Michael Metcalf, Marion Blockley, Alison Taylor, Tim Malim, Alan Morton, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, Esther Cameron and Justine Bayley for their assistance.

The constant help of our colleagues in the Castle Museum, Norwich, especially Barbara Green and the late Sue Margeson, is gratefully acknowledged. The illustrations are the work of Steven Ashley, (who also commented upon many details of the grave-goods), with the exception of the grave plans, which were drawn by Sarah Percival.

The text was improved by comments and advice from Peter Wade-Martins, Andrew Rogerson and Stanley West.

Excavation at Harford Farm ended in August 1990, but continued elsewhere on the line of the bypass under the direction of Trevor Ashwin while post-excavation study of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery was begun by the writer. The major part of writing this report was completed at Christmas 1993.

Preface

The cemetery at Harford Farm joins a growing number of burial sites which can be dated to the later 7th century, by which time the major English kingdoms were firmly established and had become Christian (Bassett 1989; Yorke 1990), adopting a continental culture with a centralising ideology.

The first Anglo-Saxon settlers who came to the old Roman province of Britannia made their homes in eastern England, where known cemeteries and stray finds attest to their presence in the 5th and 6th centuries. These cemeteries have provided some guide to the date, origins and character of the settlers and their descendants in England. The early Anglo-Saxon people were pagans, and when the East Angles entered the written record with King Rædwald in the early 7th century they were still pagan, although Rædwald, as a young man living in the Kentish court, had been temporarily converted by the Christian missionaries, then newly arrived in Kent.

The transition from paganism to Christianity, achieved in England during the 7th century by Roman and Irish missionaries at the courts of barbarian kings, eventually brought in its wake knowledge and eager acceptance of Mediterranean culture and civilisation, especially in the decades after the mid-7th century. This happened in Kent, where the new religion was first established, and which was most closely connected to continental courts and their manners. The connection with the continent and the Mediterranean, strengthened by the influence of the Christian missions, led to the adoption of new fashions in dress beginning around 600, which are evident in new cemeteries of the 7th century as a change in the range and character of grave-goods. Recent work shows that a number of these cemeteries belong to the later 7th century and have grave-goods not seen in the earlier part of the century, possibly due to deliberate Romanising efforts in the mid-7th century.

A number of cemeteries or burials belonging to what is known as the 'Final Phase' have been discovered or recognised over the years and their general character is fairly well understood, although their significance, especially in the context of continuing accompanied burial in a Christian world, is still the subject of discussion. In East Anglia, Final Phase cemeteries have been found along the chalk corridor leading into the region at Burwell, Shudy Camps, Melbourn and Barrington in Cambridgeshire, Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard and at other places in Bedfordshire and Oxfordshire; and at Buttermarket, Ipswich in Suffolk and Harford Farm in Norfolk (Hyslop 1963; Lethbridge 1926-7, 1936; Malim 1990; Newman 1991; Wilson 1956).

The cemetery at Harford Farm is the first and most lavishly equipped Final Phase cemetery to be completely excavated in East Anglia since the work of T.C. Lethbridge at Burwell and Shudy Camps in the 1920s and 1930s, and contains some of the best examples of the new dress styles which derive ultimately from the Mediterranean Byzantine world and came to England in the wake of the Christian missions.

The cemetery at Harford Farm was discovered by chance in 1990 during the excavation of a prehistoric barrow cemetery. It is the first complete Final Phase cemetery of good size to be excavated in Norfolk, and its importance is enhanced by its completeness and by its late date. The cemetery has a prominent situation and is argued to lie on the edge of a contemporary land unit, not far from the Early Saxon cemeteries of Markshall and Caistor St Edmund (Myres and Green 1973), the latter of which also had a late phase of burial. The cemetery may have been connected to important contemporary activity at Caistor St Edmund, evidenced by many finds of coins and pottery from the vicinity of the Roman town (see below, VIII Discussion). Whilst the Harford Farm cemetery falls into the group of late cemeteries, its distinct character consolidates and also extends our knowledge of these sites. The evidence from Harford Farm is given further weight by the finding of two coins datable to *c.* 700, which give a definite date to Grave 18 and help to date the cemetery as a whole. Without these coins, an estimation of date would rest upon existing notions about the 7th century, and the known historical facts of the conversion, including the strong attachment of the East Angles, or at least their rulers, to the ideals and practice of Christianity. The possibility that accompanied burial was seen as intrinsically pagan and in decline after conversion would have made a date much beyond the mid-7th century more difficult to sustain.

It can be argued that accompanied burial, sometimes quite lavish, was not inconsistent with Christian practice in the first century of conversion, and met with no express ban in the councils and canons of the Church (although burials within churches and churchyards in England were unfurnished from the beginning, unlike France, as far as can be seen). The practice of accompanied burial ended abruptly in the early 8th century for reasons which are still obscure and which cannot be easily linked directly to any formal church action. Accompanied burial may represent an expression of cultural and social identity, perhaps in the case of Harford Farm a continental and Christian identity. The burials at Harford Farm also reflect strong links both to Kent and to the shared culture of the Christian Roman world.

The recently discovered cemetery at Boss Hall, Ipswich, provides an interesting contrast, being mostly a 6th-century cemetery with a single late 7th/early 8th-century lavishly equipped burial (Newman 1991). Other cemeteries at Thornham, in north-west Norfolk (County No. 1308), and at Caister-on-Sea (Darling with Gurney 1993), provide comparisons with the burials at Harford Farm. The material from Harford Farm also provides more examples of the skills and techniques of Anglo-Saxon metalworkers and weavers at a time when the habit of accompanied burial was ceasing, limiting the evidence of these activities.

The excavation was carried out by Trevor Ashwin, who has written up all other phases of activity (Ashwin and Bates 2000) whilst the writer has undertaken the task of cataloguing and describing the Anglo-Saxon burials.

The contents of this volume

Part I of this report (Ashwin and Bates 2000) deals with the entire Norwich Southern Bypass Project apart from the Harford Farm Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and is a descriptive synthesis of the excavated results and an assessment of their broader significance.

This volume, Part II of the report, contains a detailed catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. It was felt that this

would be of great interest nationally to the many specialists working in this field and should be published in full, and as a discrete volume. For this volume it was decided to follow the familiar pattern of other *East Anglian Archaeology* reports on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, such as Spong Hill (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984) and Morning Thorpe (Green and Rogerson 1987).

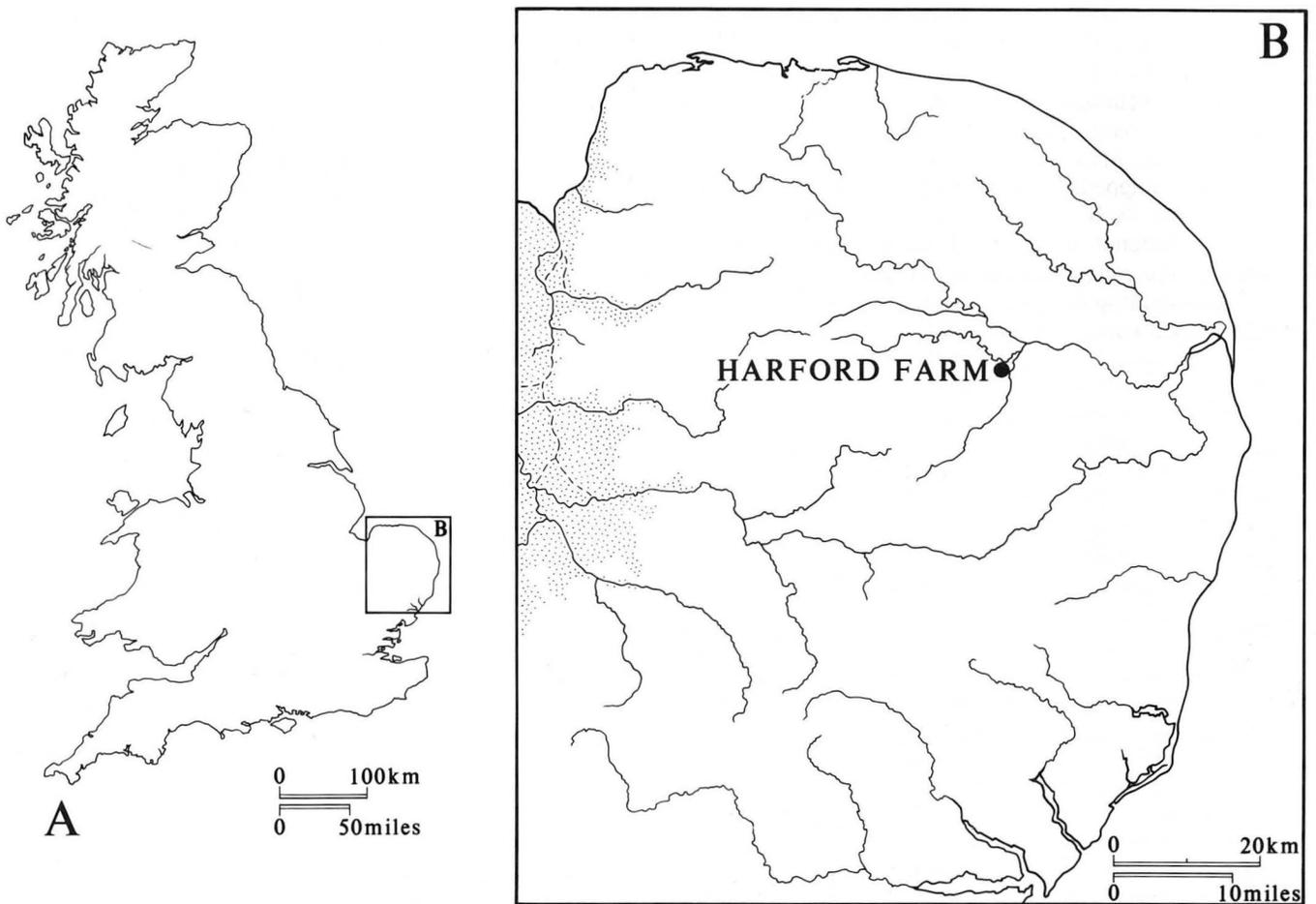


Figure 1 Location maps: B shows Norfolk and the position of Harford Farm

1. The Excavation

I. Summary

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harford Farm consisted of two groups of inhumation burials, which survived only as stains, lying within a prehistoric barrow cemetery, and was in use in the later 7th century (Figs 3–5). Their character suggests that the two groups were essentially one cemetery and are so treated here. The thirty-one graves in Area A lay in several rows, and were oriented west-to-east, on a bluff next to a prehistoric barrow and overlooking the river Yare. Ten of these burials were unaccompanied, eight had just knife and buckle, but three, all probably female, were lavishly equipped. Grave 11 contained the remains of a silver-wire festoon with beads and a composite disc brooch, battered and repaired when buried. Two other graves were comparable; Grave 18 contained a box, two coins, a gold filigree pendant, a firesteel and a bronze 'relic box' which contained dresshooks and the remains of a silver pin suite; Grave 28 contained a cross-in-circle gold pendant on a festoon of silver-wire rings.

The fifteen graves in Area C/D lay 200m to the south, loosely arranged around a prehistoric barrow, and oriented approximately west-to-east (Fig. 5). Further graves in the body of the vanished mound may have been ploughed away. These were mostly 'knife and buckle' burials, but one, Grave 33, contained a burial with a Roman intaglio pendant, shears and a bag containing a silver toilet set, a silver-wire festoon, beads and a latchlifter.

Although the similarity of some of the grave-goods suggests that the use of the two groups of graves was contemporary, there may have been some significant differences in burial rite, with most of the burials in Area A being coffined, whilst the burials in Area C/D were, it appears, nearly all uncoffined, and some rested on mats of organic material. Bodies survived only as stains, but, as far as could be seen, were all supine or slightly twisted and flexed, except for two crouched burials in Area A. The lengths of the stains suggest that most of the burials were of adults. Although the character of the objects and the manner of burial are typical of 'late' or 'Final Phase' cemeteries (boxes, pendants on silver-wire ring festoons, pin suites, chatelaines and 'relic box'), a further reminder of the variety of Anglo-Saxon burial practices is seen in Grave 34 which held a burial with a knife and buckle, and a prehistoric flint handaxe. The only weapons present were a *seax* and an unassociated spearhead, probably of Anglo-Saxon date and derived from a burial in Area C/D.

II. Introduction

A fuller history of the Norwich Southern Bypass Project and its origins is provided in Part I of this report (Ashwin and Bates, forthcoming) and is not repeated here. This section of the report deals specifically with the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harford Farm and the circumstances of its discovery.

The Norfolk Archaeological Unit (NAU) had taken a keen interest in the possible impact of the Norwich

Southern Bypass ever since consultations on possible route alignments began in the early 1970s. A preliminary report on the road's archaeological implications was published in 1974 (Norfolk Archaeological Unit 1974). This comprised a brief summary of the archaeological potential of the area and a gazetteer of 152 located sites.

The area immediately to the south-east of Norwich in particular has been a natural focus of human activity since prehistoric times. The most important reasons for this are topographical, since the major rivers draining this part of the county — the Yare, Wensum and Tas — all meet at two confluences in Bixley and Trowse parishes respectively. Natural routeways down the valleys of these three rivers would all come together at the same place, which was also the lowest bridging point of the river Yare until the construction of the Great Yarmouth Haven bridge in the 15th century (Fig. 2).

Since the early 1930s, the area to the south of Norwich around the confluence of the Rivers Yare and Tas has produced large numbers of crop-mark sites, the most notable of which is the 'Arminghall Henge' (Site 6100), situated on low-lying terrain close to the river Yare in Bixley parish. This site was discovered in 1929 by Wing Commander Insall V.C. and was partially excavated by Grahame Clark shortly afterwards (Clark 1936). Since that time many other crop-mark sites have been recorded in Caistor St Edmund and Bixley parishes. Particularly notable has been the number of ring-ditches found in the area. Although very few of them had been excavated before the advent of the Norwich Southern Bypass Project, most of them were interpreted as forming part of an 'Arminghall Group' of round barrows and other ritual monuments of prehistoric date.

The prehistoric barrow cemetery at Harford Farm (County No. 9794) was identified as part of a prominent complex of crop-mark features in Caistor St Edmund parish, in an elevated position overlooking the Roman town of *Venta Icenorum* a short distance to the south-east. It was directly threatened by the proposed route of the A47 Norwich Southern Bypass. In 1989 construction of this new road was imminent and NAU applied to English Heritage for funding to conduct a Watching Brief along the entire length of the road and to carry out rescue excavations both on the Harford Farm site and on three other crop-mark ring-ditches at Bixley.

These rescue excavations were directed by Trevor Ashwin of NAU, and were carried out between November 1989 and August 1990, a site at Bixley being examined first. It was originally intended that excavations and watching brief be carried out while the main earth-moving work was in progress. However, last-minute delays in the start date of the road construction meant that the excavations had to be carried out in advance of the engineering work, and the Compulsory Purchase Order affecting the Harford Farm site was specially accelerated by the Department of Transport to ensure that the NAU's programme was not disrupted.

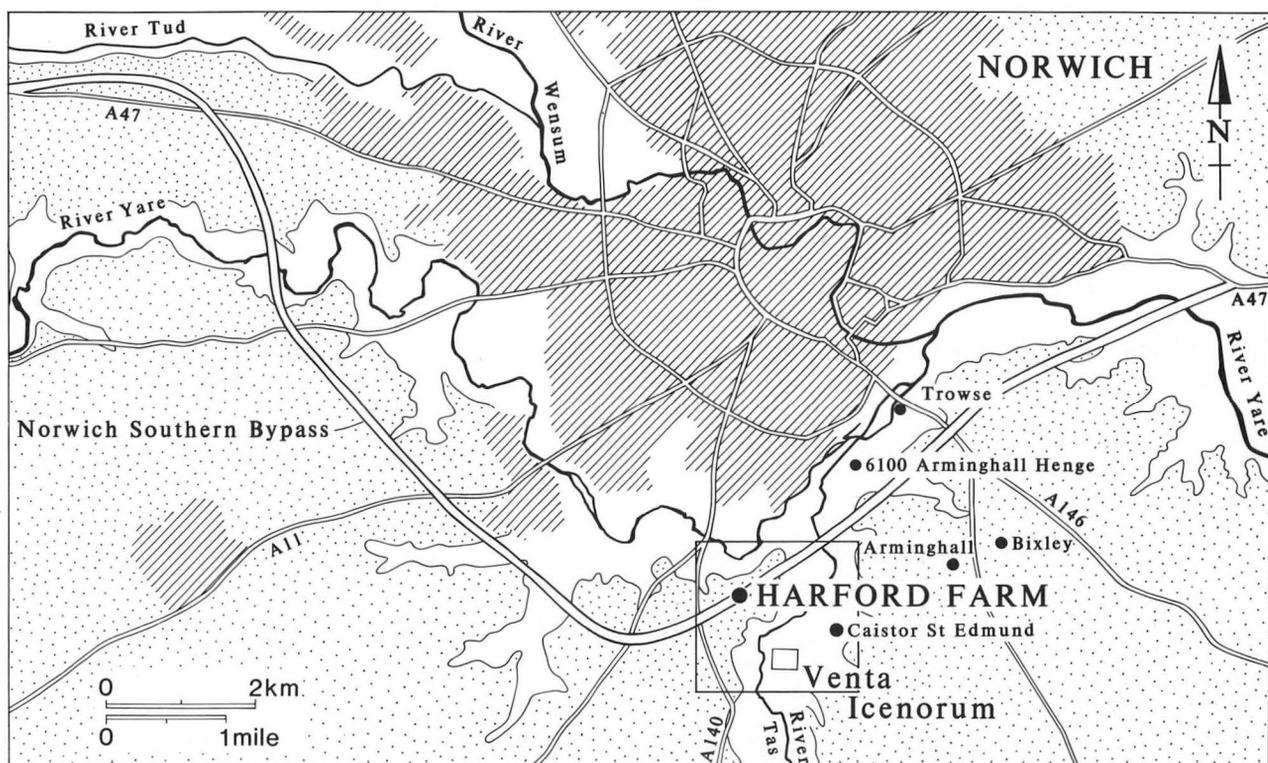


Figure 2 Location map: The Wensum-Tas confluence, showing the Harford Farm area and Site 9794. Scale 1:100,000

English Heritage provided funding for all excavation work at Harford Farm: their support was generously increased after the chance discovery of the forty-six Anglo-Saxon burials which form the subject of this report.

III. The site

Topography and geology

(Fig. 2)

The ridge upon which the Harford Farm site was situated forms part of a series of distinctive hills in the area immediately to the south of Norwich, composed of Pleistocene outwash sands and gravels laid down over Boulder Clay and periglacially modified chalk bedrock. The surface geology of the Harford Farm site was sandy and free-draining. Its elevation varied between 34m and 36.5m OD, its highest point lying some 80m to the south of Markshall Farm Road. The northernmost of the crop-mark ring-ditches (context 112), was sited in a prominent position on the top of a bluff-like gradient which sloped steeply down to the river Yare. This location commanded superb views of the Yare valley and the site of the modern City of Norwich. To the south and the south-east of the site the terrain fell away steadily but less abruptly towards the river Tas and the site of Roman *Venta Icenorum* at Caistor St Edmund.

Before the excavations of 1990 the existence of the prehistoric barrow cemetery at Harford Farm was known only from air photography. No upstanding earthwork or other archaeological feature has ever been noted or recorded there, but during 1932 the pioneer air photographer H. Frederick Low recorded a series of positive crop-marks centred on TG 224 043, on the summit of the gravel spur overlooking the confluence of the rivers Yare and Tas. These appeared to include seven ring-

ditches, two of them over forty metres in diameter, and four smaller square enclosures. The site as a whole was bisected by Markshall Farm Road, the modern route leading from the A140 Ipswich Road eastwards towards Caistor St Edmund village, but no recent building or other major disturbance had impinged upon it (Figs 2 and 3).

In recognition of its significance and state of preservation, part of the site was scheduled in 1952 as Norfolk Ancient Monument no.245. The scheduled area covered a large proportion of the crop-mark but seems to have been defined somewhat arbitrarily, especially to the north of Markshall Farm Road where it did not clearly correspond with the positions of the crop-marks. In more recent times the features have been plotted onto the crop-mark overlay maps held by the Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record, and have been photographed on subsequent occasions by Derek Edwards of Norfolk Landscape Archaeology Division. Parts of the site excavated in 1990 lay outside the scheduled area.

Since 1975 one ring-ditch on the western edge of the complex, probably centred near TG 2240 0435, was apparently destroyed without record by the construction of a large barn and adjacent hard-standing at Harford Farm itself. Also during the 1970s a narrow trench was cut centrally through the site to hold a gas main, running parallel to and immediately to the south of Markshall Farm Road, a minor intervention which was not archaeologically monitored. It was expected that recent plough truncation of the underlying features would be severe, because of the light subsoils and elevated position of the site.

One archaeological excavation pre-dated the 1990 stripping of the site. This was by T. Wake, who in 1938 dug a series of small trial trenches for the Norfolk Research Committee in order to trace the large ring-ditch (context 2100) located immediately to the south of

Markshall Farm Road. The recorded results of this intervention were meagre and contradictory, and have no bearing on the Anglo-Saxon material from Harford Farm.

The gravel spur on which the site lay continued for some 500m further to the north-east of Harford Farm and terminated in the thickly-wooded Chapel Hill, formerly site of the church and deserted medieval village of Markshall, which overlooked the confluence of the two rivers. The site lay roughly equidistant between the A140 Norwich-Ipswich road to the west and the modern village of Caistor St Edmund to the east. Although the area was known as 'Markshall Old Heath' in the earlier part of the century the site had long been under cultivation, and in recent decades had been used predominantly for the intensive cultivation of potatoes.

Harford Farm now lies in the parish of Caistor St Edmund but it anciently lay within that of Markshall, which was united with Caistor in 1695. It takes its name from the major river crossing, the *Harford* (first recorded in 1205), now carrying the A140 into Norwich. In parts following a Roman road, this may have been an important route at some time in the Anglo-Saxon period, joining Ipswich and Norwich. From Harford, the prehistoric barrows would have been a prominent landmark on the skyline. The name Harford means the hart-ford, and is matched on the other side of Norwich by the place-name Heartsease (harts-wood). There is no evidence of a derivation from *here-ford* (army-ford). The place-name Markshall (Ekwall 1960, 315) is first recorded in *Domesday Book* and probably means *Maerec's-halh*, or estate. This also implies that it had been cut out of some larger tract at some time in the Anglo-Saxon period. (The Essex Markshall comes from a different root, *marc-gesell* — pasture settlement near the boundary). Information on place-names comes from Dr Karl Sandred.

The excavation

(Fig. 3)

Excavation work began at Harford Farm in February 1990. The excavation Research Design proposed the mechanical stripping of the areas covered by crop-marks, to be followed by cleaning of all exposed surfaces. This was to lead to partial or total excavation, depending on the results. A large part of the area included in the scheme lay outside both the scheduled and directly threatened parts of the site. This was to allow as large an area as possible of such a well-preserved site to be examined, and to help ensure that the monumental features were fully understood as a group as well as individually. It was felt that area stripping would prevent the three ring-ditches lying in the path of the road from being interpreted in isolation, and this was accepted by English Heritage in approving NAU's grant application. The area of the site lying directly in the path of the road was covered by the Department of Transport's Compulsory Purchase Order, while the additional area both to the north and south of this was entered under the terms of a crop-compensation agreement with the landowner, Dennis E. Smith (Norwich) Ltd.

The shortage of available time determined the initial strategy for excavation; by the time NAU finally gained access to the area in late February 1990, resources for only twelve weeks' excavation and recording could be guaranteed. Because of this, any excavation of features would have been on a very limited scale, and a decision was made to clean and plan the whole area before any

features were examined. This was done to ensure that at least a basic record was made of the entire site, and to try to gain a rapid overview of the area as a whole to ensure that any programme of sample excavation was reasonably informed and problem-oriented.

The discovery of the Anglo-Saxon graves (Fig. 3) was wholly unexpected since they could not be seen on the pre-excavation aerial photographs: in the case of the compact northern group of burials this was probably due to the masking effect of a localised deposit of subsoil overlying features in this part of the site. In April 1990 six of the eventual thirty-one Anglo-Saxon graves in the northern cemetery were encountered by chance in the south-eastern corner of the area that was then opened to reveal the northernmost prehistoric ring-ditch (112) (Plate IX). Topsoil was promptly removed from an extended area, using a hydraulic excavator under close supervision. This succeeded in defining the limits of a nucleated group of burials (Fig. 4). Fifteen further graves were revealed in the area to the south of Markshall Farm Road, a rather more dispersed group spread around a further barrow ring-ditch (1022) (Fig. 5).

It was decided that total excavation of the Anglo-Saxon graves was the immediate priority for the excavation team, because of the unprotected nature of such a rural site and the obvious risk from unauthorised metal detector users. The graves were all excavated and recorded during April and early May 1990, before the team moved on to excavate the round barrows and other prehistoric features. The work was undertaken by a team of thirteen NAU archaeologists. This comprised the excavation director, up to three site supervisors, each of whom was responsible for a specific area, a finds supervisor and eight experienced excavators. This basic team was augmented from time to time by volunteers, particularly by members of the Norfolk Archaeological Rescue Group and by undergraduate students from the Archaeology Department of Exeter University.

Archaeological features at Harford Farm were nearly all filled by sands and gravels, often resembling the undisturbed natural material. Natural material and archaeological deposits alike were highly acid, and this had the unfortunate effect of dissolving practically all bone and uncarbonised organic remains from features.

The graves were usually quite easy to identify after the initial cleaning process, and were best seen when conditions were damp. They were not excavated in half-section but were emptied completely down to the level where the burial was encountered. The body stains were usually composed of a concreted dark brown sand that was very distinct from the surrounding grave fills. The body stain was cleaned in relief, photographed and then planned at a scale of 1:10. Evidence for coffins or other structural features within the graves was also included on these plans. Whenever well-defined coffin stains were encountered in the upper fills of graves excavation was interrupted so that they could be planned in the same way.

All objects from the graves were listed as small finds and recorded three-dimensionally. Wherever possible they were planned *in situ* as they appeared at the time of excavation. They were then lifted either by the Finds Supervisor, Twigs Way, or under her supervision. Care was taken to ensure that metal objects were not over-cleaned during excavation to minimise damage to any organic remains still adhering to them.

Every effort was made to lift fragile, complex or composite objects in soil blocks to allow them to be revealed by the conservator. Wherever superimposed or composite objects, typically girdle-hangers and festoons, were encountered they were photographed in detail in the ground and planned at a scale of 1:1 to make them easier to reconstruct and interpret.

Stratigraphic recording of the graves was undertaken by all excavation staff under the guidance of the site supervisors, using the NAU standard Cut/Deposit and Skeleton pro-forma cards. In the post-excavation stage of the project these records and the finds data were checked and verified and then entered onto the context database. All of this stratigraphic information is present in tabular form in the Norwich Southern Bypass Research Archive (held by the Norfolk Museums Service at Gressenhall). A small number of environmental samples were taken from Anglo-Saxon graves under the guidance of the Environmental Archaeologist, Peter Murphy, but sampling was kept to a minimum, as the environmental potential of the acid sand fills of the graves appeared very low.

The written and drawn record of the cemetery was supplemented by photographs, which were taken by the director and supervisory staff. Roughly parallel sets of black-and-white prints and colour transparencies were taken, and the results archived in accordance with Norfolk Field Archaeology Division procedures.

Phasing

Many parts of the site proved very difficult to phase. Such problems are, of course, commonplace on eroded rural gravel sites such as those on the Norwich Southern Bypass. Plough truncation had probably affected most features to some degree, and at Harford Farm this would probably have swept away everything less than 0.2m deep. This left the NAU team with only a partial sample of the archaeological deposits which once existed, and the damage to what remained tended to impede any attempt at phasing features by comparing their dimensions and form. In view of these problems it was decided to describe human activity in terms of five broad chronological 'periods'.

Period 1: earlier prehistoric
activity pre-dating c.1000 BC

Period 2: later prehistoric
1000 BC–50 BC

Period 3: Romano-British
50 BC–AD400

Period 4: Early/Middle Anglo-Saxon
AD400–800

Period 5: Later Anglo-Saxon/Medieval/modern
activity post-dating AD800

All non-cultural features were assigned to **Period 0**.

Periods 1–3 are covered by Part I of this report (Ashwin and Bates 2000). **Period 4** activity was represented at Harford Farm only by the Anglo-Saxon graves and a very small number of post-holes which appeared to hold a spatial association with them. It is clear that the graves themselves probably date to a relatively brief period around the end of the 7th century, but there was no indication of the length of time the cemetery was respected after its funerary use had ceased, and the end-date of the Period — AD 800 — has been established arbitrarily. The **Period 5** ditch (107) which cut through the southern group of graves could not itself be dated.

A series of six small rectangular enclosures lay between Area A and Area C/D, including (3002) and (2043) (Fig. 3). These are thought to date from the Late Iron Age or early Roman period, by analogy, and are therefore discussed in Part I of this report. However, their stratigraphic position makes an Anglo-Saxon date possible, in which case they could be compared with square enclosures elsewhere, sometimes interpreted as shrines (Blair 1995). This possibility should be remembered, although the earlier date is much more likely at Harford Farm.

Summary information on all contexts is presented in the Research Archive, along with the full texts of all finds reports and other specialist work.

Finds and archive

The Project Archive remains with the Norfolk Museums Service (NMS). This includes finds, primary site records, photographs and all documents, computerised data and other material generated during post-excavation analysis. Photographs will reside with the county photographic archive curated by NMS at Gressenhall. After security copying, other material will be deposited with Norfolk Museums Service for storage at Norwich Castle Museum or elsewhere.

Objects from the Anglo-Saxon graves at Harford Farm have been donated to the Norfolk Museums Service (Accession No. 1994.5). The landowner, Mr Dennis E. Smith, has reserved his rights over any objects in Graves 1–31 subject to Treasure Trove jurisdiction, that is all objects substantially of gold and silver, and these were declared to be not Treasure Trove at Inquest in October 1993. These are currently on loan to the Norfolk Museums Service.

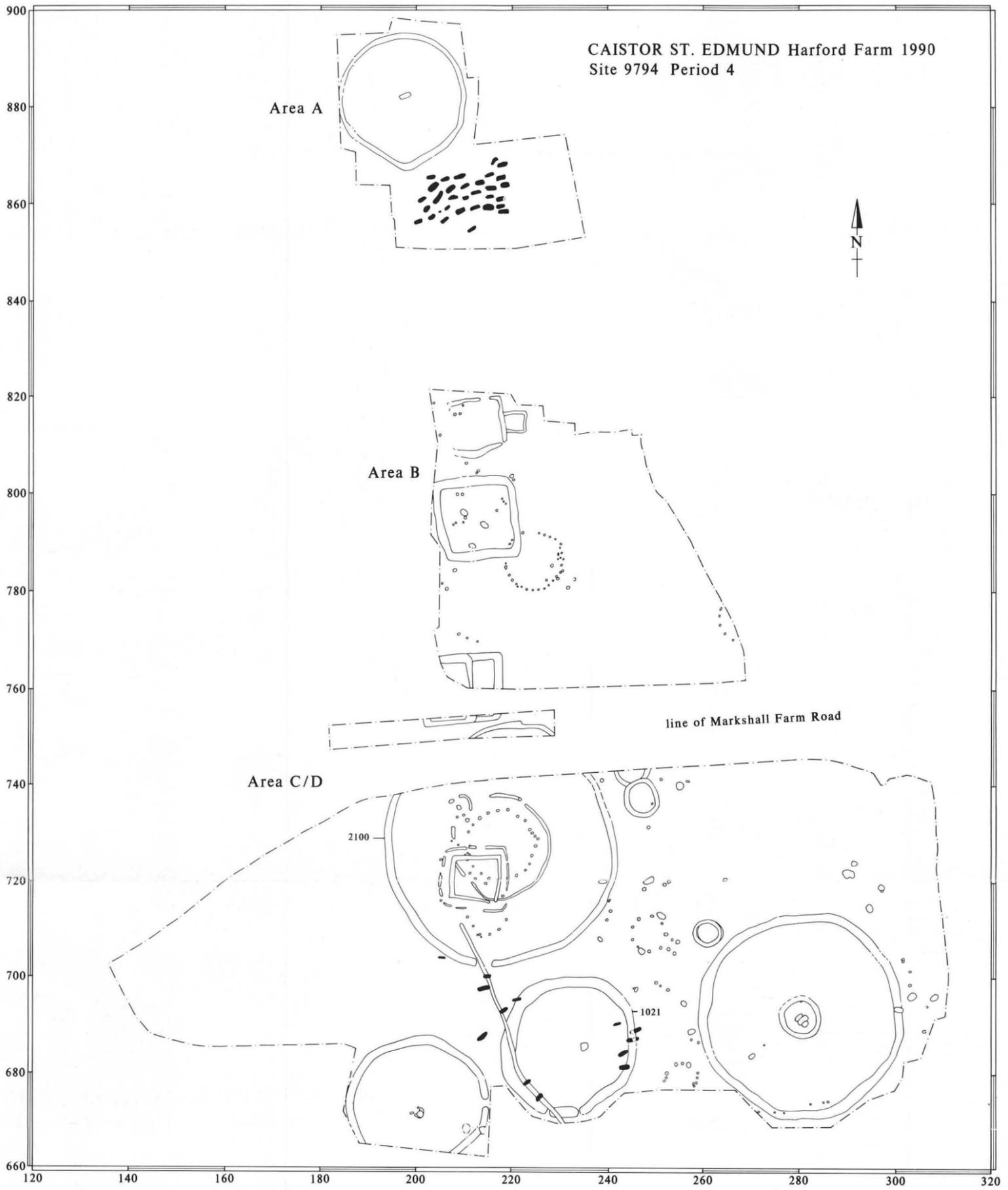


Figure 3 Site 9794: Plan of excavation: Areas A, B and C/D, showing prehistoric features (outline) and Anglo-Saxon graves 1-46 (black). Scale 1:1000

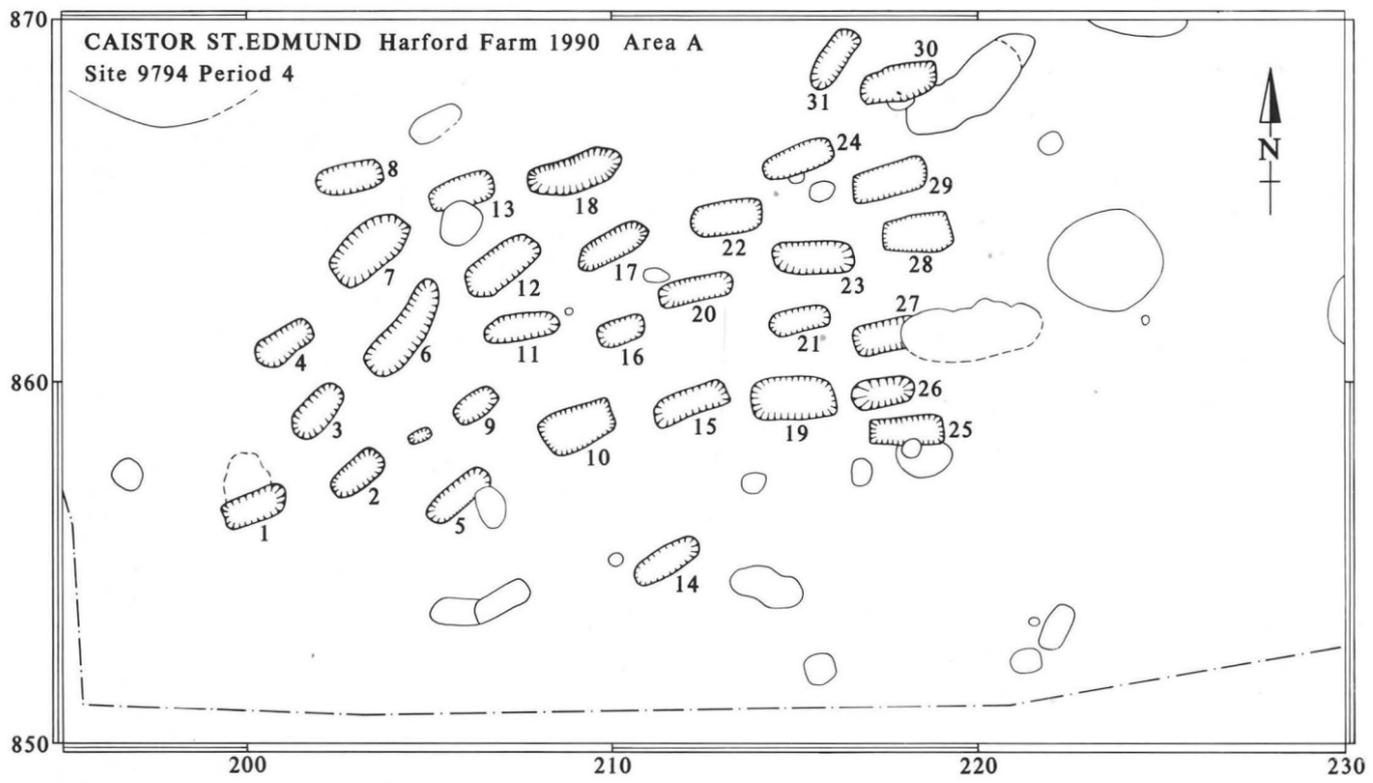


Figure 4 Plan of graves (1-31) in the northern area (Area A). Scale 1:200

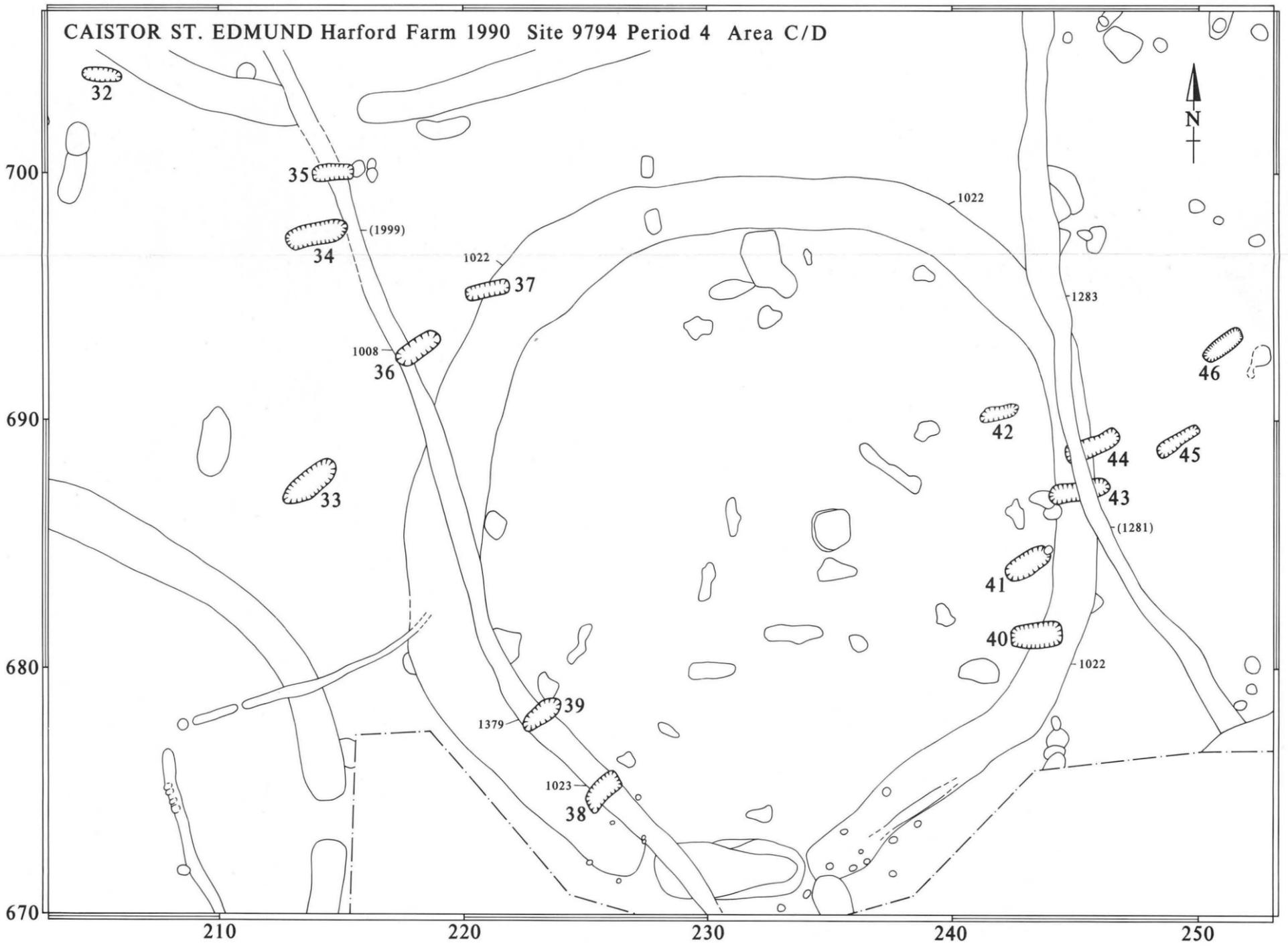


Figure 5 Plan of graves (32-46) in the southern area (Area C/D). Scale 1:200

2. Catalogue of Graves

NB Context numbers of grave cuts are shown italicised in parentheses; some objects are described according to their conventional typology, *i.e.* knives: Evison 1987, 113–116; spearhead: Swanton 1973;1974. Notes on organic material preserved in metalwork are taken from the Ancient Monuments Laboratory report (Watson 1992a).

I. Graves in Area A

(Plate IX; Fig. 4)

Grave 1 (272) (Figs 4, 6, 7 and 82)

Length 1.80m; Width 0.76m; Depth 0.35m.

Fill: Brown sandy loam, darker just above the body stain.

The body was represented by dark brown mineralised/stained sand. Body supine, with head to west (and relatively high in the grave, about 10cm above pelvic area).

No evidence of a coffin.

Grave-goods

1. (a) Iron **key** (SF 152) with patches of degraded textile and fragments of rings, between legs. The field record notes four small 'rivets' lying nearby.
(b) Iron **bar** (SF 152), with (a).
2. Remains of silver **pin suite** (SF 168), lying on the head (Fig. 7).
(a) Silver **pin** (fragment of shaft).
(b) Silver-wire **knot-ring**.
(c) Silver **chain**, loop-in-loop, six links, with small fragment of textile.

Grave 2 (281) (Plate X; Figs 4, 8, 74 and 82)

Length 1.74m; Width 0.75m; Depth 0.25m.

Fill: Orange/brown sand.

The base of a coffin was represented by extensive staining, the sides by upstanding stained sand towards the west end. The body was represented by dark red/brown silty sand, clearly indicating the lower limbs, feet, pelvic and head area. Body supine, head to west and feet hard against the end of the grave (Plate X).

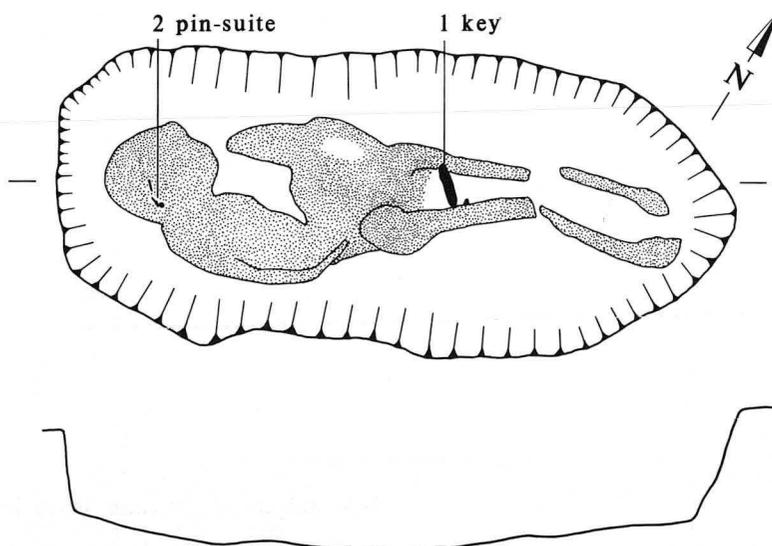


Figure 6 Grave 1. Scale 1:20

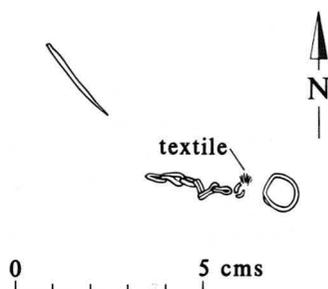


Figure 7 Grave 1, object 2, field drawing. Scale 1:2

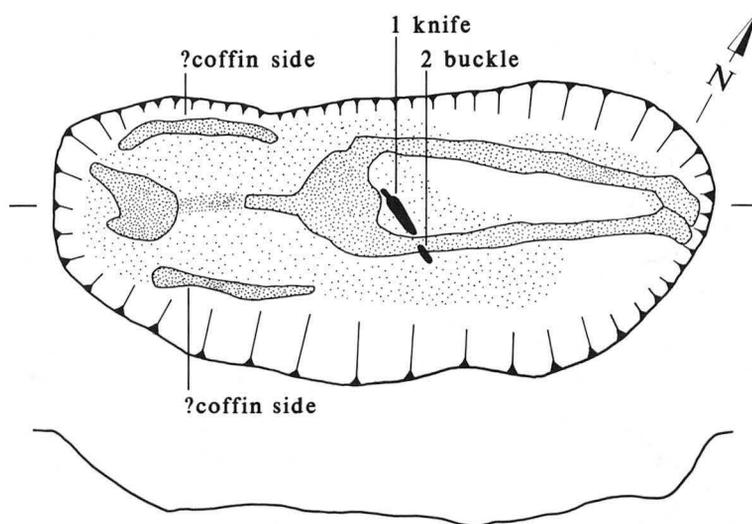


Figure 8 Grave 2. Scale 1:20

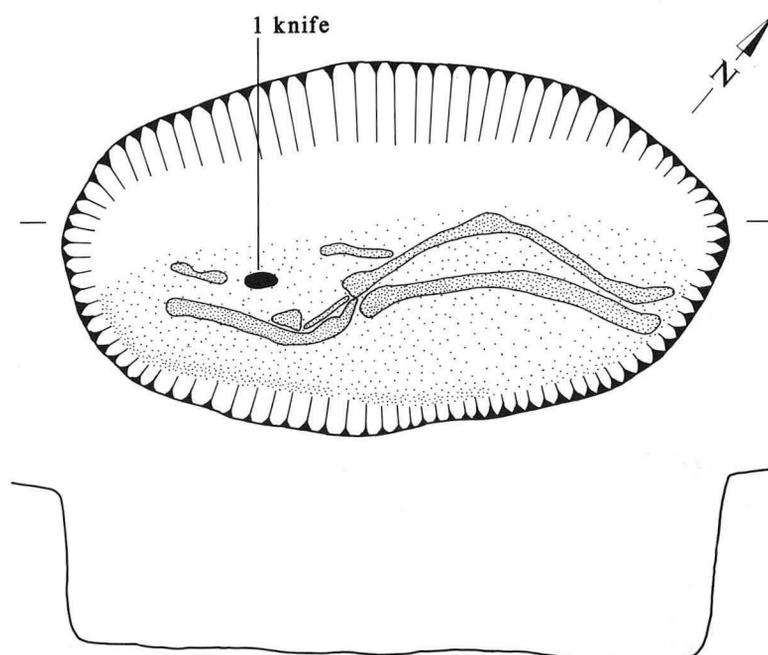


Figure 9 Grave 3. Scale 1:20

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 205); length 18.0cm (Evison Type 4); with remains of horn handle and possible traces of leather sheath.
2. Remains of iron **buckle** and **buckle-plate** (SF 206) with remains of leather strap and textile. Mineral preserved stems or roots on plate. Both found in pelvic area.

Grave 3 (149) (Figs 4, 9, 74 and 82)

Length 1.75m; Width 1.0m; Depth 0.38m.

Fill: Mixed orange-brown sand and silty sand.

The base of a coffin was indicated by sandy silt stained mid-brown with a slightly 'organic' texture, seen along the south-east edge of the grave.

The body was represented by a body stain, red/brown externally, pale yellow within, and by some very fragmentary bone. The stain represents the legs and part

of the trunk; the body was apparently lying on its left side slightly flexed, with head to the west, and feet hard against the end of the grave.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 90), in chest area, length 15cm (Evison Type 5); remains of horn handle and leather sheath.

Grave 4 (146) (Figs 10, 74 and 82)

Length 1.75m; Width 0.70m; Depth 0.38m.

Fill: Grey/yellow silty sand.

A coffin, perhaps c. 0.4m wide, survived as staining representing parts of the sides and the base.

The body stain was a mid-brown fine to medium sand with white flecks. The body was supine, with head to the west, legs slightly bent, and turned towards the left. The feet appear to have been crossed. Head and feet were hard against the ends of the grave.

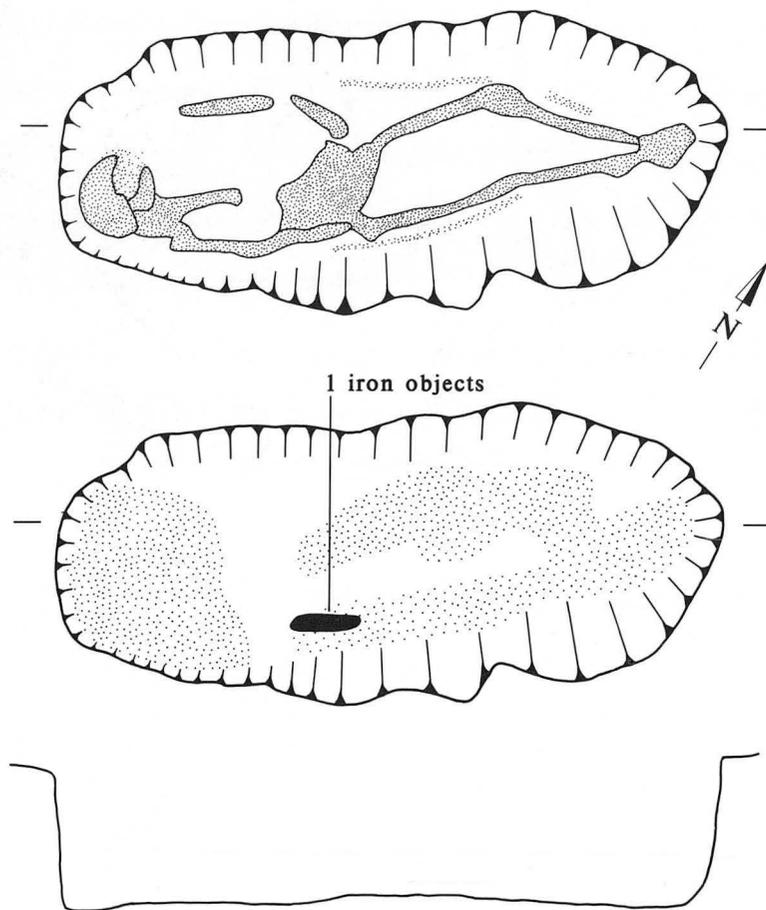


Figure 10 Grave 4 (upper, body stain; lower, base of grave). Scale 1:20

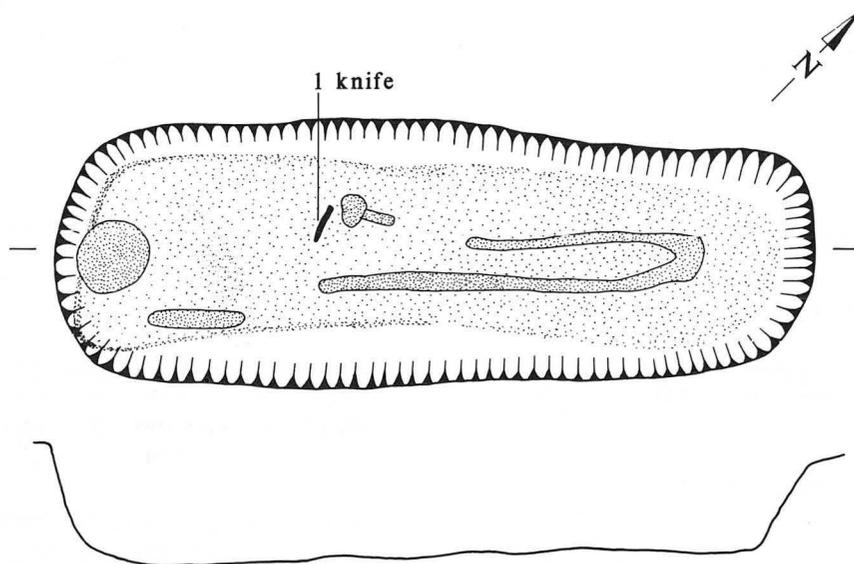


Figure 11 Grave 5. Scale 1:20

Grave-goods

1. A group of iron objects (SF 89), under the right hip.
 - (a) Iron **knife** length 20.0cm (Evison Type 2), remains of horn handle and traces of leather sheath; traces of textile; the X-radiograph shows a possible weld line.
 - (b) Iron **rod** (missing: drawn from X-ray).
 - (c) Iron **firesteel** (missing: drawn from X-ray).
 - (d) Iron **object**.

Grave 5 (230) (Figs 4, 11, 74 and 82)
 Length 1.20m; Width 0.70m; Depth 0.25m.
 Fill: Mixed sand/gravel.

At an upper level the coffin was represented by a stained silty sand, with the sides clearest at the west end. About 10cm below the coffin stain lay the body stain; little remained, but enough was visible to see that the body was supine, with head to the west and hard against the west end.

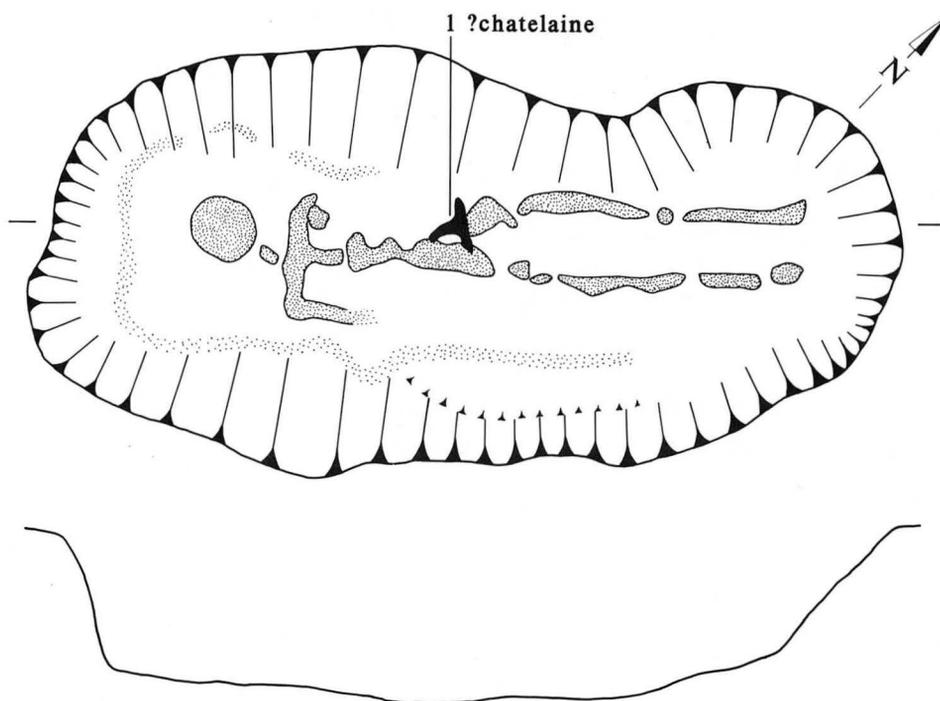


Figure 12 Grave 6. Scale 1:20

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife**, (SF203) near the waist, length 13cm (Evison Type 1); remains of horn handle extending part-way down the blade; traces of leather sheath on the blade, possibly covering part of handle. Piece of fine textile one side, probably on top of the sheath.

Grave 6 (141) (Figs 4, 12, 74 and 82)

Length c. 2.30m; Width c. 1.10m; Depth 0.50m.

Fill: Medium brown silty sand with lenses of yellow sand, more mottled and gravelly towards the base of the grave.

A narrow stain of dark brown sandy silt represented the coffin sides. Within the coffin, which was perhaps 0.55m wide, lay the remains of the body, supine with head to the west, consisting largely of a dark reddish brown stain. The legs were the firmest part of the stain and some small fragments of bone were recovered from them. The skull was merely a patch of dark sand.

Grave-goods

1. Remains of a ?**chatelaine** (SF 71 and 74), lying at the waist. Lifted as a block for examination in the laboratory.
 - (a) Iron **knife** (SF 71b), length 11.0cm (Evison Type 4); remains of horn handle and traces of leather sheath. Degraded textile on blade, over leather.
 - (b) Iron **ring** (SF 71a), diameter c. 90mm, in pieces (with textile), on which is
 - (c) Copper-alloy **ring** (SF 74) diameter 15mm; textile remains, and possibly a piece of leather at end.

Grave 7 (025) (Figs 4, 13, 14, 74 and 83)

A large irregular grave, up to 2.5m in length, 1.3m in width and 0.45m deep; steep-sided at the south and west, sloping elsewhere.

Fill: Light brown sandy silt.

A rectangular brown stain at the east end may represent a coffin; a line of staining in the centre of the grave may represent part of a lower limb. At the centre of the grave, in the probable pelvic area, there was a triangular stain, recorded as 'wood/body stain' with many iron objects, some of which had wood fragments adhering. This is thought to represent the remains of a box or chest, (1) and comb (2) (Fig. 14).

Grave-goods

1. Remains of a **box or chest** with iron fittings (Composite SF 55 = 1-21, 57-69) associated with wood, textile and remains of leather. The wood of the box and dowels is alder (*Alnus* sp.) (see below Chapter 3, p.65).
 - (a) Iron **barrel lock**, fragments (SF 66 and 68). The lockspring (SF66) has wood preserved on one side which originally belonged to a tangential surface board on this casket. The axis of the spring is perpendicular to the wood grain which probably indicates that it was hanging vertically without the padlock casing in place, in which case this gives a minimum height for the side of approximately 65mm. The padlock casing (68) only has mineral preserved threads on one side, and it was possibly not attached to the spring at burial.
 - (b) Iron **hinge** (SF8) flat strip with two nails.
 - (c) Iron **hinge** (SF11) flat strip with two nails; traces of textile. Two hinges with mineral preserved wood from radial surface boards. The nails on (c) give a minimum thickness for the lid (at this point) of 15.7mm. There is a slight curvature on both hinges which suggests that the casket originally had a curved top.
 - (d) Iron **nail shank** (SF4) with traces of wood; possibly belongs with (b); traces of textile.

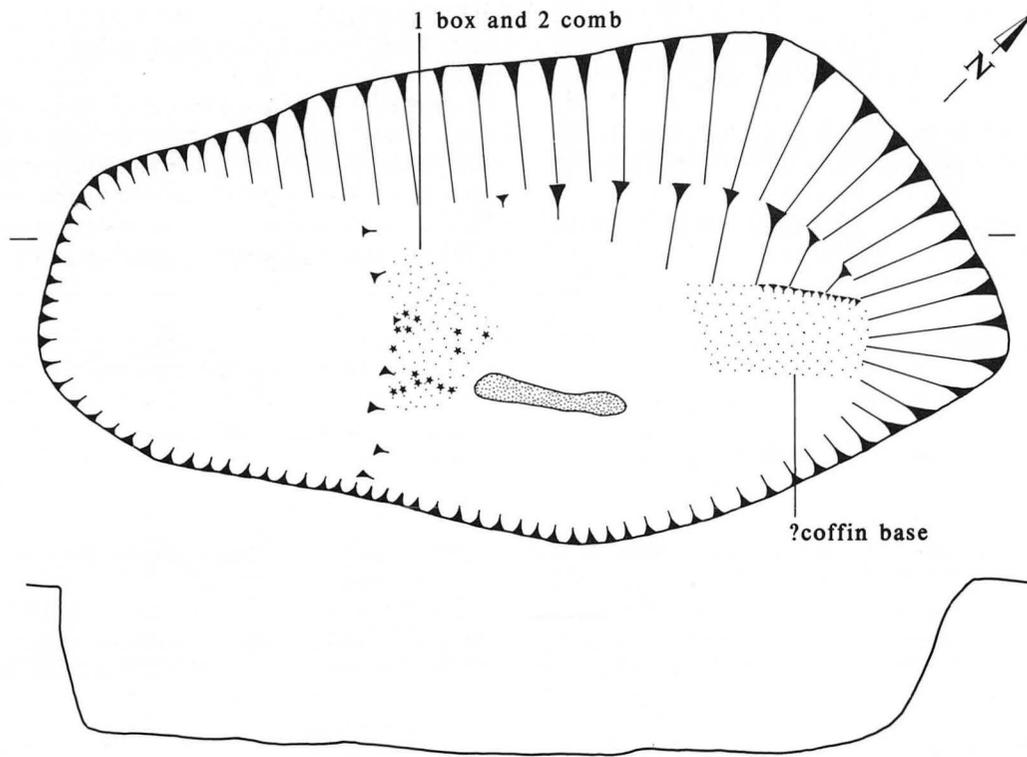


Figure 13 Grave 7. Scale 1:20

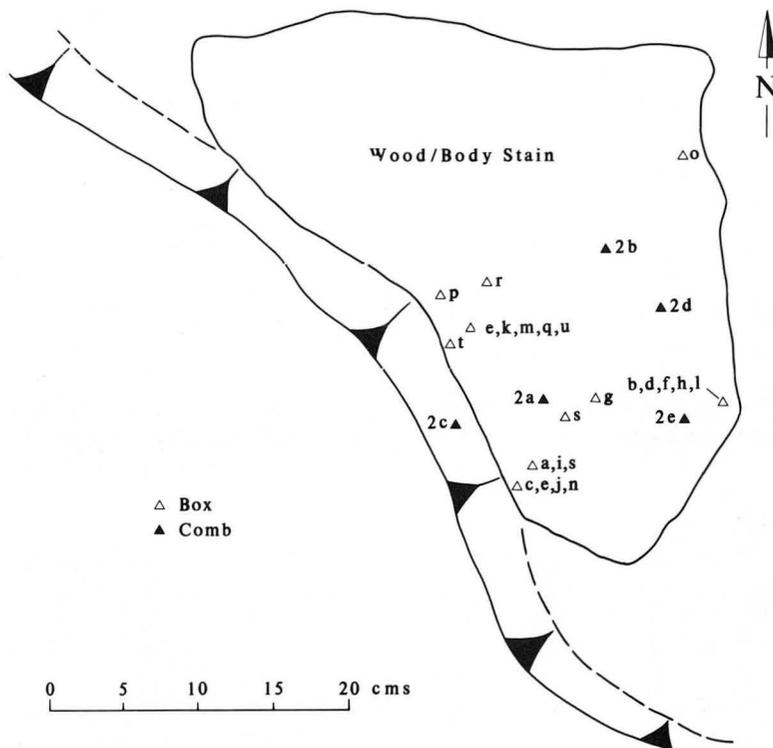


Figure 14 Grave 7, objects 1 and 2, field drawing. Scale 1:5

(e) Iron **nail shanks** (SF12, 13, 14) with traces of wood (SF14 not illus.) No traces of joinery. The grain orientation and position in the grave suggest that these belong with hinge (c).

(f) Iron '**split loop**' (SF2); from ?drop-handle. Traces of textile. Possibly used to attach one side of a handle to the lid.

(g) Iron **loop** (SF58); ?part of drop handle. Traces of textile.

(h) Iron **fragments** (SF3, 5 and 6); parts of drop handle. Traces of textile.

(i) Iron **fragment** (SF67); traces of textile. Possibly part of lock.

(j–o) Six iron **nails** (SF1, 9, 10, 14, 17, 21, 63; 21 not illustrated.)

As there are four nails on the west side and two on the east it is quite likely that these nails represent repairs to this casket, where the sides and/or the lid were originally joined with dowels, or a decorative element. All six nails have mineral preserved wood with the grain orientated along the axis of the shank and no sign of joins, perhaps indicating they were put through wooden dowels as repairs (Watson 1992a, 5).

(p–s) Iron **fragments** (SF15, 20, 57, 65); probably nail shanks.

(t, u) Iron **fragments** (SF16, 18), one with looped end; possibly parts of a key; textile on (u).

2. (a–e) Iron **rivets** with fragments of preserved antler (SF59–62, 64); probably remains of a **comb**; traces of textile on (a), (b) and (c), and leather on (e). (The antler appears to be made up of three sections, c. 3mm thick). The rivets were found amongst the box fittings and this may indicate that the comb was originally inside the wooden box.

Grave 8 (I17) (Figs 4, 15, 74 and 83)

Length 2.0m; Width 1.20m; Depth 0.52m.

Fill: Mid grey-brown sand.

Evidence of a coffin was encountered high in the grave fill as a narrow dark stain in the south-west corner of the grave; at the base of the grave the coffin was seen as extensive black staining and a narrow line of staining indicating the west end, south side and north-east corner. An area of dark purple-brown staining at the west end probably represents the head.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **buckle** and **buckle-plates** (SF 91); remains of leather belt passing through the loop and possibly between the plates; in remains of textile, near the probable waist area.

Grave 9 (222) (Figs 4, 16)

Length 1.32m; Width 0.64m; Depth 0.30m.

Fill: Yellowish-brown sand.

No coffin or body stain, or objects, were found, but the shape of this feature, its position and orientation make its identification as a grave certain. The size of this grave may indicate the burial of a child.

No grave-goods.

Grave 10 (234) (Plate XI; Figs 4, 17, 74 and 83)

Length 2.10m; Width 0.95m; Depth 0.70m.

Fill: Mottled yellow-mid brown sand and gravel.

Parts of the lid and sides of a coffin were clearly indicated by a dark brown stain, found above the body stain. At the west (head) end, the coffin had a rounded outline and at the east (foot) end a concave outline, suggesting collapse. Below the body, a dark stain indicated the coffin base. The coffin contained a well-preserved

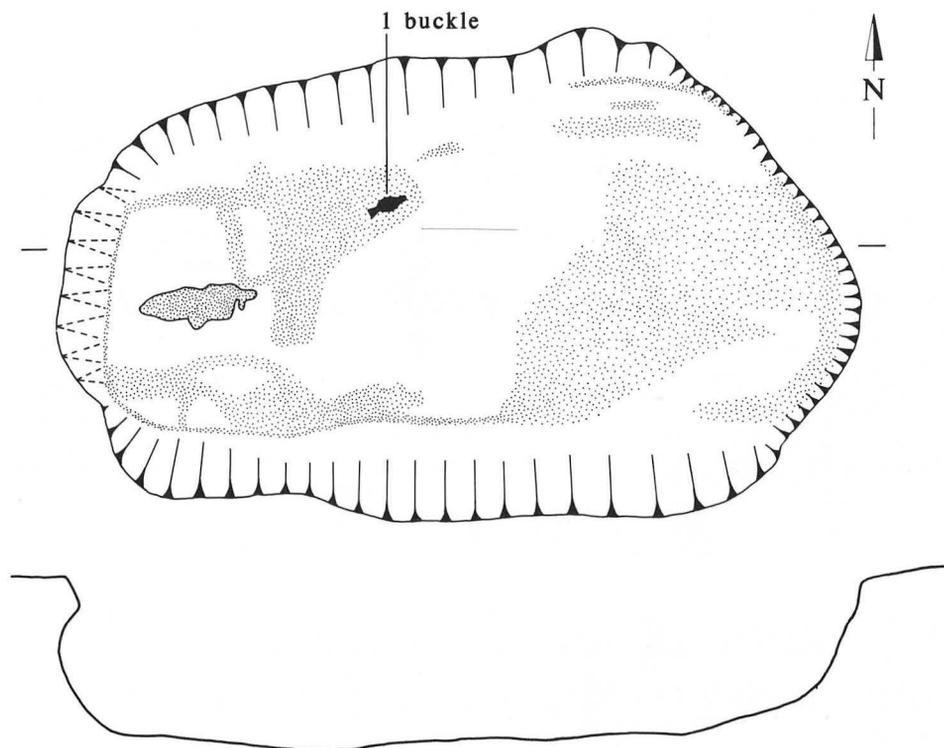


Figure 15 Grave 8. Scale 1:20

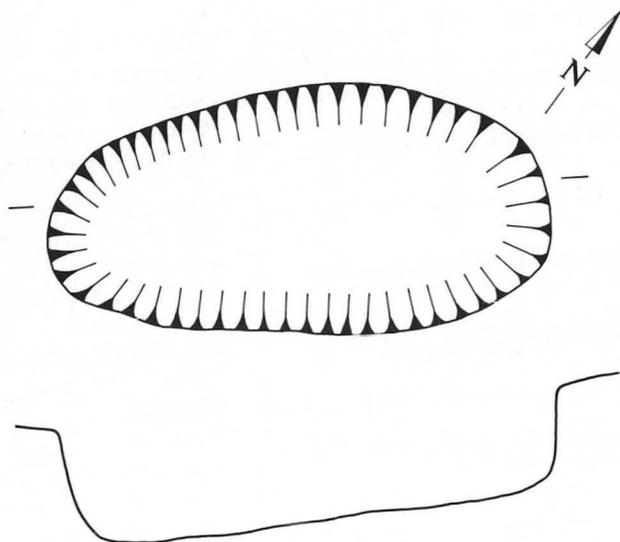


Figure 16 Grave 9. Scale 1:20

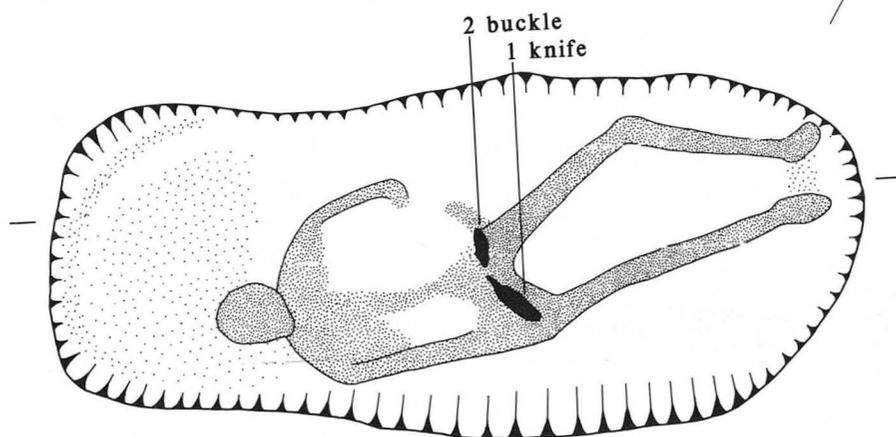
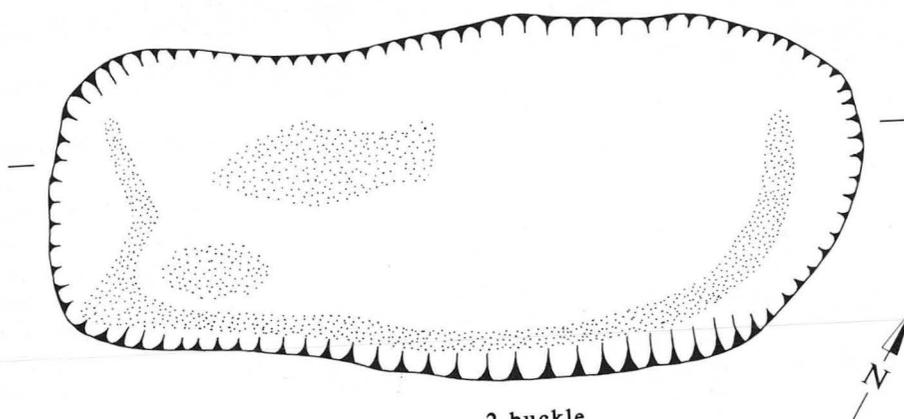


Figure 17 Grave 10 (upper, ?coffin lid; lower, body stain). Scale 1:20

dark-brown body stain, with the head slightly upstanding and possibly tilted to the right. The burial was supine, with head to the west; and did not fill the coffin, as indicated by the stain. The coffin was also probably rather wide and this allowed the body to be skewed with the left leg bent outwards (Plate XI).

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 189) length 17.3cm (Evison Type 4) in the remains of a leather sheath; with remains of horn handle.
2. Iron **buckle** and **plate** (SF 188). Both found in pelvic area.

Grave 11 (151) (Plates IV and XX; Figs 4, 18, 74, 84–85)
Length 1.95m; Width 0.65; Depth 0.45m

Fill: Mid-brown silty sand, becoming mottled and patchy with some yellow sand towards the base.

The coffin was represented by a line of dark brown silty sand around the base of the grave. The probable remains of the coffin lid were seen as a dark stain with a 'flat surface' above the body stain in the pelvic area. The body stain was poorly preserved and was seen as a 'dark chocolate brown' silty sand, with tiny flecks of bone. The body was supine, head to west, but appeared to be turned at the waist so that the right leg was in profile, slightly flexed.

Grave-goods

At the right shoulder, perhaps on a backing of textile/leather (SF 77) was the remains of a festoon, comprising:-

1. Three silver-wire **rings** with suspension-hitches (SF 73, 75, 76 and 92).
2. Gold, silver and garnet composite **disc brooch** (SF 78) diameter 72mm. (Plates IV and XX)

The brooch was found lying on its face and was lifted in a soil block for examination and conservation in the laboratory. Of the four satellite bosses, one was in

place, one was missing and two were present but detached (and presumably came from the two sockets with gold sheet bases intact). Associated with the brooch was compacted organic material, fragments of textile. (For a full description see Chapter 3, p.45–9).

Nearer the waist were other probable parts of the festoon (4), with an associated object (3), possibly on a backing of textile/leather (field record).

3. Silver **toilet set** (SF 80) of three silver implements with inscribed decoration on a silver-wire suspension ring. The implements are a perforated spoon and two 'picks'. The bowl and the wire ring are separate elements.
4. Eight to ten silver-wire **knot-rings**, and two apple-green glass **beads**, each on a small silver-wire **knot-ring** (SF 79, 82 and 83); fragments of compacted organic material, which may have been leather and random organic material.
5. Iron **knife** (SF 86) length 13.5cm. (?Evison Type 4) with horn handle, in remains of a leather sheath; traces of a tang; traces of textile.
6. Iron **shears** (SF 86), covered in remains of textile and remains of leather sheath which extends almost to loop; layers of textile overlie some of the leather and cover most of the loop.
7. Three iron **rings** (SF 87), possibly for suspension; traces of textile.
8. Iron **key** (SF 85) on suspension ring; traces of various textiles.
9. (a) Iron **key** on suspension ring with threads and fragments of leather, and
(b) Three iron **rivets** (SF 84), with possible antler remains, possibly **comb**.
(The keys (8) and (9) are of different types; (8) is T-shaped, (9) is L-shaped).
10. Copper-alloy **object** (SF 88) associated with wood fragment (not illustrated).
11. Copper-alloy **strip** (SF 81) at ankle (not illustrated).

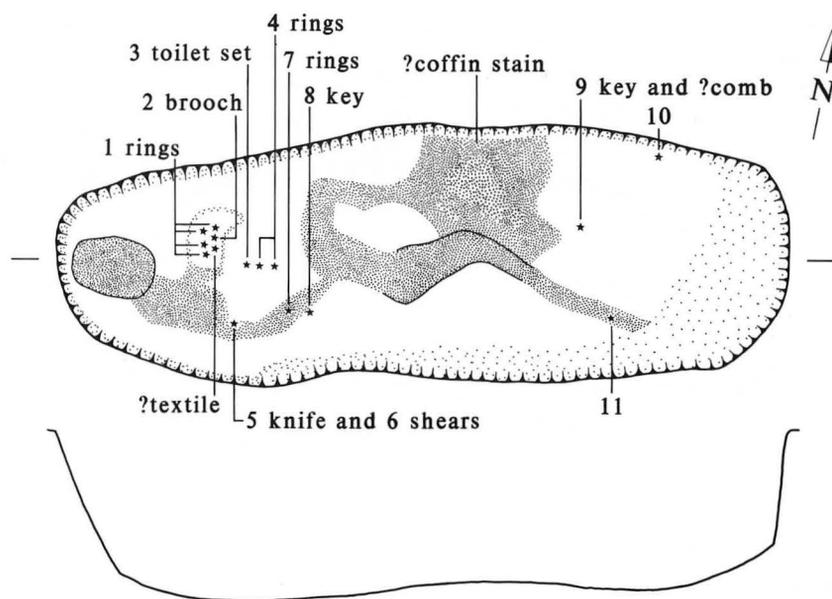


Figure 18 Grave 11. Scale 1:20

Grave 12 (140) (Figs 4, 19, 74 and 86)
 Length 1.95m; Width 0.85m; Depth 0.35m.
 Fill: Uniform light orange-brown sand.

No coffin stain was found, but a dark-brown body stain was found, indicating a supine burial with head to west. The feet were hard against the east end of the grave and the hands were in the pelvic area. The right leg appears to have twisted or splayed out.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 70), horn handle, traces of probable leather sheath and tang, point possibly broken, length 19.3cm (Evison Type 1 or 3) at the waist; the X-radiograph shows a possible weld line visible in the centre of the blade.
2. Iron **buckle**, and **buckle-plates** with gold and garnet settings and remains of textile (SF 72); three garnet-headed rivets (one garnet missing) and larger garnet setting on base of tongue, the garnets in settings of gold; the gold foil below the main garnet is crumpled, and may be re-used.

Grave 13 (144) (Figs 4, 20, 74 and 86)
 Length 1.75m; Width 0.75m; Depth 0.50m.
 Fill: Medium brown silty sand. A later feature of uncertain date cut the south edge of Grave 13 (shown on Figure 4).

Staining within this grave could not always be identified as coffin or body stain; however, a coffin lid seems to be represented by pale-dark brown staining above the probable body stain. A pale brown stain below the body at the east end must be the remains of the coffin base. In the south-west corner, a line of stain must indicate a coffin side.

The body seems to be represented by an area of dark brown staining (containing many small fragments of bone) whose shape suggests a crouched burial, lying on its right side, probably with the head at the west end.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 96) length 9.5cm (Evison Type 5); with horn handle and leather sheath.
 2. Iron **buckle** (SF 97).
- Both (1) and (2) were found in the general area of the waist.

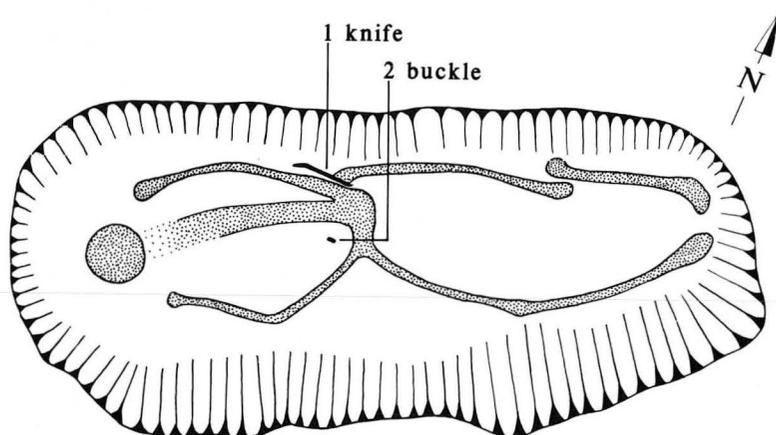


Figure 19 Grave 12. Scale 1:20

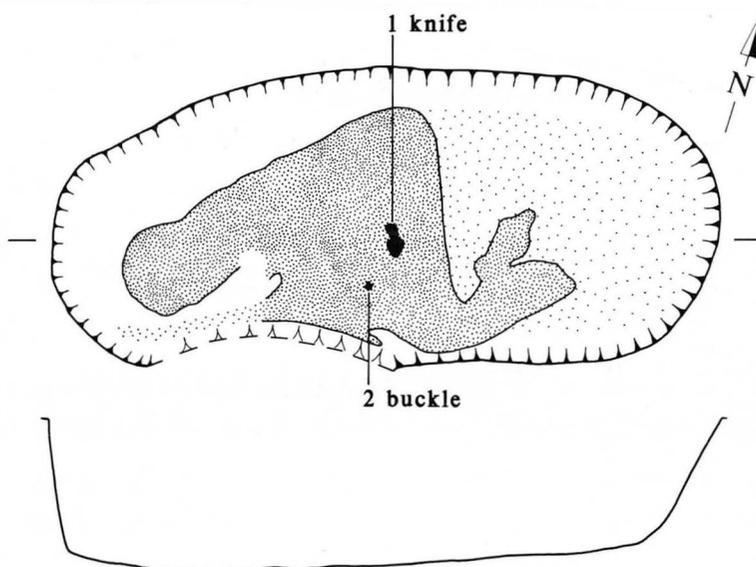


Figure 20 Grave 13. Scale 1:20

Grave 14 (232) (Figs 4, 21 and 74)
 Length 1.80m; Width 0.50m; Depth 0.25m.
 Fill: Uniform light-medium brown silty sand.

Two lengths of medium grey-brown stained sand, c. 2cm wide represent the coffin side on the body's right side. The body is represented by a dark brown stain within which were minute traces of white bone, too small to be recovered. The body was supine, with head to the west, hands together in the pelvic area, and feet together.

No grave-goods.

Grave 15 (218) (Figs 4, 22 and 74)
 Length 2.20m; Width 0.75m; Depth 0.32m.
 Fill: Yellow-brown sandy loam with some soil.

The outline of the coffin was almost complete, except at the ends, as a narrow line of brown staining. The coffin was parallel sided, about 38cm wide, with a rectangular foot end and a rounded head end, probably the result of post-depositional changes. The body stain was poorly preserved but enough remained to show that the burial was supine with head to the west, and that the feet were together, hard against the end of the coffin. The right arm seems to be indicated by a linear stain, and a position with hands in the pelvic area is likely. The head end is obscure

but seems also to have been tight against the end of the coffin, which has distorted.

No grave-goods.

Grave 16 (183) (Figs 4, 23 and 74)
 Length 1.20m; Width 0.48m; Depth 0.30m.

Fill: Brown sand, with some lenses of yellow sand. An irregular dark brown stain on the case of the grave probably represents the burial. The size of the stain and the length of the grave may indicate that the burial was a child.

No grave-goods.

Grave 17 (189) (Figs 4, 24 and 75)
 Length 2.05m; Width 0.85m; Depth 0.40m.
 Fill: Light-dark brown sandy loam.

An irregular dark yellow-brown stain in the fill of Grave 17 lying above the body stain must represent the coffin lid, with a darker narrow stain indicating the side of the coffin. Below the lid further traces of the sides of the coffin were seen, seen as three separate lengths of staining, representing the sides and both ends. A coffin some 1.85m long is indicated (perhaps just 1.75m if allowance is made for distortion at the foot end).

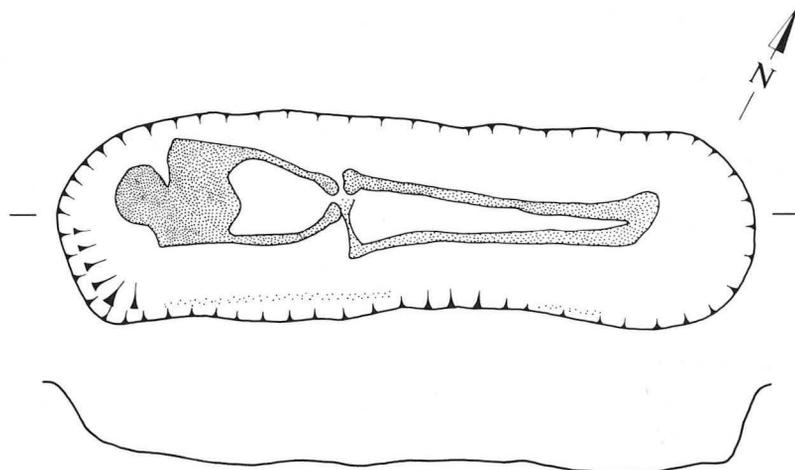


Figure 21 Grave 14. Scale 1:20

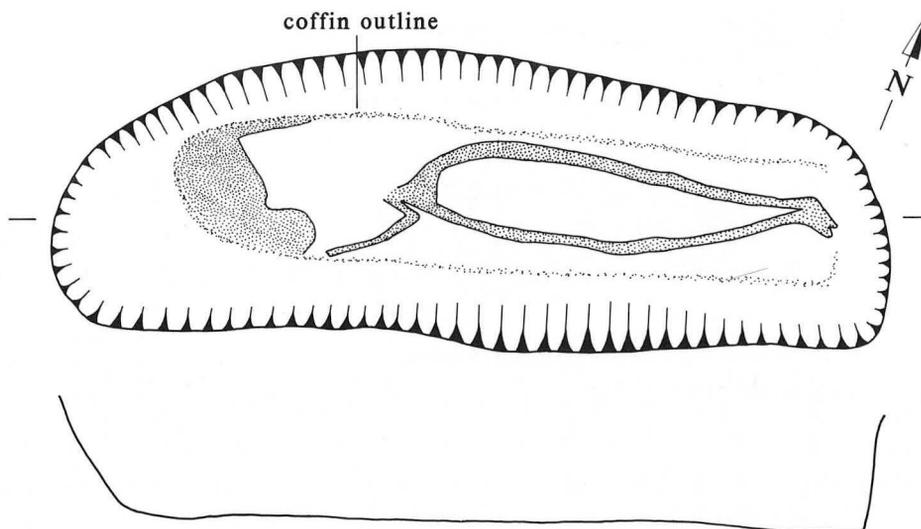


Figure 22 Grave 15. Scale 1:20

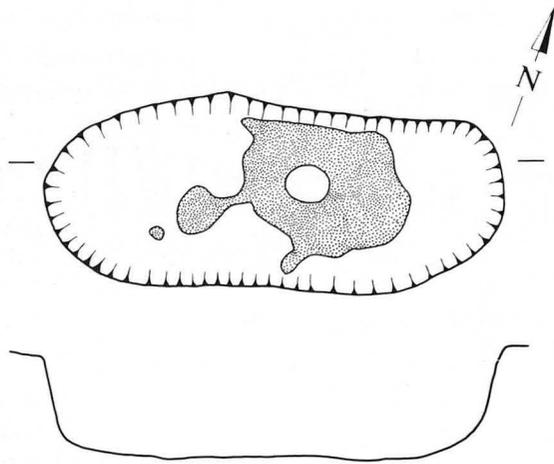


Figure 23 Grave 16. Scale 1:20

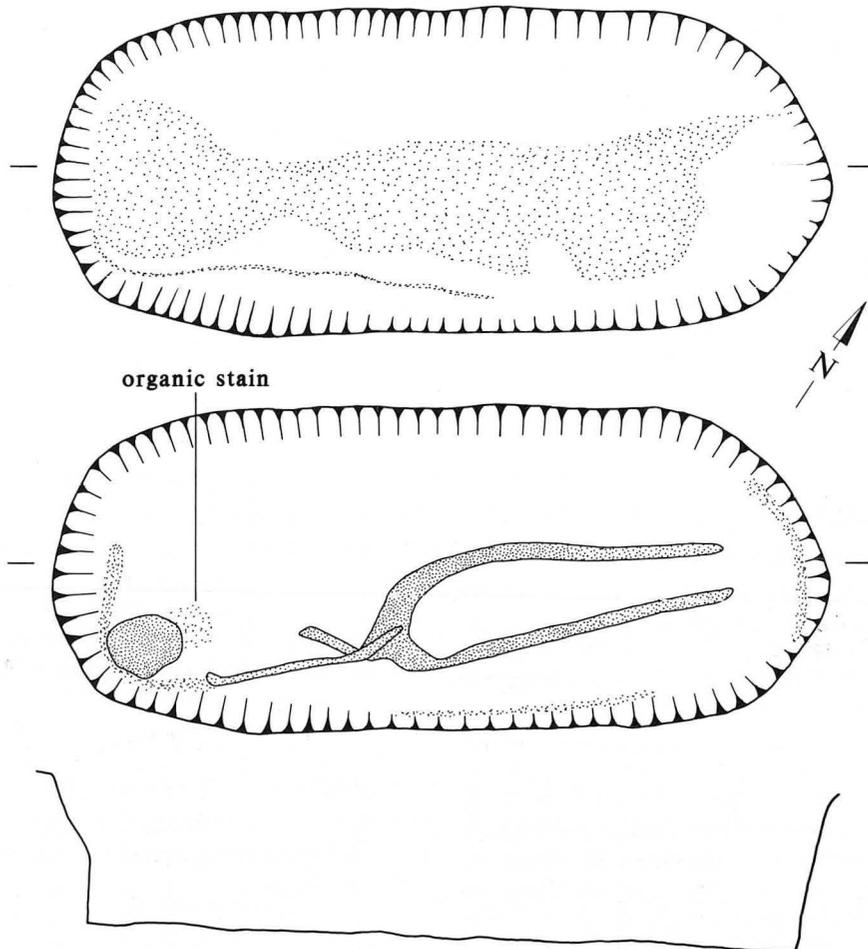


Figure 24 Grave 17 (upper, ?coffin lid; lower, body stain). Scale 1:20

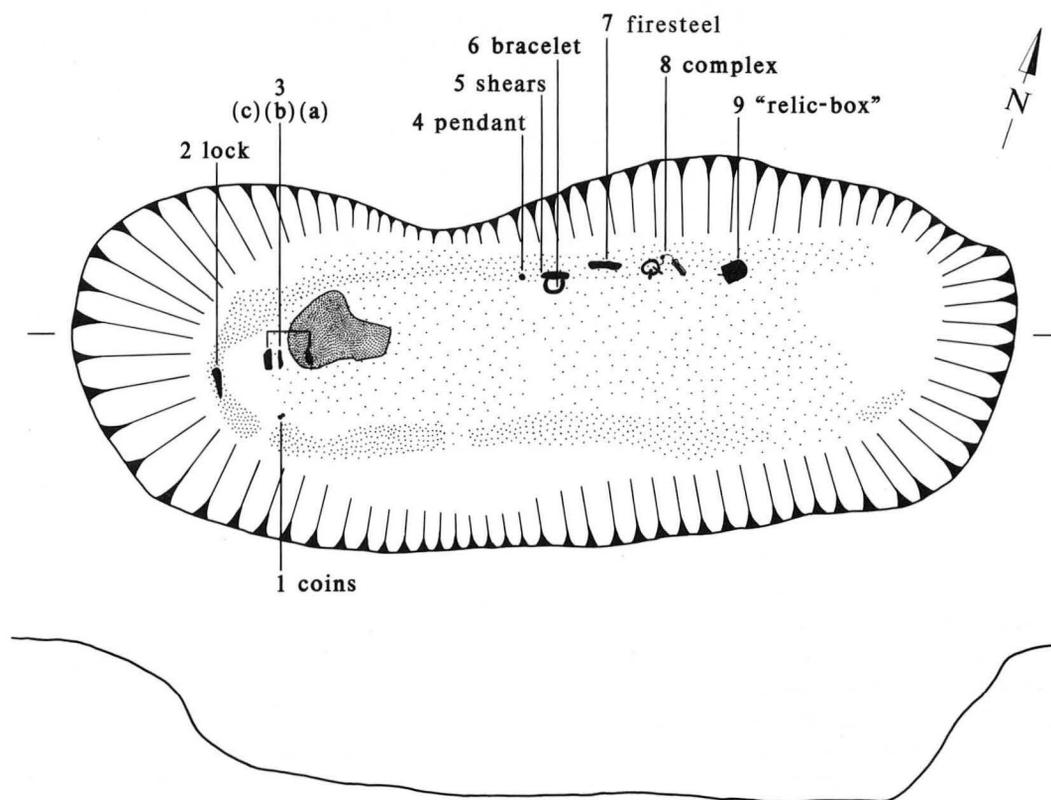


Figure 25 Grave 18. Scale 1:20

The body stain was poorly preserved but represented a supine burial with head to the west, lying skewed in the coffin. Much of the body was missing, but the position of the legs could be seen and that of the head, which was in the very corner of the coffin. Organic staining next to the head may indicate a pillow or some other object placed in the coffin.

No grave-goods.

Grave 18 (181) (Plates XIV, XV, XVII, XIX, XXI, XXII and XXIII; Figs 4, 25, 26, 75, 86–8)
Length 2.50m; Width 1.00m; Depth 0.45m.

Fill: Mottled grey/orange/brown silty sand, probably natural sands and gravels with patches of soil. The fill contained a fragment of prehistoric pottery (SF 110).

The coffin was first seen as dark grey/black stained sand, possibly the traces of the coffin sides and the west (head) end, distorted by collapse; both the irregular outline (with its bowing at the head) and the position of objects above the stain, suggest collapse and movement of the objects in the coffin. Below this level, staining on the base of the grave must represent the bottom of the coffin. An area of very dark staining was found under the objects on the left side of the body and is thought also to be coffin remains, although some other explanation, such as textile/bag, is possible.

Little of the body stain survived; a patch of dark red/brown silty sand at the west end probably represents the head. It is possible that more of the body stain survived but recognition was obscured by the coffin stain.

Grave-goods

Found together at the south-west corner of the coffin, above the head on the right side were:-

1. (a) *Sceat* (SF 124) (c. 690: see Chapter 5, p.75–6) (Plates XXI and XXII)
(b) *Sceat* (SF 125) (c. 690: see Chapter 5, p.75–6) (Plates XXI and XXII)

A number of iron objects (2 and 3) found in a line between the head and the end of the coffin may represent the fittings of a wooden box or chest. The box appears to be made of two different woods, but there are not enough fittings to reconstruct it with confidence. Objects 2 and 3 were on the left side of the burial, resting on the coffin stain. All but the 'relic box' (object 9) lay within an area of very dark staining, recorded as coffin staining but possibly representing some other object.

2. Iron **barrel lock** and fragment of **key** (SF 114) found on the coffin stain at the extreme west end. With remains of wood (alder: *Alnus* sp.).
3. (a) Iron **ring and eyelet** (SF 121), with remains of wood (alder: *Alnus* sp.).
(b) Iron **ring and eyelet** and three associated iron **fittings** with wood adhering (SF 122). On the ring are three small **loops** 7.0cm long. (The wood (ash: *Fraxinus* sp.) on the nail indicates the use of a 19mm thick board.)
(c) Iron **awl** (SF 123), with plied thread around metal shank just below the wooden handle. Wood identified as alder (*Alnus* sp.).
4. Gold and garnet **pendant** with channelled loop (SF 141) 36mm diameter (Plates XVII and XIX). (See Chapter 3, p.50)
5. Iron **shears** (SF 142).
6. Copper-alloy **bracelet** with hook and eye fastening, (SF 130), found below (5).
7. Iron **purse-mount/firesteel** (SF 126), traces of textile and leather.

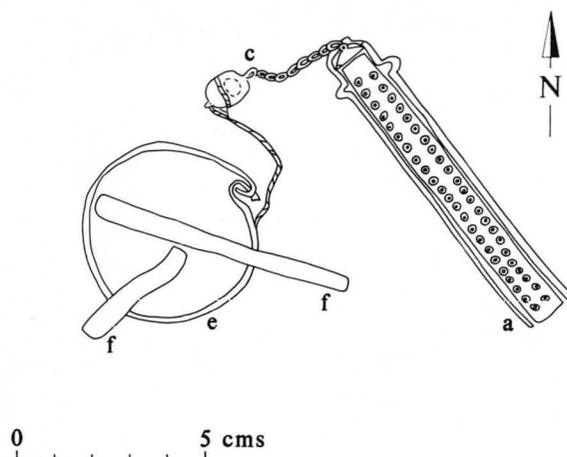


Figure 26 Grave 18, object 8, field drawing. Scale 1:2

8. (a-f) Iron and copper-alloy **suspension complex** (SF 144) comprising **bracelet** (e) bearing an iron **ring** and glass **bead** (pale green) (b); iron ?**tool** (f), and chain terminating in a copper-alloy sheet **tube** (with ring-and-dot decoration) enclosed in three **bars** (a). Also a '**cap**' with suspension loop, lower loop, three lugs and fragments of suspension chains (c); and fragments of a small **ring** or **loop** (d). (See Chapter 3, p.66-7).

9. **Threadbox** or '**relic box**' (a) with contents, (b-g) all recorded as SF 128. The box appeared fairly complete in the ground, but was very fragile and held in place by the surrounding soil.

(The box was drawn *in situ*, and lifted as a soil block for excavation in the laboratory. During partial excavation *in situ* it was noted that both ends were in position and that some leather was associated.

Conservation revealed that one side of the box was largely absent, but that the top and base were present although very fragile and fragmentary upon removal of box contents).

(a) Copper-alloy '**relic box**' of cylindrical form.

The box is composed of a single sheet wrapped around with a 10mm overlap. The encircling band and lowest part of the body splay outward and allow the lid and base to be crimped over. The base is very slightly domed, and has traces of textile on the inner surface. Two rivets and the suspension loop hold the body of the box in place; the copper-alloy sheet is 0.45-0.55mm thick.

The lid is in two parts; an encircling band (slightly splayed to hold the lid) and the lid itself, slightly domed with a small rise or boss at the centre. The lid slides off the body of the box. A suspension loop is soldered to the body (and the lid), on the overlap, with a chain of five S-links (two detached) and a suspension ring.

The decoration consists of repoussé dots; the lid bears a design of four concentric circles of dots and two lines of dots; the body has two offset rows of repoussé decoration; the base is similar to the lid.

The internal surface of the body bears deep striations which run under the joins and loop; externally it is smooth. The internal surfaces of the body, base and lid top bear guide lines for the repoussé decoration.

(b) Two copper-alloy **dresshooks** with fragment of textile, tied together with thread.

(c-g) are the remains of a silver **pin suite**, comprising:-

(c) Silver sheet **zoomorphic terminal** with glass eyes, and loop-in-loop 'plaited' wire **chain**, with remains of ?leather between jaws (Plate XXIII).

(d) Silver **pin with wire suspension loop and attachment loop**.

(e) Silver **pin**.

(f) Silver sheet **zoomorphic terminal** (with empty settings for glass eyes) with fragment of textile, and loop-in-loop plaited wire chain.

(g) Silver **loop and attachment loop**, on eye of pin (e).

Also found were remains of textiles on the lid and within the box (see Chapter 5, p.84-5) (Plate XV).

Grave 19, Double burial A and B (224) (Plate VII; Figs 4, 27, 75 and 88-9)

Length 2.35m; Width 1.30m; Depth 0.30m.

Fill: Medium brown sandy loam with many small and medium stones; the fill within the central section of the coffin was lighter in colour and of a finer gravel than the fill at the two ends, which was noticeably darker and contained larger stones: 'cobbles' in the site record.

Stains representing a large coffin or container were encountered over the two body stains. The ends and parts of the sides were poorly preserved and seen as a dark brown sandy silt (258) which was continuous with (257), a medium grey-brown stain of silty sand which represents the central section of the coffin structure. The difference in colours of (257) and (258) seen by the excavators suggested to them a discrete rectangular 'box'. However, the stains appear to be continuous in outline and the colour difference may be the result of differential filling, as noted above. Other parts of the coffin, possibly from the base, were found with the body stains.

It is possible to interpret these stains as a single coffin, made specially large (2.0m long, 1.0m wide) for a double burial, and incorporating cross bars to strengthen the lid. It may be that the central section had other support since it appears to have retained its original shape whilst the two ends have probably collapsed outwards to rest against the end and sides of the graves.

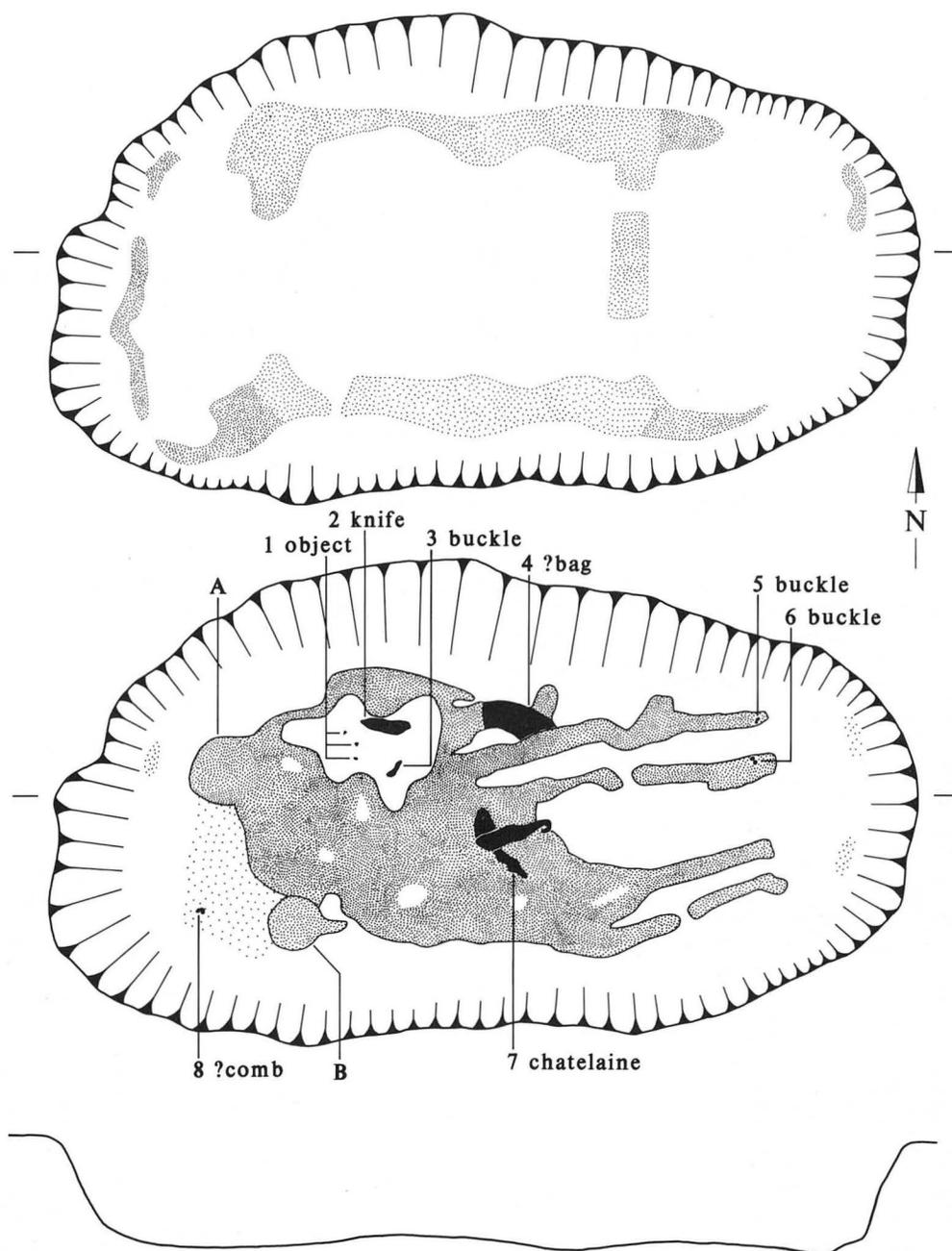


Figure 27 Grave 19 (upper, ?coffin lid above body stains; lower, body stains). Scale 1:20

Two burials A and B are represented by the two extensive body stains (260 and 259) which merged so that only the heads and lower limbs could be properly distinguished.

Burial A (260) was seen as a dark brown stained sand, possibly with the left arm out to the side. The body was supine with head to the west and close to the end of the coffin; the body was slightly askew in the coffin. The legs, left arm and head were distinctly preserved.

Burial B (259) was also seen as a well preserved dark brown stained sand (like A) with head and legs particularly distinct. It lay next to and south of Burial A, supine, with head to the west, and slightly askew the coffin. The position of the head, close to the edge of the coffin, and the skewing of both bodies, might suggest that they had

shifted and tilted over within the coffin, perhaps during burial, although this is somewhat speculative.

Grave-goods

Six sets of objects were found with Burial A:-

1. Four small iron **objects** (a-d) (SF 204 composite, SF 193-6). Uncertain shape, possibly nails/rivets; these were found in a line, with wood adhering; identified as ash (*Fraxinus* sp.).
2. Iron **knife** (SF 197) length 13.5cm. (Evison Type 1); with horn handle and leather sheath. On one side several layers of textile are preserved on top of the sheath. X-radiograph shows possible slag lines in back and possible weld line particularly noticeable at tip of blade.

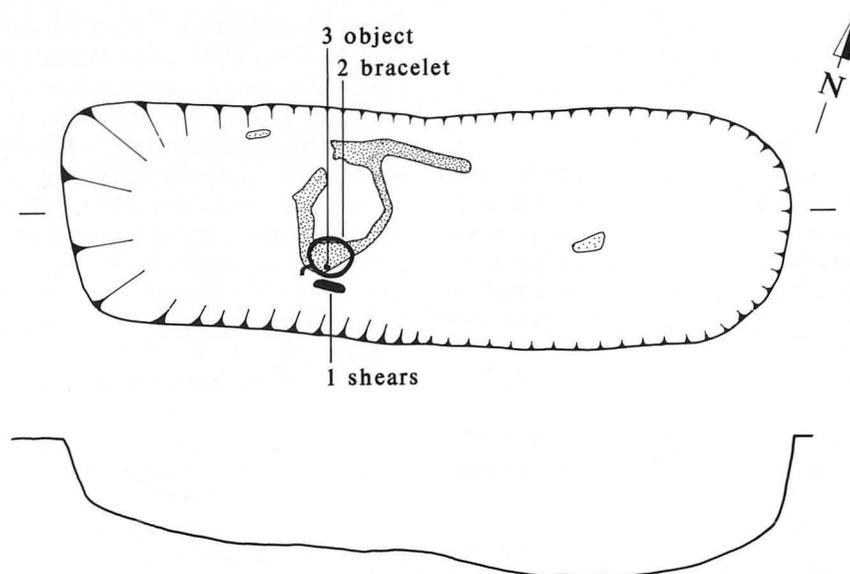


Figure 28 Grave 20. Scale 1:20

3. Iron **buckle** with tapering **plates**, remains of **strap** (SF 192); traces of textile (Plate VI). The X-ray appears to show two possible rivets. Objects (1–3) probably represent a knife with suspension belt, perhaps placed next to the body.
4. **Composite object** (SF 198) recorded by the excavator as a dark stain containing thin layers of leather and bone with remains of two copper-alloy **fittings** (with connecting bars of flattened tubes), three **rivets** and remains of iron **bar**; with mineral preserved textile. (Object 4 was found by the left leg, and was possibly the remains of a bag or satchel).
5. Copper-alloy **shoe-buckle** and **tag** and ?leather fragments (SF 199), found on the left ankle.
6. Copper-alloy **shoe-buckle** and ?leather fragments (SF 200), found on the right ankle.
- (j) ?Wood **fragment** (SF 311) (not illustrated)
8. Iron **rivet** (SF 191) 1.3cm long with fragments of antler adhering; possibly fragment of comb; found in the south-west corner of the coffin above the coffin stain.

Grave 20 (194) (Figs 4, 28 and 90)

Length 1.90m; Width 0.60m; Depth (deepest) 0.38m.

The base of the grave sloped down towards the east/?foot end.

Fill: Grey/brown-orange/brown sand, rather mixed. Some disturbance is likely since several objects were found high in the grave fill.

No trace of coffin. The body stain was poorly preserved and survived only as a dark brown stained sandy loam in patches, suggesting (to the excavator) pelvic area, left femur, right radius and ulna, and possibly part of the left arm and right leg. Where it survived, the body stain was very good and contained small fragments of bone. The body was almost certainly oriented with head to the west.

One composite object was found with Burial B:

7. **Chatelaine** (Composite SF 155) excavated as a soil block and examined in the laboratory. It lay at the left side of Burial 19B and contained several objects, some associated with textile and wood.
 - (a) Copper-alloy **decorated strip** (SF 291) rivet at one end, the other broken, punched ring-and-dot decoration.
 - (b) Iron **knife** (SF 292) length 12.2cm (Evison Type 3); horn handle, traces of textile on tang.
 - (c) Iron and copper-alloy **object(s)** (SF 293); fragments of ?ring(s) and textile, another object and copper-alloy ?pin.
 - (di) Iron **keys** (SF 294, 295) with textile.
 - (dii) Iron **bar** looped end (SF 296).
 - (e) Iron **rod** with fragment of copper-alloy **chain** (SF 299); trace of textile.
 - (f) Iron and copper-alloy **chain** (SF 298, 300–1, 304–310, 313–5) with links of figure-of-eight form; traces of textile.
 - (g) Wooden **object** (SF 302); bung-shaped; wood is maple (*Acer* sp.).
 - (h) Iron **ring** (SF 297) with textile.
 - (i) Iron **object** (SF 312) (not illustrated)

Grave-goods

1. Iron **shears** (SF 115) with copper-alloy repair band near the loop; traces of leather sheath.
2. Copper-alloy **bracelet** with hook and eye fastening, with glass annular **bead** (SF 116). Traces of textile. The bracelet is circular in section, slightly pinched-in towards the terminals, which are decorated with inscribed lines, and was found closed. The bead is dark (?blue) glass, annular, with two looped marvered twisted trails; (a) is red and brown or black, (b) is yellow and green (Plate XXIV).
3. Copper-alloy sheet **object** with two rivets (SF 118) found near (1) (missing, not illustrated.)
4. Copper-alloy wire **knot-ring** (SF 119) c. 12mm diameter, found near (2).
5. Two fragments of silver-wire (?**knot-**) **ring** (SF 109 and 113) found in the fill (not illustrated).
6. Copper-alloy **fragment** (SF 117).

Grave 21 (236) (Figs 4, 29, 75 and 91)

Length 1.60m; Width 0.55m; Depth 0.15m.

A very shallow grave, much truncated by agricultural activity.

Fill: Dark grey/brown silty sand.

The coffin was represented by a dark brown silty sand, extensive at the east end, where it was up to 10cm deep, and patchy at the west. The body stain was poorly preserved; a dark rust-brown silty sand containing flecks of bone survived in patches and clearly represented the legs, the pelvic area and the head of a supine burial with head to the west.

Grave-goods

1. Five iron **?bars** (SF 149), **?comb teeth** (circular section), covered in random organic material, probably plant stems. Lengths, 9.0cm.
2. Iron **?tool** (SF 150) length 14.7cm.

Grave 22 (185) (Figs 4, 30-1, 75 and 91-2)

Length 1.85m; Width 0.8m; Depth 0.27m.

Fill: Mid-brown to mottled yellow sand at the base.

At the head (west) end of the grave an arc of dark grey-brown stained sand represented the end of the coffin; no other trace of coffin was found.

The body stain was fairly well preserved as a dark chocolate brown stained silty sand, quite firm, which contained some tiny flecks of bone. The burial was supine, with head to the west and feet together, hard against the end of the grave. The outline of the body and its position suggests that it may have tilted at some time. The excavator noted that 'the head was slumped to left side'.

Grave-goods

1. Remains of a necklace or festoon at the neck, right side (SF 131, composite SF 132-138) comprising silver-wire **knot-rings**, silver **bullae** and glass **beads**.
(a) Five silver-wire **knot-rings** (SF 135-136).

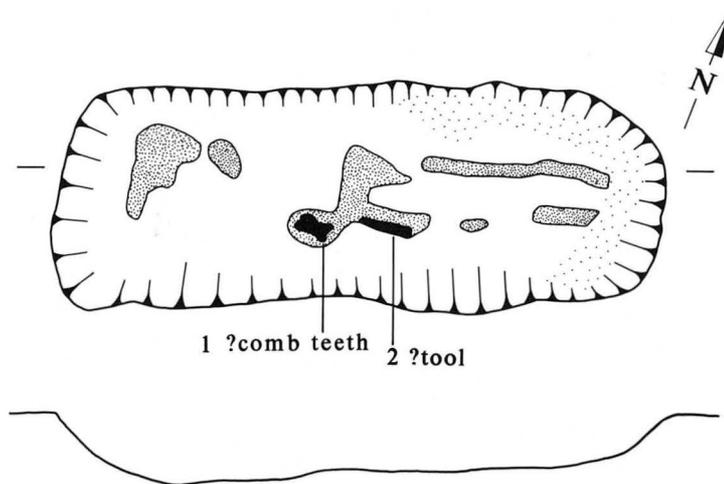


Figure 29 Grave 21. Scale 1:20

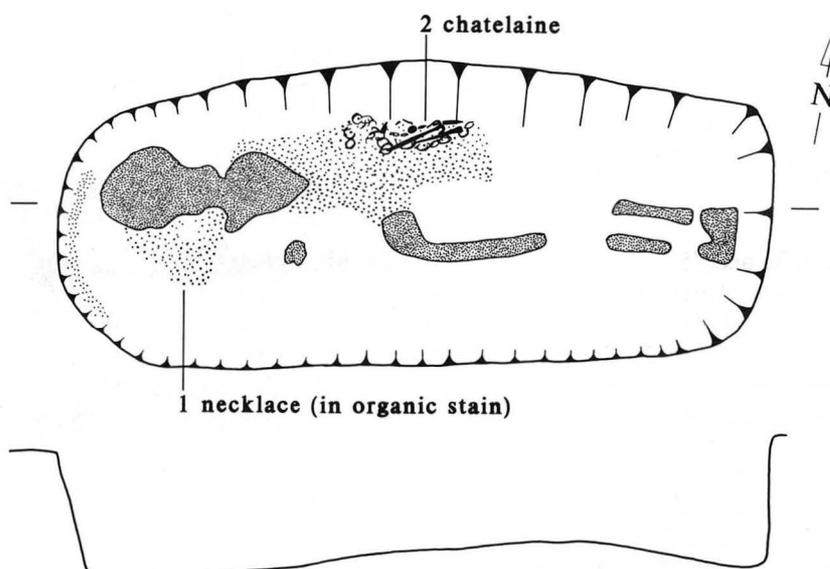


Figure 30 Grave 22. Scale 1:20

(b) Three glass barrel beads (SF 133), (i) one wound brown-red, (ii) one pale blue-green, (iii) one pale green.

(c) Remains of at least ten silver *bullae* (each with backplate), two with inscribed decoration, mostly found in pieces, and at least ten further plain discs, with two loops, possibly plain pendants or backplates (SF 132, 134, 137, 138).

Objects 1(a-c) were found on what appeared to be a leather stain, and although away from the chest, were probably nearly in their original position on their leather backing.

2. Remains of a *chatelaine* (SF 139), with remains of textile, found at the waist, left side. Lifted as a soil block for excavation in the laboratory.

(a) Remains of a chain of copper-alloy wire rings; traces of textile.

(b) Iron key on suspension ring; traces of textile and mineralised fragments of comb teeth.

(c) Second iron key with fragment of iron ring; traces of textile.

(d) Iron knife, length 124cm (Evison Type 2). X-radiograph shows there is a slight difference in structure between back and cutting edge.

(e) Iron ?tool on suspension ring; traces of textile.

(f) Iron loop, twisted, with two rings (fragmentary), one of which is copper-alloy; traces of textile.

(g) Two glass beads; (i) small plain green; (ii) larger, polychrome, red, yellow, green.

(h) Copper-alloy hook, incised decoration; possibly from hook and eye fastening.

(i) Copper-alloy buckle and plate.

(j) Iron point; traces of textile.

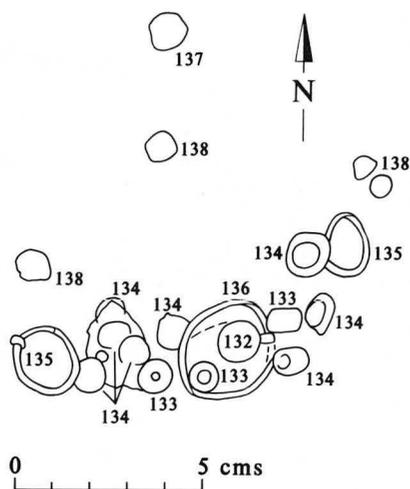


Figure 31 Grave 22, object 1, field drawing. Scale 1:2

Grave 23 (214) (Plate I; Figs 4, 32, 75 and 92)

Length 2.15m; Width 0.80m; Depth 0.80m.

Fill: orange/grey silty sand.

A small patch of dark brown silty sand at the west end may represent the end of a coffin. The burial was represented by a well preserved body stain of dark-brown silty sand indicating a supine burial with head to the west and feet together (Plate I).

Grave-goods

1. Iron knife (SF 145) length 128mm. (Evison Type 1 or 2); horn handle and possible leather sheath; found by the waist, left side.

Grave 24 (268) (Figs 4, 33 and 75)

Length 1.84m; Width 0.75m; Depth 0.65.

The base of the grave slopes down towards the head (west) end. The grave cuts a small pit (226).

Fill: Medium brown silty sand.

An extensive area of grey/brown silty sand at the base of the grave may represent the coffin. The burial survived as a mostly dark brown silty sand containing traces of bone material, in very low relief. The burial was crouched, lying on its left side with head to the west and feet drawn up against the side of the grave. The head, back and lower limbs were clearly visible but the arms and front merged into the probable coffin stain.

No grave-goods.



Plate I Grave 23, with body stain, from the east

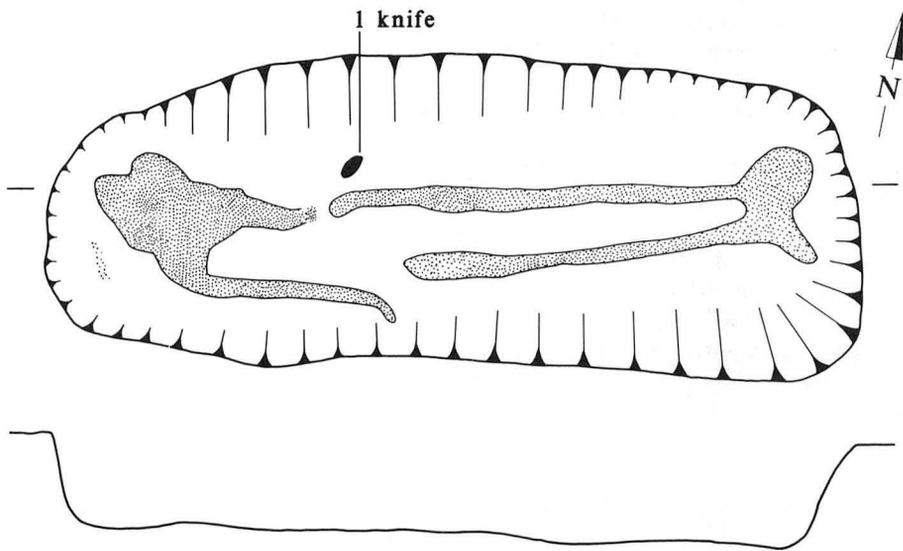


Figure 32 Grave 23. Scale 1:20

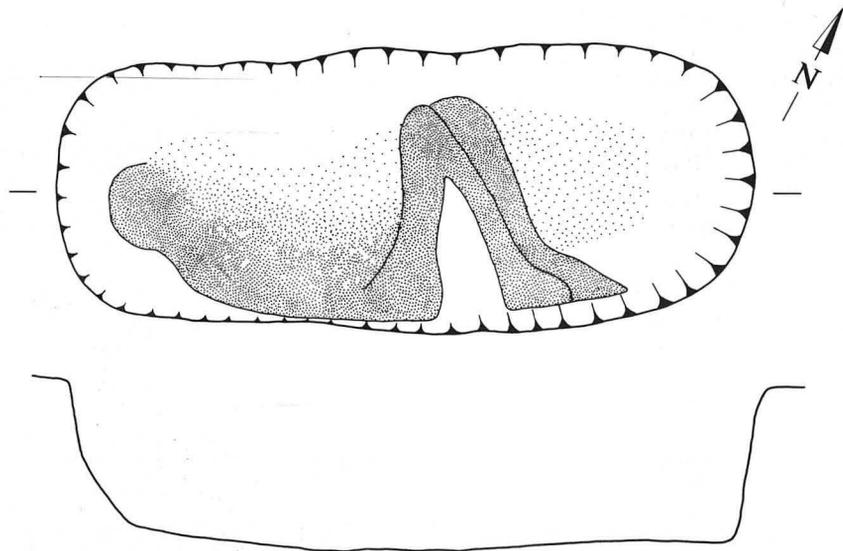


Figure 33 Grave 24. Scale 1:20

Grave 25 (308) (Figs 4, 34, 75 and 92)

Length 1.88m; Width 0.70m; Depth 0.35m.

Fill: Grey/brown silty sand. A later small feature of uncertain date cut the south edge of the grave (shown on Fig. 4).

The coffin was well preserved as a dark grey silty sand, most evident at the head (west) end, where the end and sides survived especially well, with very little distortion, showing that the coffin was 55cm wide. The maximum depth of the stain was 10cm. The base of the coffin was also best preserved at the head end. The body (supine) was poorly preserved, and survived only as patches of dark brown silty sand representing the head, the ?pelvis and the lower legs, with feet together and knees apart.

Grave-goods

1. Iron *seax* (SF 215) length 45.0cm (blade 27.0cm), width of blade 2.6cm, with pommel, in remains of leather sheath; single piece horn hilt.
The *seax* appears to have a copper-alloy collar at the lower guard, made from thin sheet c. 0.5mm thick, fragmentary, at least 6mm wide. The sheath is made from a single piece of leather, probably cattle, and is decorated with transverse parallel incised lines. The leather sheath extends over at least part of the hilt. X-radiograph of the *seax* shows evidence of pattern-welding in the blade; the central area of the blade appears to have three components. North side of grave, with hilt to the east.
2. Iron **buckle** (SF 215) found on sheath of (1); remains of leather belt, traces of textile.
3. Iron **buckle/loop** (SF 215) found next to hilt of (1), seen on X-radiograph (not illustrated).
4. Iron **awl** found at base of hilt; wooden handle of hazel (*Corylus* sp.) and traces of leather at the tip (not illustrated).
5. Iron **awl**; wooden handle, of willow (*Salix* sp.) or poplar (*Populus* sp.) (not illustrated).

The awls may have been housed in the sheath of the *seax*.

6. Bone **?comb teeth**. During conservation, small fragments of worked bone were found adhering to the lower part of the sheath, a little distance from the point. These fragments were circular in section.

- (i) One fragment, 4mm long, 1mm dia. (not illustrated).
- (ii) Two fragments, 8mm long, 2mm dia. (not illustrated).

Grave 26 (248) (Figs 4, 35 and 75)

Length 1.80m; Width 0.76m; Depth 0.34m.

The shape and position of this feature makes identification as a grave certain.

Fill: Light grey-brown silty sand. Small patches of light yellow silty sand concretions on the base of the grave may represent body or coffin stains.

No grave-goods.

Grave 27 (220) (Figs 4, 36, 75 and 93)

Length 2.0m; Width 0.70m; Depth 0.35m.

A long regular grave. A later feature (245) of uncertain date cut the south-east corner of the coffin stain and the stain of the lower legs (shown on Figures 4 and 6).

Fill: Dark yellowish brown sandy silt.

The coffin stain survived as an almost continuous thin dark brown stain defining the sides of the coffin. The outline was quite firm and 20cm deep. The excavator noted that dark material below the body stain may represent the base of the coffin. The body stain was a dark brown sandy silt, quite firm. The outlines of the coffin and the body stain were cut at the east end by (245). The stain was well defined and indicated a supine body, head to west, with feet together, perhaps with hands in the pelvic area. Some bone survived at the extreme lower right leg.

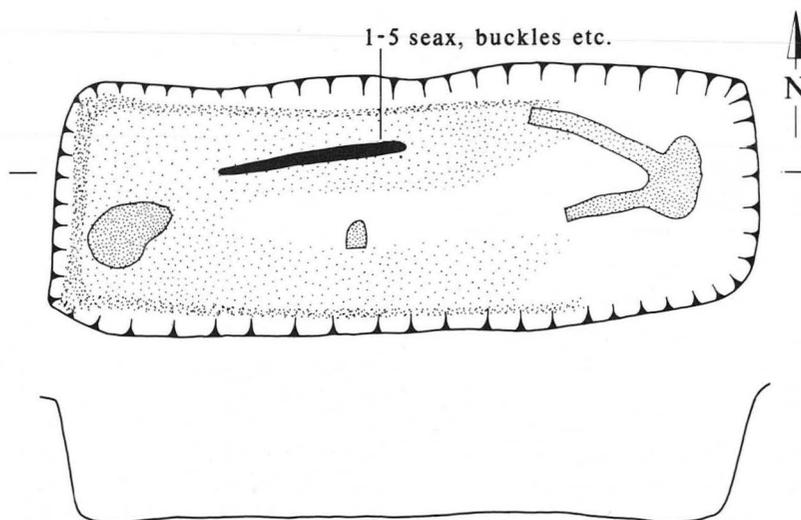


Figure 34 Grave 25. Scale 1:20

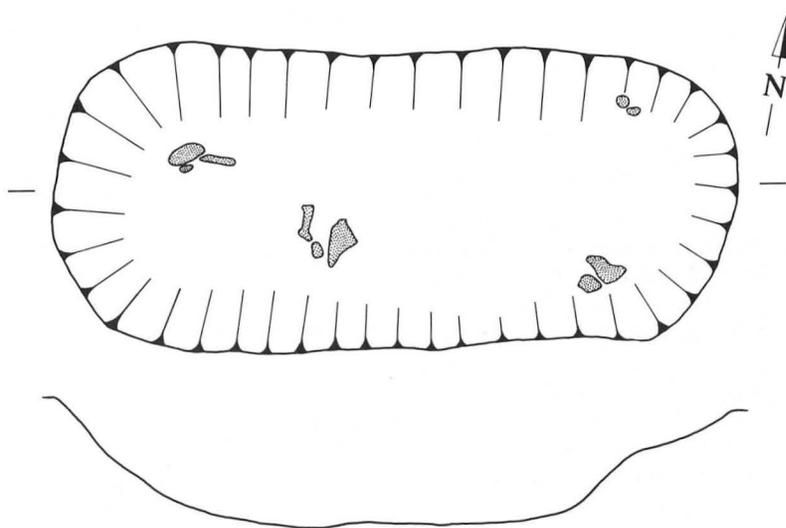


Figure 35 Grave 26. Scale 1:20

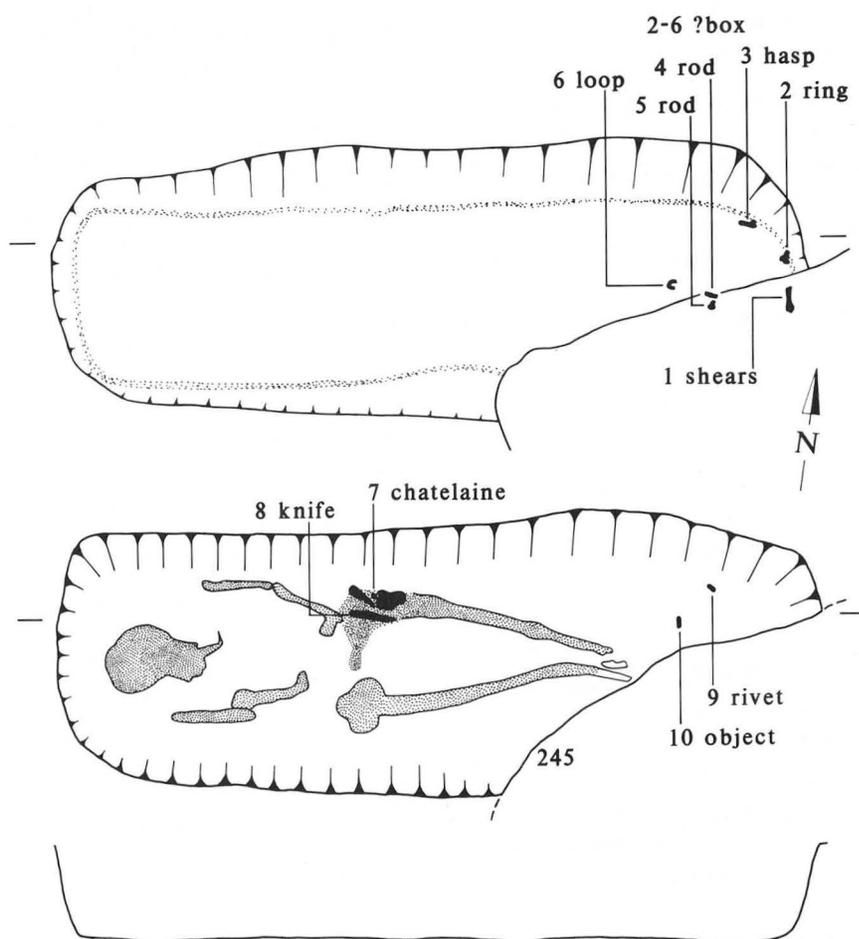


Figure 36 Grave 27 (upper, upper fill; lower, body stain). Scale 1:20

Grave-goods

A group of objects (1–6) was found in the upper part of the grave-fill; (1), (4) and (5) may have been disturbed by feature (245).

1. Iron **shears** (SF 156), blades only; possible leather on both sides of blades, probably indicates the presence of a sheath.

The following objects (2–6) associated with wood remains may represent the fittings of a casket, placed at the foot of the grave, and disturbed. Objects (9) and (10) on the base of the grave may also have been associated with these objects.

2. Iron **ring** (3.2cm diameter) and **eyelet** (SF147), with wood remains adhering. The shank of the spike pierces two pieces of wood, the upper one ash (*Fraxinus* sp.), the lower one beech (*Fagus* sp.). This fitting is probably the box handle, which was originally mounted on the lid.
3. Iron **hasp** with two eyelets (SF 146), with traces of three different woods adhering (Plate XVIII). This probably indicates that the lid was made from ash 17.7mm thick, the front of the box from beech 11.5mm thick, with either a dowel or repair of oak. The presence of two different woods may represent an ash inlay in a beech lid.
4. Iron **rod** (SF 157), 4.5 cm long.
5. Iron **rod** (SF 158) 4.8cm long; traces of textile.
6. Iron **loop** (SF 148) (missing: not illustrated).
7. The remains of a **chatelaine** (composite SF 212).
 - (a) Iron **ring** and glass **bead** (SF 209) melon-bead, blue.
 - (b) Iron **ring** and glass **bead** (SF210); bead, blue, white patches with red dots.
 - (c) Iron **fitting**.

(d) Iron **loop**.

(e) Iron **chain**, three links.

(f) Iron **ring**.

8. Iron **knife** (SF 211) length 8.8cm (Evison Type 1). Remains of horn handle and leather sheath. Found next to chatelaine (7) and probably part of it (especially likely since there was no associated buckle).
9. Iron **rivet** (SF 208).
10. Iron **object** (SF 207) (not illustrated).
11. Iron **scraps**, loose, with textile attached (not illustrated).

Grave 28 (216) (Plates V, VI, VIII and XVIII; Figs 4, 37–9, 75 and 93–4)

Length 2.05m; Width 1.05m; Depth 0.50m.

The grave was truncated by machine clearance.

Fill: dark yellowish brown coarse sand, occasional charcoal fleck.

The coffin stain was well preserved and was represented by a very dark greyish brown stain of firm sand about 0.35m deep consistently around its outline. A small patch on the base of the grave may be coffin stain. The coffin outline is entire and symmetrical, suggesting the original shape and depth are fairly represented by the stain. It is noticeable that the outline is not rectangular but tapering to head and feet.

The body stain survived well as a firm dark red stained sand representing a supine burial with head to the west, feet crossed and the right arm resting in the pelvic area. The body lay on one side of the coffin and some movement during or after burial is possible.

A number of objects were found in the grave, mostly as members of some larger group.

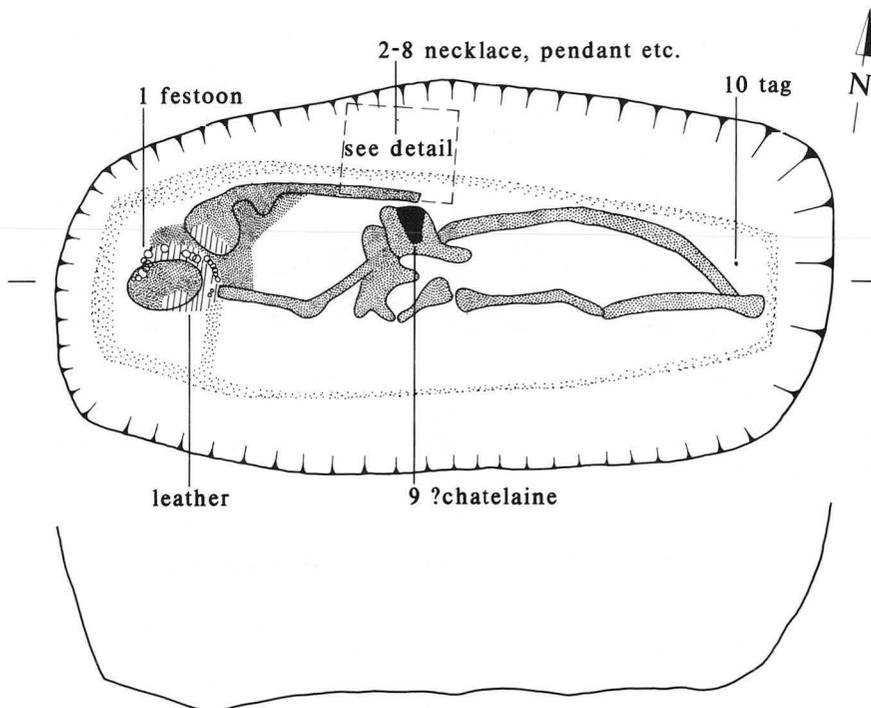


Figure 37 Grave 28. Scale 1:20

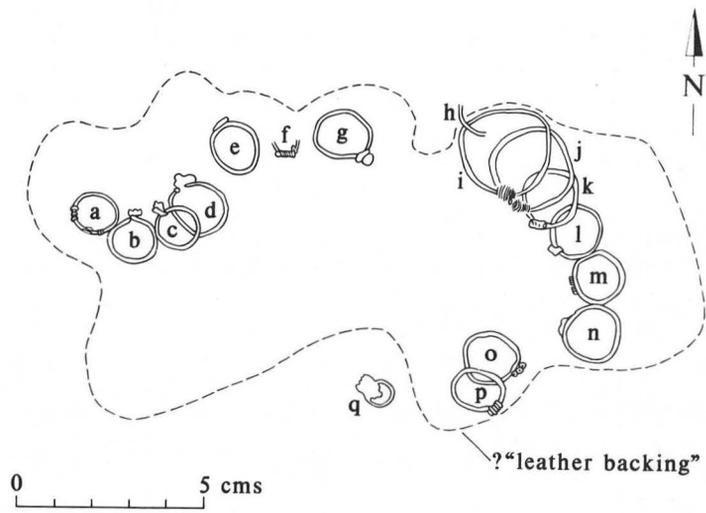


Figure 38 Grave 28, object 1, from field drawings. Scale 1:2

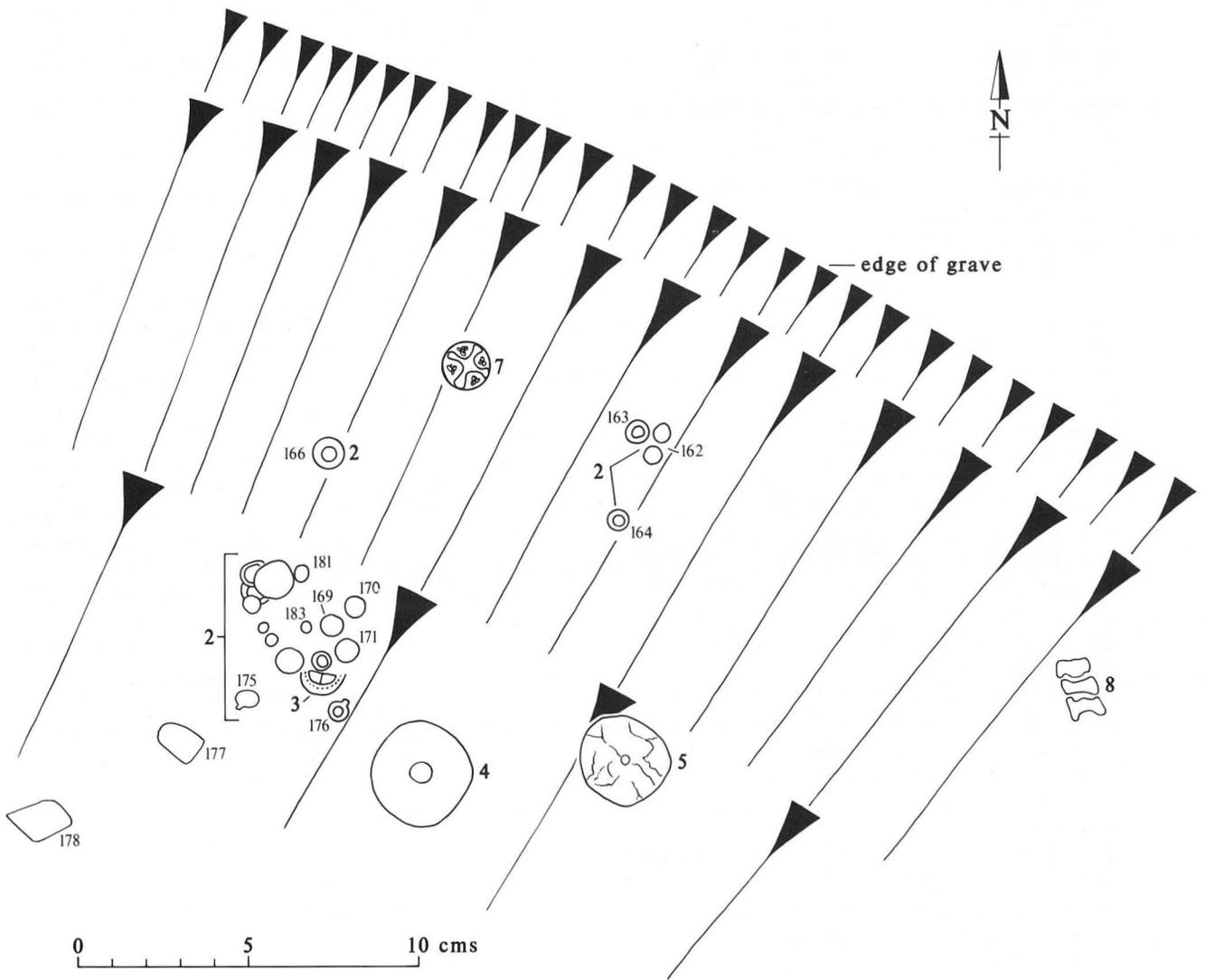


Figure 39 Grave 28, objects 2-8, field drawing. Scale 1:2

Grave-goods

1. Remains of a **festoon** (SF 201) of fifteen silver-wire **hitch rings** and one silver **pendant** on the remains of a probable leather backing. The rings vary in size, with the two largest (i) and (g) at the centre of the festoon; (q), found at the end of the festoon, possibly out of position, is a 'bucket pendant'. Remnants of 'string' were found, which had doubtless once joined the festoon. A possible leather backing was recorded on the site as 'extending underneath the head, as did the chain', and 'not mineralised', and was a dark brown colour. Three other areas of staining (266) were recorded as 'mineralised material' on the *upper* surfaces of the head area distinct from the festoon 'backing' and thought to be the remains of leather, possibly part of a hood and cloak.
(a-p) Silver-wire **hitch rings**; twelve or more; on leather and textile.
(q) Silver '**bucket pendant**'

At the left side, between the arm and the waist, lay objects (2-8), probably representing the remains of a necklace and pendant, and other objects possibly associated.

2. Remains of **silver necklace** (composite SF 202) composed of at least eleven **bullae** (ten with backplate), and at least twelve further plain discs, one with loop, possibly plain pendants or backplates, and remains of three loops; in fragments (SF 161-164, 166-7, 169-173, 175-6, 179-181, 183, 185-7).
3. Open-work gold **pendant** (SF 174), of coiled beaded gold wire enclosing a beaded wire cross. Plain gold suspension loop soldered on. The gold of the loop is a slightly paler gold than that of the pendant.
4. Sandstone **spindle-whorl** (SF 154) with deep grooved decoration 30mm diameter, ('fine grained sandstone': Tony Stuart NCM). (Plate VI)
5. Fired-clay **spindle-whorl** (SF 153), 30mm diameter.
6. Silver **decorated disc** (SF 184); thin sheet disc with pressed decoration, with simple interlace knot in each panel, leaving an expanding-arm cross in relief. The cross runs out to a slightly raised rim. Found with remains of necklace (Plate V).
7. Silver **decorated disc** (SF 165), pair to (6) (Plate V). A hole near one edge and slight notches elsewhere may be the remains of sewing holes.
8. Five iron **studs/rivets**, round-headed (SF 182), each about 13mm long, found in a row together.
All bear traces of antler. On most of the studs, there appear to be three pieces of antler, with the grain of the central piece perpendicular to the outer two. These are probably the remains of an antler comb, with the studs joining the side-plates to the tooth-plate. The total thickness of the comb back is between 10-15mm, which suggests that the side-plates taper towards the edges. The tooth-plates are *c.* 3mm thick.
9. At the left side, just below the waist lay a **chatelaine** (composite SF 151) with the remains of textile and leather. During conservation it was noted that shears (b) appear 'to be inside a leather casing. Overlying the leather is a 1 x 1 weave of textile possibly from a bag'.
(a) Iron **ring** (SF 361) obscured by remains of textile.
(b) Iron **shears** (SF 360, 365) broken; with possible leather sheath; remains of textile and fragments of bone (Plate VIII).
(c) Iron **?tool/key** and two **rods** (SF 362); traces of textile.

- (d) Iron **?key** (SF 357 and 358); traces of textile.
 - (e) Iron **object** (SF 356).
 - (f) Iron **object** (SF 359); traces of textile.
 - (g) Iron **?steel** (SF 363); remains of leather sheath.
 - (h) Two fragments of iron **ring** (SF364); traces of textile.
10. Copper-alloy **shoelace tag** (SF 159), found by the left foot. Two other small objects were found close to the concentration of objects (2) and (3): (SF 177), a small scrap of flint-gritted prehistoric pottery: (SF 178), a small flat fragment of wood, possibly worked.

Grave 29 (179) (Figs 4, 40 and 75)

Length 2.10m; Width 0.85m; Depth 0.45m.

Grave 29 was slightly truncated by plough and by machining.

Fill: Mid yellowish brown sandy loam and gravel, darker towards base.

The coffin was clearly evident as a dark yellowish brown stained loamy sand over much of the grave, encountered in the lowest 10cm of grave fill. It was most evident at the head (west) end and between the shoulder (left side) and elbow (right side). The sides of the coffin and its rectangular corners were recorded at the west end.

The body was represented by a firm dark sandy stain, best defined around the head, shoulders, arms and legs, nebulous elsewhere. The body was supine, head to the west, with the feet drawn together; the right foot probably lay over the left.

No grave-goods.

Grave 30 (178) (Figs 4, 41 and 75)

Length 2.05m; Width 0.95m; Depth 0.4-0.5m. Cuts pit 210.

Fill: Mid-yellow-brown sandy loam with patches of sand and gravel. The fill of the coffin was somewhat darker (see below). Although the flat surfaces of the coffin had completely disappeared, the outline *i.e.* the sides and ends, survived very well as a medium-dark yellow-brown stain, in places up to 40cm deep and 2-4cm wide. The outline was first seen on the cleaned surface, as a dark band close to the edge of the grave, and was particularly distinct on the south side. It became less clear lower down and had almost disappeared at the east end. The coffin outline at the base of the grave was quite straight on the north side but 'wandered' in and out on the south side, representing some collapse. It fitted the base of the grave snugly.

The body was represented by stained sands (no colour recorded), rather patchily preserved, indicating the head, left arm, legs and left foot. The body was supine with head to the west. The fill within the coffin outline was distinctly darker (for the upper two thirds of the fill) than the main grave fill (see above).

No grave-goods.

Grave 31 (228) (Figs 4, 42 and 75)

Length 1.58m; Width 0.50m; Depth 0.32m.

Fill: Brownish-yellow silty sand.

Although no body stains could be planned, the excavator noted that slight and short-lived traces of possible body stain were encountered during excavation but that no coherent shape could be seen.

No grave-goods.

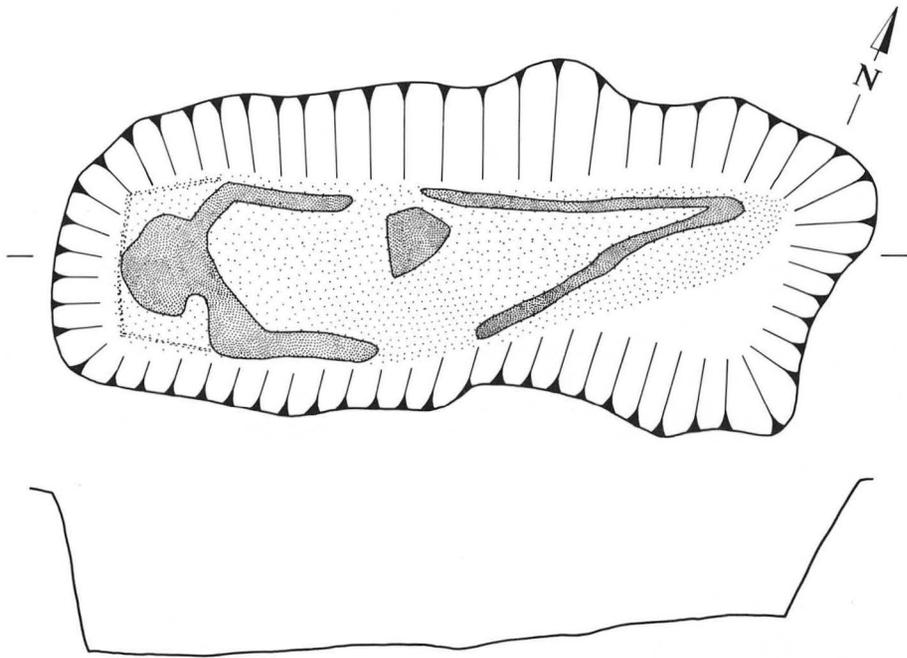


Figure 40 Grave 29. Scale 1:20

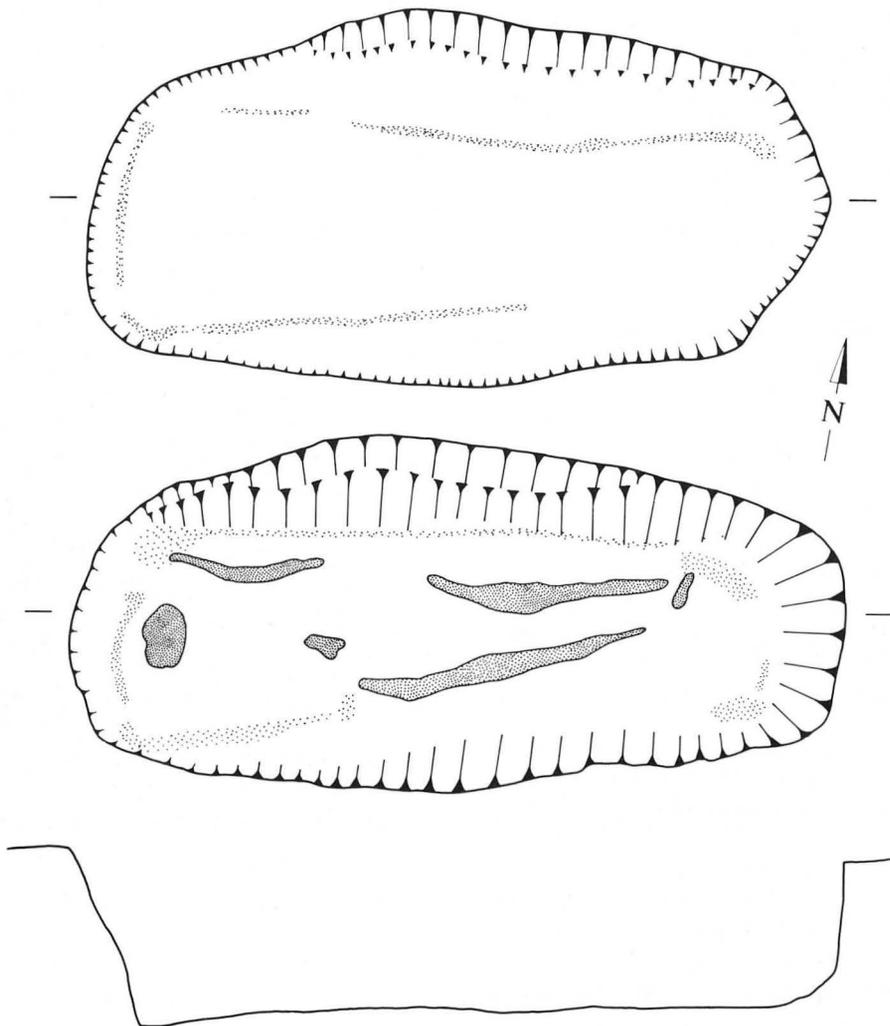


Figure 41 Grave 30 (upper, upper level; lower, body stain). Scale 1:20

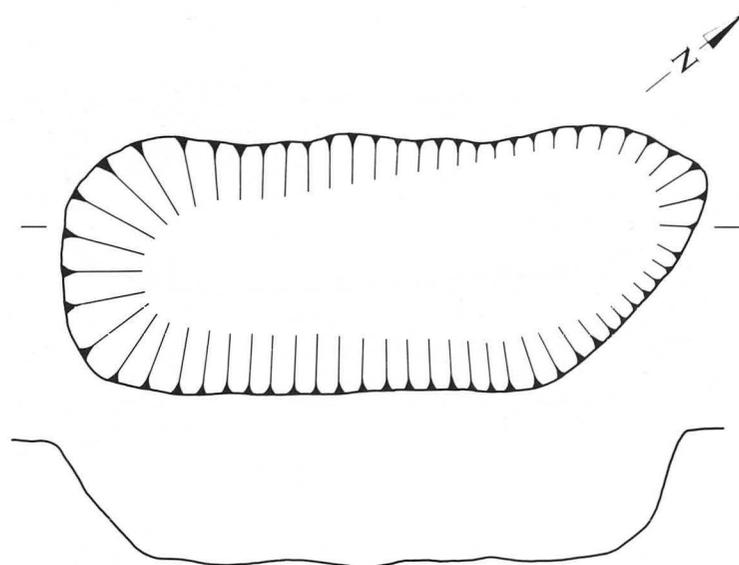


Figure 42 Grave 31. Scale 1:20

II. Graves in Area C/D

Grave 32 (2098) (Figs 5, 43 and 76)

Length 1.55m; Width 0.50m; Depth 0.15m

A very shallow grave, possibly truncated.

Fill: Dark yellowish-brown sandy silt.

A dark greyish-brown staining was found at the west end of the grave, along the sides (about 9cm deep). This could represent the remains of a coffin or perhaps some differential filling of the grave, (as happened in Grave 40).

A small patch of very dark brown stained sand at the west end of the grave probably represented the skull.

No grave-goods.

Grave 33 (2070) (Plates II, XII, XVI and XXV; Figs 5, 44–6, 76 and 95–6)

Length 1.80m; Width 0.80m; Depth 0.25m.

Fill: Dark greyish-brown silty sand.

No evidence of any coffin was found and it is likely that this burial was uncoffined since the body survived well in parts, and object (1) was placed close to the edge of the grave, outside any coffin, if one ever existed.

The body was represented by a dark brown silty sand. The head, pelvis and legs survived and indicated a burial with head to the west, lying on its right side, legs slightly flexed and left leg over right (Plate XII).

Grave-goods

1. Remains of a probable **leather or textile bag**, (SF 236) containing the remains of a **necklace, toilet set**, and possible **chatelaine** (composite SF 232) found against the south edge of the grave. The possible bag was an area (35cm × 10cm × 2cm) of a soft, crumbly pale brown matrix overlying the iron **key**, (cii) and silver **necklace**, (a) (Plates II, XII, XVI and XXV).

(a) Remains of a necklace/festoon of silver-wire **knot-rings** and glass and amethyst **beads**, some on **suspension-hitches** (SF 230–1, 316–329, 330–345), comprising *c.* fourteen knot-rings, ?three beads on knot-rings, six beads on suspension-hitches, and ten beads, including two amethysts. Compacted organic material, probably leather, was associated.



Plate II Grave 33, object 1 *in situ*

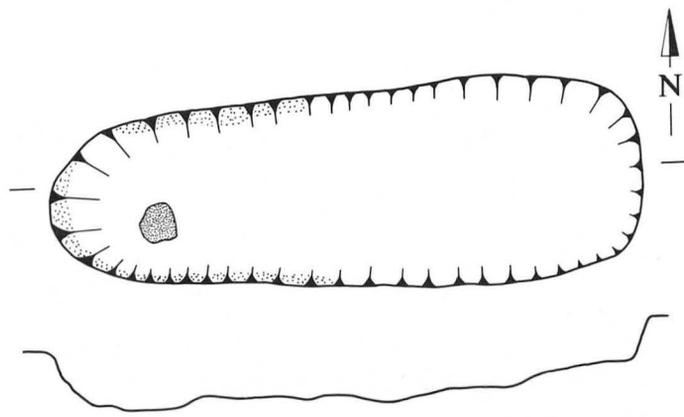


Figure 43 Grave 32. Scale 1:20

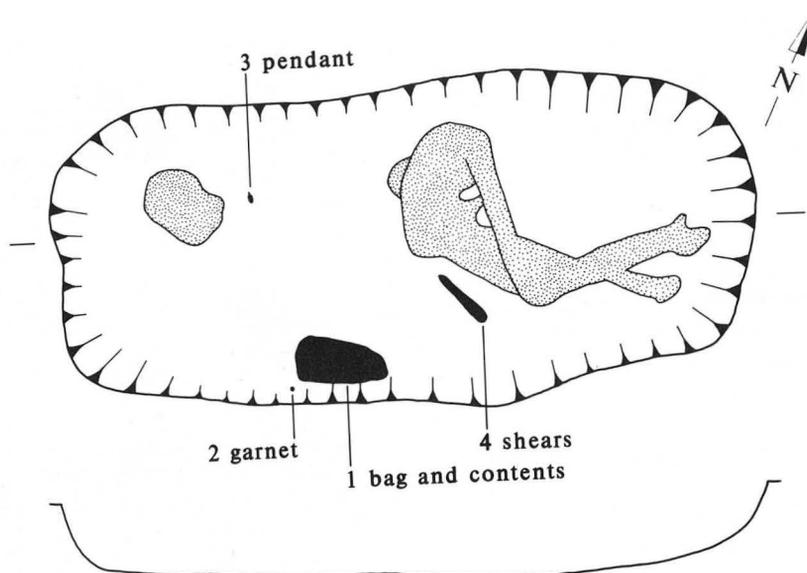


Figure 44 Grave 33. Scale 1:20

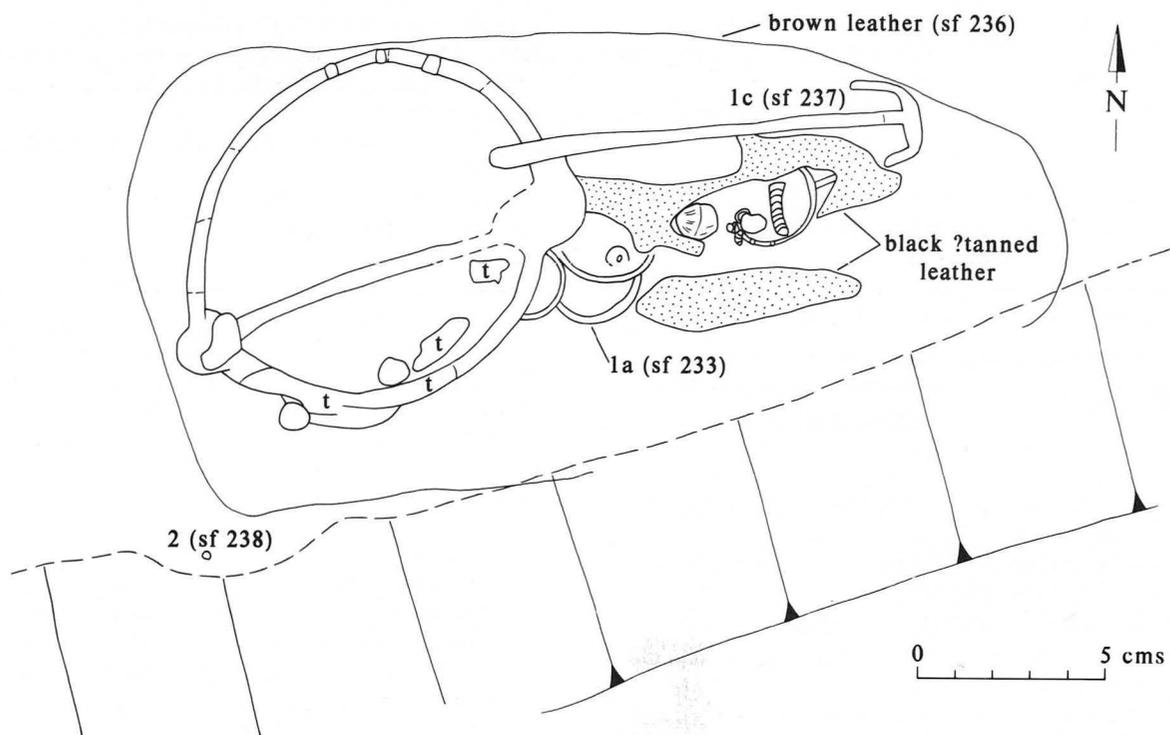


Figure 45 Grave 33, objects 1 and 2, from field drawings. Scale 1:2

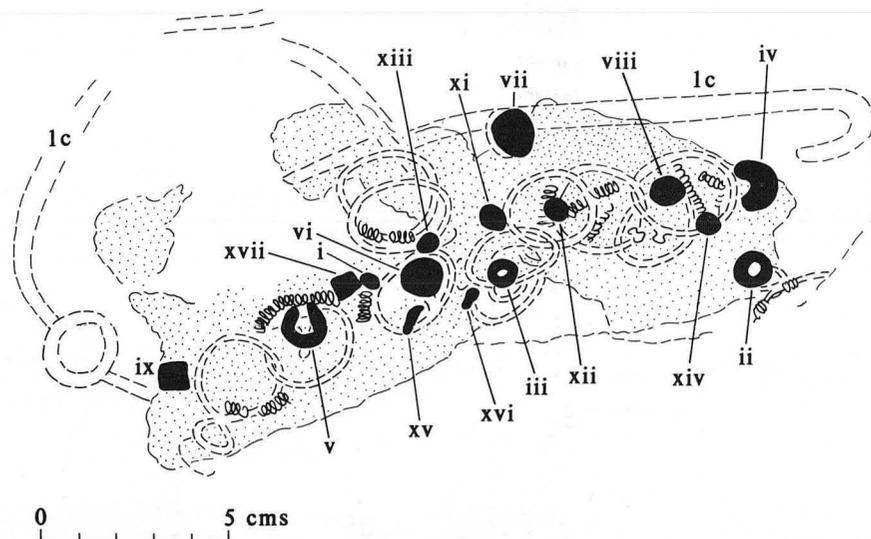


Figure 46 Grave 33, object 1, composite drawing from X-radiographs. Scale 1:2

The beads are as follows:

- (i) Clear, annular, glass, with remains of loop.
 - (ii), (iii) Translucent pale blue-green, annular, glass, with remains of loop.
 - (iv–ix) Polychrome, barrel, glass, with remains of suspension-hitches (Fig. 63).
 - (x), (xi) Amethyst.
 - (xii) Translucent pale green, globular, glass.
 - (xiii) Opalescent milky-white, globular, glass.
 - (xiv) Red, globular, glass.
 - (xv), (xvi) Mid-green, cylindrical, glass.
 - (xvii) Rust-red, cylindrical, glass.
- (b) Remains of a silver **toilet set** (composite SF 229) comprising silver-wire **suspension-ring** (SF 240) and parts of three silver **implements**, (SF220, 223–5, 228, 241) with circular section shafts; one is a spoon with perforated bowl (compare with Grave 11/3).
- (c) Remains of a **chatelaine** (composite SF 232) comprising
- (i) Iron **ring** (SF 237a) wrapped in textile.
 - (ii) Iron **key** (SF 237b).
- Remains of leather lying over both. This was recorded as a length of 'dark brown-black tanned leather'. (Sample SF 243).
- (d) Also found were several small scraps of loose material (not illustrated): SF 324, 325, 346, 351 353, 355, traces of textile; SF 348, 349 fragments of leather, wood, with traces of textile; SF 350 (not illustrated) silver **rod** fragment, with traces of textile.
2. (a) Two gold **discs** (c. 2mm diameter) found with (b) Two **garnets** (c. 2mm diameter) (only one illustrated). Both 2(a) and (b) =SF 238, found close to object (1) and possibly associated.
 3. Gold and cornelian **pendant** (SF 235); found in the probable chest area. Roman intaglio mounted in a frame of twisted and beaded gold wire with plain gold back and a channelled suspension loop. The pendant is somewhat worn. (See Chapter 3, p.51).
 4. Iron **shears** (SF 233 and 234), found near the upper leg area; traces of textile and leather. The shears lay with points to the west.

Grave 34 (2094) (Figs 5, 47, 76 and 96)

Length 2.05m; Width 0.80m; Depth 0.37m.

Grave 34 cuts a north-west to south-east ditch (Fig. 5, 1999) and had been disturbed by probable root-action and animal burrowing.

Fill: Dark yellow-brown sandy loam, much animal disturbance.

No evidence of a coffin was found, and the position of the head and feet hard against the ends of the grave and the preservation of the body makes a coffin unlikely.

The body was represented by a well-preserved russet-stained sand outline, containing very small fragments of bone. Except for the lower right leg, most of the body was identifiable, although disturbed by animals, including the rib cage. The body was supine, head to the west, and lay symmetrically within the grave. The head was tilted to the west and lay on a stain, thought by the excavator to represent the remains of an organic pillow in the corner of the grave.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 249), traces of tang, length 12cm (Evison Type 4), horn handle and possible traces of leather sheath; X-radiograph shows possible weld line. Found at the waist, with point to the north.
2. Iron **buckle** and **buckle-plate** (SF 248), found at the waist.
3. Prehistoric flint **axe**, roughout (SF 246), found by the right leg. (See Chapter 3, p.66).
4. Copper-alloy **?shoelace tags** (SF 247), rolled and flattened sheet, found at the feet.

Grave 35 (2399) (Figs 5, 48, 76 and 96)

Length 1.50m; Width 0.70m; Depth 0.40m.

At the east end, Grave 35 cut north-west to south-east ditch, here (1999), and post-hole (2470) (Fig. 5). Grave 35 was truncated by ploughing and by machine clearance.

Fill: Mid yellowish-brown coarse sands and silt.

No evidence of a coffin was found.

The body stain, a dark brown silty sand, was poorly preserved and represented just the head, lower left leg and part of the feet. The head lay to the west, well clear of the cut of the grave; the feet were probably together.

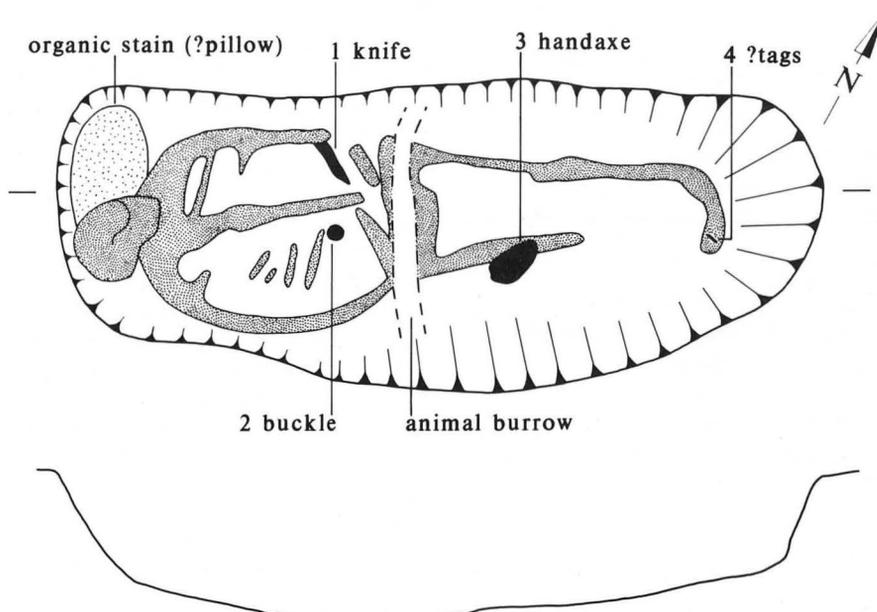


Figure 47 Grave 34. Scale 1:20

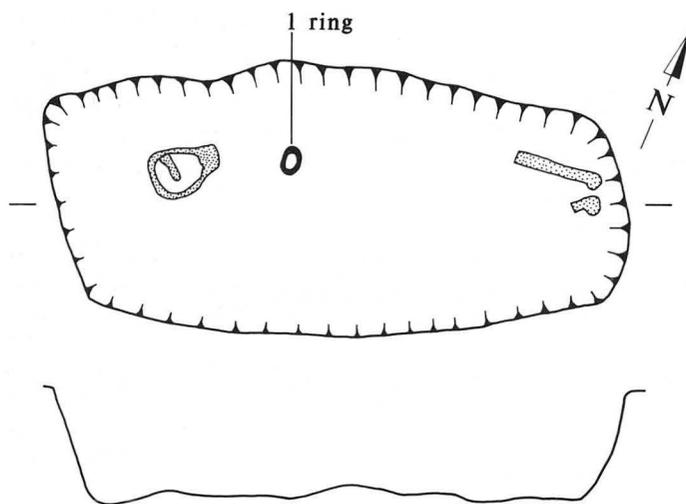


Figure 48 Grave 35. Scale 1:20

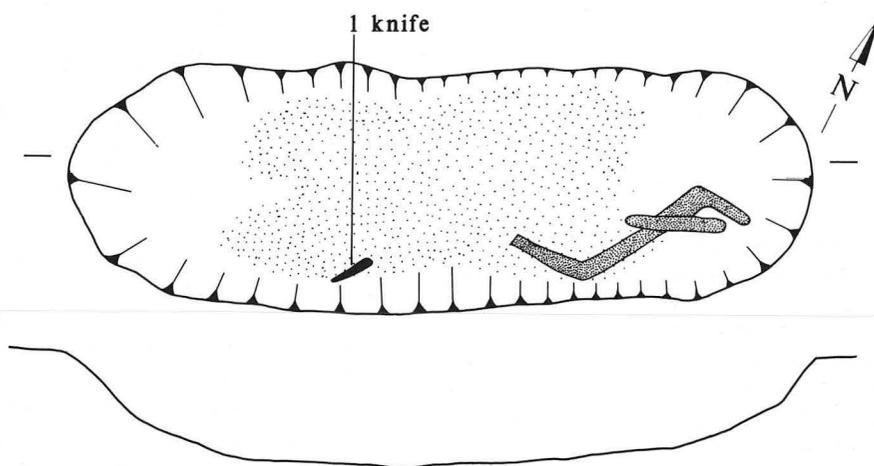


Figure 49 Grave 36. Scale 1:20

Grave-goods

1. Iron ring; hook and eye fastening (SF 239).

Grave 36 (1331) (Figs 5, 49, 76 and 96)

Length 1.96m; Width 0.60m; Depth 0.30m.

Grave 36 cuts north-west to south-east ditch (1008) (Fig. 5).

Fill: Grey-brown silty sand.

What was probably the base of the coffin was quite well preserved as a dark grey-black stained sand found across most of the grave, except the ends.

The body stain was very poorly preserved, and was a dark red-brown silty sand representing the lower legs only. The body, with head to the west, was possibly lying on its right side, with legs slightly flexed and crossed.

Grave-goods

1. Iron knife (SF 245), horn handle, length 12cm (Evison Type 1), found near the upper body area, with point to the east.

Grave 37 (4048) (Figs 5, 50, 76 and 96)

Length 1.70m; Width 0.65m; Depth 0.46m.

Grave 37 was truncated by ploughing and cut the fill of the prehistoric ring-ditch (1022) (Fig. 5).

Fill: Mid brownish-yellow mixture of sand (redeposited fill of 1021) and some burnt flints. Sherds of possibly Iron Age pottery were found.

No evidence of a coffin was found and the close fit of the body to the grave suggests none ever existed.

The body was represented by a firm dark red-brown sandy deposit indicating the major parts of the body. The body was supine, with head to the west and tilted to its left side (according to the position of the teeth), and lay with the legs apart and feet fallen outward. The arms were together in the pelvic area.

Grave-goods

1. Iron knife (SF 288) length 12.5cm (Evison Type 4); horn handle and leather sheath, found at the left hip.

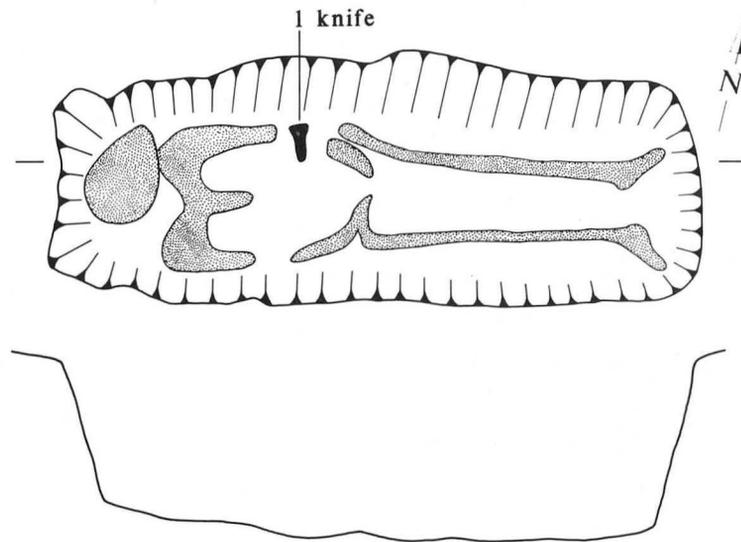


Figure 50 Grave 37. Scale 1:20

Grave 38 (1020) (Figs 5, 51, 76 and 96)

Length c. 1.85m; Width 0.95m; Depth 0.51m.

Grave 38 lay across north-to-south ditch (1023), which in turn overlay ring-ditch (1022) (Fig. 5).

Fill: Two distinct fills, a dark yellowish brown fill (1006) of coarse silty sands/gravel, about 0.34m deep, overlay a dark sand (1021), which in turn overlay the body stain and earliest grave fill (1029) of medium yellowish-brown sand, about 0.10m deep, found only in the east half of the grave.

No evidence of a coffin was found and the close fit of the body to the grave (head and feet hard against the ends) suggests that none ever existed. A layer (1021) of dark greyish-brown stained sand containing charcoal flecks was encountered above the upper part of the body stain and the lower grave fills (1029) of clean sand. The upper interface with (1006) was well defined. In depth it varied from 0.14m at the head (west) end, and faded out at the east end, about the level of the hips. The character of this layer suggested perhaps a deposit of organic material, or plant matter, to the excavator.

The body, its upper half underlying the dark stain (1021), was represented by a clearly defined dark greyish-brown stained sand containing very small fragments of bone. The head, arms and legs survived best, and indicated that the burial was supine, with head to the west, feet together, and slightly twisted towards the north. The arms were at the sides, with one hand resting in the pelvic area.

Grave-goods

1. Copper-alloy **buckle** (SF 102), point of tongue missing, lay at the waist.

Grave 39 (1025) (Figs 5, 52 and 76)

Length 2.10m; Width 0.87m; Depth 0.34m.

Cuts fill of ring-ditch (1022) and north-west to south-east ditch (1379), (Fig. 5).

Fill: Sands and sandy loams.

Traces of a possible coffin were first encountered above the body as a dark stain around the ends of the grave and as an extensive area of light-to-mid-brown staining which may represent the coffin lid. Below the body stain, the base of the coffin was clearly represented by an extensive area of very 'organic' black staining with some charcoal lumps/flecks (whose significance is not certain). The body stain was reddish brown. The burial was supine, with head to the west, but the lower half was twisted to the right, with legs slightly flexed. The arms appeared to be folded with hands in the pelvic region. The head seemed to be awkwardly twisted; the excavator noted that the head was lying on its left side facing north.

No grave-goods.

Grave 40 (1264) (Plate XIII; Figs 5, 53, 76 and 96)

Length 1.95m; Width 0.90m; Depth 0.47m.

Grave 40 cuts the fill of ring-ditch 1022 and extends into the mound or berm area (Fig. 5). It is likely that this grave cut the material of the mound, and that this is represented in the lower grave-fill, below an upper fill probably derived from the ditch-fill.

Fill: Upper fill of medium reddish brown silty sand about 7cm deep, probably truncated; lower fill of dark yellow to dark brown patchy sands and gravels.

The body stain was fairly well preserved as a dark brown sand up to 8cm deep. The burial was supine, with head to the west, and feet apart hard against the end of the grave. The left arm was mostly missing, the right arm was

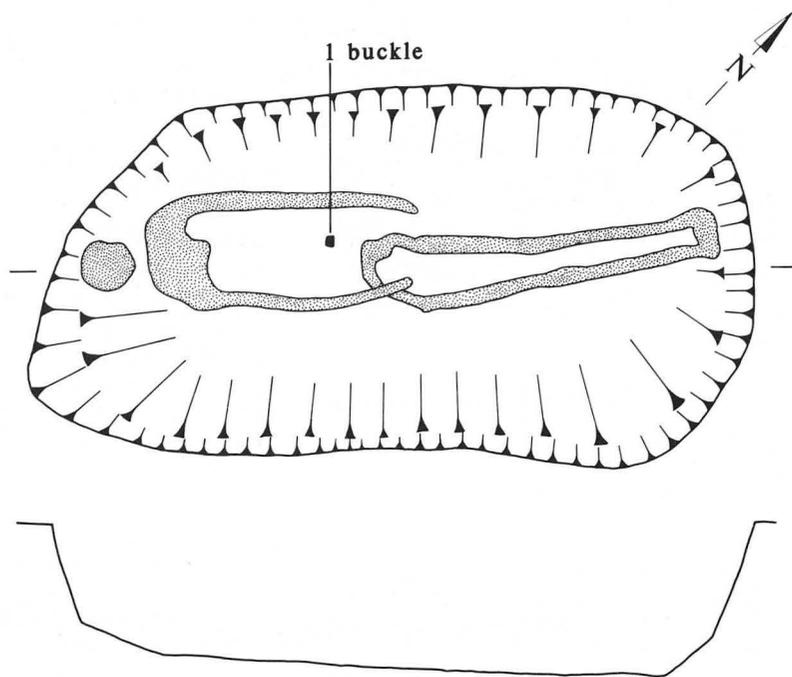


Figure 51 Grave 38. Scale 1:20

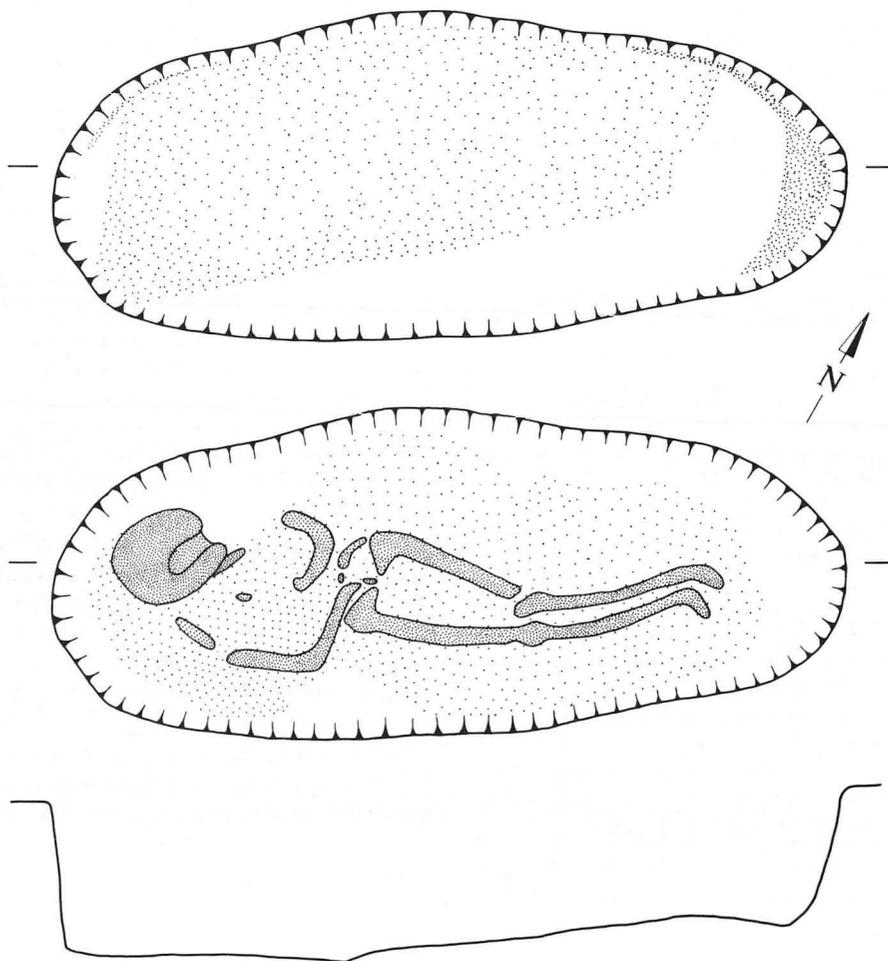


Figure 52 Grave 39 (upper, ?coffin lid; lower, body stain). Scale 1:20

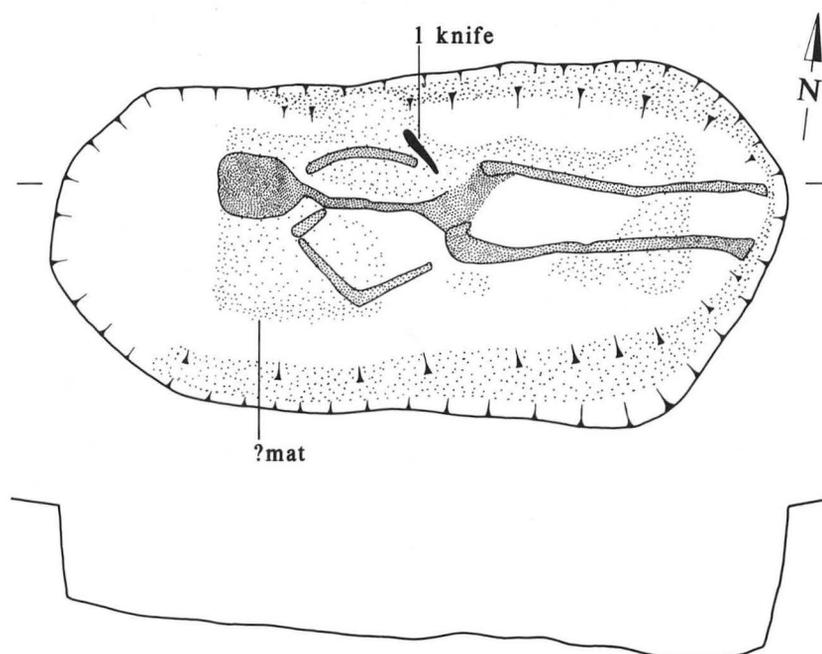


Figure 53 Grave 40. Scale 1:20

flexed. Whilst the feet were at the end of the grave, the head was well away from the end.

Below the body stain was a dark brown/black slightly 'greasy' stain (I291), particularly pronounced at the head and ankle areas, about 1cm deep, which ended in a very straight line at each end. This may represent some container, 'shroud' or 'cushion' for the body. Around it, and extending right round the foot and sides of the grave but not the head, was a deposit of mid grey-brown silty sand, about 8cm deep. This may represent an infilling of the space between the side of the grave and the 'container/cushion' immediately after burial (Plate XIII).

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 218) length 16.5cm (Evison Type 4), at the left elbow; horn handle extends onto blade, remains of leather sheath which is overlain with textile on one side.

Grave 41 (I266) (Figs 5, 54, 76 and 97)

Length 2.05m; Width 0.95m; Depth 0.20m.

Grave 41 lies just within the ring-ditch I022 on the berm or cutting the material of the mound (Fig. 5). The latter is more likely since the grave is shallow and heavily truncated, presumably by erosion of the mound. The grave is cut at its north-east end by a small post-hole I299, about 0.22m deep, which could possibly be a grave-marker.

Fill: Mid-brown coarse sand with charcoal flecks.

Below the main grave fill and just above the body stain a thin layer of black-stained sand was encountered in the area of the upper body. This may represent the remains of

a coffin lid, although the absence of any stain to represent the base makes this uncertain. Perhaps, too, the position of the feet is further reason for caution.

The body stain was moderately well preserved as a dark purple stain. The legs were best preserved and some bone material survived. The burial was supine, with head to the west, and feet hard against the end of the grave, perhaps indicating the absence of a coffin.

Grave-goods

1. Fragments of a silver-wire **suspension-ring** with translucent blue glass annular **bead** (SF 213), found on the head.

Grave 42 (I289) (Figs 5, 55, 76 and 97)

Length 1.70m; Width 0.60–0.70m; Depth 0.03m.

Grave 42 lies within ring-ditch (I022) and was probably dug into the material of the mound (Fig. 5). Erosion of the mound and further ploughing has left this grave very heavily truncated and disturbed, with the original outline now mostly lost. The amount of original burial surviving is also rather uncertain.

Fill: Light-to-mid brown loamy sand.

There was no evidence of a coffin. The body survived only as a stained yellow-brown sand representing parts of the legs and the pelvic region. The head (missing) lay to the west, the probable position of the legs suggested that the body was lying on its right side, with legs flexed, but this is not certain.

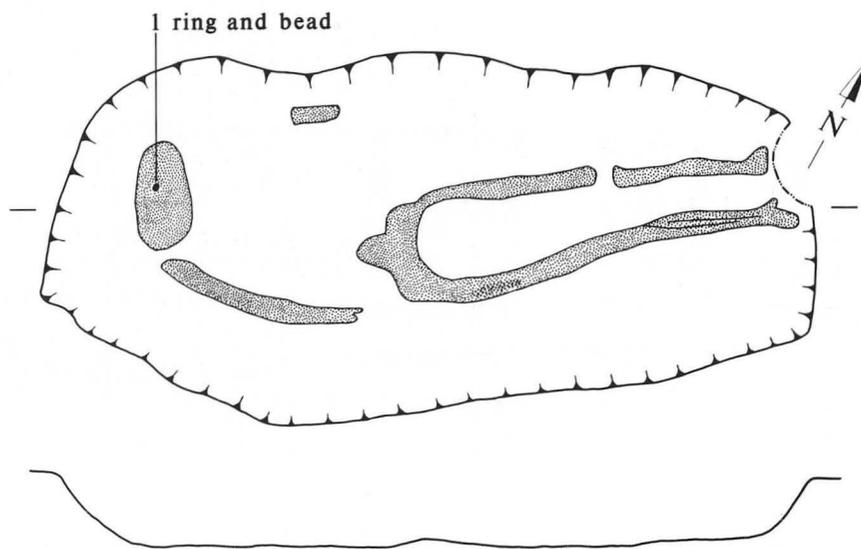


Figure 54 Grave 41. Scale 1:20

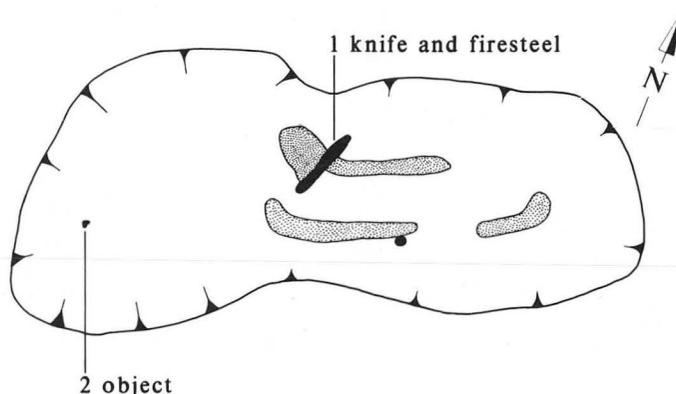


Figure 55 Grave 42. Scale 1:20

Grave-goods

1. Two iron objects (SF 207)
 - (a) Iron **knife** length 12.5cm. (Evison Type 5); horn handle and leather sheath (which probably also held (b)).
 - (b) Iron **firesteel** length 11cm; handle of ?bone or ?antler.
2. Iron **object** (SF 217), found at head end of the grave; ?fragment of loop or buckle.
By the right leg lay a small diffuse area of possible leather and ?bone (SF 190).

Grave 43 (I268) (Figs 5, 56, 76 and 97)

Length 2.30m; Width 0.60m; Depth 0.25m.

Grave 43 lay across the fill of ring-ditch 1022 and was itself cut by a north-to-south linear ditch (I283), which disturbed the lower part of the burial (Fig. 5). Ploughing and machining had truncated this grave so that the skull was just below the top of the grave.

Fill: Mottled yellow-brown and grey sands.

No evidence was found of any coffin.

The burial was represented by a dark brownish-yellow sandy silt in places, indicating the legs and parts of the upper body. The majority of the skull was preserved. The burial was supine, with head to the west and placed in the grave with the head against the west end and feet some distance from the east end. The skeletal remains suggest an individual, possibly male, 'well over thirty years' (see Chapter 5, p.76)

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 254), traces of tang, length 18cm (Evison Type 4), found with point to the east; horn handle and possible traces of leather sheath.
2. Iron **buckle** with remains of tapering **plates**, two rivets, and traces of leather belt between the plates (SF 255); degraded threads on underside of loop.

These two objects were found together at the left side, in the upper arm area.

Unassociated Find (No. 1) was an iron **spearhead** (SF 214), found close to Graves 43 and 44, and possibly derived from one of these disturbed graves (Fig. 97).

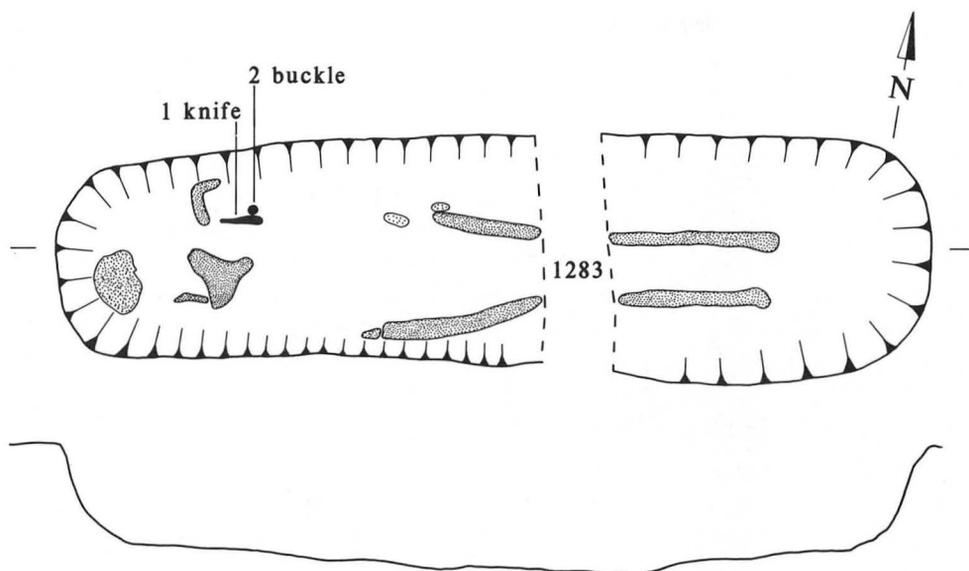


Figure 56 Grave 43. Scale 1:20

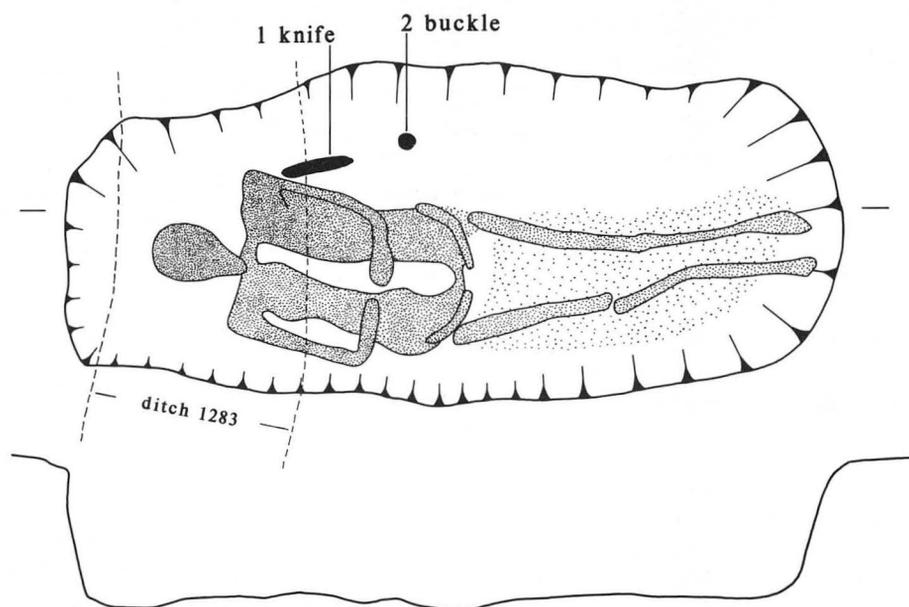


Figure 57 Grave 44. Scale 1:20

Grave 44 (I272) (Plate III; Figs 5, 57, 76 and 97)

Length 2.05m; Width 0.90m; Depth 0.40m.

Grave 44 lay partly across the fill of ring-ditch 1022 and was itself cut in the upper levels by north-to-south linear ditch 1283 (Fig. 5).

Fill: Patchy orange/dark brown sandy loam.

A very dark brown stained sandy silt varying in depth from 10mm to 30mm was found under the lower half of the body and was also apparent on the sides of the grave up to 0.50m from the base (not shown on plan). Whether it continued under the upper half of the body was uncertain. This stain could represent the base of a coffin, but no clear trace of top or sides was found, and may be an organic mat or filling. Organic material on the buckle loop (?straw) may be the remains of some grave filling.

The body was represented by stained and mineralised sand and showed generally very good preservation, and definition of some features, the feet, arms, pelvis and spine

(Plate III). Some fragments of bone remained in the pelvis and legs. Some staining in the upper body area was possibly coffin material. The body lay on the south side of the grave, with head to the west, and with feet hard against the east end of the grave. The arms were folded across the stomach.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** in remains of a **sheath** (SF 221), length 20.0cm. (Evison Type 5), horn handle and traces of leather sheath, found near upper arm, point to the west.
2. Iron **buckle** with copper-alloy **plates** (SF 222), found on left side; loop recessed for plates. Remains of leather belt between the plates. Random organic materials, straw or fragments of wood, are preserved on upper side of the loop.

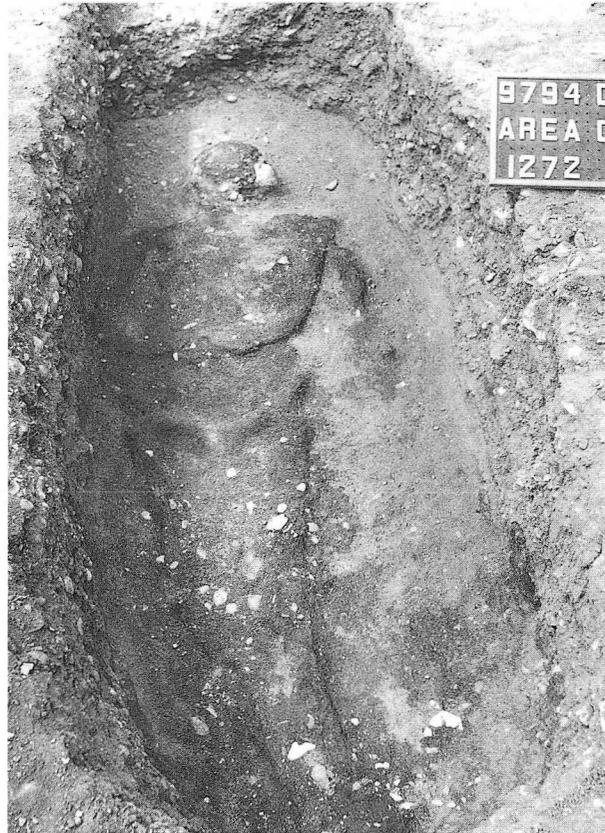


Plate III Grave 44, with body stain

Unassociated Find (No. 1) was an iron **spearhead** (SF 214), found close to Graves 43 and 44, and possibly derived from one of these disturbed graves (Fig. 97).

Grave 45 (1276) (Figs 5, 58, 76 and 97)
Length 1.84m; Width 0.55m; Depth 0.60m.
Fill: Mottled yellow-brown coarse sand.

A dark yellowish-brown stained medium sand about 3cm deep along the edges, reducing to less than 1cm along the base of the grave, may represent the remains of a coffin. However, this stain had a very 'greasy' feel, and the excavator noted that this was unlike the certain wooden coffin remains. The possibility remains that this represents some other material, perhaps leather, and that a shroud or other wrapping is indicated. The extensive stain at the west end and its absence from the east end may support this idea.

The body was represented by a dark red-brown sand which indicated the legs only. The stain was very well preserved but nothing remained to represent the upper part of the body, possibly obscured by the ?coffin stain.

The body was probably supine, and lay with head to the west and legs turned outward.

Grave-goods

1. Iron **knife** (SF 226), length 16.5cm (Evison Type 5), lay with point to the west; horn handle (made from tip of horn). Remains of leather sheath, overlain by fragments of degraded textile, possibly part of a braid.
2. Copper-alloy **buckle** (SF 227) with remains of textile/leather.

Both objects were found at the head end, above the ?coffin stain.

Grave 46 (1278) (Figs 5, 59 and 76)
Length 1.95m; Width 0.72m; Depth 0.25m.
Fill: Dark grey-brown silty sand.

No trace of a coffin was found. A dark red-brown stained sand represented the body, lying with head to the south-west. The head, right arm, pelvis and legs survived; these indicated that the body lay on its left side with legs slightly flexed, possibly to enable it to fit the grave.

No grave-goods.

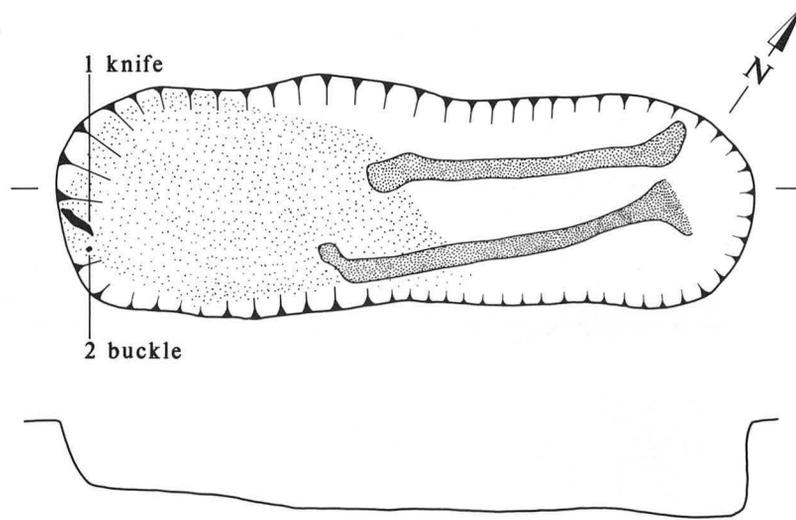


Figure 58 Grave 45. Scale 1:20

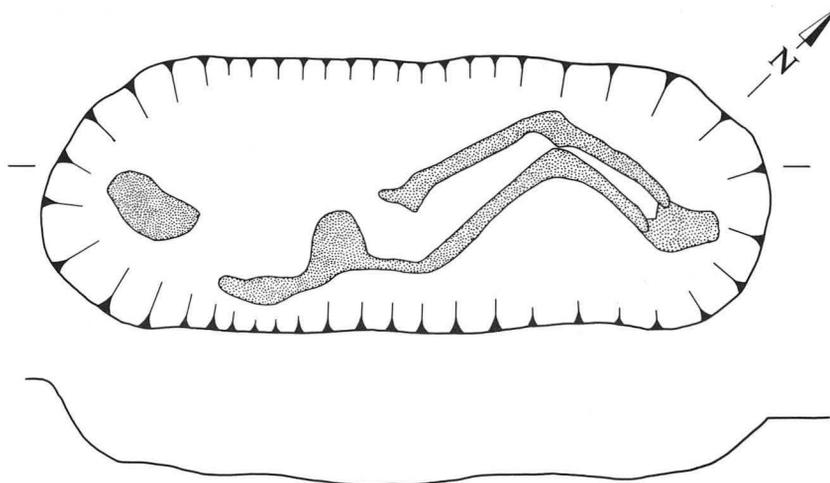


Figure 59 Grave 46. Scale 1:20

III. Unassociated finds of probable Anglo-Saxon date

1. Iron spearhead (SF 214) (Swanton C5); remains of wood (coppiced timber) in socket; found in segment

of ditch 1281 (1284) which cut Graves 43 and 44. Possibly derived from one of these graves (Fig. 97).

3. Grave-goods: Discussion of Types

In the forty-six graves there were forty-seven burials, Grave 19 being a double-burial. Thirteen of these had no grave-goods, possibly eighteen had just a knife, or knife and buckle, whilst five, probably women, were well-provided with grave-goods. Eleven others were modestly equipped (Figs 60–1).

The spearhead

(Unassociated Find No. 1 SF 214 Fig. 97)

An iron spearhead (SF 214) was found in a segment of ditch (1281), close to Graves 43 and 44 (Fig. 5) and possibly deriving from one of them since both were cut by (1281). There is no direct evidence of its Anglo-Saxon date but the existence of furnished Anglo-Saxon burials make this most likely, although this object would then be the sole spearhead from these burials.

The spearhead is 14.5cm long with a narrow, leaf-shaped blade and a long socket in relation to its length. The cleft is narrow. Although this spearhead is not unlike Swanton's type C1, this type fell out of favour in the mid-6th century and is rare in East Anglia (Swanton 1973,

8); Swanton's C2 ranges from early to late, but is a much longer object (20–30cm) and there is no strong reason for placing SF214 in this group. This spearhead fits best in Swanton's type C5 (Swanton 1974, 10–11) which is a fairly short form 16–26cm long, leaf-shaped and with a narrow cleft. In view of the date and character of this cemetery it is interesting that C5 is essentially a Kentish form with possible continental influence and seems to belong to a very late phase, probably 7th century (Swanton 1973, 61, 64). The late cemetery at Polhill, Kent, produced a number of spearheads, some of very similar form with narrow leaf blade and narrow cleft in the socket (Hawkes 1973b, fig. 59). A similar spearhead was found with a *seax* at Shudy Camps Grave 36 (Lethbridge 1936, fig. 3).

The *seax* in Grave 25 (object No. 1)

(Figs 34, 192)

Apart from the unassociated spearhead, possibly from Grave 43 or 44, the cemetery produced just one weapon, a *seax* from Grave 25; this had the remains of an organic hilt and sheath, the hilt made from a single piece of horn,

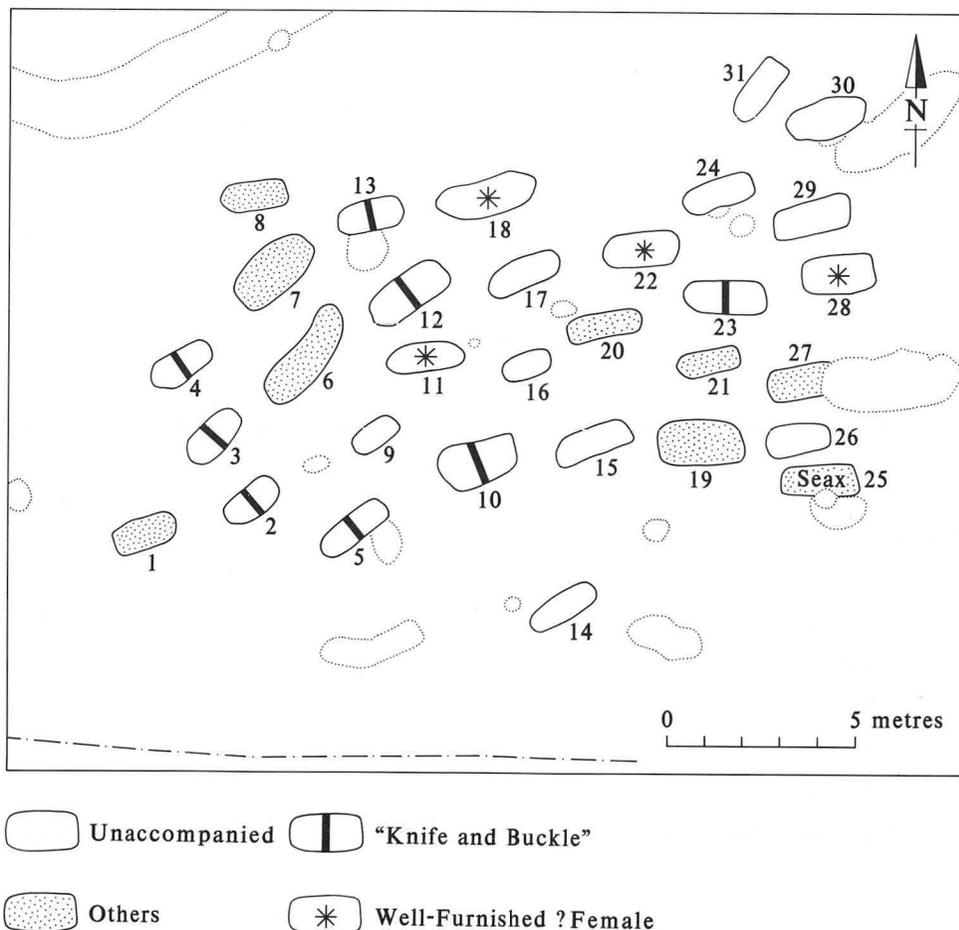


Figure 60 Area A, Graves 1–31, showing burial types. Scale 1:200

AREA A

AREA C/D

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19A	19B	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46						
Body stain	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●		●	●		●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●						
Coffin stain(M-?"mat")		●	●	●	●	●	○	●		●	●		●	●	●		●	●	●	●		●	●	○	M	●		●	●	●	●		○			●			●	M					M	M							
Seax																										●																											
Spear																																													○	○							
Knife		●	●	●	●	●				●	●	●	●						●	●			●	●			●									●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●					
Buckle (G-garnets)		●						●		●		G	●						●	●						●										●	●	●															
Steel				●															●				●						●																●								
Key/Girdlehanger	●										●									●			●						○						●																		
Disc brooch											●																																										
Pendant																		●												●						●																	
Festoon (rings, bullae)											●												●						●						●																		
Beads											●											●		●				●							●							●											
Iron/silver chain																					●			●																													
Silver pin-suite	●																	●																																			
Silver mounts																														●																							
Shoe buckles																			●																																		
Shoe tags																														●																							
Coins																			●																																		
Shears											●								●			●							●	●						●																	
Comb							○				○										○		○				○				○																						
Toilet set											●																																										
Large ring/bracelet						●													●				●							●							●																
Bag/satchel																				○																	○																
Spindlewhorl																															●																						
Box							●												●										○																								
"Relic box"																			●																																		
Firesteel																			●																																		
Dresshooks																			●																																		
Complex(SF144)																			●																																		
Other	●			●		●					●									●	●	●	●	●			●		●	●						●	●							●									

(Uncertain = ○)

Table 1 The grave-goods

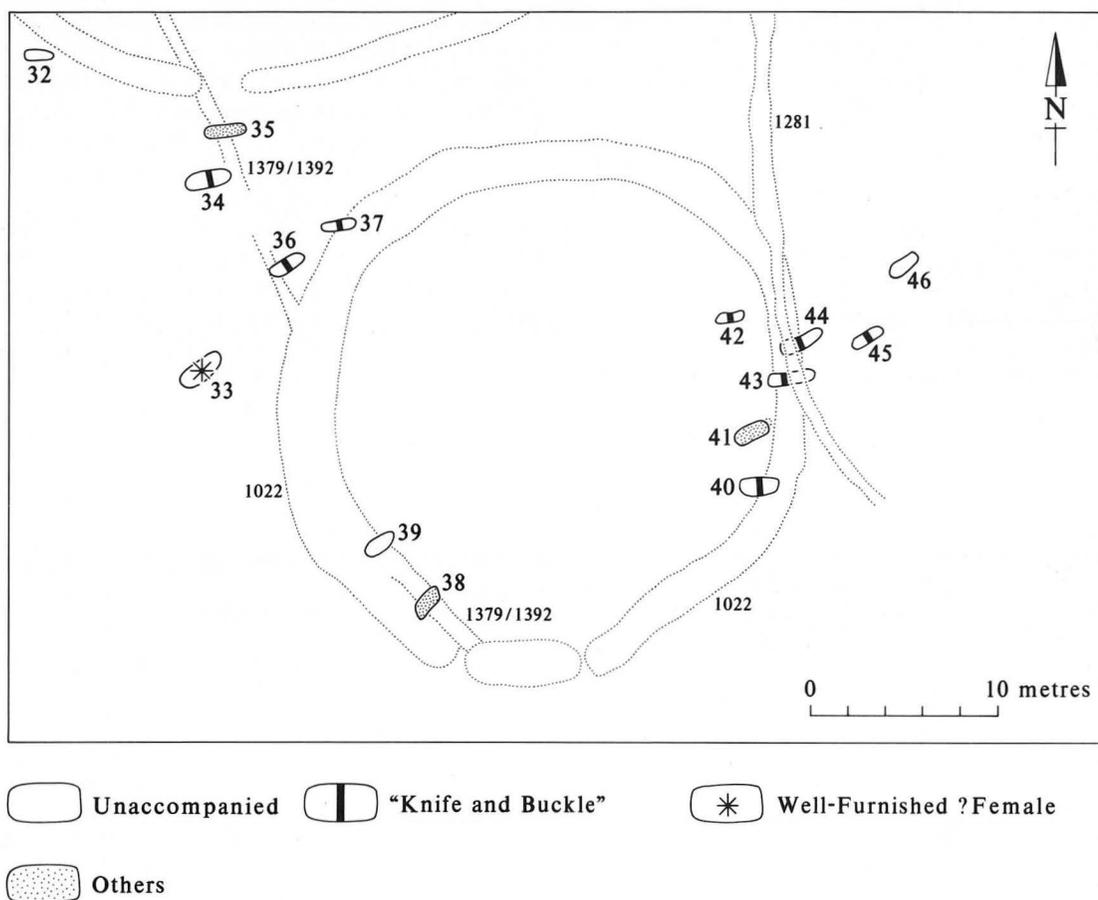


Figure 61 Area C/D, Graves 32–46, showing burial types. Scale 1:400

with a copper-alloy collar mounted over the hilt or probably at the lower guard of the *seax*, buried with two ?awls alongside the upper part of the body, with the point to the west, *i.e.* towards the head. From the positions of the *seax* and its two attached buckles, it is likely that the latter belonged to a strap used to hang the *seax* from the shoulder. Lethbridge (1936, fig. 8) shows one possible reconstruction of the likely suspension method, although the warrior on the later Middleton Stone shows a large knife worn on the belt horizontally (Gale 1989, 81).

The *seax* is a weapon (or large knife) found in Merovingian graves of the 6th century but in England is not seen until the 7th century (when some may be imports), and many are thought to belong to the second half of that century (Evison 1987, 31). Although there is often a virtual absence of weapons such as spears and swords in late cemeteries, some seemed to yield little but *seaxes*, found singly (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 43).

English *seaxes* seem to be mostly light weapons, essentially long knives with narrow blades, perhaps marks of rank (like swords) rather than battlefield weapons (Evison 1961, 228); it is possible that they were hunting knives, in which case they could also be marks of rank (Gale 1989, 80).

The *seax* from Grave 25 is very like the example from Polhill Grave 85 (which is a little shorter at 38cm (260cm blade)) and like it, has a long two-handed pommel grip seen on some continental *seaxes*; in England the long grip seems to be a late feature (Evison 1961; Hawkes 1973b,

189) and is also seen on the *seax* from Shudy Camps, Grave 36. A *seax* from Grave 3243 Buttermarket, Ipswich, is very similar and has a horn handle and a copper-alloy collar at the shoulder (Watson 1992a, 2). The Harford Farm *seax* has a pommel and is in the remains of a sheath.

The composite disc brooch in Grave 11 (object No. 2) (Cover; Plates IV and XX; Figs 18, 62, 84)

The most spectacular object found was the composite disc brooch in Grave 11, battered and repaired but possessing a remarkable interest because of its condition, the attempts to repair it, and on the reverse the interlaced animals and an inscription by its repairer, LUDA (Fig. 84). This is the only brooch found at Harford Farm, and it was found with a set of silver-wire rings, probably part of a festoon.

In the 6th century the well-dressed woman wore a pair of brooches (or sometimes more) to secure her dress and cloak; in the 7th century the change in women's fashions now demanded fewer and lighter fixings, perhaps with a large disc brooch to fix a cloak.

The distribution of composite disc brooches is mostly in east Kent, and in particular, in the 'rich' cemeteries (Fig. 62); of Avent's 168 brooches only sixteen come from outside Kent, although pieces of others are now known. These brooches may have developed from 6th-century cast disc brooches with garnet inlay and Style I chip carving, but were now made using techniques of decoration, repoussé, and filigree, drawn from continental models, which represents a large advance in technique.

The date of these high quality composite brooches seems to lie in the first half of the 7th century. By the middle of the century, techniques had declined and brooches of this date are often of poor workmanship, using simple straight-walled rectangular cells; for example the brooches from Milton, Abingdon, usually thought to be about or after 650 (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 39–42; Avent 1975, 62–4) and the brooch from Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard. Complete composite brooches from outside Kent come from Winnall (Hants), Burwell (Cambs), and Stanton, Sutton with fragments of others coming from Gisleham and Stonham Aspell (West 1998, figs 47, 128) and now Boss Hall, all in Suffolk. The wide spread of their distribution must make the existence of another manufacturing centre, outside Kent, just a remote possibility.

These brooches were made individually, using the same techniques and similar motifs appropriate to a circular field, but producing unique pieces. Thus it is impossible to see much chronological significance in their designs or their manufacture, although after the middle of the 7th century the availability of raw materials, especially garnets, was much reduced.

The construction of a number of garnet cloisonné composite disc brooches has been analysed by Pinder, who identifies two groups, gold cloisonné brooches and copper-alloy brooches, and notes that the Harford Farm brooch is the *only* example in gold cloisonné to be found outside Kent. Pinder also suggests that the rim is a replacement, following damage and repair (Pinder 1995, 21).

Garnets are an outstanding feature of brooches and other jewellery of late 6th/7th-century date, sometimes flat and set above cross-hatched gold foils which reflect the light (Avent and Leigh 1977). Whilst it has been suggested that most brooches came from a single source in England, namely Faversham in Kent, which was possibly under direct royal control (Arrhenius 1985, 17–18), it seems possible that the repair, re-use and breaking up of brooches would disperse garnets and also lead to them being cut into smaller pieces as they became increasingly scarce. The 'earlier' garnets therefore tend to be large, shaped stones, well fitting; the later pieces of jewellery are more likely to include re-used pieces, ill-matched, ill-fitting and perhaps damaged, as seems to be the case with the Grave 11 brooch, where the five bosses were all doubtless originally set with garnets *en cabochon* but were found missing, detached or replaced.

The Harford Farm brooch has a face of gold sheet (which does not underlie the border) and gold filigree, garnets in cloisons and garnets and glass in bosses, arranged in a cruciform design. A deep rim of channelled silver strip holds the face to a silver backplate, the whole secured by five rivets, which can be seen on the backplate. The interspace is filled by calcite. The backplate retains its pin mechanism and bears an inscribed interlaced-animal design and a runic inscription (besides two rivets which do not reach the face). The face of the brooch has at least two areas of damage and repair (held by a further rivet).

The face

The central boss is a single cabochon garnet in a twisted gold-wire collar, set on a boss of ivory with beaded gold-wire surround; this is enclosed by a ring of irregular garnet-filled cells. The four major arms are each composed

of two small rectangular garnet-filled cells (two cells are empty) terminating in a small satellite boss in a beaded gold-wire surround (one boss is missing, two are detached); the bosses are glass on a shell base. A single beaded wire frame encloses the arms and the central garnet ring.

The four minor arms of beaded gold-wire spring from triangular garnet-filled cells and terminate in an empty triangular field at the rim. Each of the eight fields thus created contained a unit of filigree interlace in Style II soldered to a prepared base of gold plate. The ground between the wire has been punched down so as to leave the filigree upstanding; this is best seen on the repair patch, where the filigree is missing. The filigree is beaded gold wire, bounded by very finely beaded thin wire. The brooch has a border of two rows of pseudo-plait filigree divided into panels by four groups of three rectangular garnets and four groups of single small garnets, placed to emphasise the two crosses. This is enclosed by an outer border of twisted gold wire.

The major garnet-set arms are not at right-angles, but are actually saltires, leaving the minor filigree arms as more nearly a true cross; this is also the orientation of the reverse. The flat garnets are all backed by cross-hatched gold foil.

Damage to the face

The runic inscription on the reverse can be translated as LUDA REPAIRED (THIS) BROOCH and two large repairs and minor damage are obvious. A large part of two filigree panels, a filigree arm, and part of the border including a single-garnet setting, have been replaced by a single large patch. The patch is gold sheet with a beaded wire rim (which emphasises the repair) which is punched down in places, indicating that the patch once bore filigree, now missing. A garnet is missing from the adjacent garnet-group. In several places, parts of the filigree decoration are now missing, and in one place it has been replaced by a short strip of too-large beaded wire. The three subsidiary bosses are of glass and rounded, unlike the central boss. The four plain triangular fields at the ends of the minor arms are very unusual features on composite brooches and the cell walls here indicate that these were once garnet-filled and have lost the garnets or had them removed.

A large stretch of the border, comprising a three-garnet group, panel of pseudo-plait filigree and single-garnet setting has been replaced by a single strip of channelled gold sheet.

One of the subsidiary bosses is completely missing, two were with the brooch but detached, and the fourth was in place but made of glass, probably a replacement. The flat garnets are a mixture of sizes and shapes and colours, and the central ring of garnets is a clumsy and irregular affair, with only two of the arms continuing into the ring, as narrow rectangular garnets. In one part, the pattern was probably intended to be alternating triangular garnets, but the scheme was not sustained; instead small irregular garnets are used to fill the spaces. The garnets do not properly fill the cells but are held in place by punching down the cell wall to provide a fixing. A number of garnets are missing, and not replaced. In the four major arms two of the garnets are missing; of the four triangular garnets from which the minor arms spring, one is missing.



Plate IV The composite disc brooch from Grave 11, reverse, with pin mechanism removed, showing inscribed animal decoration and runic inscription

The minor arms terminate in large triangular empty fields and it is very likely that these once contained garnets since their bases have foil inserts, presumably not original, and large empty fields are not common in the repertoire of disc brooch motifs (at Boss Hall, two pendants have empty fields in a similar position (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 33b)). It is possible that any garnets in these fields were deliberately removed, perhaps after some loss, maybe even to be re-used elsewhere in the repair of this brooch.

The border once held sixteen garnets in eight groups, but just ten remain. The loss of the six garnets has been masked by the two large repairs, possibly because no replacement garnets were available at the time of these repairs.

The craftsmanship of the garnet settings, their size and lack of replacement is consistent with a later date; the clumsiness of the central ring, perhaps done by someone not used to this technique, may be compared with the cloisonné of the Monkton brooch, of the mid 7th century (Hawkes 1974).

Each of the eight panels created by the two sets of crossed arms originally contained a unit of interlace filigree decoration, in Style II but only faintly zoomorphic with no hint of limbs or head, unlike the Kingston Brooch (Avent 1975, no. 179). The 'tight' interlace may best be compared with the filigree of the four identical panels on the Milton, Abingdon, brooches, which may be as late as

c. 640 (Avent 1975, no. 182, 62–4; Hawkes 1974, 254) and which also have the elaborate pin and catchplate arrangement. As can be seen, much of the interlace is damaged, or pieces lost.

The panels of the border are in 'pseudo-plait', that is, a twisted wire filigree with a herring-bone effect which is not seen in Kent before the 7th century and which on the Harford Farm disc brooch may be compared to the rim of the Ixworth Brooch (Avent 1975, no. 167) which was found with the Ixworth Cross, most clearly a Christian object. The Ixworth Brooch has a similar design to that of the Harford Farm brooch with its cross of filigree and garnet bosses, but it has no flat garnets and its filigree consists of heart and 'S' shapes, not units of interlace.

The general effect of the brooch is of a fairly restrained piece, using large units of quite competent filigree, and using garnets sparingly. This may be a somewhat false impression, if, as suggested, the empty fields once also contained garnets. Whilst the two major repairs are quite obvious it is quite likely that some remodelling of the garnets took place, to ensure that the central ring had a full complement of garnets.

On the border, a single strip of channelled gold sheet replaces a panel of pseudo-plait filigree and two groups of garnet cells. The garnets may already have been lost when the repair took place or possibly were deliberately replaced by the strip to free them for use elsewhere.



Figure 62 Composite brooches, distribution map (after Avent 1975); HF =Harford Farm

This may also have been true of the other main repair, a rather crude replacement of two lost parts of adjacent filigree units with their dividing filigree arm and triangular field by a large plate bearing a single unit of filigree unrelated to the other units. Not only does the minor filigree arm and field disappear, but further attention is drawn to this work by a beaded wire border to the plate. This repair also rather awkwardly replaces a stretch of the border and two gamet cells.

The reverse

The backplate is of silver and has a simple version of the pin mounting and catchplate seen on some other composite brooches, for example the Kingston Brooch (Jessup 1950 114-5 and pl. XXIV) and several other heavy composite brooches, with a pin pivoted in a drum and the catchplate almost 'closed' (Avent 1975, 21). The ends of five fixing-studs can be seen on the reverse. The studs hold

the five bosses in place and the two plates together. There is a stud by the pin catch, probably original, and a further stud, seen only on the reverse, which may be a repair. The studs appear to interrupt the animal design, which must then be an original feature. The reverse has inscribed decoration which respects the pin mechanism and almost fills the remaining space. Around the reverse runs a border, emphasised by small quasi-runic panels and long herring-bone panels.

On each side of the pin mechanism is a pair of inscribed intertwined beasts, drawn in Style II, against a cross-hatched background. The beasts are head-to-tail, each biting the other's foot. The intention was for each animal to be completely opposed, but a blunder has left the upper pair with both central legs running to the left and difficulties with the feet. Beneath the pin mechanism are faint setting-out lines.

A runic inscription was drawn within the central space, making use of the setting-out lines, onto the base of the pin mechanism and the butt of the pin. This inscription may be translated LUDA REPAIRED [THE] BROOCH.

The order of the inscribed lines appears to be as follows:

- (1) The setting-out lines for the pin anchorage and catchplates were marked out.
- (2) The zoomorphic design was inscribed.
- (3) The runic inscription was done.

It is possible the catchplates were drawn round but not soldered on immediately; the lines round both plates are very accurate. This could have been done immediately preceding the zoomorphic inscription. The zoomorphic inscription follows these markings; the decoration at some points abuts on to the plate markings but never goes over them. The runic inscription is evidently later; the inscription carries over on to the pin anchorage and the pin base itself.

The animals

Drawings on objects are not particularly common at this general period, and when they occur they are usually rather sketchy, presumably a casual decoration. The animals on the reverse of this brooch were well done, possibly part of the original conception and a sustained piece of drawing. Although the two pairs of animals and the border were probably inscribed after the setting-out of the pin arrangement, they may have been drawn before the brooch was put together since the rivet-holes appear to pierce the design, and rather spoil its effect, unless the rivet below the pin pivot was used as the eye in the head of the animal.

The border was neatly executed and helps to frame the pairs of animals; it is divided into four by small quasi-runic panels (possibly 'g' runes), two of which are flanked by long herring-bone panels which emphasise the border.

The pairs of animals, drawn in Style II interlace, make excellent use of the areas left between the borders and the pin mechanism. Pairs of opposed biting animals were a long-lived decorative theme in Anglo-Saxon art and occur right through the 7th century and into the art of the manuscript, being seen in such works as the late 7th-century *Book of Durrow*, with the same sinuous bodies, marked head and hips (Speake 1980, fig. 14a).

The Harford Farm animals are sinuous snake-like creatures, each intertwined and biting the hind leg of its partner. The head is rather crudely indicated, with the line of the mouth and the 'neck' shown; the hips and the frond-like feet are indicated. The animals are set against a cross-hatched background. These animals may be generally compared with earlier 7th-century intertwined beasts such as those on the border panels of the Sutton Hoo shoulder clasps, and the beasts on the mid 7th-century Crundale sword pommel (Speake 1980, 146, figs 2e and 3h). These examples are part of the formal design of their pieces; the backplate of the Crundale buckle bore an engraved animal, snake-like and sketchy (Speake 1980, fig. 8g), altogether closer to the character of the Harford Farm animals.

The most obvious comparison might be with the animals drawn on the reverse of the late 7th-century 'Kennard' composite disc brooch from Faversham, Kent (Speake 1980, fig. 8c) but here we see a frieze of single beasts each turning to bite its own body, rather than pairs

occupying all the available space. However, a positive point of comparison with the 'Kennard' brooch is in the use of cross-hatching as a background, which is very unusual as a background to Style II animals, and which is also seen on the late 7th-century Eccles buckle (Hawkes 1973a). The two animals may also be compared with the pair of beasts on a plaque from *Hamwic*, although differently-modelled, of possible mid 7th-century date (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 44).

The runes

The animals may be an original feature of the brooch but the runic inscription on the reverse is, naturally, later, done to record the repair of the brooch. Like the animal drawings, runic inscriptions are unusual, indeed, rare before the mid 7th century in England (Evison 1987, 47). However, their association seems to be with brooches; Evison once noted that of the continental runes, seventeen of forty-three examples known in 1939 were inscriptions on the backs of brooches, mostly in the Rhineland on Frankish and Alemannic brooches, of 6th and 7th-century date. Evison suggested therefore that continental influence could help account for the runes on the back of the Buckland, Dover, brooch (Evison 1964, 243-4).

The runic inscription runs on to the pin anchorage, with at least one further rune on the back of the pin itself. The inscription may be translated LUDA REPAIRED THE BROOCH, Luda being a masculine personal name. The inscription is discussed below by John Hines (p.81-2).

It is difficult to date any of the composite disc brooches by their associations but it is very unlikely that Grave 11 has a date much different from that of Grave 18, in the next row, which is coin-dated to 690-700. Although this battered brooch may have been quite old when buried, there is no need to place it very early in the 7th century, and its comparisons, although not conclusive, are consistent with a date toward the middle of the century. Its construction too fits with this idea; riveting of the bosses to the backplate seems to be a feature of the later composite brooches (Hawkes 1974, 253).

The pendants

Gold pendants, often set with garnets, are a familiar item in 7th-century cemeteries in England and were adopted from Mediterranean fashions by the Anglo-Saxons, possibly as a result of contact with the Christian world. They are found on the continent from the 6th century, especially in Italy. Other similarities between Lombardic and Anglo-Saxon burials have been noted, for example, the presence of necklaces of silver-wire rings, *bullae* and threadboxes (Leeds 1936 ch. 6; Hyslop 1963, 192-3).

The fashion for gold pendants came to Kent by the early 7th century and became a characteristic of Kentish craftsmanship, being found in many lavish burials in that county, and an association with gold and silver necklaces was noted by Ozanne (1962-3, 30-3). By the middle of the 7th century the fashion was widespread. Often decorated with filigree, sometimes in interlace and garnets, these pendants usually employ cruciform designs which may indicate Christian symbolism (Webster and Backhouse 1991, nos 10-12, 33), although this is not certain. That they came to indicate Christian allegiance is quite likely and the existence of pendant crosses from Winster Moor and Desborough (Campbell *et al.* 1982, fig. 41 and 46) supports this.

Besides the Kentish examples, the distribution of these objects includes cemeteries in Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and as far west as Gloucestershire, including one at Lechlade (Miles and Palmer 1986) and Compton Verney (Brown and Schweitzer 1973, AM 19). Recent finds include some from Boss Hall, Ipswich (Newman 1991).

Festoons of silver-wire rings

Delicate festoons of silver-wire rings, often with beads or other pendants, are a consistent feature of women's graves in several 7th-century cemeteries. Whilst the spread of this fashion may be a 7th-century phenomenon in England, connected with Christian influence, it may have a beginning in the 6th century. At Finglesham in Kent, the woman in Grave 203 was buried with a mass of equipment and jewellery including silver rings and brooches, silver pins (possibly to secure a 'wimple') and a two-strand necklace or choker of glass and amber beads with gold and silver beads and gold pendants. Based upon the brooches and other grave-goods, this grave is suggested by Hawkes to be of the later 6th century (Hawkes and Pollard 1981, 316–20).

Other 6th-century graves contain simple silver rings with beads, for example, the burial under a barrow at Chatham Lines recorded by Douglas (1793, 7–8). However, silver-wire rings may still be regarded as diagnostic of 7th-century dress fashion since the few 6th-century wire rings are loosely twisted, in comparison to the tightly twisted rings found in 7th-century contexts (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 37–8).

It is very likely that many festoons were sewn onto clothing or some other backing (perhaps even leather) as Lethbridge suggested for the festoon in Burwell Grave 121 (Lethbridge 1931, 76). Since then, this possibility has been evident in other instances, and festoons or rings have been recorded in positions or with material which imply the sewing of the silver rings onto clothing. Several of the festoons at Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard, had evidence of thread associated with the wire rings, which may have strung them together edge-to-edge (Hyslop 1963, 173, 199) or possibly also fixed them to a backing. For example, Hawkes had also suggested this possibility for the festoons in Grave 37 and 41 at Polhill, Kent (Hawkes 1973b), and in Grave 10 at Puddlehill, Bedfordshire, where the existence of a *tunica* is suggested (Matthews and Hawkes 1985, 98). In her recent discussion of the rich burial in Grave 23 at Lower Brook Street, Winchester, Hawkes drew attention to the overlapping of the silver-wire rings around the neck and noted a small possibility that they also were sewn onto clothing (Hawkes 1990, 622).

These examples seem to imply the wearing of a *tunica*, fashionable in Kent and elsewhere in the 7th century. The fashion for elaborate festoons had a Byzantine source and is seen on the mosaic of Empress Theodora and her entourage in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna; the fashion was mediated firstly through the Merovingian court, a *milieu* which included Saint Balthilde (d. 681) whose mortuary shroud or tunic has embroidered upon it a representation of the jewels that she would have worn in life, which were elaborate festoons with small and large pendants, and a pectoral cross (Périn and Feffer 1985; Vierck 1978).

At Harford Farm, the remains of several silver-wire festoons were found, in association with beads and pendants. Careful planning has enabled the general position of the wire rings to be recovered, and although it is not certain that these were sewn onto a tunic or other clothing, this seems likely from the observations made in excavation. In Grave 11, the remains of a festoon at the right shoulder overlay the possible traces of a textile leather backing (Fig. 18). Grave 22 had a festoon or necklace at the neck, and this was more probably sewn onto a leather backing, arguably the remains of tunic or other clothing (Figs 30–1). Graves 28 and 33 also held festoons, and in Grave 33 this was possibly associated with a leather backing (Fig. 44).

The gold filigree pendant in Grave 18 (object No. 4)

(Plates XVII and XIX; Figs 25, 86)

Grave 18 contained a gold filigree pendant (object 4) with four garnet satellite bosses and a central (?garnet) boss. Whilst such objects are familiar in 7th-century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, like disc brooches, they were individually made in a wide variety of designs and effects, allowing no conventional typology and making any meaningful comparison difficult.

The pendant is a flat gold plate with a rim of beaded gold wire. Beaded wire also divides the disc into two concentric fields, and then these each into four radial fields. The dividers of the inner field appear to terminate in four small satellite bosses with cabochon garnets (with gold foil backing), thus achieving a cruciform effect; these bosses divide the outer fields into eight small fields. The inner fields contain tightly-coiled S-shaped filigree, awkwardly spaced, the outer fields contain simple annulets and two small S-shapes next to the loop. The spacing of the annulets is not entirely symmetrical, and appears somewhat careless. Three fields contain setting-out lines. The large central setting is empty but presumably contained a cabochon garnet; a small dot in the centre of this setting is probably a setting-out point. The back is plain. There is very little wear on the pendant.

Amongst decorative themes on pendants, concentric fields, cruciform designs with central and subsidiary bosses, and filigree are common but have no obvious chronological or stylistic significance within the 7th century. Their individual character and wide distribution suggests that manufacture may have been relatively local. The recently discovered cemetery at Boss Hall near Ipswich, 65km south of Harford Farm, included a rich burial coin-dated to around 700 (like Harford Farm) and contained five gold pendants (Newman 1991). These pendants, employing S-shaped and annulet filigree and garnets, cannot be compared stylistically with the Harford Farm pendant, nor indeed much with each other, although two are very similar. A gold pendant from Freston, near Ipswich, is similar to the Grave 18 pendant, with a central setting with cabochon garnet and three concentric zones, the inner and outer containing a row of filigree annulets. The pendant is divided by four filigree arms, each terminating at the rim in an empty D-shaped field (West 1998, fig. 46, no. 11).

The open-work gold pendant in Grave 28 (object No. 3)

(Figs 39 and 93)

Grave 28 contained a large group of objects at the left side of the burial, including the scattered remains of an

elaborate festoon. Amongst the objects with the festoon was an open-work pendant (3) with a gold-wire frame and cross. Three other very similar but not quite identical, gold-wire open-work pendants are known from England, all from Kentish graves: at Gilton, Chartham Downs and Faversham. They are thought to belong to the 7th century from their associations and from their cruciform design, usually held to indicate a Christian allegiance (Hawkes *et al.* 1966, 107–8). The Gilton pendant, with a cross of gold sheet, possibly a replacement, was buried with a festoon of silver-wire rings, an iron knife, a toilet set and a late 6th-century disc brooch, possibly old when buried (Faussett 1856 pl. IV, 12–13; Avent 1975, no. 97); the Harford Farm pendant has a far lower gold content than the Gilton example.

The pendant from Chartham Downs was probably found in a barrow, with an early 7th-century disc brooch, pin suite, crystal ball and two other gold pendants (Jessup 1950, pl. VII). Discussing the very similar pendant from Faversham, Brown regarded its similarity to the other two pendants as indicating a late 6th/early 7th-century date of manufacture, which was also likely according to the metal analysis (Brown and Schweitzer 1973, AM 30, 185).

Whilst a late date for these pendants seems entirely appropriate, comparable cross-in-circle pendants are known in 6th-century Scandinavian contexts (Hines 1984, 232–3); more recently, Lamm and Axboe have brought together ten similar open-work cross-in-circle pendants found at various places in Scandinavia (amongst which, two are very similar to the Harford Farm pendant) and whose associations with bracteates places them probably quite early in the 6th century and makes their Christian significance less likely, unless obtained from a Christian *milieu* in the 6th century (Lamm and Axboe 1989, abb 48, nos 8 and 9). However, amulets and pendants such as this might easily have acquired a Christian significance to their wearers, and it must be likely with this pendant too. Geake illustrates a similar pendant of 2nd-century date from France (Geake 1995, fig. 5.6).

The intaglio in Grave 33 (object No. 3)

(Figs 44 and 96)

The burial in Grave 33 in the south group of graves, in Area C/D, was provided with a number of objects: a girdle-hanger, a chatelaine with shears, toilet set and the remains of a silver-wire ring festoon wrapped in a bag, and, close to the body, a pendant of a Roman intaglio set in a gold mount. (The following description is from notes kindly supplied by Martin Henig).

The pendant contains a cornelian intaglio, of 3rd-century date; the gem is elongated and the style of cutting is scratchy and linear, like that of contemporary coins. The figure-type is basically that of a satyr holding a curved staff (*pedum* or *lagobolon*) and a bunch of grapes. He has two little horns on his head, so, despite human rather than goat-like legs, he might be regarded as a *Paniscus*, or (given the East Anglian provenance of the piece) *Faunus* (Johns and Potter 1983).

We may compare this intaglio with others (Henig 1974, nos 161 and 162), or, indeed, the satyr (?*Faunus*) on the gold buckle-plate from the Thetford Treasure (Johns and Potter 1983, 79 no. 1, fig. 6 and col. pl. 1). The type of our gem, however, is influenced by the iconography of *Bonus Eventus* who is sometimes shown standing with one leg crossed behind the other (*cf* Henig 1974 no. 189).

The re-use of gems in migration period brooches and pendants in new settings was a widespread practice on the continent (Ament 1991) and in England (Hunter 1974; Henig 1974, 159–168), where several have been found in 7th-century graves; there is one from Pakefield, Suffolk (now lost), said to have been 'set in gold' and found with a gold-coin pendant, (VCH Suffolk I, 347; Bruce-Mitford 1975, 667). Meaney believes that the Anglo-Saxons ascribed amuletic powers to them (Meaney 1981, 161).

The examples in England do not seem to represent a primary practice of the early settlement, and in discussing the example from the St Martins, Canterbury hoard, Hawkes noted that it belonged to 'a familiar class of Kentish ornament which outside this hoard is not dated before the first half of the 7th century' (Hawkes *et al.* 1966, 105–6).

The bucket-shaped pendant in Grave 28 (object No. 1q) (Figs 45–6 and 93)

Amongst the objects in Grave 28 were the remains of a festoon of silver-wire rings and a silver 'bucket-shaped' pendant. Pendants shaped like miniature buckets are sometimes found in late 6th and 7th-century graves in Anglian England (Hines 1984, map 1.3) including an example at Nassington, Northants, Grave 1, which contained a necklace with ten such pendants on a single string (Leeds and Atkinson 1944, 113). They have been found in several East Anglian cemeteries; at Morning Thorpe Graves 92, 325, 397 and 415, (Green and Rogerson 1987), at Bergh Apton Grave 34 (Green and Rogerson 1978) and at Holywell Row, Grave 10, which contained eleven bronze 'bucket pendants' with a pair of annular brooches (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 18). Their associations seem mostly to be later 6th century, and they may be imports from South Denmark (Hines 1984, 306), although a similar pendant of probable late 7th-century date comes from Updown, Kent (Dickinson 1993, 51). Their significance, if any, is not known, although Meaney suggests a possible amuletic function (Meaney 1981, 166–8). A symbolic connection with full-size buckets and alcohol is possible (Dickinson 1993), although this may be no more than a modern convention.

Silver pendants (*bullae*) in Graves 22 (object No. 1c) and 28 (object No. 2)

(Figs 31, 38, 91 and 93)

Two graves, 22 and 28, contained the remains of festoons of silver-wire rings. The burial in Grave 22 was accompanied by a festoon of rings, beads and *bullae* at the neck, possibly on the remains of a leather backing. The burial in Grave 28 was provided with a plain silver-wire ring festoon at the head, probably on a backing, and the remains of another lay at the left side with much other material, including a gold pendant and two decorated silver discs.

Gold and silver *bullae* were part of the fashions that came to England in the 7th century and are seen in Lombardic cemeteries of the late 6th century. Although especially well-known in the Kentish cemeteries (Faussett 1856, 91, 122 and 154) these objects have a wide distribution in 7th-century burials in England, being found in Yorkshire at Uncleby, and in Somerset, at Camerton. The most lavish example comes from a burial at Desborough, Northants, which contained a gold necklace with nine *bullae*, gold and garnet pendants and a small

gold cross of almost certain Christian significance (Jessup 1950, 121). What appear to be bronze *bullae* were found at Marina Drive, Dunstable, in Grave C7 and D10 (Matthews and Hawkes 1985). In East Anglia, *bullae* are found at Shudy Camps and at Burwell. Grave 121 at Burwell (provided with chatelaine, threadbox and casket) held a festoon with seven silver *bullae* suspended from two silver rings, apparently sewn on to a backing, or clothing (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 36).

The beads

Twenty-nine beads, including two of amethyst quartz, were found in the burials at Harford Farm, most of them associated with silver-wire rings as part of a festoon (see below, Chapter 5 The beads). Seventeen of these beads came from a single burial, Grave 33 (Fig. 95). The condition of these beads is mostly very good, and colours very clear, less so on the polychrome beads. The beads are mostly plain glass, but include four or five millefiori beads (Fig. 63). The absence of amber beads is appropriate for the late date of these burials, made at a time when connections with northern Europe had given way to contacts with France and the Mediterranean world.

Strings of beads are very common grave-goods in female graves of the 5th and earlier 6th centuries, and in East Anglia and Lincolnshire were mostly polychrome or dark blue glass with few monochrome beads. By the 7th century, as the fashions in women's clothing changed and large cruciform brooches were replaced by pins, and long necklaces were replaced by festoons of silver rings, so the number and type of bead in use changed. In the 7th century, beads were often suspended singly on silver-wire rings; it is also likely that some festoons were not loose but were sewn on to clothing, perhaps in the manner of the *chemise* of Balhilde, and may have had beads strung through the centre of the rings in the festoon (see above; Festoons of silver-wire rings). The suspension of beads as pendants is also seen in Kentish cemeteries (Lethbridge 1931, 51). The new fashions involved fewer beads, suspended singly on a wire ring rather than as strings, sometimes on a pin.

Besides beads worn as strings or festoons, Anglo-Saxon graves occasionally contain single examples of large beads (or spindle-whorls), worn centrally on a string or as part of a chatelaine with other objects. In this role they may be amuletic and perhaps comparable with the single large beads found with swords in male graves (Meaney 1981, 195). At Harford Farm there were two instances of beads associated with chatelaines: Grave 22 had two beads in a complex chatelaine (2), found at the waist (Fig. 92); Grave 27 contained an odd collection of objects (7), probably a chatelaine, containing two beads (Fig. 93). These may be amuletic or merely decorative.

Grave 20 contained a bronze bracelet (2) on which was a large reticella bead (Plate XXIV; Fig. 90); a similar silver bracelet and bead came from Grave 12 Hadleigh Road, Ipswich (Plunkett 1994, 37). This is of a type seen elsewhere and thought to be amuletic; Guido (1989, 51–2) notes that such beads are found singly, often at the neck and are usually large (25mm dia.); they are decorated with two lines of swags, laid out very precisely, each swag being a twist in two contrasting colours. These beads seem to be an English phenomenon, with concentrations in Kent and East Anglia (e.g. Shudy Camps, Graves 11 and 104, Burwell, Grave 26).

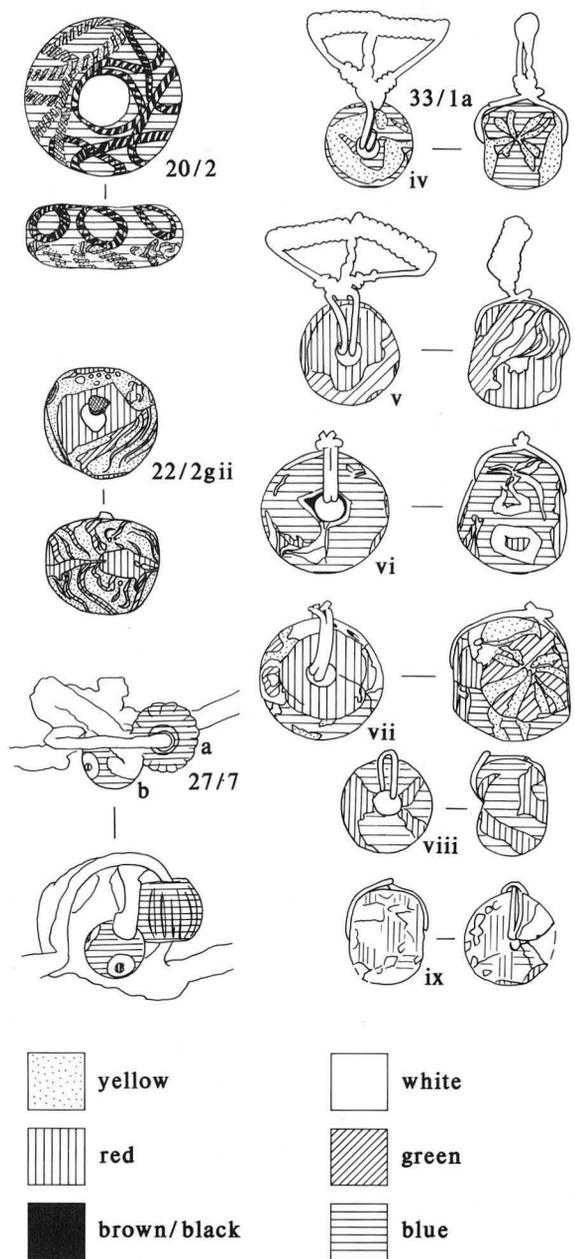


Figure 63 The polychrome glass beads from Graves 20, 22, 27 and 33. Scale 1:1

Beads in later 7th-century cemeteries are more usually monochrome and opaque, typically in quite bright colours; orange (in Kent) and brick-red cylinders, semi-translucent beads of turquoise, bright green or deep green are common (Hawkes 1990, 625). At Buckland, Dover, white beads were often early 7th-century, and graves with only monochrome beads probably belonged to a late 7th-century phase, while polychrome beads were noticeably few in the 7th century (Evison 1987, 63–66) and even then, could be survivals from the 6th century.

Perhaps the most distinctive typically 7th-century bead is the amethyst, usually polished to a teardrop or pear shape, and frequently found on necklaces in Kentish graves from the late 6th century onward, and particularly typical of the new dress fashions. Amethyst beads were imported from the east and are not seen in England before

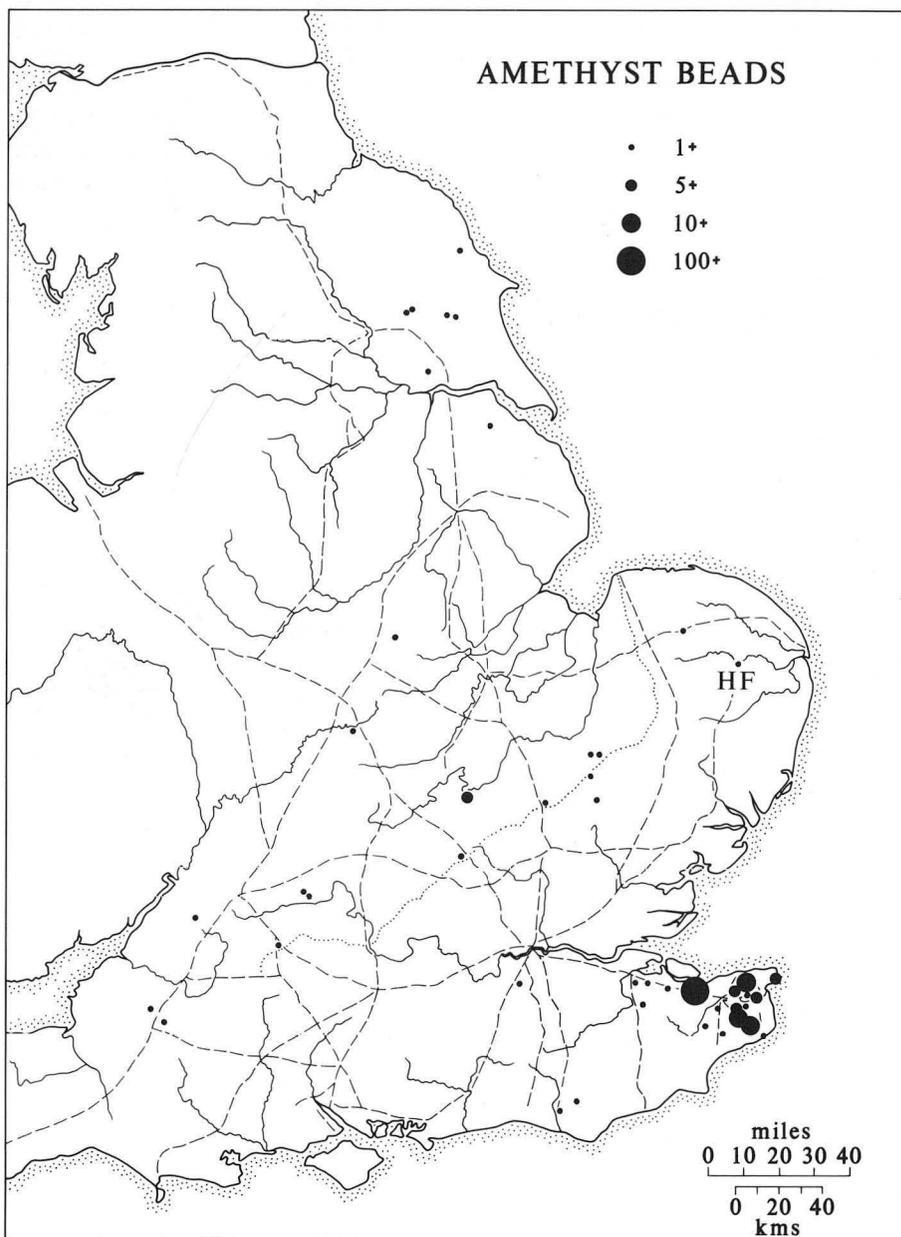


Figure 64 Amethyst beads, distribution map (after Huggett 1988); HF =Harford Farm

the end of the 6th century. It has been suggested that the orange glass beads were possibly imported into England with amethyst beads (Hawkes 1973b, 112). They are seen at Kingston Down, Sibertswold, Breach Down, often in association with pin suites (e.g. Kingston Down Grave 156 and Sibertswold Grave 93) and sometimes strung individually as pendants on a festoon. Amethyst beads were found in Sibertswold Grave 172 of mid to later 7th-century date (Hawkes *et al.* 1966, 112) and at Kingston Down Grave 142 with pendants and a pendant cross (Faussett 1856, 66 pl. IV).

The concentration of amethyst beads in England is Kentish (Fig. 64), and only in Kent are there often more than one or two in a grave (Huggett 1988). Meaney noted that about 150 beads were from Kent, about thirty from elsewhere, and suggested that these beads, found only with

women, had a possible Christian significance (Meaney 1981, 76–7).

Pin suites in Graves 1 (object No. 2) and 18 (object No. 9c–g)

(Plate XXIII; Figs 7, 25, 82 and 88)

Remains of pin suites were found in just two graves, 1 and 18, but they are a familiar part of the repertoire of 7th-century dress fittings and have been found at several cemeteries of the Christian period, sometimes plain examples in silver, occasionally more elaborate examples with garnet settings. (Ozanne 1962–3, 28; Hyslop 1963, 198; Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 129). The Roundway Down, Wilts, suite, is in gold, has a chain with boar's head terminals, and a centre-piece of millefiori glass (Youngs (ed.) 1989, no. 40).

The chain is usually plain loop-in-loop ('plaited') wire, made up of silver wires twisted together in opposite directions to form a simple herring-bone pattern, and is a long-lived type, common during the Roman period and long after. During the Roman period they were usually fitted with terminals and clasp, sometimes zoomorphic. A good local example is a chain from the late Roman Thetford Treasure (nos 35 and 36) which has snakeshead terminals, with eyes of blue glass (like Harford Farm 18/9 c-g) (Johns and Potter 1983). An Anglo-Saxon example of earlier 7th-century date comes from the Crondall hoard; a gold wire 'plaited' chain with hook and eye terminals (Aberg 1926, fig. 290).

Pin suites were possibly rather more common than they appear, and single pins and loops may represent sets broken up before burial, like the example from Harford Farm Grave 1, whose remnant of chain identifies it as part of a pin suite. It is clear from the Roman examples that chain-linked dress fittings are a long-lived type; the grave of the 'princess' at Cologne of 6th-century date contained a necklace of gold 'plaited' chain, with coin-pendant and two terminals (Werner 1964). Perhaps the fashion moved to England much later, when the change of dress fashion took place; it has been suggested that the similarity of the pin suites indicates that they are all of much the same date and that their associations point to the latter part of the 7th century (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 47-9; Hyslop 1963, 198). Their primary use was to fasten a cloak or overdress at the neck, or more likely some sort of head-covering (Owen-Crocker 1986, 92-3), but broken up, single pins might be used in other ways. A similar silver pin suite from Lechlade Grave 14 (50) with animal-head terminals is also dated to the late 7th century (inf. D. Clarke).

In Grave 1 the remains of a silver pin, wire-ring and chain were found on the head, suggesting that it was decorative, or held some head-covering.

The remains of the elaborate silver pin suite in Grave 18 were found in the threadbox, with a fragment of textile and two copper-alloy dresshooks. The pins are quite plain and were accompanied by a fragment of the chain and the two zoomorphic terminals (Plate XXIII).

The animal heads are finely made, with long snouts and glass eyes (like the Roman example from Thetford). The little animal heads may be compared with animal terminals on a number of other objects, including even the animals in the pages of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* of c. 700, which draw on the repertoire of Germanic metalworking, and perhaps the open-mouthed animals which act as suspension hooks to some hanging-bowls. Comparable objects are the mid-rib terminals on the Eccles buckle, probably of later 7th-century date (Hawkes 1973a, pl. LVI) and the terminal on the bronze bracelet from Kingston Down Grave 222 (Faussett 1856, 81 pl. XII).

The silver decorated discs in Grave 28 (objects Nos 6 and 7)

(Plate V; Figs 37-9 and 94)

At the left side of the body in Grave 28 lay the remains of a festoon with silver *bullae* and gold pendant. Nearby lay two spindle-whorls and two identical decorated sheet silver decorated discs 28(6) and (7) (Fig. 94). The design on these discs is very simple, an expanded-arm cross with interlace knots between the arms, typical of later 7th and 8th-century art. The form of the cross has parallels on disc-headed pins, for example, one from Whitby (Peers

and Radford 1943, pl. XXXVII no. 19), and is seen on the pendants from Ixworth and Wilton, St Cuthbert's pectoral cross (Jessup 1950, pl. 28, 30 and 31), some coins and also appears in the *Book of Durrow*, of late 7th-century date (Wilson 1984, fig. 12, 33). The threadbox from North Leigh, Oxon, bears a similar cross and interlace knot (Leeds 1940; Blair 1994, fig. 49).

The purpose of these two discs is unknown; there are no attachment points on the reverse but one of them has the remains of four probable attachment holes, possibly for sewing onto a garment.

The possible chatelaines in Graves 1 (object No. 1), 6 (object No. 1), 11 (object Nos 8 and 9), 18 (object Nos 8 and 9), 19B (object No. 7), 20 (object Nos 1 and 2), 22 (object No. 2), 27 (object No. 7), 28 (object No. 9), and 33 (object No. 1)

(Figs 6, 12, 18, 27-8, 30-1, 82, 85, 87, 89-91 and 93-5)

Several of the burials at Harford Farm contained groups of objects either 'suspended' at the waist, or found as groups and probably worn thus in life, and mostly included suspension-rings and long keys or latchlifters. Such groups are usually regarded as chatelaines, worn by Anglo-Saxon women and somehow indicating the status or function of the wearer. Girdle-groups were fairly common in the 6th century, usually as just a pair of keys hanging on display at the waist, either iron keys or latchlifters which were probably functional, or bronze girdle-hangers which seem to be merely symbolic. This practice was apparently derived from the Roman custom of women wearing large keys hung from the waist with a chain. The Anglo-Saxon examples may have come to represent the woman's role as keeper of the house or some other notion of domestic authority as well as being occasionally functional. Whilst in the 6th century bronze girdle-hangers were typically Anglian in distribution, in the 7th century the fashion for elaborate chatelaines was widespread, with similar equipment (keys, rings, knife or tool, and chain and even 'relic boxes') in Kent, East Anglia and as far north as Milfield, Northumbria, where in the five graves excavated, one grave held a chatelaine which included a key, chain and toilet set (Scull and Harding 1990, fig. 9).

The chatelaines at Burwell and Holywell Row were compared by Lethbridge to those in the Kentish cemeteries illustrated by Faussett (Lethbridge 1931, 83).

There is evidence that the chatelaine in Grave 33 was in a bag or wrapped up in some way; this might explain the position of these objects in the grave, placed away from the body itself (Figs 44-6). Signs of some enclosing bag were seen at Burwell Grave 42, and the disposition of the objects in Shudy Camps Grave 76 hints at some textile container or cover (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 26; 1936, 23). Other chatelaines in these two cemeteries were apparently freely suspended at the waist, and probably most were worn thus. However, at Orsett Cock the remains of an iron chatelaine with a bronze ring and shale spindle-whorl, in a textile bag or wrapping, were found with a burial (CF 9) of late 7th/early 8th-century date. It was suggested that this had been slipped secretly into the grave in accordance with the older customs (Webster 1985, 13), but the presence of so much other material in the graves containing chatelaines at Harford Farm, presumably placed openly with the burials, suggests that this is an unnecessary

explanation, and that chatelaines might have been kept occasionally in textile bags.

Many of the objects worn with a chatelaine at a woman's waist may have proclaimed her status, rather than having an amuletic function, although the two may not be entirely separate. The woman with the chatelaine at Polhill, Kent, had no elaborate grave-goods and this led to the suggestion that this equipment indicated 'not the lady of the house but the house-keeper' (Hawkes 1973b, 195), but it is more likely that the custom of wearing chatelaines was widespread socially and not confined to any particular group. The 'rich' 6th-century woman's grave at Spong Hill (Grave 24) contained girdle-hangers (Hills *et al.* 1984), and at Harford Farm each of the five well-equipped graves (11, 18, 22, 28 and 33) contained one of the nine possible chatelaines, the other four chatelaines, in Graves 1, 6, 19B and 27 were with the remains of a silver pin (1), a knife (6), chain, keys and knife (19B), and shears, knife and possible box (27).

Amongst the objects included in many chatelaines were large rings or 'bracelets' with hook and eye decoration, and such an example may be seen locally at Caistor St Edmund (where a very late phase of burial is evident) in Grave 13 which contained two large rings, both with hook and eye fastening and one having a number of smaller rings threaded on it (Myres and Green 1973, fig. 61), and at Burwell Grave 83 which contained a large ring with hook and eye fixing (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 33); elsewhere they may have been for suspension or merely amuletic.

However, in Grave 33 at Harford Farm, a bundle of objects (1) at the side of the grave seems to have been put in a leather or textile container; amongst these objects were a festoon, a silver toilet set, a Roman cameo pendant and key(s) on a large iron ring (Fig. 95).

Amongst the other objects in chatelaines may sometimes be found small rings threaded together as chains, single large beads or spindle-whorls, threadboxes, and chains of small cast figure-of-eight links, sometimes in iron as well as bronze. There might be knives and objects thought to be firesteels, for example, Burwell Grave 42, Shudy Camps Grave 14, found only in 'late' burials and perhaps reflecting a woman's domestic role.

The burial in Grave 1 was modestly equipped, having fragments of a silver pin suite on the head and a large iron 'key' between the legs (Fig. 6). The key may be compared with the example from Bergh Apton Grave 29 (Green and Rogerson 1978, fig. 82). Grave 11, in contrast, was elaborately equipped, with disc brooch, festoon and silver toilet set, and two keys each on a suspension-ring; one (8) was above the hip, the other (9) was by the lower leg (Figs 18, 85). Although Grave 18 was exceptionally equipped, it contained no chatelaine, unless we include the odd object (8), hanging from a large bronze ring (8c). This grave also contained another similar bronze ring (6) (Fig. 87).

Grave 19, burial B, had an elaborate chatelaine (7) at the hip, containing keys, knife, a chain of figure-of-eight links and other objects (Fig. 89). Grave 20 contained a group of objects at the ?hip; these included a pair of shears (1) and a bronze hooked bracelet with a bead (2), possibly acting as a chatelaine ring (Figs 27, 90). Grave 22 contained an elaborate chatelaine (like Grave 19B); this chatelaine held two keys, a knife, a ?spoon and a chain of large iron rings (Fig. 91). Grave 27, at the left hip,

contained a knife (8) with an odd collection of objects on a suspension-ring (7) (Fig. 93); what these represent is obscure.

Amongst the many objects in Grave 28 was a chatelaine (9) which contained a number of objects associated with a large iron suspension-ring; amongst them was a pair of shears and a firesteel. These were at the left hip.

The knives

A knife of some sort is one of the most common single objects — frequently the only object — in Anglo-Saxon graves, especially in later cemeteries. They are mostly found at the waist, sometimes with a buckle, suggesting that they were worn suspended from a belt. Of the forty-seven burials (in forty-six graves) at Harford Farm, twenty-two were provided with a knife, and of these seventeen were essentially 'knife and buckle' graves, that is graves with little more than a knife, or a knife and buckle (including 4, 19a and 34). Of twenty-two knives examined, nearly all had the remains of their original horn handles (twenty-one) and leather sheaths (twenty) (Watson 1992b).

Of the six female burials (11, 18, 19B, 22, 28 and 33), 22 had a chatelaine containing a knife and a buckle, not certainly associated, whilst 11, 19B and 28 were provided with knives but none with a buckle. The knife in Grave 11(5) may have been with other objects whilst knives in Graves 19B and 28 were part of a chatelaine. Of the other possible female burials, judging from their grave-goods (1, 6, 20, 27 and 41), only 6 and 27 held a knife and these were also part of a chatelaine, not worn on a belt with a buckle. There were seventeen 'knife' and 'knife and buckle' burials (2–5, 10, 12, 13, 19A, 23, 24, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42–45), and although they could not certainly be identified as male, this must be a strong possibility, unless perhaps 'knife and buckle' burial represents some other social group.

A recent study by Härke (1989) suggests that knives (their associations and blade length) were sex-related, based on knives from 925 burials in forty-seven cemeteries, which were mostly adult males and juveniles, with eighty female burials, reflecting a bias in the deposition of knives. Härke also found that juveniles and adult females had shorter knives than those placed with adult males. Amongst juveniles, 63% of those burials with weapons also had a knife, but of juveniles with 'female' objects, only 31% had a knife.

Although no burials could be sexed anatomically at Harford Farm, of the burials with grave-goods suggesting females (1, ?6, ?7, 11, 18, 19B, 20, 22, 27, 28, 33, 41) not one had a knife and buckle together, that is, on a belt, although some had a knife in a chatelaine (*i.e.* 6, 11, 19B, 22, 27, 28). At Horndean, Hants, eighteen of the thirty-three graves contained a knife; of these, the six with buckles were males; of the eighteen burials five were females, ten were males (Knocker 1958). Halsall has argued that such 'neutral' objects continued late (Halsall 1995, 298–9), but it could also be said that 'knife and buckles' were not necessarily neutral.

A recent analysis of burials at Sleaford, Lincs (mostly 6th-century) and Kingston Down, Kent (6th- and 7th-century) reveals that the handful of 'knife and buckle' burials at Sleaford were male and female, whilst at Kingston Down a 'knife and buckle' was overwhelmingly

male equipment (Brenan 1991, 90–3). Recent work by the writer on 6th-century cemeteries in East Anglia and elsewhere, points to 'knife and buckle' burials as a distinct burial type, and may denote 'unweaponed' males, who were nevertheless entitled to accompanied burial. This may imply that the knife (and buckle), seen also as part of burials with weapons or dress-fittings, was a near-essential element of dressed burial, even when most other objects ceased to be buried.

Knives and buckles were found mostly near the waist but there were exceptions; in Grave 36 the knife (only) was at the side of the grave, the knife and buckle in Graves 43 and 44 were towards the left shoulder, and in Grave 45 they were lying together at the extreme west (head) end, clearly not buried on the body. The positions of such objects may vary between cemeteries; at Hordean, Hants, the position of the knives was usually 'beside one or other of the arms as if it were carried in the sleeve' (Knocker 1958, 121).

Like other iron objects, knives have been difficult to type. Evison classified the knives at Buckland, Dover into six types (1–6) (Fig. 65), which had a general chronological significance in the long life of this large cemetery, from the 5th to the late 7th or early 8th century (Evison 1987, 113–7). This classification has been used here for the Harford Farm knives, which correspond very well with the six types and their chronological implications. Two knives (12(1) and 42(1)) were broken and their original shape uncertain (Fig. 66).

Type 1 is fairly common and runs from the 5th into the 7th century. Knives 19A(2) and 27(8) belong here and possibly knives 5(1), 23(1) and 36(1).

Type 2 has a similar date range (450–600 and on into the 7th century) and contains knives 4(1a) and possibly 23(1).

The bulk of the knives appear to belong to Types 3, 4 and 5 which are essentially 7th-century in date. Type 3 includes 19B(7b); Type 4 includes 2(1), 6(1a), 10(1), 11(5), 22(2c), 34(1), 37(1), 40(1) and 43(1), and possibly 5(1) and 36(1). Type 4 is seen in late cemeteries such as Polhill, Kent and Portsdown, Hants (Evison 1987, 115). Type 5 is also seen in late cemeteries, and in a number of the continental 8th-century cemeteries discussed by Stein (1967); they are also seen in England at the late cemeteries

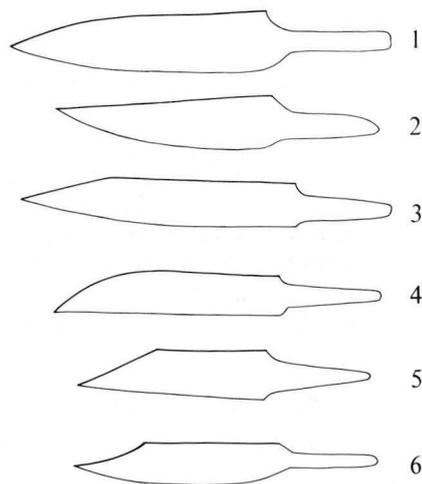


Figure 65 The knives; Evison Types 1–6 (after Evison 1987)

of Polhill and Holborough. At Harford Farm, knives 3(1), 13(1), 42(1a), 44(1) and 45(1) conform to this type. Although little weight should be placed upon objects which are not always placed in types with confidence, a 7th-century date is appropriate for all the Harford Farm knives. There is sometimes much variation in sizes between knives, even in the same type; in Type 2 knives 4(1a) and 22(2c) are very different in blade length, as are 3(1) and 13(1) compared to 44(1) and 45(1), all in Type 5.

Härke's work on knives also suggests that the length of the knife (blade) may be related to the owner's age and status (Härke 1989). This may be particularly true in late cemeteries if he is right in suggesting that knives became longer as they took the place of large weapons in male graves in the 7th century. At Harford Farm there were just five possible female graves with knives (6, 11, 19B, 22 and 27), whose average length of 8.3cm is much reduced by just one short knife (27(8)); the average of the seventeen other knives, possibly all 'male', is 9.90cm (Fig. 67). The uncertainties are too great and the numbers too small for any useful comment. Knives occur with both men and women, though worn differently and more often occurring with men. With few exceptions (19B(7b), 22(2d) and 36(1)) these knives had evidence for horn handles and leather sheaths. They must be personal equipment rather than weapons; and are probably eating implements.

'Steels' in Graves 4 (object No. 1c), 28 (object No. 9g) and 42 (object No. 1b)

(Figs 10, 37, 55, 82, 94 and 97)

A familiar find in 7th-century burials from all areas is a tanged iron tool, knife-like in shape, but with parallel sides and usually a rectangular section; they are often found at the waist, near a knife (Hawkes 1973b, 199).

At Harford Farm, 'firesteels' were found in Grave 4 (1c) with a knife and two other iron objects, Grave 28 (9g) in a chatelaine, and Grave 42 (1b) with a knife. Although they are usually called 'firesteels', indicating a fire-lighting function, they should better be called 'steels', as it is also suggested that these may have been hones rather than steels. The metal of the four found at Sewerby, Yorks, seems too soft to have been used as a true 'firesteel' and must instead have been used as a whetstone (Hirst 1985, 89).

Objects which may have been steels were found in three ?late 6th-century graves at Morning Thorpe; in Grave 37 with a triangular buckle and plate, in Grave 351 with knives and a spear, and in Grave 350 with a knife (Green and Rogerson 1987), which may indicate 6th-century origins for the type.

The pursemount/firesteel in Grave 18 (object No. 7)

(Figs 25, 69 and 87)

In Grave 18, an iron pursemount/firesteel was among the objects lying on the left side, against the coffin. These are familiar objects in burials of 5th to 7th-century date, both male and female, and come in a variety of forms ranging from straight bars with small terminals to triangular forms with exaggerated terminals. Some, usually the bar forms, were provided with a buckle centrally, presumably to fasten the flap of a pouch, since textile and leather remains sometimes cover these objects, whose purpose was, it seems, to contain tinder and a flint to strike a light from the firesteel.

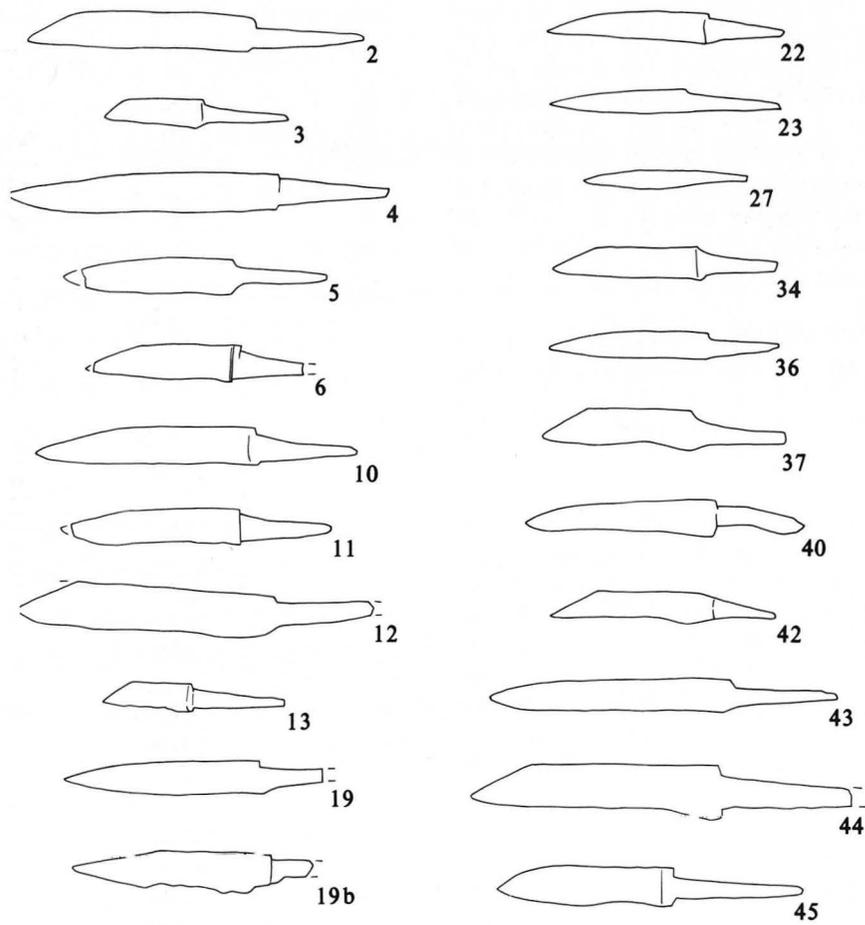


Figure 66 The knives from Harford Farm, diagram. Scale 1:4

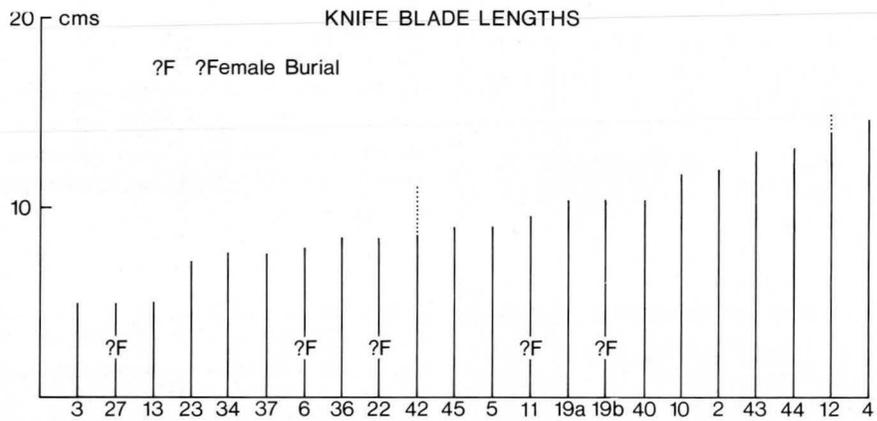


Figure 67 The knives, diagram of blade lengths

Although there is no conventional typology for these, the triangular examples are usually thought to be late. The straight or low triangular examples were usually given buckles and small tightly-curved terminals, and the suspension of a pouch from these seems a straightforward affair (Brown 1977); it is these examples which seem to be more often found with the remains of the pouch, *i.e.* leather and textile, for example Spong Hill Graves 27 and 30 (Hills *et al.* 1984), Morning Thorpe Graves 184 and 416 (Green and Rogerson 1987), Holywell Row Grave 11 (Lethbridge 1931).

Some of the later examples, of the late 6th/early 7th century, retain the tightly-curved terminals but have lost the buckle as the back became a high triangle. Possible examples of this development also come from Holywell Row in Graves 70 and 85, both thought to be late graves in that cemetery and to belong to the 7th century (Lethbridge 1931, 34, 39). Dover Grave 157 contained another such example as well as a pottery vessel and silver rings, and a later 7th-century date has been suggested for this burial (Evison 1987, 94). At Polhill, Kent, the firesteels are markedly triangular, in contrast to the 6th-century examples, and Hawkes also noted that the parallels were of the mid-late 7th century, *e.g.*, Burwell Graves 42, 83 and 90 and Shudy Camps Graves 34 and 57 (Hawkes 1973b, 195). The examples with exaggerated loops may have some chronological significance. On the continent, in the 8th-century German graves studied by Stein, the purse mounts are all of this 'late' form with triangular backs (Stein 1967), and are more often with males. A firesteel of similar date comes from Southampton where an example with high triangular back and looped terminals was found at *Hamwic* (Addyman and Hill 1969, fig. 24 no. 7).

Their function as purse mounts is evidenced at Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, where a narrow straight purse mount was found with the remains of the central buckle, the copper-alloy frame and the leather purse, all apparently *in situ* (Arnold 1982, fig. 20); at Winterbourne Gunner, near Salisbury, where Grave 1 contained a purse mount (with buckle) and decayed leather, with associated tweezers and knife (Musty and Stratton 1964, 99), at Field Farm, Berkshire, Grave 145, with remains of a pouch (Rees and Butterworth 1992, 22), and at Droxford, Hants, where a burial of a juvenile (Grave 14) was accompanied by a 'bow-shaped' firesteel with buckle and parts of the purse frame (Aldsworth 1979, fig. 19).

However, the Harford Farm example was almost certainly just a firesteel, with no evidence of attachment points for fixing to a pouch and no room for a central buckle. It is possible that it was originally contained loose within a pouch, since it bore traces of textile and leather. The Harford Farm firesteel has a high triangular back and beaked head terminals, turned back to touch the top of the back (Fig. 69).

The buckles

Sixteen buckles were found at Harford Farm, of these ten were each with a knife, two were with the *seax* in Grave 25 and just two (in Graves 8 and 38) were apparently belt buckles; two very small buckles in Grave 19 were found at the feet of 19A and are probably shoe-buckles (see below). The buckle in Grave 12, a 'knife and buckle' burial, was decorated with gold and garnet settings.

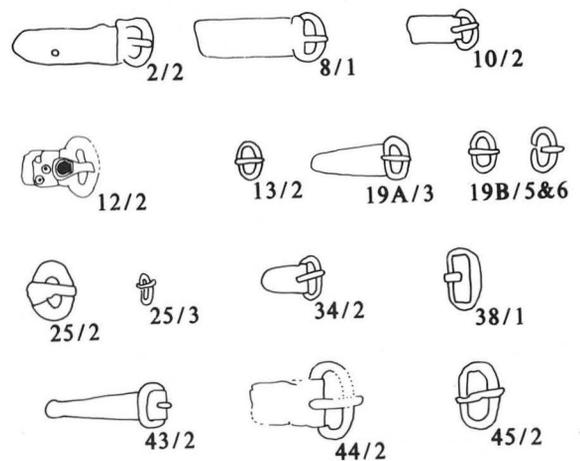


Figure 68 The buckles from Harford Farm, diagram. Scale 1:4

The buckles vary in size, but are all fairly small, being suitable for belts or straps of 1–1.5cm wide (Fig. 68). Buckles are fairly common throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period, but whilst in the 6th to early 7th century they are usually quite large (for straps 2–3cm wide) and also found with women, during the 7th century they are found mostly with males and are much smaller; for example, small buckles are found at Burwell, Holywell Row and Melbourn, Cambridgeshire; Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard; Winnall, Hants and at Winchester (Lower Brook Street) and Southampton. This reflects the change in fashion, in which buckled belts were clearly not a necessity for women, and the increased male habit of wearing knives suspended from a belt or narrow strap (Hawkes 1973b, 93–4; Hirst 1985, 86; Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 42–3). At Polhill, Kent, no known female burial had a buckle (Hawkes 1973b, 193–4) and at King Harry Lane, Verulamium, buckles also appear to be absent from certainly female burials (Ager 1989). It is possible that in the 7th century, buckles became a largely male accoutrement. Some hint that a mundane object such as a buckle might be sex-related comes from a 6th-century cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, where buckles seem to be much more strongly associated with probable male burials than with females.

At Harford Farm, only one of the twelve possible female burials has a buckle, although there are thirteen 'buckle burials'. In Grave 22, the chatelaine (2) contained a knife and buckle, with other objects. Even in the other four possible female graves with a knife (6, 11, 19B, 27), none has a buckle; instead, their knives are part of chatelaine groups. Again, this pattern was seen in the cemetery at Morning Thorpe, where accompanied females wore their knives as part of a girdle-group, and knives were associated with rings rather than buckles.

Most of the buckles have oval loops, and about half have buckle-plates. Five buckles have traces of their original leather belts (Graves 2, 8, 25, 43 and 44). The buckles are undecorated, except for the example in Grave 12; the iron buckle-plate was decorated with three cabochon garnet studs, with gold surrounds, and at the base of the pin was an accurately-shaped garnet.

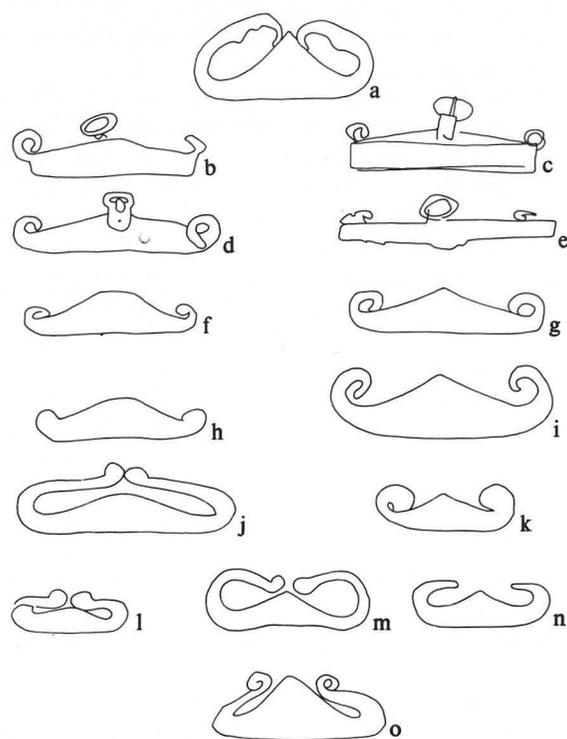


Figure 69 The firesteel from Harford Farm, and other examples, diagram. Scale 1:4

- (a Harford Farm; b Spong Hill G27; c Morning Thorpe G184; d Spong Hill G30; e Morning Thorpe G416; f Buckland G157; g Holywell Row G70; h Burwell G42; i Shudy Camps G17; j Burwell G90; k Shudy Camps G34; l Burwell G83; m Polhill G84; n Polhill G66; o *Hamwic*)

This elaborate piece may be compared with a handful of other 7th-century buckles, such as that in the barrow burial at Ford, Wilts, which contained a male with spears and a seax. This buckle, also of iron, had three garnets on the plate imitating rivet-heads, set *en cabochon* with gold filigree collars (Evison 1969, 106–7). The garnets on the Harford Farm buckle may be an echo of the Kentish triangular buckles with three studs, often employing decorative rivets, and a shield-shaped base to the pin, also using garnets (Kendrick 1933, pl. III). The buckle from Kingston Down Grave 245 has a large shaped garnet on the pin base, rather like buckle 12/2 (Faussett 1856, 45), and buckles with shield-shaped expansions at the base of the pin (often decorated with garnets) are again characteristic of 7th-century Kentish jewellery, for example, one from Gilton, with single large garnet (Aberg 1926, fig. 219).

As to the date of this buckle, it may be significant that of several double-tongued buckles of late 7th/early 8th-century date, recently discussed by Geake, each had three rivets or studs in the buckle-plate and narrow oval loops, like the Harford Farm buckle (Geake 1994, fig. 1).

The shoe-buckles in Grave 19 (object Nos 5 and 6) (Figs 27 and 89)

On each ankle of burial 19A was a very small buckle, about 7mm × 10mm, with an oversailing tongue, but with no surviving plate. These are almost certainly shoe-buckles

and thus very unusual in an English context. Although shoe-fittings (buckle and tags) are seen on the continent in the 6th century, it is not until the 7th century that they were adopted in England, and then mostly in Kent. There is virtually no evidence of footwear in Anglo-Saxon graves until that period and even then it is mostly shoelace tags (Hawkes 1973b, 195)

Examples of shoe-buckles come from Polhill, Grave 28, which contained two buckles with plates (Hawkes 1973b, fig. 54); from Finglesham, Kent, Graves 20, 157 and 198, and best known, Grave 95, a male burial with an ornate belt buckle, shoe-buckles and lace tags, dated to the later 7th century (Hawkes 1965, 18; Hawkes 1973b, 194).

Besides the small buckles found by the ankles in Grave 19, possible shoelace fittings were found in three other graves at Harford Farm, Graves 11, 28 and 34. Shoelace tags were usually made of bronze sheet, coiled up into a cylinder or cone and then sometimes flattened. These are seen at Melbourn, Cambs, Graves 7 and 22 (Wilson 1956, 34–7); Winnall, Hants, Graves 5 and 10 (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, fig. 9) and Burwell, Cambs, Grave 83, which contained a good example of these bronze sheet cylinders, flattened (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 31B). Finglesham Grave 95 also had lace tags, as did Grave 18 at Horndean, Hants, where a bronze lace tag lay halfway up each lower leg (Knocker 1958, fig. 6).

Harford Farm Grave 34 object 4 was a small collection of bronze fragments, possibly cylindrical sheet, found at the right foot and best interpreted as a shoelace tag (Figs 47 and 96). Graves 11 and 28 contained small flat bronze strips, broken but possibly trapezoidal, found by the lower leg; in Grave 11 at the ankle (Fig. 18), in Grave 28 by the left foot (Fig. 37). The appearance of footwear in burials at a period when dressed burial of any sort was becoming less common is worth noting, but maybe more apparent than real, possibly connected with the adoption of metal fittings for footwear, rather than a new custom of footwear in graves. This cannot be proved, and the remains in these graves may testify to the unusual nature of these burials.

The silver toilet sets in Graves 11 (object No. 3) and 33 (object No. 1b)

(Figs 18, 45, 85 and 95)

Two almost identical silver toilet sets were found at Harford Farm. Grave 11 contained a number of objects by the upper part of the body including the composite disc brooch, parts of a festoon of silver-wire rings and a silver toilet set. This set comprised three implements on a silver suspension-ring, including a miniature perforated spoon. The set in Grave 33 also occurred with a well-equipped burial; the objects here included the intaglio pendant, shears and a group of objects apparently wrapped in textile. These last objects also included the remains of a silver toilet set (Fig. 95), clearly similar to that in Grave 11.

Sets of miniature bronze toilet implements are well-known in the Roman world and beyond, and are frequently seen in Anglo-Saxon cremation graves, more often with males, and were probably derived from Roman prototypes. The Roman implements are usually seen as a set on a ring and may include tweezers, earpicks, nail-cleaners and sometimes a spoon with a long handle and a small circular bowl. The Anglo-Saxon miniatures are usually iron shears, razor, bronze tweezers and sometimes a long narrow spoon, usually thought to be an earscoop.

Whilst the Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon toilet sets seem to be essentially utilitarian, the sets found in 7th-century burials are often of silver, delicately made, and with a quite different set of implements which may derive from Frankish developments of the Roman toilet set rather than from the Early Anglo-Saxon variety (Roes 1958). Examples are a set with a perforated spoon from Tortona, Italy (Bierbrauer 1967, taf. XLV), and the tiny perforated spoon from Grave 217 at Krefeld-Gellep (Döppelfeld 1960, taf. 27, No.2).

The continental examples of toilet sets or implements may hint at some decorative or amuletic function in which display was an important element. An extreme example comes from Simleul Silvan (Romania) where a 5th-century hoard contained twenty-two such sets, all suspended from a single necklace chain; another 5th-century group, a burial at Unterseibenbrunn, was found with brooches and plaited chains with pendants of miniature implements (Harhoiu 1977, figs 2 and 13). This association of toilet sets with ostentatious display may be relevant here since both sets at Harford Farm were found in close association with festoons and the composite brooch. A number of miniature silver toilet sets are also known from the Kentish 7th-century cemeteries and some were figured by Faussett, including two very good examples from Grave 1, Kingston Down, Kent, where a silver set containing picks and a long-handled spoon on elaborate suspension-rings, was found in a coffined burial under a barrow, and another from Grave 142, with two spoons on a ring (Faussett 1856, pl. XII).

Besides the Harford Farm examples, two other sets are now known from East Anglia. The first comes from a probable 7th-century grave at Burwell, Cambs, and consisted of a suspension-ring, two 'tooth-picks' and a tiny perforated spoon, all in silver (Fox 1923, pl. XXXIV; Lethbridge 1931, 47). The second, very similar set now comes from Boss Hall, Ipswich, in a rich burial of late 7th/early 8th-century date. This set had four implements, including a small (unperforated) spoon, and is not only very similar to the set from Grave 11 but was also found associated with an elaborate disc brooch and a set of silver rings (Newman 1991). The Burwell example may also have been associated with a festoon.

Meaney has suggested that the 'tooth-picks' on the Burwell set, and on a fairly similar set from Burton Fields, Yorks, represent model spears, and therefore that an amuletic function is very likely for all these miniature sets (Meaney 1981, 152). The Burwell set (Meaney 1981, fig. Vd) compares very closely in form, decoration and detail to the Harford Farm and Boss Hall sets.

Although the pointed implements may represent some cosmetic function rather than spears, as with the 5th and 6th-century iron miniature sets, the small perforated spoons may emphasise a change in the character of these sets, for their most obvious comparison is with the full-sized perforated spoons found in Kentish and Frankish graves of the 6th century, which may in turn be based on Roman wine-strainers, of which both small and large examples exist, a comparison emphasised by the finding of small silver strainers, with perforated circular bowls, in hoards (Johns and Potter 1983, 53-5). Best known are the full-sized spoons or wine strainers, which in late Roman times combined a Christian liturgical function, and which appear in later church inventories (Curle 1923, 65). Examples are seen in the 4th-century

Water Newton Treasure, probably church plate (Painter 1977, no. 7) and the much later, 8th-century Derry-naflan Hoard (Youngs (ed.) 1989, no. 126).

However, although some spoons had a continuing liturgical function, large perforated spoons, often jewelled, occur in the graves of women in mid 6th-century Kent, sometimes accompanied by a large crystal ball in a sling, and an entirely religious interpretation of their use may be inappropriate. Instead, it is possible that any symbolism these objects had may be connected with the status of some women as 'mistress of hospitality', an extremely important diplomatic function in courtly circles. Some sort of magical function is also possible and the frequent association with crystal balls is strongly suggestive of this. It may be of course, that Christian and pagan practices have combined in this association of spoon and ball. These large objects were usually worn at the waist by women, and are found in 'rich' graves, mostly in Kent but with outliers at Chessell Down, Isle of Wight and Winterbourne Gunner, Wilts (Musty and Stratton 1964). From Chessell Down also came a set of four toilet implements with twisted shafts, including a small spoon (Arnold 1982, fig. 48).

A connection or correspondence between these large perforated spoons in mostly 6th-century graves and the spoons in miniature toilet sets is not easily demonstrated, but a link between them may be evident in Grave 51 at Bifrons, Kent, which contained, besides square-headed brooches, a crystal ball and matching full-size silver perforated spoon on a suspension-ring, together with a miniature silver earpick and nail-cleaners (Jessup 1950, pl. XXXIII). It might also be noted that the form and decoration of the Harford Farm and Boss Hall implements are similar to some of the full-size spoons, e.g. Chessell Down, with groups of lines and flattened section for the suspension eye (Arnold 1982, fig. 11).

The dresshooks in Grave 18 (object No. 9b) (Figs 25 and 88)

Amongst the objects in the 'relic box' found in Grave 18 was a pair of copper-alloy hooked tags (or clothing hooks) of triangular shape (9b) (Fig. 88). Hooked tags are typically Anglo-Saxon and run from the 7th to the 11th century (Hinton 1990, 548-551). They are usually circular or triangular, with eyelets for sewing onto clothing, or perhaps ribbons; they have hooks for attachment, either to cloth or perhaps to leather. They are usually copper-alloy, more rarely, silver, and any decoration is simple. The exact purpose of these objects is unclear and perhaps they were general clothes fasteners, although their small size may suggest that they fixed a light garment, perhaps a head covering.

A copper-alloy dresshook of rectangular form was found at Burwell, Grave 1, under the skull (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 22) and a similar example from Shudy Camps, Grave 67 was found at the hip with a knife and buckle (Lethbridge 1936, 21). The Harford Farm examples may be best compared with the triangular hook from the monastic site at Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, fig. 12 no. 10) or one of the several hooked tags found at Bawsey, Norfolk, also triangular, with incised decoration. This site produces metalwork of 8th- and 9th-century date and is probably high status, possibly even monastic (Blackburn *et al.* forthcoming).

The shears in Graves 11 (object No. 6), 18 (object No. 5), 20 (object No. 1), 27 (object No. 1), 28 (object No. 9b) and 33 (object No. 4)

(Figs 18, 25, 28, 36-7, 44, 85-6, 90, 93-4 and 96)
Shears were found in six graves at Harford Farm (11/6, 18/5, 20/1, 27/1, 28/9b, 33/4), probably female burials. Small shears are frequently found in cremation burials of the pagan Anglo-Saxons, usually as part of a miniature toilet set, but full size shears are rather less common, although they were found at Spong Hill, Norfolk in about 130 cremation burials (Hills and Penn 1981).

Shears in inhumation burials have recently been discussed by Evison (1987, 113) who notes that they are mostly found in 7th-century graves, and implies some connection with weaving (although they are found in both male and female graves (Hawkes 1973b, 198)). Besides the examples at Buckland, Dover, Evison draws attention to the shears in Burwell Grave 2 (found with a knife at the belt), Burwell Grave 42 (with a spindle-whorl and work-box), Shudy Camps Grave 76 (with three spindle-whorls), and Polhill Grave 41. All these shears have the simple loop found in shears of the Early Saxon burials.

The five Harford Farm shears with the upper half surviving (Fig. 70) have the marked circular loop at the junction of the two arms which is found on shears of Middle Saxon date, e.g., Maxey (Addyman 1964 fig. 16 no. 11), a pair of shears with a slight 'loop' with long shafts and short blades, and the shears found at Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943 fig. 18 no.1) which have a marked circular loop. At Eccles, Kent, Grave 23 contained a pair

of shears with circular loop (with an open-work buckle) and was thought to date to the second half of the 7th century (Hawkes 1973a fig. 4). The shears from Graves 11, 20, 27 and 28 had each been inserted into leather sheaths.

Whilst a functional explanation is possible for these rather mundane objects, the occurrence of a pair of shears (of the earlier type) in the lavishly equipped grave of the 'princess' in Cologne cathedral (Döppelfeld 1960, taf 18; Werner 1964) hints at some other, or further, possible significance. Perhaps, with combs, they point to some special status connected with weaving or its symbolism.

The combs in Graves 7 (object No. 2), 11 (object No. 9b), 19B (object No. 8b), 22 (object No. 2b), 25 (object No. 6) and 28 (object No. 8)

(Figs 13-4, 18, 27, 30, 37, 83, 92 and 94)
In four, possibly five or six, graves at Harford Farm there is fragmentary evidence for the inclusion of a comb in the grave. In Grave 7, some fragments of iron rivets with antler adhering (Fig. 83) may best be interpreted as a comb (2), placed in a wooden box (1). Similar remains were found in Graves 11 (9b), 19B (8b), 22 (2b) and 28 (8), all possible female burials. The evidence in Grave 22 was a line of probable comb teeth adhering to an iron key (2b) (Fig. 92), and in Grave 25, small fragments of bone teeth adhering to the *seax*. On the rivets from Graves 7 and 28, there are clearly three sections of antler, approximately 3mm thick and with the central portion aligned perpendicularly to the other two, suggesting the joining of side-plates on either side of the teeth (Watson 1992a).

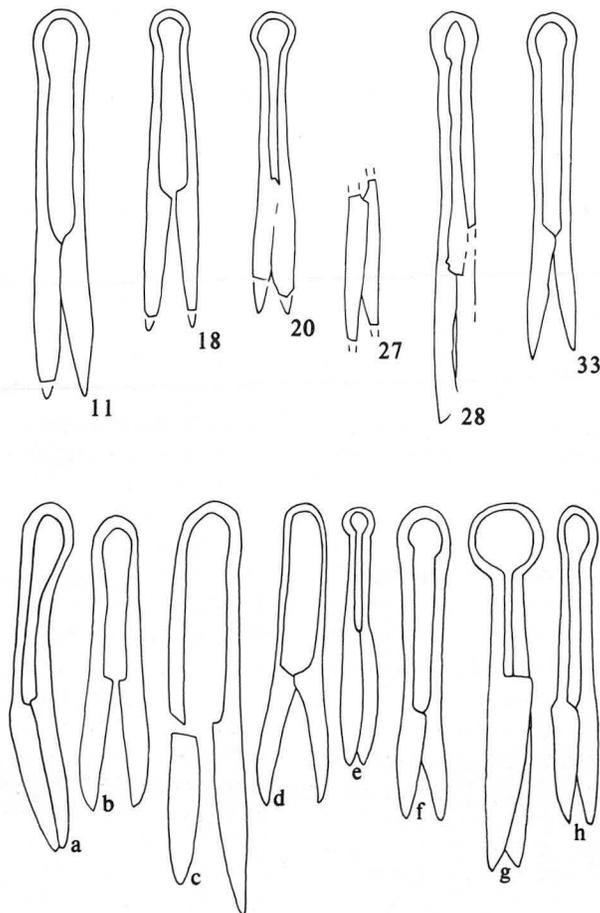


Figure 70 The shears from Harford Farm (Graves 11, 18, 20, 27, 28 and 33) and other examples, diagram. Scale 1:4
(a Buckland G110; b Buckland G75; c Shudy Camps G76;
d Burwell G2; e Polhill G41; f Maxey; g Whitby; h Eccles, Kent)

Combs are a part of cremation burial equipment of the pagan period in England and Germany, but are also seen in the later inhumation graves, for example at Sutton Hoo, Buckland, Dover, and Whitby, and perhaps best known, St Cuthbert's burial in the late 7th century, which could be Mediterranean in origin. They were usually placed in the grave separately, in a bag or by the upper body. The remains found at Harford Farm are too slight to allow identification as double or single-sided combs, although single-sided combs are the commoner type from the 7th century. Combs may have had a significance beyond their utilitarian function, as suggested by the presence of manicure items in cremation burials. It is possible that the manner in which hair was worn or cut continued to have some social significance, as argued by Vierck (1972), who also points to the mid 7th-century gravestone at Niederdollendorf, which shows a man combing his hair (Lasko 1971, 86–9), and indeed the possible importance of the nickname 'long-haired kings' in this context.

The spindle-whorls in Grave 28 (objects Nos 4 and 5) (Figs 32, 39 and 94)

The burials at Harford Farm produced two spindle-whorls, both in Grave 28 (Plate VI, Fig. 94). This was one of the better furnished burials, and the presence of a necklace, pendant and other objects suggests that it was of a woman.

Spindle-whorls are found in both 6th and 7th century graves. Spindle-whorls may have symbolised or been connected with women's role in society (since they are mostly found with women) and occur with all levels of accompanied burial. They may have acquired some amuletic purpose, perhaps like the single large beads found with chatelaines, with swords, and in bags, and Meaney (1981) gives many examples of burials with possible amulets, including spindle-whorls. These examples include child burials; at Marina Drive in Grave E1–E2 a spindle-whorl was amongst a collection of objects including a work-box found with a child (Meaney 1981, 29) and at Garton Slack, Burial No. 7 contained an elaborate burial with threadbox and chatelaine with two spindle-whorls (Mortimer 1905 247–257). Perhaps similarly, at Burwell, it was noted by Lethbridge that young children were sometimes buried with just a bead (Lethbridge 1938, 319). Lethbridge had earlier mooted a function as a toggle (Lethbridge 1931, 76).

Spindle-whorls might be buried singly but were often not; groups of three occurred at Burwell in Grave 121 with other objects (Lethbridge 1931, fig. 37) and at Chamberlains Bam in Grave 32 (Hyslop 1963, fig. 12). It is of interest that amongst the lavish equipment of the Frankish 'princess' buried under Cologne cathedral were several simple beads or spindle-whorls, by the body and in a box at the foot of the grave (Döppelfeld 1960, abb.1).

The coins in Grave 18 (objects Nos 1a and b)

(Plates XXI and XXII; Figs 25 and 86) (see Chapter 5 p.75–6 below)

Grave 18 was lavishly equipped and included two *sceattas* of Series B (objects 1a and b), found at the west end of the grave, near the head (Figs 25 and 85). The coins were struck around AD690 and must have been deposited no later than around AD710.

The *sceat*-graves are extremely important in resolving the question concerning the date when the practice of accompanied burial died out. The general absence from

graves of *sceattas* of later than *c.* 720 shows that the practice continued into the first two decades of the 8th century but must then have ceased. They also show that the character of accompanied burials in the 'late' cemeteries, besides including the poorly equipped graves, 'knife and buckle' graves and weaponless graves, also included 'rich' graves such as Harford Farm Grave 18 and Sibertswold 172 which had beads, amethyst, filigree and garnet pendants, shears, and can be coin-dated to around 670 or later (Faussett 1856 pl. X, 130–2; Evison 1963, 63). The distribution of *sceat*-graves is strongly Kentish, with a few outliers in Eastern England; whilst this may reflect the preponderance of lavish late 7th-century burials in Kent where continental influence was strongest, it may also reflect the greater use and availability of coins in that area. Many other coins come from known minster sites but need not have come from graves, since early churches seem often to have been the focus of other activity, possibly markets (Rigold and Metcalf 1977; 1984, 268). Two early 8th-century *sceattas* came from the Middle-Late Saxon cemetery at Caister-on-Sea, but these are not certainly from a grave, and a coin of the early 9th century came from a grave belonging to a later phase (Darling and Gurney 1993). Similarly, the *sceat* of mid 8th-century date from a grave of probable 11th/12th-century date at North Elmham, is likely to be a chance loss in the grave fill (Rigold 1980, 497–8).

The purpose of coin-deposit is unclear; it may be related to the earlier wearing of Roman coins, bracteates and scutiform pendants as amulets, possibly to signal some social importance, maybe as receivers of tribute or gift. Many *sceattas* are now known from around the Roman walled area at Caistor St Edmund (Green and Metcalf forthcoming), possibly the focus for royal or seigneurial activity around the period of the Harford Farm burials.

The threadbox ('relic box') in Grave 18 (object No. 9a) (Figs 25 and 88)

Grave 18 contained a so-called threadbox, buried with a number of other objects along the left side of the body. It held two copper-alloy dresshooks, pieces of cloth and remains of a silver pin suite (Fig. 88). The Harford Farm box is of the same basic form as the nearly fifty other examples known from England, essentially a copper-alloy cylinder with a (slightly domed) drum lid; the two linked by a short chain of S-links, sometimes involving a suspension-ring. Decoration is usually repoussé dots or lines of dots in a simple geometric pattern, the lids sometimes bearing a cruciform design. They were worn by women, suspended from the waist, with keys, chatelaines and other objects.

Many years ago, Leeds noted that they occur characteristically in burials of his 'Final Phase' and remarked on their absence from burials before this (Leeds 1936, ch. 6). Since then, the number of examples of these objects has grown and there has been much discussion of their character and purpose (*e.g.* Evison 1987, 106–8 Hawkes 1973b; Meaney 1981, 185–6). In England they only appear in burials of the Christian period in the latter part of the 7th century and sometimes bear what might be Christian symbolism, like the box from North Leigh, Oxon, with an incised cross on the lid (Blair 1994, 70–7, fig. 49; Leeds 1940) or the boxes from Polhill, Kent, and Hawnby, Yorks, whose lids and bases bore repoussé

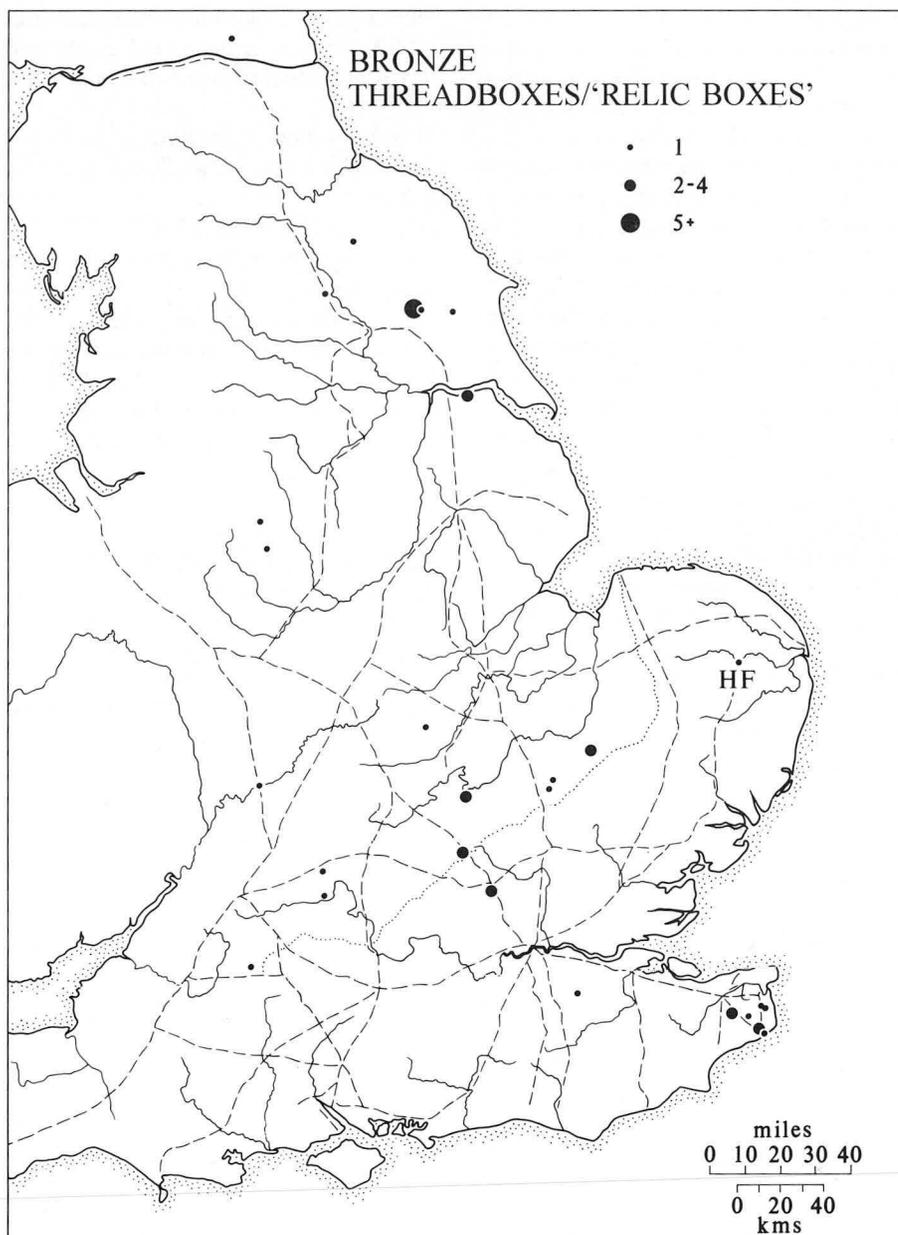


Figure 71 Bronze workboxes (‘relic boxes’), distribution map (after Evison 1987). HF =Harford Farm

cruciform designs (inf. T. Gibson). Evison, too, sees the decoration on some as indicating a Christian intent and suggests that they derive from Roman custom, since the type continued in Italy and the Rhineland in a Christian context, before coming to England in the 7th century where they had an insular development. Hawkes noted some tall continental boxes, but also argued for their insular development (Hawkes 1973b, 197); Geake (1995, 252) has drawn attention to several small cylindrical boxes of various materials from a Roman or Byzantine context (but interestingly, none from the royal graves around the Paris area). On the continent, there are many in the Rhineland, especially in the Mainz region, and to the north (Meaney 1981, fig. Vnn). It is worth noting perhaps that the distribution of barrow burials mapped by Van de Noort (1993) is similar, hinting at separate strands of cultural development and links within Europe.

The main occurrence of threadboxes/‘relic boxes’ in England is in east Kent, with significant numbers in the midlands and the north, e.g. five at Uncleby, Yorks (Evison 1987, fig. 177), possibly reflecting Kentish contacts with Mercia and Northumbria (Fig. 71).

Whilst there is general agreement on the dating of these objects to the later 7th century and they are seen as ‘type fossils’ of this period (Hawkes 1973b, 196–8), their purpose remains uncertain. Many have been found to contain scraps of cloth and it was often thought that they were containers for cloth and thread; the box from King Harry Lane, Verulamium, held two Roman coins, thread and a bobbin (Stead and Rigby 1989). Meaney (1981, 185–6) has brought the arguments together and suggested that magic, medicine and weaving might coincide with the symbolism of the female role in society and that threadboxes represent weaving (cloth, spells) as a magical activity appropriate to women.

Although the wearers of these objects are usually women, some have been found with children, for example, the threadbox found with the two children in Graves E1–E2 at Marina Drive (Meaney 1981, 28), which may have been an amulet or keepsake. It may be that these boxes (remembering their probable Christian context) were personal reliquary boxes, holding souvenirs of pilgrimages or mementos of loved ones, hallowed by association. This is now thought by Crowfoot (1990) to be more likely and she describes these containers as 'relic boxes' and notes that against their earlier identification as work-boxes is the absence of needles amongst their contents, the small size of some of these boxes and of the scraps of cloth they contain. Crowfoot follows Meaney (1981, 186) in seeing these scraps as religious souvenirs and suggests a mingling of pagan with Christian beliefs in these boxes, 'safeguarding the women in death as with the old amulets, but making doubly sure by including a plausible relic from the new religion'.

A number of these boxes, including Buckland, Dover Grave 107, had been permanently closed with rivets, locking in their contents and rendering the container useless as a work-box (T. Gibson, pers. comm.). This may be thought unnecessary as a precursor to burial, and therefore to have been done earlier, thus making the interpretation of them as reliquaries more likely.

Relics of saints or martyrs and the special dead, or of holy places, were very important in early Christian society and had a strong influence on popular belief; they could be in special shrines and altars, on display or even used as prophylactics (Brown P.R.L. 1977; Hinton *et al.* 1981, 62). Whilst most relics were public and popular (and at first accepted only reluctantly by the early Church) the wealthy might themselves indulge in the unofficial Christian practice of acquiring their own relics or souvenirs and displaying them in some way, so that their personal contact with the power of the supernatural was evident and their prestige enhanced; the Merovingian royal family in the 7th century had their own collection (Wood 1983, 69). In the *Life of St Gregory* written by a Whitby monk, there is a story of a group of westerners who were given relics in Rome, in sealed caskets; to their disappointment, upon opening them, they were found to contain nothing more than bits of cloth (Rollason 1989, 11). Gregory of Tours refers to cloths lowered into the tomb of St Peter in Rome for the same purpose (Harries 1992, note 43).

Relics or souvenirs might easily be pieces of cloth, *brandea*, passed off as saints' shrouds, or nearly anything connected with a saint (*cf* Bede, HE III, 11) but presumably were kept reverently by their possessor. It seems unlikely that anything more than a souvenir or amulet would be casually carried about or that the Church could countenance the lay ownership of holy relics, or their ultimate burial in a lay person's grave, but the example of Cuthbert's burial, in 687, with pectoral cross, gospel book, altar and other holy objects (Battiscombe 1956; Campbell *et al.* 1982, 80–1) should warn that these things may not have been impossible.

These boxes are usually found in well-furnished burials, like Harford Farm Grave 18, and it could be argued that whatever their purpose, they were also a symbol of status. However, it does not necessarily follow that this was the primary intention of the Anglo-Saxons, and it is possible to see the surviving objects as the evidence of a wider religious or superstitious practice not recognised

otherwise for lack of the elaborate reliquary box; Evison (1987, 108) has noted instances of burials where similar boxes in some perishable material probably existed.

Wooden boxes or caskets in Graves 7 (objects Nos 1 and 2), 18 (objects Nos 2 and 3) and 27 (objects Nos 2 and 3)

(Figs 13–4, 25–6, 36, 83, 86 and 93)

At Harford Farm, three graves (7, 18 and 27) contained the remains of what were possibly wooden boxes with iron fittings. The presence of probable barrel locks in Graves 7 and 18 makes this identification fairly certain; Grave 27 had been disturbed and the interpretation of the iron objects at the foot of the grave as box fittings rests upon the identification of object 3 as a hasp. Fragments of iron and wood from these graves was amongst the material examined by Watson (Ancient Monuments Laboratory, English Heritage) whose report (Watson 1992a) is the basis for the identifications in the catalogue and for the identification of wood and possible boxes.

Boxes are rare in Anglo-Saxon graves until the 7th century, and possibly quite late in that century, when they became fairly familiar accompaniments of burials, usually female. Sometimes they contained personal treasures, jewellery, tools and amulets, but mostly they were empty. Their rarity in burials before the 'Final Phase' suggests that they may belong in an explicitly Christian context. The number of known burials equipped with boxes is now quite large and these objects have been found at many places, including Burwell, Shudy Camps and Melbourn in Cambs, Chamberlain's Barn, Beds, Cow Low, Derbys, Garton Slack, Yorks, and some Kentish cemeteries.

Attention has often been drawn to these objects as an indicator of date or possible status, and to the elaborate objects that they sometimes contained (Evison 1987, 100–3; Faussett 1856, 173–4; Hawkes 1973b, 199; Hyslop 1963, 196; Lethbridge 1931, 57; Meaney 1981, *passim*; Ozanne 1962–3, 28; Speake 1989, 24–30).

The wood of these boxes has usually survived only as stains and mineralised fragments attached to iron fittings, and it is from these fittings that boxes are usually identified. It is clearly not usually possible to demonstrate that boxes were elaborately decorated, as is likely for the Swallowcliffe Down box (Speake 1989, 24–30) and for the box in Sarre Grave 4, which had silver bindings (Jessup 1950, pl. VI). It is possible that the large number of small rivets and other fragments in Grave 7 represent decorative studs, besides structural fittings, and the remains of leather may hint at a covering.

The type of padlock with barbed bolts seen in Grave 7 and probably Grave 18 (and represented in several other cemeteries) is essentially a Roman form, and may have been re-introduced to Britain *via* the Franks in the 7th century (Hawkes 1973b, 199) or have been amongst the later 7th-century arrivals.

Box in Grave 7

Grave 7 contained several areas of staining; two of these seem to represent part of the coffin and part of the body, probably a leg. Around the probable pelvic area a large area of staining, not certainly either wood or body stain, contained a concentration of probable iron box-fittings (1a–z), some with wood adhering (Figs 13, 14, 82). The general lack of body stain elsewhere may support this idea.

Most of the thirty iron objects and fragments cannot be identified beyond 'rivet, nail, split-pin, strip', but three objects put the identification of this material as a box beyond much doubt (Watson 1992a). Objects 1b and c are almost certainly hinges, found 15cm apart, and 1a is clearly part of a barrel lock. The position of the box in the grave indicates that it was placed either directly over the body or on the coffin. The box was made from alder (*Alnus* sp.) with alder dowels, and appears to have had a curved lid. The box apparently contained a comb, whose rivets only survive.

The reconstruction of the box (Fig. 72) is based on a number of observations, firstly the distribution of fittings on the grave plan (Fig. 13), which gives dimensions of approximately 150mm × 115mm, and the length of the lock (a), which (hanging vertically) implies a side over 65mm in height. The shape of the two hinges (b and c) suggests a curved top, about 45mm high. The nails (e) with hinge (c) indicate a thickness of at least 15.7mm for the lid and 14.5mm for the back; the back would be about 2mm thicker if the fittings were recessed, like the box from Finglesham D 65 (Speake 1989). A split-pin (f) was probably used to attach one side of a drop-handle (g, h) to the lid, like the example from Field Farm (Watson 1992 b) and this indicates that the top was at least 25.9mm in the centre. The lid exhibits radial wood surfaces on both the hinges and the split-pin (f), suggesting that it was made from several sections rather than one piece, possibly three sections joined together with loose tongues. The base may have been inserted into the sides using tongue and groove joints.

The sides appear to have been held together with dowels and repaired with iron nails (j-o), (four on the west side, two on the east). If so, then to facilitate this type of joining, rebates were probably used to hold the front and back to the ends, and the curved section of lid to the sides. The hasp needed to be flexible to fit over the split spiked loop on the front of the box, achieved by hinging the hasp or connecting it to the lid with a further spiked loop. Unfortunately, the hasp was broken just above the spiked loop and there are no other fittings that would correspond to either construction.

Box in Grave 18

In Grave 18 the coffin was represented by an extensive stain above the body and grave-goods, and by the clear outline of the coffin sides, which had collapsed outwards after burial to leave some grave-goods lying over the stain on the left side (Fig. 25). Body stain at the west end must represent the head area.

Most of the grave-goods lay down the left side of the body (pendant, shears and ring, pursemouth, composite object and threadbox). Near the head lay two *sceattas* (1) and a group of iron objects (2), and (3), which may represent the remains of a box (Fig. 86). Object 2 (SF 114) lay above the coffin stain and thus could possibly be a coffin fitting, but it should be compared with the barrel lock in Grave 7. The other iron objects (3), if they were associated with (2), suggest that all were remains of a box. SF 121 and 122 were eyelets with rings and SF 123 was three rivets. The box appears to have been made from ash and alder boards about 19mm thick.

The positions of these objects suggest that the box here was placed at the end of the coffin next to the head, or on the coffin.

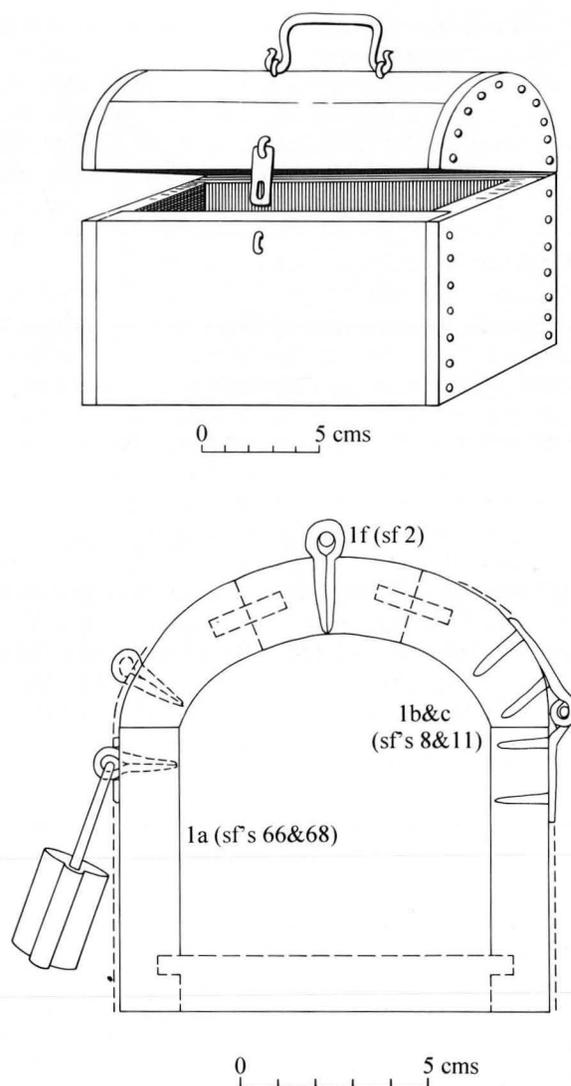


Figure 72 The box in Grave 7 (object 1); a reconstruction and section (after J. Watson 1992a). Scale 1:2

Box in Grave 27

Grave 27 contained two clear stains, of the coffin outline and of the body, and a number of objects. A later feature (?tree roots) had cut the end of the grave, part of the burial and disturbed some of the objects (Fig. 36).

At the left side of the body was a knife (8) and a chatelaine (7) containing several objects. At the foot of the grave, well clear of the feet, were several objects and fittings including some (2-6) which might represent the remains of a box (Fig. 93). (2) is a ring and eyelet and (3) (Plate X) may be a hasp. This may be compared to the fairly similar hasp on the box from Grave 48 at Shudy Camps, which contained a small iron key and cowrie shell (Meaney 1981, 30; Lethbridge 1936, fig. 9). It is not entirely clear what the original positions of some of these objects were.

Only two fittings remain of this box and on these are represented three timbers: ash, beech and oak (*Fraxinus*, *Fagus* and *Quercus* sp.). From the grain preserved on these fittings it is very difficult to work out the function of these three separate woods, but it would seem that the body of the box was made from ash or beech. The split loop (2) for the ring handle has both ash and beech preserved on it, which may indicate an ash inlay in a beech lid.

The ?hasp (3) has wood of ash, beech and oak adhering; this was presumably attached to the lid with a split loop, and fitted over another loop on the front. Both the split loops are complete, so that it is possible to say that this part of the lid was made from ash, 17.7mm thick. The front of the box appears to be made from beech, 11.5mm thick, with either a dowel or repair of oak.

Evidence for textile/leather containers

Although little organic material survived in the acidic conditions of the graves at Harford Farm, textile and leather survived in mineralised form when in contact with metal objects. Although most of the textile must represent clothing (see below Chapter 5, p.82–91) there is some evidence for leather, and perhaps textile, bags.

At the left side of body A in Grave 19 a pair of small copper-alloy objects (Fig. 89, 4) lay in a stain, thought by the excavator to be the remains of leather (identified as 'mineral preserved textile' by J. Watson); this may represent the remains of a bag or pouch with its fittings.

These little fittings have possible parallels in a number of other probably late graves, and may be bag fittings. These include Sibertswold Grave 180 and Bekesbourne Graves 29 and 38 (on remains of leather) (Faussett 1856, 133, 152, 154), Kingston Down Grave 142 (Brown 1903, pl.XCVII) and Holborough Grave 11 (a child's burial), where a similar fitting was found with possible handle fragments (Evison 1956, fig. 18). There are also several examples of similar fittings from the late Cambridgeshire cemeteries: Burwell Graves 3, 83 and 97, Holywell Row Grave 85, and Shudy Camps Grave 11 (Lethbridge 1931, figs 18, 22, 33 and 35; 1936, fig. 2). There was no trace of any object within this possible bag.

The best evidence for a bag comes from Grave 33. At the right side of the body but against the side of the grave lay a patch of what was thought to be dark leather, lying over a group of objects including a festoon, toilet set and chatelaine (Figs 44–6). 'Leather' was also recorded below these objects during conservation and textile (including ?woollen threads) was associated with the iron key and ring (1c) (see below, Chapter 5, p.88). The leather must be some sort of bag or container.

Also in this grave was a pair of shears (4), found near the waist; these were associated with textile and leather, hinting at some sort of case or sheath.

The chatelaine in Grave 28 (9) was found at the waist and contained shears and a knife (Fig. 93). The shears were contained within a 'possible leather sheath' (identified by J. Watson).

The flint handaxe in Grave 34 (object No. 3)

(Figs 47 and 96)

Stephen Kemp reports fully elsewhere (Part I, Ashwin and Bates 2000) on the prehistoric implements from the site. The object found in Grave 34, in a position which suggests it was a deliberate inclusion, is described by him as 'a biface throughout with dimensions 129mm × 63mm × 27mm manufactured on a natural flake of light grey flint; heavily battered on the proximal end and one of the sides' (Fig. 96). The burial also had a knife and buckle and remains of possible shoelace tags; the knife and buckle make this more likely to be a male burial.

The significance of this object in the grave is obscure; it may have been a 'found object' and kept as some sort of amulet or even used as a tool (?hammerstone) by its

Anglo-Saxon owner. Although the first is perhaps the more likely possibility, it is a fairly coarse object and not a distinctively-shaped tool, such as might easily attract attention. A weapon burial (Grave 27) at Wakerley, Northants, was accompanied by flints and a polished flint axe (Adams and Jackson 1988–9, fig. 28).

The ?heckle-teeth in Grave 21 (object No. 1)

(Figs 29 and 91)

A group of five iron nails lay at the 'right hip' of the body stain in Grave 21; nothing similar was found in any other grave at Harford Farm, and their interpretation as heckle-teeth, that is, the head of a flax or wool-comb, remains uncertain. It is interesting that one of the late (*i.e.* 7th-century) graves at Lechlade, Grave 50, of a young woman, contained three wool-combs, placed by the head, as well as a 'relic box' inside a wooden box (Miles and Palmer 1986, 17). The significance of these finds remains unknown.

The suspension complex in Grave 18 (object No. 8)

(Plate XIV; Figs 26 and 87)

This unusual object was excavated in conditions made difficult by rain and intense pressure of time. Photographs were taken of the object lying in the ground somewhat obscured by soil (Pl. XIV) before it was lifted as a soil block and excavated in the finds shed. A drawing was made of the object as it was excavated from the soil block (Fig. 26); some movement of the elements during lifting is likely. Conservation took place in Norwich Castle Museum some months after excavation and an X-radiograph was then taken of the remains (Fig. 87).

A comparison of these three records and the surviving remains reveals inconsistencies and difficulties of interpretation. The photograph shows that the ring (e) was very close to the decorated tube (a) and had the iron object (f) lying across it. The lower part of the ring cannot be seen but a length of thin ?twisted bronze wire is visible. The finds shed drawing shows the ring as complete, with hooked terminals, and somewhat separate from the tube, to which it is linked by twisted bronze wire and a chain (involving a hemispherical object (c), part of which is the 'cap'). The X-radiograph reveals the tube, the chain links, the iron object and also the bead, on a small ring, not visible on the site or in the finds shed. The twisted bronze wire does not appear in the X-radiograph, nor does the complete ring. It is possible that some of a fragile wire might disintegrate but unlikely that this would happen to a large part of a bronze ring. It is unfortunate that the exact character and components of this intriguing complex remain uncertain.

Like the other objects in Grave 18, (8) was placed at the side of the body, and remained in some articulation. The character of this object is obscure, and no convincing parallels or function can be suggested, although the chains and lugs imply some sort of suspension complex.

The tube (a) is cast and hollow, open at the 'base' and closed at the top by a looped cap; it has three looped bars at the side, possibly also connected with a suspension function. A similar looped cap (c) with three suspension lugs and chain links was probably originally joined to (a) by a chain, perhaps to close the base. It could have been part of the object (a), and correspond to the *in situ* cap, but the X-ray and field drawing (Fig. 26) show that it was part of the link from (8a) to the large ring (6). It is probable that

the assemblage was suspended from the large bronze ring (e), a bracelet, which also held a small iron ring and bead (b), possibly small loop or ring (d) and an iron looped ?tool (f), which lay across it.

No other object quite like this is known to the writer, although its three-lugged suspension and open tube are reminiscent of two types of ecclesiastical — even liturgical — objects, sprinklers and censers. Censers derive from the Mediterranean world and were bowls with, usually, three lugs for suspension. Local examples are the censer from North Elmham (Webster and Backhouse 1991, no. 206) and the 'Coptic bowl' from near Caistor St Edmund (County No. 9813; Myres and Green 1973, 200), possibly contemporary with the Harford Farm burials and pointing to some local 'high status' activity nearby. However, censers and bowls are simple objects (Orsi 1912; Waldbaum 1983, 98), and the parallel with (8) is in the suspension function.

The point of comparison with the only two water sprinklers known is the hollow tube. Both the sprinkler from Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts., and Vinjum, Norway (Youngs (ed) 1989, cat. nos 42 and 121) are hemispherical and surmounted by a vertical tube which enabled the flow of water to be controlled by atmospheric pressure. The Swallowcliffe Down sprinkler is probably of Celtic origin, and dated to the late 7th century, and was meant to be

hand-held, like the Vinjum example which is rather late and possibly of insular origin. Neither had complex suspension gear.

Although no convincing parallel to this object can be suggested, it may be worth remarking upon a superficially similar object to be found in the British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, Object 5533. This is labelled, though possibly incorrectly, as a scribe's inkpot and linked pencease, of the 6th century or later. This object consists of a small cylindrical box in copper-alloy sheet, with a lid, joined to a copper-alloy sheet pencease (about 18cm long) by a chain of S-links. This object was acquired in 1834 from Joseph Sams, a bookseller and antiquities dealer (1784–1860) who visited Egypt and Palestine in 1832–3 and returned with many antiquities. The Museum bought his collection which included Object 5533. This object therefore probably came from the eastern Mediterranean, but its date and function can only be guessed at.

A late medieval painting of St John on Patmos (South German School) in the National Gallery, London (Room 63) shows a visually similar object in use. St John is writing, and in his hand holds an inkpot attached by cords to a lidded tube, each cord running down the side of the tube (pers. comm. S. Ashley).

4. Grave Structure and Burial Practice

I. Orientation and layout

The forty-six graves lay in two areas, with thirty-one graves in Area A and fifteen graves in Area C/D, 150m to the south, with no graves surviving in the excavated areas between them (Fig. 3). Whilst the graves thus fall in two discrete groups, both lie within the same barrow cemetery and are clearly of the same late 7th-century date.

The two groups could represent two social groups, perhaps families, but they are treated here as a single cemetery, albeit with interesting differences between the two groups. There is no sign that either group of burials was enclosed in any way.

As far as could be judged, all recognisable burials were laid out with the head towards the western part of the grave, both in graves dug with a clear west-to-east intention and those only approximately so. The alignment of the thirty one-graves in Area A is quite closely west-to-east, with those closest to this alignment at the east part, and those towards the west part tending to the south-west. The layout seems fairly ordered, with no intercutting of graves, and possibly in rows, the neatest 'row' being at the east end, Graves 25–30, whose alignment is also most closely west-to-east (Fig. 73). It is possible that the layout of the cemetery reflects its chronological development; if so, then a growth from east to west seems likely, with subsequent graves taking their alignment from existing graves and rows rather than adopting a strictly west-to-east setting, and thus becoming skewed from the proper alignment. The dating of the objects in the graves is too imprecise to provide any

sequence. The *seax* grave, 25, is in the most easterly row; it lies at the end of this row and has the most nearly west-to-east alignment of all the graves (Fig. 73). That it was the first burial here is a tempting possibility.

The alignments of the fifteen scattered graves in Area C/D (Fig. 4) some 150m to the south were similar to those in the west part of Area A, but may also have been influenced by their siting around the ring-ditch (1022) and its probable barrow. Three graves (40, 41 and 42) were found within the ring-ditch and must have been dug through any barrow. Grave 42 survived only as a very shallow feature, and it is possible that other graves had been dug into the barrow mound but destroyed as the barrow was levelled by erosion and ploughing.

Whilst the character of the objects in the Area C/D graves, their dating, and their variety of body positions are comparable to the Area A graves, the contrast in layout and order, as far as it survives, is very marked. Some hint that these burials were different in other ways may be seen in the burial rite; whilst some of the burials in Area A may have been uncoffined (Figs 74 and 75) many of them were clearly in coffins, leaving stains sometimes representing both top and base. In nearly all the graves in Area A, the non-body stains need not be interpreted as anything other than the remains of coffins. The two exceptions are Grave 11 where the body position and disposition of the staining admits of other possibilities, and Grave 24, where the body position suggests an uncoffined burial, leaving the underlying stain to be interpreted as possibly some sort of 'mat' of organic material, which it was not possible to analyse scientifically.

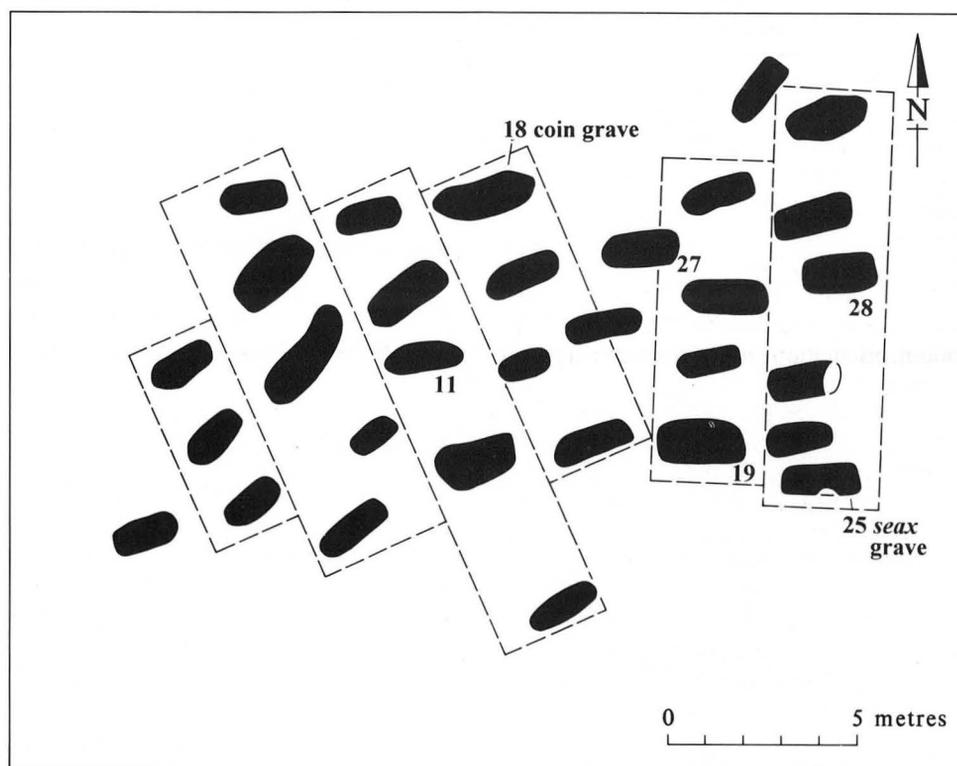


Figure 73 Area A (Graves 1–31), possible layout. Scale 1:200

Although six of the fifteen graves in Area C/D (Fig. 76) have extensive stains associated with them, there is no compelling reason to identify these stains as coffin remains, especially since none of them has 'sides', and interpretation as 'mats' or leather containers seems possible.

In the Late Anglo-Saxon and medieval period, grave orientation was almost invariably west-to-east, and this orientation in graves when found in cemeteries with few or no grave-goods, is sometimes thought to be an indication of Christian burial practice (*cf* Middle Saxon cemeteries of Burrow Hill, Butley, Brandon, Suffolk and Caister-on-Sea: Fenwick 1984; Carr *et al.* 1988; Darling with Gurney 1993). Whilst a shared grave orientation may be merely a natural attempt at order within a cemetery, there was a widespread choice of west-to-east burial in pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Faull 1977), although this was not always so. An orderly alignment of graves is common in Germanic cemeteries, this was usually north-to-south until the 4th century when there was a general change to a west-to-east orientation, or at least a systematic approximation (Hirst 1985, 27). James has shown that in Merovingian France, the change to west-to-east orientation is found in late Roman cemeteries, but before the impact of Christianity (1988, 141). This is evident at pagan cemeteries in East Anglia such as Spong Hill (Hills *et al.* 1984), Bergh Apton and Morning Thorpe (Green and Rogerson 1978; 1987) and at West Garth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, where a nearly west-north-west alignment was employed (West 1988). At some cemeteries, there was also a grouping into rows *e.g.* Lyminge, Kent (Evison 1987, fig. 32A). Orderliness seems fairly general and is seen at Morning Thorpe and at Buckland, Dover, where a west-to-east alignment was influenced by the contours of the hill and by earlier field boundaries (Evison 1987, fig. 2) and similarly at the late cemetery at Holborough, Kent, where scattered graves were aligned north-east-to-south-west to follow the contours of the hill (Evison 1956, fig. 3). This was not universal, and cemeteries such as Sewerby, Yorks; Portway, Andover; Alton, Hants; Barrington, Cambs and many others contain a mixture of orientations (Hirst 1985; Cook and Dacre 1985; Evison 1988; Malim 1990). At Alton, the variations in orientations were thought possibly to be connected to status or gender (Evison 1988, 41).

The orderliness and west-to-east orientation seen in undoubtedly Christian cemeteries of the 7th century is an uninterrupted continuation of earlier burial practice. Even the other, or random, orientations sometimes seen in pagan burials, occur in late cemeteries. Whilst the well known cemeteries at Camerton, Winnall II, Chamberlains Barn, and the Kentish cemeteries such as Kingston Down, Polhill and Sibertswold, were laid out or dominated by west-to-east orientation, the cemetery at King Harry Lane, Verulamium exhibits a very mixed orientation (Stead and Rigby 1989, fig. 77) and that at Burwell, Cambridgeshire had a mixture of west-to-east and north-to-south (Lethbridge 1936, plan 4). Lethbridge himself had earlier noted that little store can be set on west-to-east orientation since this was the rule at the pagan cemetery of Holywell Row, whilst at Shudy Camps there were two groups, an area with south-west-to-north-east, the other with north-west-to-south-east orientations, apparently of the same date (Lethbridge 1931, 83); although it has been

suggested recently that this represents early and later burials (Boddington 1990, 184-5). At Marina Drive, Dunstable (Matthews 1962) the burials lay mostly in three neat rows, each with a slightly different orientation. At Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, most of the graves were north-to-south (Wilson 1956), and at Horndean, Hants, *all* graves were north-to-south (Knocker 1958), yet both lay in regions nominally Christian by this time.

The burials at Harford Farm continued an existing tendency to west-to-east order, which became fixed, not by the introduction of Christianity in the 7th century but perhaps by a more intensive use of space in new graveyards in the 8th century, though even in these, orientation could be influenced by local features to deviate from strictly west-to-east *e.g.* Brandon, Suffolk (Carr *et al.* 1988, fig. 2) and North Elmham (Wade-Martins 1980, fig. 158).

II. Depths of graves

The surviving depths of the graves below the 'natural' surface at Harford Farm varied from *c.* 3cm in Grave 42, to over 50cm in six other graves. It is possible that all the graves had been truncated to some extent by erosion and ploughing, and also that the graves within the ring-ditch (Nos 40, 41, and 42) had been dug into a barrow mound and have thus been even more reduced as that was levelled. Whilst Grave 40 survived to a depth of *c.* 47cm (possibly because it was dug partly into the soft fill of the ring-ditch), both Graves 41 and 42 were shallow graves, Grave 42 at 3cm being close to extinction.

The idea that grave size and depth, because of the labour involved, might be related in some way to the status of the occupant has been discussed by Hirst, who suggests that at Sewerby, Yorks, there was some slight evidence for this, if status was reflected in the number of grave-goods (Hirst 1985, 30). However, the evidence was not conclusive and it is likely anyway that in 'late' cemeteries such as Harford Farm the provision of grave-goods, or their absence, is not just a reflection of status. At the late cemetery at Melbourn, Cambs, it was noted that 'generally speaking...the more richly furnished graves were shallower than those with no furnishing other than the occasional knife' (Wilson 1956, 29). At Harford Farm, the thirteen empty graves, the eighteen 'knife and buckle' graves, and the five well-equipped graves, are distributed across the depth range and across the cemetery.

III. Human skeletal remains

Although most of the burials were represented by stained sand or had almost entirely disappeared, some fragments of bone survived in a number of the graves (Graves 3, 27 and 43, where much of the skull survived) and in others, bone was represented by tiny flecks or fragments of bone within the staining (Graves 4, 6, 11, 14, 22, 24, 34, 38, 41 and 44) (see Human skeletal remains, p.76 below). Age and sex could be guessed at only from the grave-goods, size of stain or very uncertainly from the length of the grave-cut where grave-goods or stains were missing or uninformative. On this basis, possibly most were adults.

IV. Coffins, containers and cushions

Of the forty-six graves at Harford Farm, thirty contained non-body stains which may represent some sort of container or even mat. Although usually interpreted as coffins (or at least, planked containers), the character of the stains and the apparent absence of any coffin sides in the graves in Area C/D suggests that these stains might instead represent some sort of 'bed' or 'cushion', or even a container of, say, leather. Sixteen graves contained no stain suggesting a coffin, and in some of these (1, 12, 23, 33, 37, 38, 43 and 46) the body stain was so clear that probably no coffin ever existed (Figs 74–6).

None of the graves contained any object which can or need be identified as a coffin fitting and it seems most likely that any coffins were fixed with pegged or jointed construction; probably pegged, as seems to be the case elsewhere (Evison 1987, 100). Given the evidence for 'mat' burials in Area C/D, it is possible that some of the stains in Area A graves are not coffins. One might regard the crouched burial in Grave 24, resting on a clearly defined stain with no sides (Fig. 75), to be a likely mat burial, but the other crouched burial, in Grave 13, seemed to have a coffin side. If these two burials were coffined, the attitude of these burials would be most awkward, and would demand a specially wide coffin; however, if the line of staining in Grave 13 represents some other material, it could be suggested that both crouched burials were resting on some kind of cushion or mat. The best indicators of coffins are the long stains left by the sides and these can be seen in Graves 5, 6, 15, 18, 19, 25, 27, 28, 29 and 30, where the approximate dimensions of the coffin can be estimated. The coffin sides survived as stained sand to some depth in Graves 25 (10cm deep), Grave 27 (20cm deep) and Grave 30, where the sides survived as a stain up to 40cm deep. The coffins seem to have been usually rectangular, and of differing sizes, although sometimes distorted by post-depositional collapse and distortion. In some graves, the sides appear to have collapsed outwards, leaving a wide stain to represent the sides, for example in Grave 18, where the stain of the sides was overlain by several grave-goods (Fig. 25). In others the outline of the sides is, in places, very curved, (Graves 3, 8, 10, 11, 15 and 27), and must represent bowing of the coffin, although the extreme curve in Grave 3 may indicate some other sort of container. Some of the coffins appear to have had rounded ends (*e.g.* 18, 19 and 22), though whether this was due to collapse is not certain. In Graves 4 and 28 the coffins seem to have been non-rectangular, the shape of Grave 4 and the alignment of the coffin sides suggesting a trapezoidal coffin, narrow at the foot. In Grave 28, where the stain of the sides was remarkably well preserved *c.* 35cm deep all round, the outline of the coffin is quite clearly of 'coffin' shape, that is, tapering to head and feet, with the widest part at the shoulders, implying a higher level of carpentry.

In some cases stains representing lids and bases of coffins were seen, although the apparent lack of such stains cannot be taken to indicate that they were originally absent. In most cases it was the base of the coffin which survived best, doubtless because it was not subject to the collapse which would have fragmented any trace of the lid, but in a few graves, a stain encountered above the body stain must be that of a lid, for example Graves 5, 10, and 11, and possibly 13 and 17.

Grave 19 contained two bodies, 19A and 19B, and was provided with an especially wide coffin (about 0.85m wide) to hold them. Stains above the bodies may represent extra cross-bars to reinforce the coffin, which held the central section approximately in place as the ends collapsed. Differences in the filling of the coffin space may reflect both differential backfilling and the various processes of collapse.

Although there were various stains in the graves in Area C/D, there was little other evidence to suggest that these might be coffins. In Grave 32 a dark fill at the west end of the grave eluded any obvious interpretation, and could have been a product of differential backfilling. Graves 36 and 45 contained stains below the slight remains of the body and these could be the remains of a coffin or perhaps even of some sort of mat; this interpretation is also possible in Grave 45 where the stain had a very 'greasy' feel unlike the certain coffin stains. Possibly the best example of an elaborate burial not involving a coffin comes from Grave 40, where the body apparently lay on a 'mat' with very clear top and bottom edges and which was noted as being 'greasy'. A filling of silty sand around this stain may be the result of differential backfilling around the burial deposit. In Grave 44 a dark stain up to 3cm deep under the legs and up the sides of the grave may have been the remains of a coffin or more likely a 'mat', an interpretation which is supported by the position of the legs, hard against the foot of the grave, allowing little space for a coffin.

The best evidence for a coffin amongst the graves in Area C/D is in Grave 39 where a stain above the body may be a coffin-lid. No sides were found and the character of the basal stain ('organic' black staining with some charcoal lumps/flecks) may indicate some other sort of container or 'mat'. The burial in Grave 38 may have had some organic covering, whilst 41 had a possible shroud.

Two graves showed some evidence for a pillow or cushion supporting the head. In Grave 17 (coffined) organic staining next to the head may suggest the use of a pillow of some sort, and in Grave 34 (not coffined) the head was tilted to the west and rested on a large organic stain, possibly a pillow in the corner of the grave.

Anglo-Saxon burials of the early period were sometimes coffined, a practice that became commoner, but not usual, as time went on. At Chamberlains Barn, Dunstable, although there was no evidence of coffins, three burials were apparently wrapped in shrouds (Hyslop 1963, 166), and at Burwell, Cambs, several graves were found which may have been 'mattress' burials (Lethbridge 1936, 12). At Brandon, Suffolk, the Middle Saxon cemetery contained many burials, all coffined (Carr *et al.* 1988, 374) and at Burrow Hill, Butley, probably of the 8th century onward, there were, in many cases, no traces of coffins, and in others, possibly just a plank or a narrow pallet (Fenwick 1984, 37). At Caister-on-Sea, which began probably in the 8th century, only 44% of burials in the first phases were coffined (Darling with Gurney 1993). The use of some sort of cushion or mat upon which the body was placed has been recorded at the late 6th-century cemetery at Snape, Suffolk, where the practice was suggested to be connected to religious allegiances (Filmer-Sankey 1992).

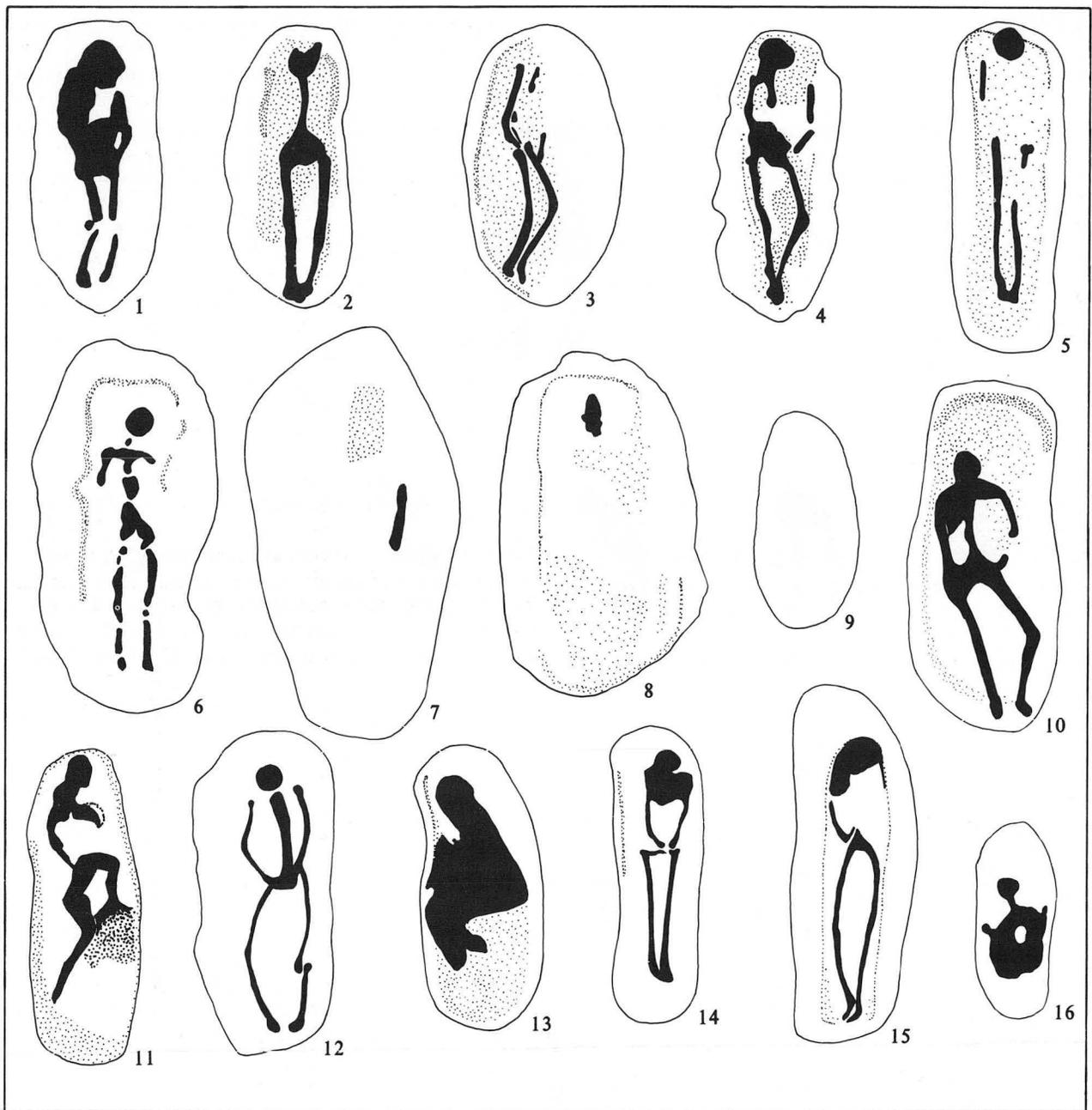


Figure 74 Graves 1–16, body and coffin remains (body, black; coffin/mat, stipple). Scale 1:40

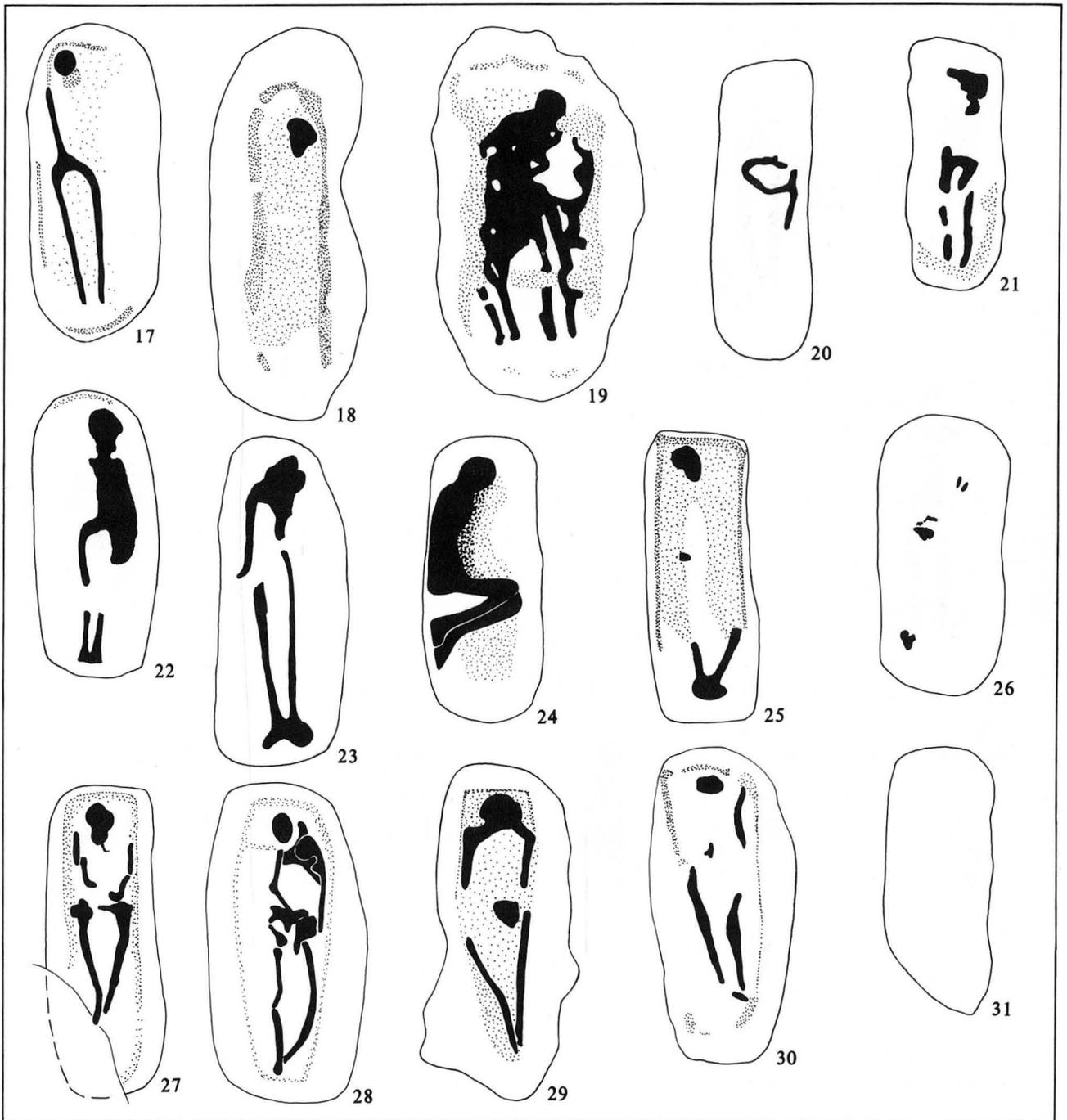


Figure 75 Graves 17–31, body and coffin remains (body, black; coffin/mat, stipple). Scale 1:40

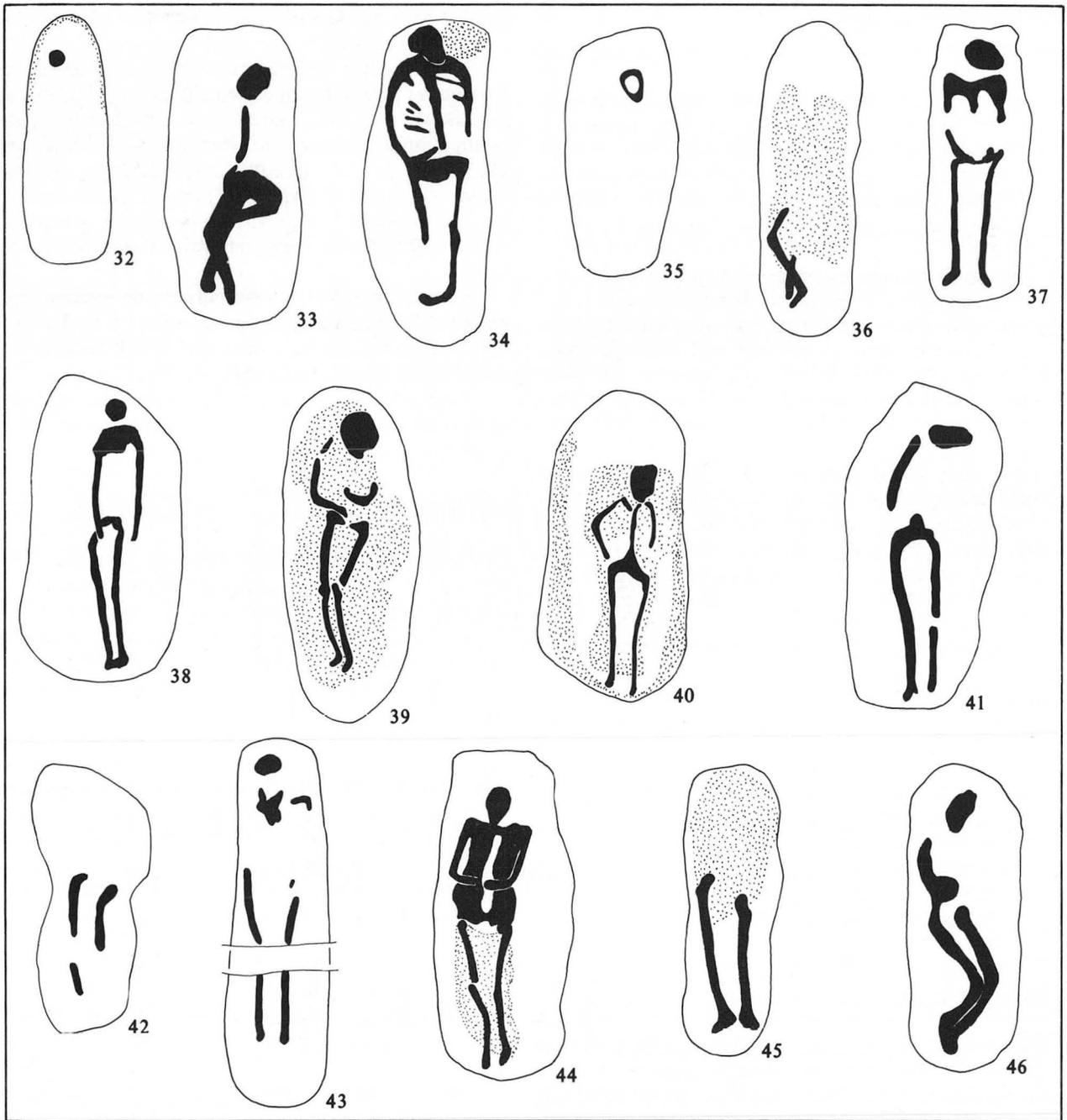


Figure 76 Graves 32-46, body and coffin remains (body, black; coffin/mat, stipple). Scale 1:40

V. Positions of bodies

(Figs 74–6)

Anglo-Saxon burials were mostly supine, with legs extended or slightly flexed, but in any large cemetery a great deal of variation in the precise position of the body and of arms and legs can be expected. A study of nearly 6000 early Anglo-Saxon inhumations has shown that the normal pagan rite was for loosely flexed burial (Faull 1977, 5).

As noted, bodies were represented only by stains, some incorporating tiny fragments of bone and a few larger pieces; part of the skull in Grave 43 survived. The stains varied; some were upstanding and allowed some interpretation of position, but most indicated little more than orientation and general position, whether supine, flexed or crouched. Body positions varied, most were supine, neatly extended, but in one grave (46) the body was slightly flexed, perhaps because the grave was too small. It is possible that the stains sometimes represent the final position of the body after movement during deposition, and post-depositional movement in the coffin space. A number of burials were in coffins and it may be assumed that the body was free to move a little, perhaps during the journey into the grave, perhaps after burial and before collapse of the coffin. In Graves 9, 26 and 31 no body stain survived, in others the body was represented by small patches of staining.

As noted, it is possible that the size of the grave might force a burial to be placed slightly flexed (Grave 46). The two crouched burials in Graves 13 and 24, if laid out supine, would almost certainly have been too long for their graves (Grave 13: grave base 1.60m, body length ?1.60–1.65m; Grave 24: grave base 1.75m, body length ?1.75–1.85m). However, crouched or semi-crouched burials are quite frequent in cemeteries, enough to suggest intention, and this could have been the case at Harford Farm.

Bodies were not always carefully placed centrally in the grave but were sometimes put in with head or feet resting against one end, leaving a space at the other end (Graves 12, 14, 40); in Grave 15 the coffin itself was placed towards one end of an over-long grave. In Grave 10, the body lay sprawled across the presumed coffin, with legs slightly flexed; the stain was very wide and might indicate an over-large coffin in which the body had shifted. The Anglo-Saxons were not always scrupulous about the laying-out of the dead, and a certain carelessness has been

noticed at a number of late cemeteries (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 29–30).

Several bodies (including one in a coffin) appear to have been placed tilted to one side (Graves 3, 33, 36 and 46). Mostly, the coffin seems to have held the body quite tightly confined, for example, Graves 5, 14, 15, 25, 27, and 28, the last two having coffin sides surviving to some depth, as stains. In Graves in 10, 11 and 17, all thought to be coffined burials, the bodies appear to lie askew the coffin, perhaps because the body shifted on its way to the grave.

Although most burials were laid out with arms and legs extended in some way, the arms had been folded across the lower part of the body in several burials (Graves 12, 14, ?27, ?28, 34, 37, 39 and 44).

There was much variation in the laying-out of the burials at Harford Farm and no single pattern was observed, save the contrast between Areas A and C/D.

VI. Body lengths

Of the forty-six burials, thirty-two were represented by stains which were clear enough to allow a very rough estimate of body height to be made. In the other graves, some idea of the likely maximum height could be gained from the stain and the length of the grave, although the chance that bodies were flexed or crouched makes this uncertain.

The pattern of 'heights' ranges from 1.10m for the base of empty Grave 9 to 1.85m for the crouched burial in Grave 24, when extended, and the very long stain in Grave 43, where the skull and lower legs (but not the feet) were represented. It is probable that the lower heights around 1.20m were those of children; the virtual lack of stains in some of these graves (9, 16, 31, 32 and 35) is consistent with this idea, as is the scarcity of 'knife and buckle' burials, and indeed grave-goods in general, amongst this group.

The upper end, at 1.65m (5'6") and above might be mostly of men; there is no certain female grave-good burial in this group (Graves 7, 8, 15, 23, 24, 29, 34, 43 and ?46).

The probable female burials, to judge from grave-goods, occur across all but the top of the height range; 'knife and buckle' graves, possibly mostly male, occur in the whole range and at the top in Graves 23, 34, 43 and 44.

5. Specialist Reports

I. The two *sceattas* of Series B from Grave 18 (objects 1a and b)

by Mark Blackburn

Only one grave in the cemetery (18) included coins among its grave-goods. It was one of the richest and best-preserved graves: a female burial in a coffin, containing a gold and garnet pendant, a pair of shears, a threadbox, a purse-mount or firesteel, and a curious decorated cylinder and ring. Two coins, 1a, 1b (SF 124 and 125) were found together at the top of the coffin above the head, some distance from the other objects which were by the abdomen, waist or thighs (Fig. 25).

The coins are both silver pennies (or *sceattas*) of the late 7th century and of the same general type (Rigold 1960–61, Series B) (Plates XXI and XXII).

SF 124 *Sceat*, Rigold Series B, variety B.I.B. Minted at London?, c. 685–95.

Obverse. ISAM[VATVAV] (here and in the inscriptions below A is unbarred and S is on its side), bust right breaking inscription, diadem as a double row of pellets, a pellet in front of eyes and in hair, large eye with heavy outline.

Reverse. [JVSAVM]], bird right above a cross, two pellets in lower field, an annulet at end of left arm of cross and another in front of bird; the design contained within an animal-headed torque, the head below the cross and looking left.

Silver, with little wear. Weight: 1.28g. Die-axis: 270°. This coin is struck from the same obverse die as Rigold B.I.B 9/i–iv, but the reverse differs from the two illustrated by Rigold (i and iv) and from SCBI American Collections 75 (Brady 1982). It is a straightforward example of one of the main groups of Series B, in typical style. The dating of the various types of *sceattas* is somewhat subjective, but current thinking would place Series B in the period c. 680–710 and the variety B.I.B towards the beginning of the series, although not as the earliest type, say c. 685–95 (Blackburn 1984). A coin from the same obverse die as this was present in a group of coins from a grave at Barham, Kent, and other examples of Series B.I.B were present in the hoards from Finglesham and Broadstairs, all of which are dated according to the current chronology to the 690s. The find distribution suggests that Series B was struck at a mint to the north of the Thames, and London is the most probable location.

SF 125 *Sceat*, Series B, probably an imitation of series B.I.C. Origin uncertain, c. 690–700?

Obverse. O[]TAVS[]OO, head right, diadem as single row of pellets terminating in a jewel at the front, before the face a cross with pellet above, a larger pellet in the hair, simple pellet for the eye; the design contained within an animal-headed torque, the head at the bottom and looking left.

Reverse. [JVMSVAO, bird right above a cross, an annulet to the right and left of the cross and another before the bird; the design within a torque as on the obverse.

Silver, with little wear. Weight: 1.19g. Die-axis: c. 315°. This coin is very similar in the detail of its design and style to Rigold's B.II2 (a coin in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Leiden); indeed one has to look hard to see that they are not die-duplicates, and they almost certainly come from the same workshop. Although Rigold classified the Leiden coin as B.II, it has little in common with most other coins in that group which are of a consistent style. From the Harford Farm coin, which is in much better condition, it would seem that these are really imitations influenced by variety B.I.C, which has a simple head, with a single-banded diadem, a jewel at the front, and a large pellet in the hair. The cross before the face is not found on any known B.I.C coin, but it does occur on one die of the earlier B.I.B variety and may yet be discovered in B.I.C. Variety B.I.C is a little later

than B.I.B, c. 690–700, and it is likely that this imitation is of similar date.

Date of burial

These two coins are therefore of very similar date, struck within perhaps five years of each other. They belong to a period in which there were gradual reductions in the standards of weight and, subsequently, fineness to which the coins were struck. In consequence coins did not remain in circulation for more than about a decade before they would be culled for reminting. With these factors in mind, the burial in Grave 18 can be dated with some confidence to the period c. 690–710.

Coins in graves

The practice of placing coins in graves, which was fairly widespread in the pagan period, continued in several regions of England well beyond their conversion to Christianity and into the period of silver coinage, after c. 675 (Rigold 1988). The best evidence comes from Kent where at least nine reasonably well-documented graves have included *sceattas*: Sarre 1864 (two coins, dep. c. 680); Dover 1952 (two coins, dep. c. 680); Broadstairs 1969–71 (one coin, in mouth, dep. c. 690); Finglesham 1965 (eight coins, by right arm, dep. c. 695); Broadstairs 1911 (eight coins, near left arm, dep. c. 695); Breach Down, Barham 1841 (five coins, to right of body, dep. c. 695); Ozengell, Ramsgate 1846 (two *sceattas* and one Byzantine gold coin, dep. c. 700); Kingston Down 1959 (one coin, dep. c. 710); Canterbury, St Pancras Church 1975 (two coins, dep. c. 720). (For references to these and to most other finds mentioned below, see Rigold and Metcalf 1984.) These suggest the practice was actively followed in Kent during the late 7th century, but died out quite rapidly in the early 8th century. From Essex there is one probable grave find, which also fits this pattern: Southend 1929 (eight? coins, dep. c. 700). From Wessex and Mercia there are two graves with *sceattas*: Lechlade, Glos. 1985 (one coin, dep. c. 680) and Hamwic 1968 (SOU 32, one coin, dep. c. 700). From Northumbria there is one grave find — Garton-on-the-Wolds, Yorks 1959 (twenty coins, in purse under body, dep. c. 725) — which is somewhat later than most other finds.

From East Anglia there are few coin-furnished graves of this period, despite there being plenty of single finds of coins indicating no shortage of coinage in circulation. Only two graves are known to have included *sceattas*: the Harford Farm grave being considered here, and a comparable one from Boss Hall cemetery, Ipswich 1990 (grave 93, one *sceat* Series B, with ornaments including a mounted Merovingian gold coin all contained in a ?leather pouch by the neck in a rich female grave, dep. c. 700 (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 51–3, no.33)). These fit well into the pattern observed elsewhere in the country. Mention should be made of two other East Anglian finds, which as initially reported appear to contradict the pattern. Grave 187 at North Elmham Park, Norfolk 1970, was reported as containing a mid 8th-century *sceat* of Series R (Rigold 1980) but it is now understood to have been

residual in an 11th-century grave (inf K.Penn). Similarly, grave 38 at the Buttermarket site, Ipswich, was said to have contained a coin of Offa's heavy issue, c. 792–6, but Scull has reinterpreted the context and suggested that the coin was intrusive.

The practice of including coins in graves thus died out at the same time as other furnishings were abandoned. The few later occurrences in England appear to be Scandinavian in character (Biddle and Blair 1987).

II. Human skeletal remains

by Sue Anderson

Fragments of bone were recovered from two individuals in the northern cemetery (Graves 3 and 6). In both cases little of the bone matrix survived, and the fragments were held together by iron pan and soil. They were too small and friable for identification to be made.

The most complete skeletal remains available for study were recovered from Grave 43 (Area C/D). They consist of fragments of parietals, occipital, sphenoid, left temporal, and left mandibular condyle of one adult skull. The outer surface of all the cranial vault fragments is extremely eroded, but the basal sections, temporal and inner table are in fair condition. All fragments are very crumbly, but some reconstruction was possible. Sexing was difficult due to lack of most of the areas of skull necessary for a confident assessment. The mastoid process, although of medium size, points forwards, and the zygomatic process forms a well-defined thick ridge which extends beyond the auditory meatus. This together with the apparent robustness of the occipital, suggests a male individual. Although cranial sutures are generally not accepted as accurate indicators of age, they do provide a rough guide in the absence of other ageing criteria. The endocranial sagittal suture is almost completely obliterated, and it is likely that the ectocranial side was in a similar state, since it is not visible in the remaining fragments of outer layers of bone. It is tentatively suggested that this individual was well over thirty years of age at death. One fragment of ?right parietal appears to show signs of new bone growth on the inner surface, close to the sagittal suture, but unfortunately the bone is broken at this point, which makes it impossible to decide whether the appearance is due to some pathological change, or is simply a normal anatomical variation. No other evidence of bone pathology was observed, and there was no sign of osteoarthritis of the temporomandibular joint.

Methods of ageing and sexing follow Brothwell (1981) and the Workshop of European Anthropologists (1980). No measurements could be taken, and no non-metric traits were observable.

Summary and discussion

The human remains from Harford Farm are not inspiring, and it is unfortunate that preservation of skeletal material was so poor in the potentially important possible Christian cemetery uncovered there. The remains together probably represent one male in middle age or older, and two unidentifiable ?adult individuals. This is obviously of little help in the interpretation of the forty-six graves excavated, but any attempt to glean further information from these poor remnants would be impractical.

III. The composite disc brooch from Grave 11 and other precious metal grave-goods

by D.R. Hook and S.C. La Niece

Introduction

The precious metal grave-goods from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery site at Harford Farm were submitted to the Department of Scientific Research, British Museum, for analysis under the potential Treasure Trove procedure. In addition to quantifying the precious metal content of the grave-goods, the opportunity was taken to examine some of the objects in more detail, to identify some of the non-metallic components and to see whether scientific investigation could provide further information on the methods used in their manufacture.

Methods

The analyses of the grave-goods quoted in Table 2 were carried out using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) on uncleaned surface metal and should therefore be regarded as semi-quantitative only. The effects of burial are likely to have altered the composition of the surface metal of the objects. In the case of the silver-based objects, the gold content is likely to have been enhanced whilst the copper and lead contents are likely to have become depleted. In the case of the gold alloys, it is likely that the silver and especially the copper contents will have become depleted relative to the gold. It is therefore difficult to provide a reliable assessment of the accuracy of the analyses.

Table 3 lists small fragments of objects which were considered too small for analysis. They were, however, carefully examined under the binocular microscope and visually identified as silver, using the analysed objects as reference material. The analyses of the composite disc brooch from Grave 11 (SF78) shown in Table 4 were also carried out using XRF on uncleaned surface metal and therefore the data should again be regarded as semi-quantitative only. X-ray diffraction (XRD) was carried out on the filler material of the composite disc brooch (SF78) to identify any mineral phases present. Fourier transform infra-red (FTIR) was undertaken by Keith Matthews on samples of the filler and on a solvent extract, to investigate whether the filler contained an organic component. A number of the decorative inlays and garnets were also analysed using XRD.

Results and discussion

1. Silver objects

The XRF results in Table 2 show that most of the objects analysed were found to be silver with a few percent of copper and small amounts of lead. Some of the objects contained a trace of zinc and one object (a disc with cruciform design, Grave 28/6 SF184), contained a trace of tin. These traces of zinc and tin are likely to have entered the silver alloys through the use of scrap brass and bronze. The gold contents were variable and often higher than one might expect for ancient silver. A number of the pieces had several percent of gold, with one fragment Grave 28/1 (SF201A) having a measured gold content of 13.5%. It is difficult to explain some of the high gold figures merely in terms of surface enrichment: presumably the gold has been incorporated into the alloy through the misuse of scrap, although the higher gold-containing alloys are similar to some of the gold alloy Thrymsa coins which eventually became heavily debased with silver (Metcalf 1994).

Grave/Object	SF No.	Part of	Description (part)	Ag %	Cu%	Au%	Pb%	Zn%	Other	Weight/g	Comments
12/2	72		Iron buckle (main garnet)	Ca,Mn,Fe							
"	72		Iron buckle (garnet 1)	Ca, Ti, Cr, Mn, Fe							
"	72		Iron buckle (garnet 2)	Ca, Ti, Cr, Mn, Fe							
11/1	73		Wire ring	95	3.1	1.1	0.7	tr.		1.455	
"	75		Wire ring (3 frags)	94	1.4	4.0	0.5	tr.		1.023	
"	76		Wire ring	89	1.8	9.0	0.6	tr.		1.019	
11/3	79	SF83	Chain	94	2.4	2.7	0.9	0.3		2.380	
"	80		Toilet set (bent pin)	96	2.4	1.5	0.5	<0.1		4.531	Combined weight
"	80		Toilet set (spoon)	96	2.0	1.2	0.3	<0.1		"	"
"	80		Toilet set (straight pin)	96	2.3	1.2	0.4	<0.1		"	"
11/4	82		Ring with dark glass bead	95	2.9	1.5	0.5	<0.1			Bead prevented ring from being weighed
"	82		Dark green glass bead	Si, Ca, Fe, Cu, Zn, Pb, Sn							
"	82		Ring with pale glass bead	93	2.9	2.9	0.8				Bead prevented ring from being weighed
"	82		Light green glass bead	Si, Ca, Fe, Cu, Zn, Pb, Sn							
20/5	109		Wire loop	91	2.1	6.1	0.9	0.2		0.412	
"	113		Wire loop	91	2.0	6.1	0.8	0.4		0.272	
18/1a	124		Coin	98	1.2	1.0	tr.	<0.1		1.187	
18/1b	125		Coin	98	1.3	1.1	tr.	<0.1		0.807	
18/9c	128B		Animal-head terminal (chain)	71	26.3	2.1	1.0	<0.1		0.807	
"	128B		Animal-head terminal (head)	91	5.9	2.0	1.3	<0.1		0.704	
"	128B		Animal-head terminal (eye)	Si, Ca, Mn, Fe							
18/9d	128C		Pin and wire loop	90	4.1	3.5	1.3	1		0.563	
18/9e	128G		Pin	90	3.7	3.2	2.1	1.1		0.382	
18/9f	128H		Animal-head terminal	89	5.6	2.9	2.0	<0.1		0.422	
18/9g	128I		Loop	89	4.0	6.3	0.9	<0.1		0.137	
22/1	132	SF131	Disc	95	2.3	1.7	0.9	<0.1		0.088	
"	134	SF131	Disc	91	1.1	5.0	2.3	<0.1		0.868	Combined weight
"	135	SF131	Wire ring (right)	96	3.1	0.5	0.6	tr.		0.305	
"	135	SF131	Wire ring (left)	92	3.6	3.6	0.6	0.2		0.348	
"	136	SF131	Wire ring (right)	91	2.7	5.1	0.7	0.1		0.724	
"	136	SF131	Wire Ring (left)	92	2.1	5.6	0.4	0.1		0.581	
18/4	141		Gold and Garnet pendant	39	3	58				5.593	
28/2	161		Disc	95	4.0	0.4	0.9	<0.1		0.060	
"	162		Bulla/roundel	96	3.0	0.3	0.6	<0.1		0.102	
28/7	165		Disc (cruciform design)	94	3.6	1.4	0.7	<0.1		0.490	
1/2	168		Chain frag	94	1.6	4.0	<0.1	<0.1		0.315	
"	168		Ring	92	2.7	4.2	0.8	<0.1		0.085	
"	168		Pin frag	90	3.8	5.1	0.9	0.2		0.152	
28/3	174		Gold beaded wire pendant	61	2	37				1.298	
28/6	184		Disc (cruciform design)	96	0.9	1.6	1.4	0.1	tr.Sn	0.191	
28/1	201A		Silver necklace frag	84	2.7	13.5	0.3	<0.1		0.385	
"	201B		Silver necklace frag	91	1.9	6.4	1.0	<0.1		0.325	
"	201C		Silver necklace frag	91	2.1	6.1	0.8	0.1		0.440	
"	201D		Silver necklace frag	90	2.3	6.7	0.7	0.1		0.691	
"	201E		Silver necklace frag	93	1.9	4.1	0.5	0.1		0.516	
"	201G		Silver necklace frag	93	2.6	4.0	0.3	0.1		0.540	

Grave/Object	SF No.	Part of	Description	Ag%	Cu%	Au%	Pb%	Zn%	Other	Weight/g	Comments
"	201H		Silver necklace frag	94	1.8	3.4	0.6	0.1		0.176	
"	201I		Silver necklace frag	95	2.5	1.9	0.4	0.2		0.841	
"	201J		Silver necklace frag	94	3.3	1.8	0.7	0.1		0.953	
"	201K		Silver necklace frag	94	1.6	3.6	0.6	0.2		0.462	
"	201L		Silver necklace frag	94	2.7	3.0	0.4	<0.1		0.565	
"	201M		Silver necklace frag	95	2.3	2.0	0.6	0.1		0.358	
"	201N		Silver necklace frag	96	1.3	2.0	0.4	<0.1		0.494	
"	201O		Silver necklace frag	94	2.1	3.3	0.5	0.1		0.426	
"	201P		Silver necklace frag	96	0.9	3.2	0.4	<0.1		0.489	
"	201Q		Silver necklace frag	95	2.4	tr.	3.0	<0.1		0.237	
41/1	213		Ring and glass bead (bead)	Si, Ca, Mn, Fe, Cu, Pb							
33/1b	220	SF222	Toilet set	97	2.0	0.6	0.2	?tr		1.207	
"	223	SF222	Pin	96	2.8	0.7	0.1	<0.05		1.456	
"	224	SF222	Pin	98	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1		0.692	
"	225	SF222	Perforated domed disc	97	2.0	0.9	0.2	0.1		0.502	
"	228	SF222	Fragment	98	1.1	0.8	0.1	0.1		0.176	
33/1a	231		Loop	95	1.2	3.2	0.2	tr.		0.279	
33/3	235	SF232	Gold pendant with intaglio	21	3	76				3.242	Estimated weight of intaglio c. 1.3g
33/2	238	SF232	Gold disc with garnet	14	2	85				0.002	
33/2	238	SF232	Gold disc	15	1	84				0.002	
33/1b	240		Loop	98	0.9	1.1	0.2	0.1		0.537	
"	241	SF222	Pin	97	1.1	1.4	0.2	0.1		0.563	
33/1a	316	SF232	Ring and coil frag	96	1.6	2.8	0.1	<0.1		0.562	
"	317	SF232	Ring and coil frag	97	0.9	2.0		<0.1		0.732	
"	318	SF232	Ring and coil frag	96	1.3	2.5	0.2	<0.1		0.598	
"	319	SF232	Ring and coil frag	96	2.0	1.3	0.5	<0.1		0.935	
"	320	SF232	Ring and glass bead (ring)	89	2.8	7.6	0.4	0.2			Bead prevented ring from being weighed
"	320	SF232	Ring and glass bead (bead)	Si, K, Ca, Mn, Fe, Cu, Pb, Sb							
"	321	SF232	Ring and glass bead (ring)	92	1.6	6.3	0.3	<0.1			Bead prevented ring from being weighed
"	321	SF232	Ring and glass bead (bead)	Si, K, Ca, Mn, Fe, Cu, Pb, Sb							
"	322	SF232	Coil	98	0.7	1.4	0.1	<0.1		0.315	
"	323	SF232	Ring and coil frags	97	0.8	1.9	0.1	<0.1		0.634	
"	325	SF232	Ring	97	0.2	3.0	<0.1	<0.1		0.310	
"	326	SF232	Ring and coil frags	97	0.5	2.8	0.1	<0.1		0.650	
"	327	SF232	Ring	96	1.9	1.8	0.1	<0.1		0.365	
"	328	SF232	Ring and coil frags (coil)	94	1.4	3.9	0.2	0.1		1.021	Combined weight
"	328	SF232	Ring and coil frags (ring)	97	0.5	2.6	0.1	tr		"	"
"	329	SF232	Ring	97	0.3	1.8	0.2	0.5		0.257	

Notes: These results were of uncleaned surface metal and should be regarded as semiquantitative only. The effects of burial are likely to have caused the gold content of the surface metal to be increased relative to the silver content, whilst the copper and lead are likely to have been lowered. Thus reliable figures for the accuracy of the analyses cannot be quoted. The analyses have a precision (a measure of reproducibility) of c. $\pm 5-20\%$ for minor elements present in the 1-10% range, deteriorating to c. $\pm 50\%$ at the detection limit. 'tr' = trace

Table 2 X-ray fluorescence results of silver- and gold-alloy artefacts

Grave/object	SF No.	Part of	Description	Weight/g
22/1	137	SF131	Bulla	0.145
"	138	SF131	Disc	0.056
28/2	163		Bulla/roundel	0.125
"	166		Bulla/roundel	0.092
"	167		Disc and bulla/ roundel	0.116
"	169		Disc	0.062
"	170		Disc	0.066
"	171		Disc, bulla/roundel and loop	0.173
"	172		Disc, bulla/roundel and loop	0.167
"	173		Bulla/roundel	0.106
"	175		Disc	0.098
"	176		Bulla/roundel	0.069
"	179		Bulla/roundel	0.071
"	180		Disc	0.070
"	181		Disc	0.070
"	183		Disc	0.047
"	185		Bulla/roundel	0.122
"	186		Bulla/roundel	0.176
"	187		Loop frags	0.064
28/1	201F		Silver necklace frag	0.125
33/1a	324	SF232	Ring and coil frags	0.186

Table 3 Weights of unanalysed objects

No.	Part	Ag%	Cu%	Au%	Pb%	Zn%	Other	
1	Axle of pin	Leaded bronze						
2	Pin	93	4.0	1.8	1.3	0.3		
5	Outer band	94	2.3	2.0	1.0	0.3		
6	Pin holder	93	3.2	2.2	1.4	0.3		
7	Catch plate	94	3.3	1.6	1.3	0.3		
8	Back plate	94	3.0	1.7	1.0	0.3		
9	Main rivet	90	4.0	4.0	2.0	<0.1	tr.Sn	
10	Glass of boss 2	Si, K, Ca, Fe, Cu, Sn						
11	Central garnet	Si, Ca, Mn, Fe						
12	Patch rivet	Silver gilt						
13	Patch	31	4	64				
14	Panel 4b	31	2	67				
15	Rivet of boss 4	Leaded bronze						
16	Rivet of boss 3	Leaded bronze						
17	Yellow? glass of loose stud	Si, K, Ca, Fe, Cu						
18	Glass of loose stud (altered to green/purple)	Si, K, Ca, Fe, Cu, Sn						
19	'Herringbone' wire	31	2	66				
20	Wire forming radial border between panels 2a and 2b	28	2	70				
21	Wire around patch	34	5	61				
22	Wire around rim	49	2	48				
23	Collar around central garnet	32	3	65				
24	Collar around central stud	31	4	65				
25	Collar around garnet of Boss 2	27	10	63				

Table 4 XRF analyses of components of the disc brooch, Grave 11/2 (SF78)

The silver content of the majority of the objects was found to be greater than 90%. The main exception to this was the chain of the animal-head terminal Grave 18/9c (SF128B) which had a much lower silver content of around 70%. XRF was also used to identify the eyes of the animal-head terminal as glass.

2. Iron buckle with three garnets in gold settings Grave 12/2 (SF72) (Fig. 86)

The three remaining red stones were analysed using XRF which gave analyses consistent with the stones being garnets. XRD was used to positively identify the two cabochon stones as garnets. The gold foil behind the large, mushroom-shaped garnet was rather crumpled and had possibly been re-used. It had been decorated with a plain *pointillé* pattern. The cabochon garnets were in beaded gold and twisted wire settings.

3. Gold pendant with garnets Grave 18/4 (SF141) (Fig. 86)

The pendant consists of a flat, circular sheet of gold with a central setting, the contents of which are now missing, surrounded by four small garnets with patterned foils. It is decorated with beaded and twisted wire, some of which could be identified as strip twisted. There appears to be the remains of crude marking out lines for the applied beaded wire annulets.

4. Gold pendant Grave 28/3 (SF174) (Fig. 93)

The pendant consists of a spiral of a single length of beaded wire with a cross of beaded wire in the centre, all held together with solder. The pendant seems very worn around its edge. It is similar in appearance to the pendant from Gilton, Kent, but has a far lower gold content than that of the Gilton pendant (Hawkes *et al.* 1966).

5. Intaglio pendant Grave 33/3 (SF235) (Fig. 96)

The red stone was identified by XRD as quartz. Quartz of this colour is known as cornelian. The wire border to the setting is formed of two or three strands of beaded wire twisted round a plain round wire. This piece also shows evidence of wear. The gold content of the pendant (76%) is somewhat lower than most Roman jewellery but it is not indicative of a particular date.

6. Composite brooch Grave 11/2 (SF78) (Figs 77 and 84)

The composite disc brooch was examined under a binocular microscope and by using real-time radiography. Its basic construction is that of a sandwich with a frontplate (divided into a number of gold panels decorated with gold wire, garnets, glass and white inlay, the latter now discoloured to green or missing), a calcite filler and a silver backplate. Rivets through the centre of each of the five bosses hold the metal plates together and a further rivet holds a patch repair in place on the front plate. A grooved band around the circumference holds the calcite filler in place.

The gold contents of most of the gold alloy components of the brooch were found to be in the range of 60% to 70%, the exception being the wire around the rim which was found to contain 48% gold. Silver and a little copper make up the rest of the alloys. The large patch repair and the wire surrounding it fall into this range of compositions. It is generally not possible to date gold alloys accurately on the basis of their compositions and therefore the analyses do not help to date the original gold components of the brooch or the repairs. The rivet joining the patch to the brooch was found to be a silver alloy which had been mercury gilded, presumably to match the colour of the surrounding gold.

The silver components of the brooch were all found to have similar compositions (Table 4, nos 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8) with the exception of the main rivet which contained a trace of tin and no detectable zinc. The axle of the pin and

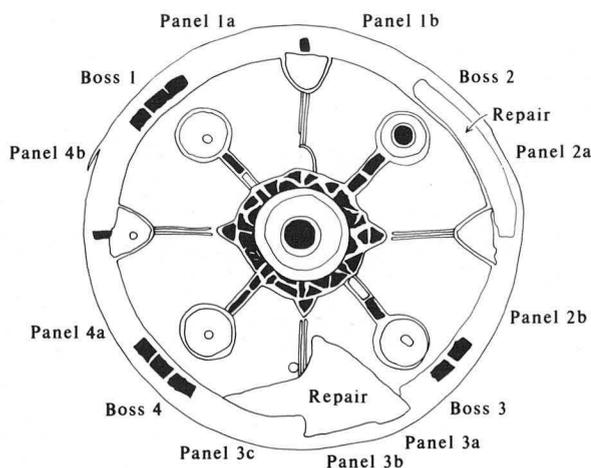


Figure 77 The composite disc brooch in Grave 11 (object 2), diagram

the rivets of bosses 3 and 4 have been identified as leaded bronze as copper, tin and lead were detected, although there is the possibility that some of the tin and lead may represent the remains of solder used to attach the garnet mounts.

The small cabochons of boss 2 and the two loose studs were identified as glass using XRF, although the glass of one of the two loose studs was different in composition in terms of its tin content. Visual inspection suggested that all the remaining stones are garnets. Many of the garnets and their backing foils appear to be re-used as they do not fit their present cells. For example, there are a few garnets with well-finished, curved edges set into straight-edged cells. Many of the garnets have roughly chipped edges and at least two patterns of foil were used.

Small samples from the central, greenish inlay and the only other surviving domed inlay were analysed by X-ray diffraction (XRD) and qualitative energy dispersive X-ray analysis in the scanning electron microscope (SEM-EDX). The central inlay was identified as a calcium phosphate compound which is characteristic of either bone or ivory. Microscopic examination of the structure by Caroline Cartwright identified it as ivory, but it was not possible to distinguish the type of ivory (*i.e.* elephant or walrus). The other surviving domed inlay was identified by XRD as aragonite (*i.e.* shell). The green colouration of both is caused by copper salts, probably from the central pin of the studs. Originally both would have been white. It is unusual, but not unique, for different materials to be used for this type of white inlay. Two plated disc brooches from Dover (Avent 1975, nos 163, 164) both include a mixture of white inlay materials, in one case almost certainly as a result of repair. White inlays of this type in Anglo-Saxon jewellery were mostly made of shell or a magnesium carbonate mineral known as magnesite. In a study of thirty-eight brooches and pendants from the British Museum collections, only three could tentatively be identified as ivory or bone (La Niece 1987). The recently-excavated Anglo-Saxon composite brooch and pendant from Grave 93 at Boss Hall, Ipswich, also have ivory inlays (Hook *et al.* forthcoming).

The majority of the wires used on the brooch are beaded, and most are very worn, obscuring the details of manufacture. The beading is very regular, so was probably made with a multi-edged tool. Around the rim and around the central garnet is a cord of two or three strands of beaded wire twisted together. Again, this is very worn, and is flooded with solder. A similar type of wire is also found on the intaglio pendant Grave 33/3 (SF235).

The plain wires on the brooch were made by twisting gold strip, or by twisting a rod of gold and rolling it between two hard surfaces to form a round sectioned wire. The plain wires forming borders at the edge of the brooch are twisted and arranged in pairs to form false plaits (Whitfield 1990).

The filler was identified as calcite using XRD. The identification was also confirmed using FTIR, but no organic phase was detected either in the sample of filler analysed itself or in an organic solvent extract of the filler.

The backplate has a pin housing and a catchplate riveted on. It has been decorated with an incised animal ornament and has a runic inscription. It was not possible to tell using the binocular microscope whether the same tool had been used for the animal decoration and the runic inscription.

Summary

The majority of the silver alloy artefacts analysed were found to contain more than 90% silver. Several were found to have higher gold contents than would normally be expected for ancient silver, possibly indicative of the use of an extremely debased gold coinage, such as some of the Thrymsas, or the surprisingly careless use of scrap. The silver artefacts all contain a little copper, and often a trace of zinc and occasionally a trace of tin, presumably indicative of the incorporation of brass or bronze scrap into the alloy. The compositions of the gold alloy artefacts fall into the general broad range of alloys used in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Varieties of twisted and beaded wire were used in the manufacture of the jewellery. Some evidence for the re-use of garnets and backing foils was also found. The red stone in an intaglio pendant (SF235) was identified as a cornelian.

Examination and radiography of the composite disc brooch (SF78) revealed its sandwich-like construction of a decorated frontplate, a calcite filler and a silver backplate. The disc brooch displays the use of differing types of white inlay (shell and ivory), wires made by a variety of techniques and again the likely re-use of garnets and backing foils. The patch repair was made of gold of similar composition to the original components of the frontplate, and the silver rivet holding the patch in place had been gilded, presumably in an attempt to match the colour of the surrounding gold. The disc brooch was presumably highly valued by its owner, to the extent that an elaborate attempt was made to restore its appearance after it had been damaged.

IV. The runic inscription on the composite disc brooch from Grave 11

by John Hines

(Plate IV; Fig. 84)

It is important to summarize, briefly, the evidence for dating the manufacture, repair and deposition of this brooch before discussing the runic inscription from a runological perspective. The brooch's typological parallels, in particular the composite brooches from Milton, Oxfordshire, and Ixworth, Suffolk, point to a date of manufacture in the period *c.* 610–650 (Avent 1975, nos 182, 167). As the standard of gold purity of coin in western Europe falls markedly during the course of the 7th century, it has also been suggested that dates can tentatively be estimated for contemporary gold jewellery on the basis of the quantity of gold within the alloys (Hawkes *et al.* 1966; Brown and Schweitzer 1973). Notwithstanding all the necessary caveats about the accuracy of the analyses (which seem likely to overstate the amount of gold: see section III above), and the general validity of this method of dating, the reported gold purity of *c.* 60–70% does correspond to the purity of gold coin of a date range consistent with that of the typological date of the brooch particularly the latter end of the period, towards the middle of the 7th century. Nonetheless, even this at best coarse method of dating provides no grounds for distinguishing the date of the repair of the brooch (which is crucial to the runic inscription, which refers to the repair) from that of its manufacture. It is argued from the proximity of Grave 11 to the coin-dated Grave 18 in this cemetery that burial probably took place close to the years 690–700. An

absolute date-range of *c.* 610–690 can therefore be proposed for this runic inscription, with a very high degree of probability that it was actually made in the middle of this range, that is in the decade (or two) either side of 650.

The runes of the brooch comprise a main inscription, which starts on the backplate and runs on to the pin mounting, and at least one, perhaps as many as three further runes on the back of the pin head. The latter can be passed over quite quickly: one rune is legible, an ᚱ : æ rune; the others are too worn or faint to be identifiable. No interpretation of these runes can be proposed. The main inscription, however, is complete, and quite extraordinarily clear in both its contents and its meaning. Transliterated, it reads:

luda:gibœtæsīgilæ

and this can be translated as:

Luda repaired the brooch.

The vertical line of six small dashes represented by a colon in transliteration is to be taken simply as a word-divider, although in fact it divides one word (the subject of the sentence) from a two-word phrase (the verb and its direct object: the predicate of the sentence). The syntactical character of this division, however, is probably accidental. The size of the runes diminishes sharply after this dividing line. The inscriber started off giving himself generous space for the opening runes (which spell out a personal name) and then crammed the rest into the remaining available space, expanding a little again only with the final rune. The X : g rune on the edge of the pin mounting is partly damaged, but nonetheless quite sufficiently clear.

The words of the main inscription are, in order:

1. **luda**: *Luda* or *Ludda*. This pair of variants are recorded Old English (OE) masculine personal names (Searle 1897, 340; Redin 1919, 67–8). It has been suggested to me that a rising inscribed line preceding the ᚱ : I rune at the beginning of this word could be a mark to designate the beginning of the text, or even form a t rune (normally ᚰ), as on a recently-discovered inscription in Frisia, the Bernsterburen Tau-shaft (Knol and Looijenga 1991). *Tud(d)a* would indeed be an equally acceptable OE personal name (*cf.* Searle 1897; Redin 1919). On a photograph taken by the present author, however, this rising line looks like part of a very much longer, curving scratch, while the use of an exceptional form of t rune is quite unlikely and no emendation of the name *Lud(d)a* is at all necessary. Both of these personal names are preserved in Norfolk place-names, *i.e.* *Ludham* and *Tuddenham* respectively. The final *-a* of this word represents the nominative singular case, making this word the subject of the sentence.

2. **gibœtæ**: *repaired*. This is the 3rd person singular preterite indicative form of a verb recorded in later Old English as *gebētan* (3rd sg. pret. ind.: *gebētte*), 'to repair'. *gi-* for the perfective prefix, earlier *gæ-*, standard OE *ge-*, is quite familiar (Campbell 1959, §369). The stressed vowel in the root of this verb is here transliterated *æ*, although its phonetic quality and phonemic value must be doubtful (*cf.* Hines 1991, 79–80). It is the product of the i-mutation of ō , a sound which eventually became ē via æ . Fronting of ō to æ by i-mutation must have taken place by the date of this inscription (although there is nothing in this inscription itself to prove that it had); however, the resulting vowel may or may not have unrounded to ē in the language recorded here. Conventionally, æ could well

be expected to survive in the 7th century, especially if this language variety is associable with the 'Anglian' dialects (Campbell 1959, §198). The graph *t* in this word would in fact represent a long, or 'doubled', /t:/, but long consonants are as a rule represented by single graphs in runic inscriptions. The final inflectional ending *-æ* is perfectly regular for this form of the verb at this date (Campbell 1959, §750).

3. *sigilæ: brooch*. These letters are readily recognizable as forming the word for a jewel or brooch, *sigel* or *sigle* in later OE. This word may descend from Latin *sigillum*. Its position in the sentence, after a noun in the nominative case and a transitive verb, virtually requires it to be in the accusative case, giving 'Luda repaired [the] brooch' (the definite article *the* is commonly omitted in such contexts in OE). An accusative singular ending *-æ* belongs to the feminine *-ō* stem (*alias* strong feminine) noun paradigm. *Sigel* and *sigle* are usually neuter nouns in OE, but a strong feminine form does occasionally appear elsewhere in OE texts (Toller 1921, *s.v.* *sigle*).

None of the rune-forms in this inscription is any way obscure or problematic, but some are nevertheless of considerable interest. If, as is quite probable, this inscription pre-dates the runic *delaiōna* (or *desaiōna*) and *pada* tremisses (gold content *c.* 20–30%, dated *c.* 660–670), it would provide us with the earliest certain example of the *ac* rune, \mathfrak{A} : *a*, in a definitely English inscription (see Blackburn 1991, 144–6, and Hines 1991, 80–2). Earlier examples of this rune seem to be Frisian in respect of language and/or provenance.

The *s* rune appears in a number of related forms in early runic inscriptions (Odenstedt 1990, 87–92); all are variants on a vertical zig-zag line clearly related to the Latin capital letter <S> or Greek <Σ>. Forms with three or four strokes (two or three angles) predominate from the start, but forms with more strokes, which are apparently no more than decorative variants of the former, appear very early too. The example in this inscription has five strokes, which is very unusual in any place at any date, and so far unparalleled in England. It is not, however, to be seen as diagnostic of any precise and special connection with some particular runographic tradition, other than by noting that such 'longer' forms seem to disappear from Scandinavian runography early in the 5th century but (on the evidence of one late 6th-century brooch) may have survived considerably longer in the continental tradition.

Finally, this inscription gives us our first example of the rounded *o* or *æ* < \mathfrak{O} > rune in a pre-8th-century inscription outside Scandinavia. There, however, the form is quite common (Odenstedt 1990, 123–4).

Mundane as it is, the nature of the text of this inscription is of no little interest in view of its probable date. From a relatively cursory survey of published material, it seems that craftsmen's signatures on artefacts — usually the manufacturer's — both runic and non-runic, start to become familiar at a rather later date: in England, for instance, on a group of ecclesiastical objects, the Mortain casket and Kirkheaton and Urswick crosses, of at earliest the late 8th century (Webster and Backhouse 1991, 175–6; Collingwood 1927, 53–4; Bailey and Cramp 1988, 148–50), and further afield on the ULFBERHT and INGELRII swords of the 9th century (Lang and Ager 1989, 101–6). Earlier examples tend to be exceptional: for instance the *ekhlewagastiRholtijaRhornatawido* (I, HlewagastiR, ... made the horn) inscription on the Danish

Gallehus horns. If runic inscriptions on coins such as the *pada* series represent moneyers' names then these are a form of manufacturer's signature, and some of these are nearly contemporary with the Harford Farm inscription. Earlier runic inscriptions from Anglo-Saxon England can generally be characterized as prestige-enhancing attributes added to artefacts which, although only intermittently intelligible, show no sign of anything resembling this sort of signature. Consequently the Harford Farm inscription represents — at the least — an early example of a significant step in the development of the functions of writing in England: its appropriation by craftsmen for reasons, presumably, of their own prestige, advertisement and authentication. This looks like a topic that would repay more thorough study and consideration.

V. The textiles

by Elisabeth Crowfoot

The textile information from this cemetery owes much to careful recording during excavation; the stains in the graves, from which the outlines of the coffins and exact position of bodies could be traced, compensate for the shortage of bones. The raising of complete blocks in position from some of the richer burials (Graves 19, 22, 28) and the presence of a 'relic box' (Grave 18) containing, as in other English examples, little fragments of different weaves, have preserved interesting evidence that suggests connections with cemeteries further south rather than with the nearer well-documented Anglian burials.

There are similarities between the textile finds from this cemetery and the graves in the Buttermarket, Ipswich, notably the fine checked tabby and the pleated ?veil (Crowfoot in Scull, forthcoming). While the women may still have been buried fully clothed, a change in fashion from the earlier *peplos* and long-sleeved undergown indicated by the necklaces of beads and silver rings may perhaps, as Hyslop suggested at Leighton Buzzard, be due to the coming of Christianity (Hyslop 1963, 189–192).

Fibres and dyes

As usual, most of the identifiable textile remains are mineralisations on iron and copper-alloy grave-goods, but fibres could be identified in nine samples, seven from inside the Grave 18 box, and two, probably sewing threads, from Graves 28 and 33. Most, including the threads, were probably of wool, but those preserved in the box also included vegetable fibres, unmistakable hemp threads, in which the characteristic Z-twist of the fibres (as opposed to the natural S-twist of flax fibres) could be clearly observed by Penelope Walton Rogers (below), an identification which has not previously been so definite in Anglo-Saxon archaeological material. The importance of hemp in domestic use, for garments and bedlinen as well as coarser fabrics, sails, sacks and ropes, is well-documented, but fibres are seldom clearly enough preserved for a firm identification. The fragments here, apart from some coarse loose threads, are from a good quality tabby weave, originally suitable for women's garments such as caps and shifts. The wool fibres from four samples in the box were very brittle. No dyes could be identified in any of these, but natural pigment, *i.e.* perhaps brown or black, was identifiable in one sample of ?decorative threads (Walton Rogers, Sample D (ii), below).

Grave	Object	SF No.	Position on object	Size best area	Fibre	Spin	Twist	Weave	Thread Count	Comments
Area A										
1	(1a) Fe latch-lifter main fragment on hook	(152)	Small fragment	7x12 (a)	rep.	Z/S	m/m-l	?twill	7-8 5mm/-	Originally good even weave
			one end ring,	20x12 (b)	rep.	Z/S	l/l	2/2 twill	5/5 on 5mm	Much coarser deteriorated
			and lower patches over area, length widths near loop turn all round metal	30x15 length 35, (c), 13,15 12 deep, (c) c.27	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	c.10/7 on 5mm	larger patch Pleated tabby, edge broken diagonally 2 patches, each 4 pleats curling all round piece, two tight pleats, broken end
2	(2) Buckle	(206)	underside, along edge	-	rep.	Z/S	-	?twill	-	deteriorated
4	(1a) Knife	(89)	handle, blade	-	rep.	Z	-	threads	-	coarse patches
			below handle	12x15	rep.	Z/Z	m-l/m-l	tabby	9/8 on 5mm	and on blade frag
5	(1) Knife	(203)	one side blade	10x8	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	-	folds, surface deteriorated
6	(1a) Knife	(71b)	(from chatelaine)	-	rep.	-	-	-	-	lumps, textile, but not clear
	(1c) Ae loop	(74)	on fragment	c.15x13	rep.	Z/S	l-m/l	2/2 twill	-	wound round loop; loose threads, z
	(1b) Fe ring	(71a)	2 layers, broken edge underneath	18x11 (a) 6x8? (b)	rep. rep.	Z/Z Z/Z	m/m l-m/l-m	tabby tabby	10/10 on 5m 9/9 on 5m	appearance fine even, ?flax possibly looser area (a) (All fragments of chatelaine covered deteriorated mineralised textile)
7	(1) Box (f, h)	(55) (2,3,5)	metal fragments and wood on heads and pins	-	rep.	Z?	-	-	-	traces fine textile only)one thread system (Z) identifiable
	(1g) Fe	(58)	all over							
	(1h,p) nails	(6,15))							thread system (Z) identifiable
	(2a, 1a) barrel lock	(64,66)	with leather)							
	(1d) Nail	(4)	on metal)							
	(1c) Hinge	(11)	and wood)	-	rep.	Z/S	-	?Twill	-	fine twill (probably as above but spinning clearer)
	(1u,r) Frag	(18,20))							
	(2a,b,c) Rivets	(59,60,61))							
	(1i) Fe Hook	(67))							
	(1t) Nail	(16)	head, ring, patches	4x3.5 (a) 7x4.0 (b)	rep. rep.	Z/Z Z?	m/m m/-	tabby ?twill	est.c.18/15 -	(count 8 on 4mm 5 on 3.5mm) finer threads
	(1a) Barrel lock	(68)	all over going through weave or round	- L-c.18	rep. rep.	- Z	- l-m	- threads	- -	- -
8	(1) Fe buckle and plate	(91)	patches one side other side wood	6x7	rep.	Z/Z	l-m/l-m	tabby	7-8/8-9	even spin, weave; hard appearance suggests flax (cf. Broadstairs SEM)

<i>Grave</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>SF No.</i>	<i>Position on object</i>	<i>Size best area</i>	<i>Fibre</i>	<i>Spin</i>	<i>Twist</i>	<i>Weave</i>	<i>Thread Count</i>	<i>Comments</i>
11	(8) hanger, keys, ring shaft another shaft	(85)	all over	(a)	rep.	?Z/S	-	?twill	-	2 different weaves, wound round shafts, blackened
			one side	c.40x15 (b)	rep.	Z/?	-	?tabby	-	loose folds round edge. Cf.86
			traces, length	c.53 (c)	rep.	Z/Z	-	?twill	-	fine weave, like (a) but spin Z/Z (Fig. 78a) clear 7x7 & chalky lumps; yarn fine
	(5) Knife	(86)	traces, over (c)	10x7 (b)	rep.	Z/Z	-	?tabby	-	& chalky lumps; yarn fine
			on blade	15x6 (b)	rep.	Z/Z	t/t	tabby	-	weave open
			below handle	11x7 (b)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	24(12 on 5mm)7	may be (b) but possibly tape
	(6) Shears	(86)	leather, on blades	L. 30? (a)	rep.	Z/S	-	twill	-	fold of fine weave, blackened
	(7) Buckle ?rings	(87)	on ring, front	12x7, (d)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	2/2 twill	6/5	fibres coarse
			underneath	25x13						
	(4) 'Festoon' backing	(79,80, 82,83)	on leather scraps	12x6? (a)	rep.	Z/?	-	?b.d. twill	-	fine, reverse
				rep.	Z,S	-	threads	-	?from coarser weave; mixed with rootlet fibres	
18	(3c) Awl, wooden	(123)	wound round	length 15	rep.	Z,Sply	1	thread	-	string, multiple threads, ?4-ply, ?4 threads, wound round
			under string,	length c.18	rep.	Z/Z	l-m/l-m	tabby	c.7-8/10 on 5mm	fine, folded edge, tied by string,
	(7) Purse mount	(126)	wrapped, other side	length c.12						round join of metal and wood
			both sides on leather	6x7, (a)	rep.	Z/S	m/m	2/2 twill	7/4-5 (on 5mm)	damaged; deteriorated patches
	(9) Relic box	(128)	on broken lid	28x12						threads variable,
			fragments & adhering to lid (Plate XIX)	5x8(b)	rep.	Z,S/Z,S	m-l/m	tabby	13/8-9 (on 5mm)	appearance flax on one fragment
				15x13						?wp. z.2s/ (Fig. 78b)
				13x8(b)	rep.	Z,S/Z,S	-	tabby		weft 6z, 6s, 6z, 3s, 6s, ?6z (break 4S)
				10x10						spin uneven;
				Inside box A. Sample A	c.35x40(c)	hemp	Z/Z	m-l/m-l	tabby	19/13
			Inside box A. Sample A	"	"	"	"	"	22/14	2 copper-alloy hooks, with bias-folded strip (L.40, width 8) caught under hooks.
			Sample D.	40x30(d)	wool (pigmented)	Z	-	?twill or tablet weave with	-	pale brown fine threads side by side
			Sample E.	-	wool	Z,S ply	-	?pattern threads	-	red-brown, n.d.d., ?pattern threads
			Sample F.	L.7(e)	hemp	Z,S ply	-	threads	L.30m	caught inside twist of D
				w.2.5	?flax	Z,S ply	-	?tablet weave	-	scrap with 4-thread edge cord
			Sample G.	20x13,(f)	wool	Z/Z, Z/S	l/l	2/2twill	4/5	fragments, ?striped,

Grave	Object	SF No.	Position on object	Size best area	Fibre	Spin	Twist	Weave	Thread Count	Comments
				15x15					(on 5mm)	(1) dark/2 lt 2 dk (Z) 1lt. 1dk/2 lt. 2dk. 1lt. 1dk (Fig. 78c), some threads probably plied. twist of D and E, threads side side of D and E, threads side by side
			Sample H.	6 circumference	rep.	Z,S ply	-	?twill	-	
			Sample I.	L. 20 caught round D and E	?wool	unspun	-	threads	-	coarse, dark, n.d.d.
19 Burial A	(3) Buckle	(192)	on plate at tip pin (Plate XI)	L.46(a) c.28x12	rep.	Z/Z	1-m/1-m	tabby	15/10-12 18/12	warp preponderance suggests tape, but no edges preserved
	(2) Fe knife	(197)	one side blade 2 layers, top underneath	c.13x9(b) 33x10(c)	rep.	Z/S	m/m	2/2 twill ? b.d.	9/9 on 5mm	threads coarse-fibred, weave fine diags. Z but confusion suggests reverse noticeably coarser
Burial B	(7)Girdle- hangers	(155)								
	(7b) Knife	(292)	one side, over leather	L.26(d) width 20	rep.	Z/Z	t/m	tabby	-	twisted; lying diagonally in folds or pleats
	(7b)hanger, large	(294)	all over other side	L.36?(b) 23x17(d)	rep.	Z?	-	twill	-	deteriorated surface open weave, pleated
			wrapped diagonally underneath	- ?(a)	rep.	-	-	tabby	-	finer than (a)
			scrap	7x5?(d)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	16-18/10 (8-9/5 on 5mm)	lying diagonally in pleats
	(7c) Fe & Cu. alloy object	(293)	largest fragment on small rods	25x13(d) 38x30(d)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	10/10-11 c.20/13	folds pulled diagonally, pleats
	(7d) Fe frag. A.	(295)	-	(d)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	-	3 tight folds on 10mm
	(7d) Fe frag. D.	(296)	-	(d)	rep.	z/z	-	tabby	-	
	(7h) Fe frag. E.	(297)	-	(b)	rep.	Z/S	-	twill	-	on both fragments (b) and (d)
				(d)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	-	bunch
	(7f) Cu frag. F.	(298)	10 Cu link	13x6	rep.	Z Z/Z	1 m-1/m-1	threads tabby	- c.16/11	(d) or (a). One edge broken; other two coarse threads, followed by 2 fine, ? selvedge - yarn noticeably variable

Grave	Object	SF No.	Position on object	Size best area	Fibre	Spin	Twist	Weave	Thread Count	Comments
	(7e) G	(299)	fragment	?(b)	rep.	Z/?	-	?twill		
	(7f)	(300-315)	fragments							most frags with textile traces
			305M	(a)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	-	2 clear pleats
			306Q	(b)	rep.	Z/S	-	twill	-	frag. +leather patches
			310		-	Z	-	thread	-	long loose thread
20	(2) Cu. alloy bracelet & bead	(116)	patches	-	rep.	Z/S	m/m	twill	c.9/7-8 on 5m	even weave
22	(2b,c) Girdle-hangers	(139)	by green bead	13x12(a)	rep.	Z/S	m/m	2/2 twill	c.16/16	fold
		(block raised)	rings: under (a)	40x18(b)	rep.	Z/S	t/m	2/2 twill	25/16	fine, rust colour
								b.d.	Reverses	
	Keys. (2c)		in line with beads, patches originally all over	L.50(c)	rep.	Z/?Z	t/l	tabby	36/14	in close folds
			45m from end	for 70(b)	rep.	Z/?S	-	?twill b.d.	-	(Fig. 78a) centre or (a) from end (a) re?? clear
	Keys. (2b)		under ring	L.10(d)	rep.	Z/Z	t/t	?tabby	18/12	pleats, 5 on 10mm
	Comb frag.(2b)		patches for 40mm and top of shaft	25x20(b)	rep.	-	-	twill	-	damaged, fine
	(2e) spoon		underside	17x7(d)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	-	(until cleared, comb suggested pleats)
			under twill	L.120x16(b)	rep.	Z/S	m-t/m-l	twill, b.d.	-	3 pleats 10mm where clear
	(2a,e) Small rings		one surface, over this	L.35mm(c)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	-/10	fine ?warp face, folds
	(2a) Rings Cu		2 layers	-(a),(b)	rep.	Z/S	-	twills	-	-
	(2a) Large Fe ring		round end	19x22(c)	rep.	Z/Z	-	tabby	c.40/17-18	-
	(2j) Rings and rod	140	along rod						(20 on 4mm)	
				c.15x12(a)	rep.	-	-	twill	-	-
				-	rep.	-	-	twill	-	-
				L.27,?(b)	rep.	Z/S	m/m	2/2 twill	16x12	centre clear
				13x8				b. diamond?		(corners)
	(part of 139)									
25	(2) Buckle from seax	(215)	underneath along edge	23-25x12	rep. chalk	Z/S	l/m	?2/2 twill	c.14/6	(if twill). Yarns coarse-fibred
27	(5) metal rod	(158)	along and round	L.50(a)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	10-11/10	in fine folds
	(7a,b) (chatelaine)	(209, 210,211)	traces over main loop	10x5	(black)					
				16x12(b)	rep.	?Z/S	-	?twill	-	?metal sewn to fine fabric, obscured by coarser weave coarse threads (wool), Z+Z ply, sewing? (353) and loose scraps
	Fe and beads remains			(c)	rep.	Z/Z	-	-		
	curved scrap Fe		near broken end two weaves over this	L.20(d)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	11/12 (on 5mm)	fold, wrapped round c.5mm wide (? to hold broken ends)
	(11) straight Fe frag.		all over		rep.	Z/Z	-	twill	-	coarser scraps
				c.27x7?(d)	rep.	Z/Z	m-l/m-l	tabby	est.24/10-12	?pulled fragment of (d)

Grave	Object	SF No.	Position on object	Size best area	Fibre	Spin	Twist	Weave	Thread Count	Comments
28	(1) A. Festoon (silver wires) leather backing	(201)	on leather (j)	best Ls. 70, 55	det. ?wool	Z, S ply	t,t	threads	-	fragments thread used for sewing, knot at end, (cf. Gr. 33)
	(9) Chatelaine A. curved Fe	(151) (361)	?wrapping	-	rep.	Z	-	?twill	-	coarse z yarn wound round fabric; weave not clear
	B. Fe frag. (9d) C. Key	(357, 358)	one side smaller areas	20x15(a) 15x10(b)	rep. rep.	Z/S Z/S	1/1 t/m	- 2/2 twill	- c.6-7/6-7	very coarse threads finer yarns
	Fe frags.		all along shaft	42?(c)	rep.	Z/Z	-	?tabby	-	damaged
			all round piece, 23x16?(c)	rep.	Z/-	-	-	-	fine weave, details	
	D. Fe frags		one side over, & other side	55x17(a)	rep.	Z/S	-	2/2 twill	-	hidden by (a) -
			Rod, all along and round	L.33(c) 20	rep.	Z/Z	t/l-m	tabby	-	tight folds or pleats (4). Cf. Gr. 22
			another fragment	15x7-8(c)	rep.	Z/Z	t/-	tabby	c.16/8 (8 on 5mm)	weave loose, 3 pleats; tight warp kinks, difficult count on curve
			other fragments	22x12,?(b) 14x10	rep.	Z/S	m/m-l	2/2 twill b. diamond	-	fine, damaged
	E. hangers	(359)	links, etc. traces	(a) (b) (c)	rep.	-	-	-	-	rep. ?chalk, (a) coarse, (b) fine, (c) pleated
	F. hangers (9f)	(359)	scraps on ring or link	6x9 ?(a)	rep.	Z/S	-	twill	-	coarse
				20x16, (b))	rep.	Z/S	-	twill, b	-	very fine, reverses
				15x7, (b))	rep.	-	-	diamond	-	clear
				10x6)						
	(9b) Shears	(360)	Head, patches	10x12(c)	rep.	Z/Z	t/t-m	tabby	-	pleats; open weave, flattened out
		(365)	patch, folds along loop (Plate XII)	c.20x10 (5x5 clear)	rep. rep.	Z/Z Z/Z	- m/m	- tabby	- 8/6 on 5mm	damaged folds going through loop
	(9a)I. Fe ring	(361)	wrapping round & fragments	7x4(c) or (d)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m-l	tabby	14/8	cf. (d) in Grave 27
	(9a)J. Fe rod	(362)	along, patch width 8	L. 24,(b)	rep.	Z/S	m/m	twill	-	obscured by coarse S threads
	K. Fe rod (9c)		along	34x11(b)	rep.	Z/S	m/m	twill	-	coarse threads across
	L. fragment		surface	-	rep.	Z	-	threads	-	crushed
	P. ?tool		on ring & shank	-	rep.	Z	-	threads	-	lump, on ring, tying?
Area C/D										
33	(1) Chatelaine	(236)								
	(1d) frag. leather, wood	(348)	traces	?(a) -	rep.	Z/Z	-	?twill	-	coarse
	(1d) frags.	(349)	-	c.L.6(c)	rep. (black)	Z,S	1.	threads	-	coarse

<i>Grave</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>SF No.</i>	<i>Position on object</i>	<i>Size best area</i>	<i>Fibre</i>	<i>Spin</i>	<i>Twist</i>	<i>Weave</i>	<i>Thread Count</i>	<i>Comments</i>
	(1d)Ag. rod scrap	(350)	loose	L.10		Z, S ply	l/t	string	-	6 or 7 threads, multiple S ply, neat knot
	(1ci) large ring	(355) (=237a)	scraps	22×12(d)	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	8 on 5mm	
			on larger piece ring	23×12	rep.	Z/Z	m/m	tabby	15/16	on larger piece
	(1d) loose	(324, 325, 351)	-	?(b)	-	Z/S	-	twill	-	coarse
	(4) shears	(233)	end of blade edge, going round	-	rep.	Z, S ply	-	threads	-	similar to (350)
	(1d) loose	(233)	end of blade edge, going round	c.6×4(a)	rep.	Z/?	-	twill	-/8 on 6mm	other side leather
	(1d) loose	(346, 353) 353)	-	-	wool?	Z ply	-	threads		(see Fibres, p.91 Walton)
40	(1)Knife	(218)	blade, handle end and damaged patches ?under leather across hilt	7×8(a)	rep.	Z/Z	m-l/m	tabby	7-8/9 on 5mm	close even weave protruding under leather ?lining to sheath fine threads, damaged
				(b)	rep.	Z/Z	t/t	?twill	-	
43	(2) Small buckle, long plates	(255)	both sides	-	rep.	-	-	leather	-	belt or strap, cut edges
			edge of one	8×6	rep.	Z/?	m/-	tabby	-	damaged fragment
			end of other	-	rep.	Z/?	m-l/-	-	-	coarser, deteriorated
45	(1) Fe knife four pieces	(226)	all pieces patch, middle fragment	-	rep.	-	-	leather	-	very fibrous underside, may be sheepskin?
				9×4	rep.	Z/?S	l-m/l-m	twill	-	more damaged areas suggest perhaps tabby also present

(Measurements in mm: (a) (b) etc. indicate different weaves in one grave: n.d.d. =no dye detected; b.d. =broken diamond; t =tight; m =medium; l =loose; L =Length); rep. =replaced

Table 5 Catalogue of textiles

Spinning and weaves

The recognisable weaves recorded here include eighteen tabby weaves and nineteen twills — a higher proportion of tabby than is present in earlier East Anglian cemeteries, a change in weaving practice also noticeable in 7th-century Kentish sites. The yarns of the tabbies, apart from those of a very fine fabric adhering to the inside of the Grave 18 box (see below), are Z-spun throughout. Spinning in the twills, with two exceptions, follows the Anglo-Saxon preference for Z-spun warp yarn and S-spun weft; in this combination the fibres all lie in the same direction when woven, giving a surface said to be thorn and rain proof.

Twill weaves

(Fig. 78)

In the absence of copper-alloy brooches and wrist-clasps, the mineralised evidence comes largely from chatelaines in women's graves (Graves 1, 6, 11, 19, 22, 27, 28, 33). Identifiable fabrics here are mainly twills consistent with the lighter weight woollens used for women's clothing, all very similar in style, the clear-profiled threads probably indicating worsted — *i.e.* fibres combed rather than carded — with good even spinning and weaving, all four-shed (2/2) constructions. Clear fragments are very small, and though reverses in the diagonals occasionally visible indicate that these twills were patterned, broken diamonds or herringbones, no complete repeat of the pattern is clear. Wherever visible the centre reverse was of the type shown in Fig. 78b, with 'corners', the favourite in Anglo-Saxon weaving (Crowfoot 1978, 104–5; 1983, 418–426; 1985a, 52–53; Crowfoot and Henshall 1981, 98). The fine twill fragments in the box in Grave 18 were probably of this type.

Very little of the coarser fragments, often heavyweight twills whose position suggests cloaks, have survived — the two with both yarns Z-spun (Graves 11(d), 33(a)) perhaps came into this category; tiny fragments with narrow pigmented ?warp stripes (Fig. 78c), again from the Grave 18 box are reminiscent of the larger pieces from Broomfield Barrow, Sewerby, Yorks, and Ardale, Essex (Crowfoot 1983, 471, B3, fig. 330; 1985a, 52, Gr57; 1988, 54), Mucking and Finglesham (Crowfoot, forthcoming a and b).

Tabby weaves

(Fig. 78)

In four graves (1, 9, 22 and 28) medium grade rather open tabby weaves seem to have been regularly folded all over in narrow pleats, 3–5 on 10mm. All are mineralised, but the appearance of the Z-spun thread suggests flax. In Grave 28 one yarn (?warp) is noticeably tighter spun, so that it 'kinks', and counts are difficult to take accurately. Similar slightly finer pleated tabbies at West Heslerton, Yorkshire, were of flax (Walton Rogers, forthcoming). In one fragment of these a sewing thread left holding the pleats in position was visible, indicating the use of the '*plissé*' technique, in which the fabric is gathered by needle and thread, and the pleats set by soaking with water and stretching. The threads are normally removed, but when dried the fabric remains pleated, unless exposed to wet or washing (Geijer 1983, 87–89). The West Heslerton fabrics, from the front of brooches, were identified by Walton Rogers as probably from headveils, but the pleated tabbies here

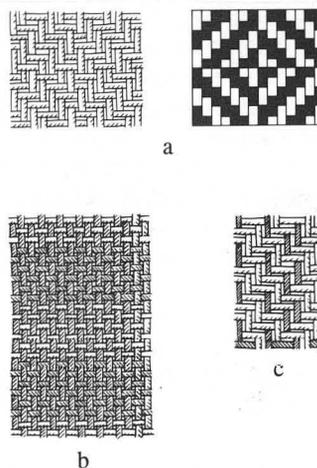


Figure 78 Textile diagram; (a) Broken diamond twill (Graves 11, 19, 22, 28); (b) Tabby weave, checked S- and Z-spun yarns (Grave 18 object 9a, 'relic box', on lid); (c) 2/2 twill, stripes, S- and Z-spun yarns (Grave 18 inside object 9a, 'relic box')

at Harford Farm, and similar finer fragments from Saxon graves in the Buttermarket, Ipswich, are found also on objects lower on the body, suggesting perhaps that the veils here had long decorative ends. Even finer examples from tortoise brooches and metal grave-goods in Viking graves at Birka in Sweden, are described as probably from pleated shirts, perhaps imports from Kiev (Geijer 1983, 88; Hägg 1983, 343–350).

Fragments of a fine tabby weave adhering to the inside of the Grave 18 box (9) were very small and delicate, but Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) testing established that the fibres were unlikely to be of vegetable origin, and features present indicated animal fibres, probably wool. This was a very even well-made fabric, with a checked or plaid pattern produced by groups of Z- and S-spun yarns in both systems (Plate XV, Fig. 78b). No difference in colour is visible. The question of 'spin-patterns' in which the pattern is produced entirely by the changes in spin direction, has often been discussed (Hundt 1972, 103–4; Hald 1980, 87–94). The idea is fairly convincing in twills and huckaback patterns, where the diagonal lines catch the light and throw up the pattern, but the effect in tabby weaves is seldom well-defined, the flat surface appearing merely confused, and the suggestion by the late Professor Hundt that the changes of spin direction also indicate an original change of colour seems reasonable, though difficult to prove as so many examples are mineralised, and many early dyes fugitive (Hundt 1972, 104). Examples of similar weaves have been found in cemeteries further west and south, Alveston Manor (Avon), Finglesham and Updown (Kent), Worthy Park (Hants), and from Mucking (Crowfoot forthcoming a) and Orsett in Essex (Crowfoot 1985b, 15–16).

In some cases it is difficult to see if fine tabbies on metal objects are cloth wrappings or narrow tapes; the selvage of a tape is not visible, but here the closely-woven tabby is very unlike the fabric of the pleated weaves. Such folds lie across the plate of a buckle in Grave 19/3 (SF 192) (Plate VI, Fig. 85) and in Grave 27/7 (SF 209, 211) (Fig. 89), where the position of the tape or strip perhaps suggests this may have

been wound round to keep the broken ends of the metal together, or to hide a join if they were mended.

Unfortunately very little of a textile nature is associated with the 'festoons' of silver rings found near the heads and shoulders in three graves. In one (Grave 28) it was suggested that these perhaps decorated a leather hood, and traces of S and Z threads were present on ?leather remains; traces possibly also of leather are among the remains in Grave 11. Very neatly plied ?wool threads (Grave 33) may have fastened the rings together, or, as suggested by Sonia Hawkes when discussing the better-preserved 'festoon' necklaces from Winchester and Leighton Buzzard, fastened them to a leather or fabric neck-band on a garment (Hawkes 1990, 622–624; Hyslop 1963; Graves 8, 9, 32, 39 and 57).

The contents of the small cylindrical box in Grave 18 are particularly interesting. Unlike the mainly herbal contents of Frankish boxes on the continent, the English examples, which occur in Anglo-Saxon graves on sites from Yorkshire to Kent, have so far always contained threads and fragments of textile, and are therefore frequently referred to in earlier reports as 'threadboxes' or work-boxes. Closer study of the contents and comparison with continental examples suggested they were better described as 'relic boxes', the contents probably being, as Audrey Meaney puts it, 'the kind of thing that would have been sold in the medieval equivalent of a souvenir shop as a genuine piece of the saint's robe; or something which a pilgrim had placed on a shrine for a while in order to imbue it with the saint's merits' (Meaney 1981, 186).

The textile fragments from the box are typical — the well-preserved hemp tabby (A) already mentioned, the curled-up scraps of fine wool twill, decorated perhaps with embroidery of even finer pigmented threads (D); tablet-cords from a band or border, probably of flax (F); dark hairy unspun fibres (I); and fragments of a coarse twill (G) with narrow light and dark stripes, perhaps originally cloak fabric. While this collection at once suggests those from other boxes from Kempston, Uncleby and Sibertswold, in none of these, or in any other English boxes, are any metal goods of value preserved: Kempston, Bedfordshire; fine tabby and diamond twill, both of flax, scraps of purple wool diamond twill with stem-stitch embroidery, and some coarse black threads; Uncleby, Yorkshire; a ball of flax thread, and fine wool plied threads and scraps, blue, green and yellow, probably from a tablet-braid; and Sibertswold, Kent; again fragments of fine wool tablet-weave, green and red (Crowfoot 1990, 47–56). The beauty of the silver plait and animal-head pins, and the meticulous preservation of the tiny dresshooks, looped over a carefully bias-folded strip of the hemp tabby, and then wrapped in a neat roll with a larger piece of the same weave, suggest personal, perhaps inherited family relics, of sentimental rather than religious significance. The plait and the pin could be remains of a chain and pins set associated with a silver ring necklace, as in Grave 1, and familiar from other sites (Hyslop 1963, 182, 185; Graves 32 and 55).

Clothing

The lack of significant textile remains, often found preserved elsewhere by the earlier arrangement of copper-alloy brooches and wrist-clasps, means that very little evidence relating to costume is preserved in this cemetery; the only possible fragment of tablet-weave, a

useful indication (when found *in situ*) of neck, wrist and cloak borders, is preserved inside the little Grave 18 box. The women's jewellery, the silver festoon necklaces, and the remains of the pins and chain set that replaced the brooches in the late 7th century (Owen-Crocker 1986, 92–95) preserve little textile evidence, but the pleated fabrics, whether shirts or veils, and the lightweight twills surviving on the chatelaines, very similar in style throughout, do indicate a good standard of dress fabrics, even if decorative details are absent. In some burials the larger objects — the shears in Grave 20, and iron bars and keys in Graves 22 and 28 — were described by the excavators as 'probably wrapped in textile'. This practice, though sometimes found on arms in men's graves, swords and spears lying clear of the body, is unusual for feminine accoutrements, and perhaps in these cases the textile is only the remains of the woman's skirt, lying against both sides of the metal.

Fibre identifications and tests for dye

by Penelope Walton Rogers

Introduction

Ten samples were provided for examination, eight from Grave 18, two from Grave 33. Fibres were identified with the help of a high-power transmitted-light microscope ($\times 100$, $\times 400$) with polarising analyser. Dyes were looked for by solvent extraction followed by absorption spectrophotometry.

Results

Grave 18

Sample A: well-preserved. These fibres showed the cross-markings and lumen (central channel) which indicate that they are of plant-stem origin. The lumen is large and often obscured by surface marks; the few cell-ends present are blunt; and \\\ marks are visible if the polariser is rotated. These features suggested that the fibre might be hemp, rather than the more usual flax. Some fibres were therefore wetted and then held under a hot lamp. The fibre-ends clearly rotated anti-clockwise, indicating that they are almost certainly hemp, from the plant *Cannabis sativa* L.

Hemp.

(Samples B and C: other objects)

Sample D(i) (pale single threads): brittle and part-mineralised. Several areas of these fibres show the scale-pattern of wool.

Wool.

Sample D (ii) (reddish brown plied threads): brittle but better preserved than (i). These are also wool, with some natural pigment present, which may account for the colour. **Wool**, naturally pigmented.

Samples D (i) and (ii) were tested for dye, but none was detected.

Sample E: well-preserved. Another plant stem fibre, similar to A, also twisting anti-clockwise as it dries. Almost certainly hemp.

Hemp.

Sample F: brittle. A plant-stem fibre, such as flax or hemp, but too poorly preserved to identify which.

Flax/hemp.

Sample G: brittle but structure clear. Wool, with no apparent natural pigment. Whole sample tested for dye but none detected.

Wool.

Sample I: part-mineralised, but structure still clear. Animal fibres with regular and irregular mosaic scale patterns; no medullas visible. Almost certainly wool.

Wool.

Grave 33 (with object 1a, necklace)

Sample (SF353): mineralised threads, but some fibres preserved at core; probably wool.

Probably **wool**.

Sample (SF346): part-mineralised but some scale-pattern visible; almost certainly wool.

Wool.

Scanning Electron Microscope examination

by Jacqui Watson

One sample, from Grave 18, SF128(b), too fragile for removal, was examined. No trace of vegetable structure was visible, and the indication was that both threads, Z- and S-spun, must be animal fibre, probably wool.

VI. The beads

by Birte Brugmann

Description

The classification of the Harford Farm glass beads follows the nomenclature developed for the English version of the bead classification programme *ProPer* (1998) edited by the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt a. M (e.g. Sasse and Theune 1995; 1997). For the description of colours the colour chart Sikkens Colour Collection 3031 was used. This chart has not been used in Anglo-Saxon archaeology so far, and therefore some common descriptions of colours are added which may help the reader to get a first impression of the colours referred to. A difficulty related to the description of colours is the description of glass as opaque or translucent because it is a matter of degree and a description is only given if the case seems clear.

Discussion

The following comments on the Harford Farm beads are preliminary results from a study on glass beads from Anglo-Saxon graves in preparation (Brugmann in prep.). In this study, bead types are not numbered but given descriptive terms such as 'Doughnut' or 'Traffic Light' beads. The usefulness of these terms in an Anglo-Saxon context lies in their apparent absurdity. As they relate to features of the objects referred to, they are more easily remembered than letters or numbers, but not interpretive such as the terms 'Pagan Phase' or 'Migration Period', for example (see Plate XXV).

At Harford Farm twenty-seven glass beads and two amethyst beads were found in seven graves. The glass beads are comprised of some types diagnostic for the Final Phase and of a variety of 'heirlooms'. Most of the beads are mounted on metal rings, which is typical of the Final Phase but was not in fashion when the 'heirlooms' first came into use. The Final Phase types are mainly dated in the second half of the 7th and early 8th centuries.

Polychrome glass beads

The dark blue glass bead with red and possibly white speckles from Grave 33(ix) is badly preserved and likely to be of a common type found mostly in 5th and 6th-century Anglo-Saxon graves. The wide distribution of translucent dark blue globular or barrel-shaped beads with small irregular dots applied in various colours, which covers Anglo-Saxon England, the Merovingian continent, Ireland and possibly other regions, suggests that the design is common and needs to be analysed in detail for further information on sub-types, their provenance, distribution and dating.

Four or even five millefiori beads in a single Anglo-Saxon grave as found in Grave 33 (iv–vii and possibly viii) would have been unusual even for the 6th century when these beads were produced and are more so in a grave of the Final Phase. Geake (1997, 43) counted only eight millefiori beads in her sample of Final Phase graves. The bead types from Grave 33 are types or variants of types defined by Koch (1977, colour pl. 6; and see Table 6). Bead iv is unusual for the opaque yellow applied stripe on the perforated sides. Applications of this type on globular or barrel-shaped beads usually consist of a thin application of red glass on a translucent base (Koch 1977, 218) see for example beads vi and vii. The application of yellow stripes is known from cylindrical or faceted millefiori beads (Koch 1977, 218). Millefiori beads of the Merovingian Period were probably produced in Italy and are mainly known from Merovingian graves of the middle and second half of the 6th century (Koch 1974, 497 ff.; fig. 3; 1977, 218; 1990, 123; forthcoming, bead combination group B). In the Early Anglo-Saxon Phase they are comparatively rare and occur mostly in Kent (Koch 1974, 519 list 2; Brugmann in prep.).

The globular bead 7b from Grave 27 has a greyish blue body and three applied dots in two colours, opaque red on opaque white. Globular blue beads with bichrome dots applied in two layers found in Anglo-Saxon graves are mostly combined with bead types dated on the continent to the late 6th and the first half of the 7th century (Brugmann in prep.). Bead 7b therefore is an 'heirloom' in Grave 27, if only a recent one in comparison to the 'Traffic Light' bead from Grave 22 discussed below.

The polychrome glass bead from Grave 22/2(gii) has a central brownish red trail applied on streaked translucent green and opaque yellow decoration applied on a brownish red globular body. The bead belongs to the Traffic Light group defined by the combination of opaque brownish red, opaque yellow and translucent green glass. The beads usually have cylindrical or globular red bodies with an applied twisted string of yellow and green glass. Streaked decoration is the result of too much heat applied to a twisted string. The red trails sometimes applied to such streaked decoration were probably used as a 'repair' that was meant to give the appearance of a twisted trail wound twice round the bead. Traffic Light beads are mainly found in combination with cruciform brooches in East Anglia, Cambridgeshire and further to the North of Anglo-Saxon England (Brugmann in prep.).

<i>bead</i>	<i>colour</i>	<i>techn.</i>	<i>dec.</i>	<i>perf.</i>	<i>S1</i>	<i>S2</i>	<i>shape</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>pr.</i>	<i>note</i>
11, 4a	opaque bright green (K2.50.40)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	round	5	5	cylindrical	8	5	0.6	
11,4b	opaque bright green (J0.40.50)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	round	4	4	cylindrical	8	6	0.8	
18,8b	discoloured ?translucent ?light green glass	?wound	-	round	c.3	c.4	globular	13	11	0.8	
20,2	iridescent (weathered) body; trails: opaque brownish red/transparent and opaque yellow/transparent	?wound	2 types of applied twisted trails, irregular loops	almost round	8	8	annular	21	8	0.4	Plate XXIV
22,1bi	opaque brownish red (C0.30.30)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	almost round	4	4	cylindrical	8	5	0.6	
22,1bii	light green (L0.20.50)	?wound; surface imperfect; four dents on one perforated side: tool marks?	-	almost round	3	4	barrel-shaped	9	7	0.8	
22,1biii	light green (K2.20.50)	drawn	-	round	4	4	barrel-shaped	9	7	0.8	
22,2gi	light green (L0.20.40)	?folded; two dents on one perforated side: tool marks?	-	almost round	3	3	barrel-shaped; slightly faceted	9	7	0.8	part of body ?chipped off, new surface less weathered
22,2gii	body opaque brownish red (C0.30.30); trail: translucent green/opaque yellow; brownish red central trail	wound	central trail on irregular streaked application	round	3	?	irregular globular	15	12	0.8	
27,7a	opaque turquoise glass (Q0.40.40)	?	-	round	8	8	ribbed globular	18	14	0.8	
27,7b	body opaque greyish blue (Q0.20.50); dots: opaque brownish red on opaque white	?wound	?3 two-layered dots	round	7	?	globular	15	11	0.7	
33,i	translucent white	pierced	-	round	c.2	-	asymmetrical annular	c.13	5	c.0.4	
33,ii	translucent light blue (N0.10.70)	pierced	-	round	1	-	asymmetrical annular	9	4	0.4	
33,iii	translucent light blue (N0.10.60)	pierced	-	round	2	-	asymmetrical annular	10	2	0.4	
33,iv	millefiori, variant of M27 with opaque yellow instead of red applied stripes	composite	two bichrome dots; two petal designs, peripheral applied stripes	round	3	3	barrel-shaped	12	10	0.8	
33,v	millefiori, discoloured; probably similar to 33,iv, but possibly with red applied stripes	composite	discoloured, probably similar to 33,iv	round	4	4	barrel-shaped	14	12	0.9	
33,vi	millefiori, variant of M33: single instead of double row	composite	two bichrome dots, two petal designs; peripheral applied stripes	round	5	5	barrel-shaped	17	15	0.9	
33,vii	millefiori, M39	composite	two three-coloured dots, two petal designs	round	5	5	barrel-shaped	16	15	0.9	
33,viii	discoloured and broken, ?millefiori	?	?	almost round	3	3	barrel-shaped	12	9	0.8	

<i>bead</i>	<i>colour</i>	<i>techn.</i>	<i>dec.</i>	<i>perf.</i>	<i>S1</i>	<i>S2</i>	<i>shape</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>pr.</i>	<i>note</i>
33,ix	body translucent blue with weathered surface; opaque brownish red ?and white spots	?wound	applied spots, irregular	round	4	4	globular	c.13	11	c.0.8	broken, incomplete
33,xii	green (L0.20.40)	drawn; perforated sides smoothed over?	-	almost round	5	5	barrel-shaped	10	6	0.6	
33,xiii	white	folded?; two dents at one perforated side	-	almost round	4	4	barrel-shaped	9	6	0.7	
33,xiv	opaque red (C4.50.30)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	round	4	4	barrel-shaped	8	9	0.8	
33,xv	opaque bright green (K2.50.40)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	round	4	4	cylindrical	8	6	0.8	
33,xvi	opaque bright green (J0.50.50)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	almost round	3	3	cylindrical	8	6	0.8	
33,xvii	opaque red (C4.50.30)	wound; spiral traces on perforated sides	-	round	4	4	cylindrical	7	6	0.9	
41,1	translucent blue glass (T4.36.27)	?wound	-	almost round	4	5	globular	13	9	0.7	
Notes:	colour and translucency; millefiori types after Koch (1977)										
colour	colour and translucency; millefiori types after Koch (1977)										
techn.	manufacturing technique of bead body										
dec.	manufacturing technique of decoration										
perf.	cross section of perforation										
S1	diameter of perforation on one side in mm										
S2	diameter of perforation on other side in mm										
shape	shape of bead										
D	diameter of bead in mm										
L	length of bead in mm										
pr.	proportion										

Table 6 Catalogue of glass beads

The manufacturing technique, distribution pattern and date of the Traffic Light beads suggest that they are not directly related to 'reticella' beads though the application of twisted trails defines both types. Reticella beads however were introduced only in the middle of the 6th century (for references see Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 60; Brugmann in prep.) and require the application of at least two different rods with an 's' and a 'z' twist (comparable to the spinning of thread) to produce the typical 'herringbone' pattern applied to a cylindrical or biconical body with a larger diameter than is found with Traffic Light beads. Reticella beads are also technically more complicated in that their rods are often twisted of three instead of two components and were made in a larger variety of colours than the Traffic Light beads (Brugmann in prep.).

The annular bead with twisted trails from Grave 20 (2) is neither a Traffic Light nor a reticella bead. The body of the bead is likely to be made of translucent glass now discoloured while the opaque yellow and red and the translucent glass used for the trails may well be the original colours. The bead belongs to the 'Annular Twist' type that is comprised only of very short annular beads with twisted trails applied in loops or waves. Geake (1997, 43 f.) counted fewer than twenty Annular Twist beads in Final Phase graves and agreed with Guido (in Speake 1989, 51) on a late date of this bead type. A recent find made at the Royal Opera House in London (*Current Archaeology* 1998, 63) can be added to the list of finds. According to Geake (1997, 44) all datable examples are from the late 7th or early 8th century. A bead from Grave 93 at Boss Hall, Ipswich, Suffolk is coin-dated c. 690/700 AD (Geake 1997, table 2.3; Webster and Backhouse 1991, 51 ff.). The twisted trails on these late beads are finer and more expertly applied than on most Traffic Light beads and are also narrower than on most reticella beads. Additionally, some of the twisted trails on Annular Twist beads — including the Harford Farm bead — were made of opaque and translucent glass which made it possible to see not only the apparently striped surface of the trail but the entire opaque spiral, a visual effect that can clearly be seen in a photograph published of bead 15 from Swallowcliffe Down (Speake 1989, fig. 46). According to Guido (in Speake 1989, 51) beads of this type are not directly related to 'cable-decorated beads around the time of the Roman conquest'. They may, however, have to do with the production of 'reticella glass' vessels decorated with twisted trails (Koch 1987, 51). These trails are not arranged in the stripy herringbone pattern defining reticella beads but show the spiral effect described above (e.g. Jensen 1991, 14f). It also seems possible that the Annular Twist beads are related to Early Medieval Irish beads with twisted trails displaying the spiral effect (see Youngs forthcoming), which are also found in small numbers in Scandinavia (see Callmer 1977, group Bj). The distribution of Annular Twist beads, however, does not seem to go beyond England and Scotland.

Monochrome beads

The oldest bead found at Harford Farm probably is the opaque turquoise or green-blue barrel-shaped glass bead 7a from Grave 27 with narrow and flat ribs, generally known as a 'Roman melon bead'. Production of these beads began as early as the 1st century AD (Born 1975, 134) and they were re-used by Anglo-Saxons and

Merovingians. Anglo-Saxon graves usually produce a single bead of this type and Grave 102 at Mill Hill, Kent (Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 60 f.), with two beads is unusual in this respect. The blue annular bead 1 from Grave 41 and the globular green bead 8b from Grave 18 are not closely datable.

The remaining monochrome glass beads from Harford Farm are smaller and comprised of eight green beads, four red beads, two blue beads and two white beads. The translucent white and light blue beads from Grave 33 (i-iii) have conical perforations and are flat on the side with the narrow part of the perforation. They were apparently made of a piece of glass pierced from one side. The type is known in a variety of colours and is called 'Doughnut' type in the following in reference to its asymmetrical disc shape and small perforation. In East Anglia Doughnut beads are known from Grave 1674 at Buttermarket, Ipswich, radiocarbon-dated to the 7th century (Geake 1997, 179; Scull and Bayliss forthcoming; Scull forthcoming, table 1) but they were not found at Morning Thorpe, Bergh Apton, Spong Hill or Westgarth Gardens (see Hines and Høiland Nielsen forthcoming). In Cambridgeshire, however, two Doughnut beads are known from Grave 11 at the Final Phase cemetery at Melbourn (Geake 1997, 147) and a Doughnut bead (2c) from Grave 134 at Buckland, Kent, is dated to Buckland Phase 5 (650–675 AD) by Evison (1987, fig. 105). At Castledyke, North Lincolnshire, Doughnut beads were found in three graves, two of them dated to the 7th century and one undated (Drinkall and Foreman 1998). Systematic research is likely to show that Doughnut beads are diagnostic for Final Phase graves all over England but absent or rare on the continent and in Scandinavia.

Another bead type that is likely to be diagnostic for Final Phase graves are 'Wound Spiral' beads such as those found in Graves 11 (4a–b), 22 (1, bi) and 33 (xiv–xvii) at Harford Farm. The graves contained short cylinders or barrel-shaped beads wound from pea or apple green or red opaque glass on a relatively thick rod with a round diameter, producing a bead with a relatively large perforation and the trace of a spiral on one or both perforated sides from the winding process. Wound Spiral beads were also made of greenish blue or white glass and sometimes ribbed to create 'melon' beads.

In East Anglia, Wound Spiral beads are known from Grave 157 at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich (Layard 1907; beads at Ipswich Museum) but, as with the Doughnut beads, the type was not found at Morning Thorpe, Bergh Apton, Spong Hill or Westgarth Gardens. At Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, Wound Spiral beads were found in the same grave as the Doughnut beads and in Castledyke, North Lincolnshire a Wound Spiral and a Doughnut bead were also associated. Grave 110 at Buckland with six red, two green, two greenish blue, and two white Wound Spiral beads out of a total of thirteen beads (Evison 1987, fig. 49) is coin-dated to 660–80 AD (Geake 1997, table 2.3) and is part of Buckland Phase 6 (675–700 AD). Wound Spiral beads in Grave 160 are dated to the same phase, beads in Grave 155 to Phase 5 (650–675 AD) and in Grave 127 to Phase 7 (700–750 AD; Evison 1987). Wound Spiral beads are found more often than Doughnut beads and are also likely to be diagnostic for Final Phase graves all over Anglo-Saxon England. Continental Wound Spiral beads are known from only a few graves in Germany (Siegmann forthcoming), one of them Liebenau Grave F17/A3, dated

to the second half of the 7th century (Siegmann 1997, pl. 4, 3 in a bad colour reproduction). In a grave at La Calotterie in the North of France (Premièrs restaurations 34) Wound Spiral beads are associated with flat almond-shaped opaque monochrome glass beads, a type dated to the 7th and early 8th centuries in South-West Germany (see Koch 1982, 23; forthcoming; Sasse and Theune 1996, type 28). It seems likely that the main date range of Wound Spiral beads covers the second half of the 7th and the early 8th centuries.

Graves 22 and 33 not only produced Wound Spiral beads but also monochrome barrel-shaped beads made of a 'cloudy' type of glass that is neither as translucent as the Doughnut beads nor as opaque as the Wound Spiral beads and made with different bead making techniques. Beads 22, 1biii and 33, xii are drawn from light green glass. Similar green beads were found in the coin-dated Final Phase Grave 93 at Boss Hall (Scull forthcoming). Beads 1bii and 2gi from Grave 22 and bead 33,xiii may be wound or drawn and worked over to a degree that hides this process. The cross sections of these beads are not entirely

round but slightly flattened in some places and there are dents in one of their perforated sides indicating that these beads were made with a technique that was not used for any of the bead types discussed above. A green bead that seems to have been made with the same technique was found in Grave 210 at Sarre, Kent, in association with an opaque brownish red Doughnut bead (in Maidstone Museum, accession no. KAS 449).

Amethyst beads

The provenance and distribution of amethyst beads such as the two from Grave 33 (x, xi) are discussed by Huggett (1988, 66 ff.; fig. 2). On the continent amethyst beads were first imported in the last third of the 6th century and again in the mid-7th century (Koch 1987, 346). According to Koch, the early import consisted of almond-shaped beads which are shorter, often darker and of better quality than the later import. It seems likely that most if not all amethyst beads in Anglo-Saxon graves are 7th-century imports (Brugmann in prep.).

6. Discussion and Conclusions

I. Introduction

Profound cultural and ideological changes took place in the course of the 7th century, some of which were reflected in burial practice, evident in cemeteries such as Harford Farm, and its wider social context.

By 700 the East Anglian kingdom and dynasty were firmly established and a reform of the Church had taken place. Although divided into several small and large kingdoms, England was a cultural unity, looking to the continent and the Christian world. However, whilst East Anglia was nominally Christian from the reign of Sigeberht in the 630s, dynastic rivalries in other kingdoms such as Essex and relapses into paganism may have retarded the eventual adoption of Christianity elsewhere until the mid-7th century (Yorke 1990, ch. 3).

Sigeberht's East Anglian royal successors and their families were praised by Bede for their devotion to the Christian faith and for their encouragement of Christian missions, possibly a deliberate attempt to bring East Anglia into the Merovingian sphere of influence, or at least, cultural orbit. Sigeberht having returned from exile in France, was sent a Frankish bishop, and strong links with France were maintained by his royal successors (Campbell 1971; 1973; Ridyard 1988). During the late 7th century, the royal dynasty seems to have been very stable, with several long reigns, including that of Aldwulf (663–713), who was ruling at the period of the Harford Farm burials.

Date and character of the Harford Farm cemetery

The two coins in Grave 18 date it to the period 690–710. The latest securely-dated graves in Final Phase cemeteries are those with coins, and they belong to the late 7th and early 8th century, but the objects in those few graves have been mostly undistinctive types (Hawkes 1973b, 200). At Harford Farm, Grave 18 is especially interesting because it also contained distinctive objects, a filigree pendant, a relic box with the remains of a pin suite and the curious object (No. 8) besides shears, a firesteel, and the remains of a probable box and comb. The layout of the graves may reflect the chronology of the cemetery; and since Grave 18 lies in a middle row then it may be chronologically central to the cemetery if its growth was from end to end (possibly east to west). In this case Graves 1–13 are even later than Grave 18. Most of these were poorly furnished, with just a knife, with the outstanding exception of Grave 11 which contained the composite disc brooch.

At Harford Farm the burials in Areas A and C/D represent one cemetery, each group of graves being associated with a barrow, now ploughed down, in an extensive prehistoric barrow cemetery, with the likelihood that graves have been lost in Area C/D. Although the differences in the provision of burials with coffins or 'mats' could point to some chronological or social difference between the two groups of burials, so that the site could represent two discrete burying-places, the overall similarity of grave-good provision suggests that

this was, in effect, a single cemetery. Despite the differences between burials in Areas A and C/D, there is no reason to think that they are not broadly contemporary. The orderliness of the graves in Area A is consistent with a short period of use (although they may, of course, have been marked in some way), and whilst all the grave-goods belong in the 7th century, a date later in that century seems more appropriate for the more distinctive of them. The 'relic box' in Grave 18, whose burial is already coin-dated to 690–710, may be regarded as a 'type-fossil' of the later 7th century, and this date suits other objects in the grave: the silver pin suite, the *seax*, the purse-mount/firesteel and the shears. Around 625, Kentish jewellery had begun to circulate in aristocratic circles outside Kent (Hawkes 1986), the composite disc brooch found in Grave 11 was probably made towards the middle of the 7th century. The *seax* in Grave 25 and the two silver discs in Grave 28 are also likely to be later 7th century. There were no grave-goods which need be much earlier than the mid-7th century, and the absence of any earlier types serves to reinforce the late dating of the cemetery as a whole.

II. Final Phase burials

The cemetery belongs to a class first recognised as 7th century and Christian by T.C. Lethbridge when excavating the Cambridgeshire cemeteries of Holywell Row and Burwell (Lethbridge 1931, 48).

Their significance was first fully discussed by Leeds who considered their character and used the term 'Final Phase' to denote them, seeing these cemeteries not as Christian and distinct from the cemeteries of the 6th century, but merely as the 'final phase' in the evolution of pagan Anglo-Saxon accompanied burial. Leeds dated them to the first half of the 7th century (1936, ch. 6). The evidence now confirms a date range for Final Phase cemeteries from the early 7th century, in Kent, to the early years of the 8th century, overlapping with the widespread use of coins (from c. 675), finds of which in graves fix the date of the last such burials to the decades around 700 here and in France, but not much beyond (Hawkes 1990, 624; James 1988, 138).

The burials generally had few, if any, grave-goods, but some individuals were laid out in their clothes with dress ornaments and fittings, and other personal equipment such as knives, and objects hanging from the waist. Although poorly equipped burials are common in many 'late' cemeteries, it is the distinctive character of some grave-goods in the few well-equipped burials which allow cemeteries like Harford Farm to be easily recognized as late 7th-century in date. Heavy weapons such as shields and spears are mostly absent, although some late cemeteries (e.g. Homdean, Hants) contained a proportion of weaponed graves. Besides distinctive jewellery, some of the later burials included chatelaines, 'relic boxes' and sometimes a chest or box. Most of these objects are female accompaniments, leaving males less easily distinguished; the simple 'knife burials' are probably more often male (as

in the 6th century), although the existence of cemeteries where knives are the predominant grave-good (e.g. Hordean, Polhill and Ocklyng Hill) makes this less certain.

Since Leeds defined the character of Final Phase cemeteries in 1936, more have been discovered or recognized, and a number of important discussions have refined understanding of these cemeteries, their dating, and their social and ideological context. Various aspects of the 'late' cemeteries have been extensively discussed, by Lethbridge (1931 and 1936), Leeds (1936), Hyslop (1963), Hawkes (1973b, 1982, 1986 and 1990) and Meaney and Hawkes (1970), and their place in burial history has been touched upon by Bullough (1983), Morris (1983), Sims-Williams (1990) and Geake (1992; 1995).

It is probably significant that such burials first took place in Kent but then elsewhere in England through the 7th and early 8th century, when they appear to have ceased, eventually replaced by unaccompanied burial in enclosed cemeteries around churches. There was no overlap: that is, in England there were no accompanied burials in churches, such as those high-status burials seen in France in the 6th and 7th centuries (James 1988, 152–161; 1992), but burials in churchyards were unaccompanied from the beginning (which also means that they cannot be dated).

The similarity of objects in the Burwell (Cambs) cemetery to Kentish material was noticed by Lethbridge, who postulated a change in costume in the 7th century which spread from Kent to other regions, including those like Mercia not yet Christian (Lethbridge 1931, 85). His excavations at Shudy Camps (Cambs) provided confirmation of this apparent change in material culture (Lethbridge 1936), but it was Leeds who drew attention to the Mediterranean sources for this material. Leeds, believing these cemeteries to belong to the early 7th century, argued for continuity between 6th- and 7th-century burial practice (1936, ch. 6).

Hyslop argued that the distinctive character and Christian Mediterranean origins of some 7th-century grave-good types and the frequent absence of many earlier types from the late cemeteries was evidence of a formal change in burial practice, brought about by Christian influence, first in Kent and then in the other kingdoms as they came under Christian influence or were converted (Hyslop 1963, 190–1). In her discussion of the two cemeteries at Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard (Bedfordshire), Hyslop concluded that Cemetery I had been superseded in the mid-7th century by nearby Cemetery II (a Final Phase cemetery) and that these late cemeteries were (*contra* Leeds) a distinct group from the preceding pagan cemeteries and were most likely to be of newly-converted Christians (Hyslop 1963, 190–4). Most importantly, the dating of these burials to the mid 7th century and after, and their Mediterranean grave-good types, have implications for understanding them as evidence of change in ideas and material culture, not necessarily mediated through France, but connected to Byzantine influence which was strong in Italy in the 7th century, and probably mediated to some extent through the Rhineland.

There has been a return to Leeds' original belief that these cemeteries, although with a character different in some degree from 6th-century cemeteries, nevertheless were part of the sequence, and evolved from 6th-century customs (Boddington 1990). Boddington argued that all

the identifying features which supposedly make the Final Phase cemeteries distinct were present in the 6th century, and a number of features occurred *late* in the 7th century, some time after the introduction of Christianity.

Doubts have been thrown on the evidence for any sudden change caused by either Christian or continental influence beyond the adoption of new dress styles. Instead, some argue for an evolution of burial practice right through the 7th century, with a change to churchyard burial in the early 8th century, although this may have been available only to a few at first (Bullough 1983; Boddington 1990).

However, Geake has postulated a further significant change in material culture seen in graves, not only at c. 600 but also in the mid-7th century, when links to Roman and Byzantine material culture were more strongly expressed or reflected in some burials with the appearance of new types of object (Geake 1995).

Burials 11, 18, 22, 28 and 33 at Harford Farm are reflections of of this late change, which was possibly part of a growing interest in the Roman past as a model (Higgitt 1973; Hunter 1974), rather than contemporary France, which was losing some of its mid-6th-century influence (Wood 1992, 237). Part of this change may be connected to a conscious revival of this Roman past, exemplified in the activities of leading churchmen such as Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, who strove to bring Roman ideas and material (books, vestments, relics, liturgy) to England in the period 650–670, as part of an effort to establish Roman culture and orthodoxy (Fletcher 1982). The potentially lavish nature of late 7th-century women's dress is amply evidenced by Aldhelm's description of Anglo-Saxon aristocratic dress, with tunic, headdress and sleeves, red leather shoes and veils hanging down to the feet (cited in Crowfoot and Hawkes 1967, 63–4).

In East Anglia, several 'late' cemeteries, or cemeteries which continued until a late date, are known. Although the best and most distinctively equipped burials may provide the most secure parallels for some of the Harford Farm burials, these are not necessarily the most typical, and poorly furnished or unaccompanied burials may also be of 7th-century date, but cannot be dated, leaving 'datable' burials as 'typical', when in fact they are the most visible.

The closest in material character to the Harford Farm burials are the two cemeteries excavated by Lethbridge at Shudy Camps and Burwell (both in Cambridgeshire) (Lethbridge 1931; 1936). The cemetery at Burwell was probably not fully excavated but produced about 140 graves, of which only a handful were well-furnished, and these with grave-goods of a 'Kentish' character (Lethbridge 1931, 47); the only weapon found was a *seax*. These burials were loosely arranged and widely spread, probably not enclosed.

The cemetery at Shudy Camps contained some 150 graves in two separate groups, each laid out on quite different alignments (Lethbridge 1936, 83). Few of the burials at Shudy Camps were provided with much in the way of grave-goods, but spears, *seaxes*, purse-mount/firesteels, chatelaines, wire rings and beads, much like Burwell, all point to a late date; there were also several pots; twenty-one burials had knives only.

At Thornham, north Norfolk, excavations within a small earthwork enclosure of the 1st century revealed a cemetery of at least twenty-four burials, few with any grave-goods but dated to the 7th century by a

hanging-bowl escutcheon accompanying one burial (County No. 1308; Gregory 1986). These three cemeteries, therefore, seem to be newly established in the later 7th century, presumably by people who were at least nominally Christian and not recent converts.

Other cemeteries reveal the variety within late 7th-century burial practice. Thirty-nine inhumation burials within the large cremation cemetery at Caistor St Edmund, may be 7th century and late in the life of that cemetery. This is too uncertain for much illumination of the subject, although the recent finds of *sceattas* from west of the Roman town and Middle Saxon pottery to the immediate north attest to late 7th/early 8th-century activity nearby. These burials could be of Christian individuals as suggested by Myres and Green (1973, 31) and may represent a re-use of the cemetery.

At Boss Hall, just west of Ipswich, a late 6th-century cemetery on a crest overlooking the river Gipping had a single outstanding accompanied burial (93) which can be dated by a *sceat* to c. 700 (like Harford Farm Grave 18) (Newman 1991). This grave contained a ?knife and a collection of objects in a bag, including a composite disc brooch, four gold pendants, a coin and a silver toilet set very much like that from Harford Farm Grave 11. The disc brooch and the pendants are strikingly dissimilar to the examples from Harford Farm. The 6th-century cemetery was probably marked by a barrow, and maybe long out of use when the elaborate burial was placed here. There is some evidence that an important early church once stood nearby, possibly connected in some way with the Boss Hall burial, although it cannot be dated before the later Saxon period (Newman 1991; Warner 1996, 121–3).

Weapon burial was almost absent; whilst later types of sword or *seax*, shield-bosses and perhaps spearheads occur, many 'late' cemeteries have virtually no weapons, unless knives are included. At Hordean, Hants, amongst thirty-three graves there were five spears and eighteen knives with few other grave-goods (Knocker 1958). It is possible to multiply examples of poorly equipped graves from this area of southern England; at Ocklynge Hill, Sussex, the grave finds were mostly iron knives and a few spearheads, and at Appledown, Sussex, the latest graves in long-lived Cemetery I and the eleven graves in Cemetery II were distinguished by lack of almost any grave-goods except a knife (Down and Welch 1990).

Harford Farm confirms that both well-furnished and poorly furnished burial continued, often side-by-side, until the end of accompanied burial; indeed, late cemeteries are characterised by occasional burials with luxury items and conspicuous display, possibly reflecting developing social hierarchies, although changes in custom rather than status or wealth may account for poorly furnished burial in the 7th century. However, whilst burial with grave-goods in general declined, nonetheless, the practice continued and the character of some of these burials suggests that material culture was significant and a conscious expression of cultural and individual identity in the arranging of an appropriate burial for the deceased.

Individual rank and status

It is unfortunate that there is almost no anatomical evidence of the age and sex of the individuals, and therefore no personal context for the dress-fittings and grave-goods. The women in Graves 11, 18, 22, 28 and 33 can hardly have been other than wealthy, and one might

therefore expect some men of similar rank to be buried here. Except possibly for the *seax* in Grave 25, amongst these graves there is no mark of high male status; indeed, apart from the *seax* and the spearhead, possibly from Grave 43 or 44, no other specifically 'male' object was found, although it is arguable that the 'knife and buckle' burials were mostly male.

Graves 11, 18, 22, 28 and 33 are of women, the objects in these graves being elaborate personal possessions and jewellery. Amongst them, shears and combs may be personal objects or relate to some special function, especially since they were found with the lavishly furnished graves. The majority of burials were unaccompanied or modestly furnished, often with just a knife (and buckle). The age of any individual is uncertain, although Graves 9, 16, 21 and 35 may be of children, to judge from their length.

If several of the burials were high status, the status of the others is unknown, except that the importance of kinship and family makes some close relationship likely in a cemetery of this small size. The grave-goods in Graves 11, 18, 22, 28 and 33 could suggest wealth and thus free status, in which case the absence of weapons, thought sometimes to be a mark of a free man, from all but possibly two graves, is a reminder that legal status need not be directly represented in burials. The provision and range of grave-goods seen in late cemeteries is very varied and must also suggest that they have little formal association with either religious allegiance or any codified legal status.

Grave-goods may be a conscious reflection of cultural and even ideological identity, expressed within funerary practice and treatment of the deceased at the centre of the ritual. Grave-goods may reflect or 'reconstruct' the identity of the deceased and their social allegiances or aspirations (both individual and shared) but also be evidence of the efforts made by the mourners to satisfy their duties to the deceased, although formulated within a cultural and ideological framework. In the case of Sutton Hoo, Carver has stressed that its extreme character was designed to announce ideological messages about the dead and his dynasty (Carver 1989; 1992).

Although the role and significance of the objects placed with the individuals at Harford Farm perhaps had a mundane rather than formal import, a probable Christian allegiance or *milieu* may be reflected in some of these objects. Grave 28 contained two silver discs bearing a cruciform design, and a little gold cross-in-circle pendant. More puzzling in this respect are the silver toilet sets found in Graves 11 and 33, both apparently worn on display on the chest (as was the set from Boss Hall, Ipswich). Potentially the most interesting is the 'relic box' from Grave 18, plausibly a Christian object, and the curious object buried with it, which has no obvious parallels but whose form links it to suspended objects such as hanging bowls and censers, and perhaps to a distant provenance.

Less certain is the reason for the variety of treatment accorded to the dead at this period, when burial had a declining bearing on display and social expression, although status may have determined where and how individuals were buried.

The 'knife and buckle' burials were a distinct burial type in the 6th and 7th centuries, and in some cemeteries more likely to be male than female. Some recent work in Oxfordshire has reached a similar conclusion (Blair 1994, 72–3), and that 'knife and buckle' continued as a burial

accompaniment when weapons and jewellery had been largely dropped may reflect the intimate association of a knife with individual dress and identity. A small cemetery of twenty-four burials at Thornham, north Norfolk, of possible 7th-century date, were either unaccompanied or with few grave-goods other than knife and buckle (Gregory 1986; Meaney 1964, 183).

The apparently contemporary existence of well-equipped Final Phase burials, unaccompanied burials in some of the earliest monastic churchyards, burials such as that of St Cuthbert (Battiscombe 1956), the woman at Boss Hall, Ipswich (Newman 1991), and the lavish burial at intra-mural Winchester (Hawkes 1990), points to a wide range of burial circumstance and appropriate behaviour in the later 7th century, although generally a decline in numbers of accompanied burials and visible wealth is evident.

Burial amongst barrows

The cemetery was laid out within a prehistoric barrow cemetery of at least five large barrows, on a locally prominent bluff (Plate IX; Fig. 3). The association of Anglo-Saxon burials and cemeteries with barrows — sometimes prehistoric and re-used, sometimes specially built — is widespread and particularly strong in the 7th century in certain parts of England (Meaney 1964, 18–19, 90–3); Shephard has noted the existence of both isolated barrow burials, seen mostly in Wiltshire and the Peak District, and of barrow cemeteries, notably in the Thames Valley, Sussex and in Kent (Shephard 1979). In Kent, barrows were often especially built, as at Finglesham, a cemetery of 216 graves with eleven barrow burials (Hogarth 1973).

The apparent upsurge in the construction of barrows in the later 7th century when Christian influence was gaining ground, and their concentration in Kent, may signal some further social change, especially since the character of the burials in primary barrows suggests high status. A cemetery could be effective in marking territory, symbolising its ownership and signalling independence. Barrow burial may reflect or reinforce increasing hierarchy and the desire to mark ownership of land (Bullough 1983, 194; Charles-Edwards 1976, 83–87; Shephard 1979, 77), (although such a desire is not likely to be true of only those areas with barrows). Although this must be speculation, it remains a possible explanation for the existence of some lavish burials, often with barrows, at a late date, and could give extra significance to the cessation of such burials.

The position of the cemetery at Harford Farm, perhaps on the edge of an early land unit/*parochia* suggests its rôle in marking rights over land before other methods became available (John 1960; 1971; Wormald 1985). Harford Farm lies at a possible territorial boundary (the river) near the point where it was crossed by an important route at Har(t)-ford (if it then existed). Bradley (1987, 14–15) has argued that in adopting barrows, 'the past' was being used in an active manner 'to promote or protect the interests of a social élite' an idea which may also be related to the marking of territory. However, construction of monuments and monumental burials may also imply an interest in the future and a desire to establish and signal an enduring presence, either on behalf of an élite group, or for an individual.

More recently, the creation of barrows has been seen as an expression of pagan identity, in opposition to Christian ideas and practice, and perhaps a 'monumental answer to church graves' (Van de Noort 1993). However, this does not wholly explain 6th-century barrows in England and raises problems in kingdoms like Kent and East Anglia where authority seems to have been firmly Christian by the middle of the 7th century, would hardly have allowed such a challenge, and seems never to have acted against it. Perhaps barrows indicate a desire for monumental graves, but stimulated in the 7th century by church burial for an élite, rather than in opposition to it. The distribution of barrows on the continent with their concentration in the Rhineland and their absence in France at this period (Van de Noort 1993, fig. 2) may be evidence of local cultural factors, even of some connection between the two areas.

'Transitional' character of Final Phase cemeteries

Although some burials in Final Phase cemeteries were well-furnished, the high proportion of unfurnished burials has been seen as evidence that they were transitional between accompanied burial and the later, more familiar, Christian practice of unaccompanied burial. Indeed, the very last accompanied burials have been called 'proto-Christian, transitional between pagan burials and burials in formal churchyards or burial enclosures', that is, 'before Christian ideas were fully assimilated' (Hawkes 1982, 48).

However, this definition of Final Phase cemeteries seems to imply a break from older pagan traditions, and the prior existence of a recognised formal Christian procedure in the 7th century which involved churchyard burial, and of Christian insistence upon unaccompanied burial, not yet adopted in England. There is also an implication of stable burial traditions before and after this phase, which are difficult to demonstrate. The now familiar pattern of burial in churchyards was not pre-ordained, either in Christian dogma or through practice elsewhere, and it seems unnecessary to regard Final Phase burials in unenclosed cemeteries in nominally Christian kingdoms as either pagan or, somehow, not fully Christian. There was no formal Christian mode of burial, except the Roman ban on burial within settlements and temples/churches. Indeed, whereas in the Germanic world much care had been lavished on burying the dead and providing them with grave-goods, Christian doctrine had nothing to say on the disposal of the dead, which was a secular matter, of legal and social importance (especially in the Roman world), rather than religious. The dead should be kept separate, in their own places, to be visited by their families at weekends.

It is suggested that burial practice in the expanded Christian world developed through the 7th century and the eventual creation of a formal Christian practice involved changes in society, assimilation of Germanic and Mediterranean cultures, and the eventual impact of an early 7th-century doctrinal change towards the dead and their welfare. This change stemmed from the popular growth of relic cults in the Christian West, persistent popular attitudes towards the dead, and official response to its effects. The implications of some of this have been briefly discussed by Bullough (1983, 177–8).

In any case, in the context of conversion, pagan customs and existing Christian practice may have been

deliberately blurred or accommodated, with the Church choosing to assimilate rather than outlaw old traditions. The idea of opposition between two systems of belief may be misleading, and it is questionable whether accompanied burial in this period is any guide to religious allegiance. The Franks did not cease burying with grave-goods until around 700, although their conversion took place a century earlier than in England (James 1988, 138).

Cemeteries without churches

Harford Farm lay some distance from any known church (although this may not have been true around 700), and as evidence of the transitional but Christian character of the Final Phase cemeteries, attention is sometimes drawn to their siting, set up a little way from an earlier pagan cemetery, henceforth abandoned, but still away from any church or settlement.

Examples of a shift from one site to another seem to be Winnall, Winchester; and Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Beds (Meaney and Hawkes 1970; Hyslop 1963). At Bishops Court, Dorchester (Oxon), just outside the Roman town walls, a pagan cemetery was possibly succeeded in the 7th century by a small group of eight graves, one with a *seax* (May 1977).

However, that one cemetery succeeded another in a deliberate shift of burial place by a single community is difficult to demonstrate and has been questioned by Morris who suggests that the pattern of known 8th-century cemeteries is anyway not related to the later pattern of churches, which were sited with no regard to existing cemeteries (Morris 1983, 54) but may still have controlled burial there (Blair 1994, 73).

Burials within settlements

The Harford Farm burials belong to a time when towns such as Ipswich and *Hamwic* (Saxon Southampton) were already established. At *Hamwic* several places of regular unaccompanied burial were found (Sites 13, 20 and 32) amounting to 150–200 graves, possibly next to wooden churches (Morton 1992); a small cemetery of unaccompanied burials of early 8th-century date with barrows (Site 254) lay towards the edge of the settlement (Garner 1993). At Winchester, where a royal minster was founded in the mid-7th century, a lavish 'unchurched' burial of late 7th/early 8th-century date is known, in a fenced enclosure within the Roman walls (Hawkes 1990); this burial is thought to be contemporary with the start of unaccompanied burial at the minster church (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). Winchester, of course, may not have been truly urban at this date, but some sort of royal enclave, with burials attached to individual settlements within the walls. Similarly, there is some evidence of a 7th-century cemetery with accompanied burials, one at least of 'high status', just beyond the walls of Canterbury (Webster 1982).

These burials belonged to an early phase, before burial took place centrally at a minster church, and reveal that cemeteries even within towns were clearly a feature of the Christian mortuary landscape before unaccompanied churchyard burial became regular.

These examples from *Hamwic*, Winchester and Canterbury are unlikely to be pagan in such contexts, and demonstrate that furnished burial could take place within

major settlements at the very heart of early kingdoms, and are therefore most likely to be Christian.

Thus, in Kent, where Christian influence was perhaps strongest, some 6th-century cemeteries continued into the 7th century (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 46); Buckland, Dover, ran from about 500 to 700 (Evison 1987). At Barton-upon-Humber, Lincs, a small cemetery of 6th/7th-century date was joined by a monastery nearby in the 660s (Nenk *et al.* 1991, 168).

However, no known churchyard developed from a cemetery with furnished burials, and where early churches and cemeteries are together, the burials were unfurnished (Geake 1995), although whether this suggests that accompanied burial still retained some non-Christian character is not known. It should be said, however, that few medieval churches have been excavated to show whether there was an early predecessor.

Almost by definition, early churches of around 700 were 'special' and socially exclusive, that is, they were either minsters or monastic, rather than for the general population, with churchyard burial for their own community or *familia* (as in France: James 1982, 109–111).

Although Final Phase cemeteries did not necessarily continue with the addition of a church, the position of Markshall church (County No. 9795) on its dramatic site (Fig. 79), with possibly early associations (see below) just 600m to the north-east could hint at some connection between cemetery and church.

However, there was no impetus towards placing churches next to existing cemeteries; apart from its involvement in the burial of kings and their circle, 'the early Church showed itself surprisingly indifferent to where Christians were laid to rest' (Bullough 1983, 186), or even whether they were accompanied or not.

There had been a number of occasions when action against accompanied burial could have been taken, but nothing is known of any ban. Therefore, there was not one universal sequence, but local variations in burial practice and use of monuments.

In the north and west, in British areas, as Thomas has shown, several 'undeveloped', unchurched cemeteries also gained a church at about this period. In these areas, the unchurched cemetery was sometimes the primary Christian site, and the church appears to have been secondary (Thomas 1971, 48–90; 1986, 121–125), and unchurched cemeteries are known in the south-west too (Preston-Jones 1992).

The absence of grave-goods, and thus dating material, from some probably late unenclosed cemeteries remains a problem, but also points to the continuity of unenclosed burial (although without grave-goods). A small cemetery at Ulwell, Swanage, Dorset contained at least fifty-seven burials in rows, all west-to-east. All but one were unaccompanied and a knife was the only grave-good; a 7th-century date was suggested by a radiocarbon determination (Cox 1988). The growing recognition of groups of burials, unaccompanied and in unenclosed sites, may also be an aspect of continuity of rural sites, away from settlements, but difficult to detect or date (Morris 1983, ch. 4).

Blair, in his study of Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire and mid-late Saxon unchurched burials, argued that 'archaeologists have failed to recognise graveyards of the 7th to 10th centuries which were not beside churches, but

which were used for Christian burial and which could have been controlled by the minsters' and went on to note that radiocarbon dating evidence for minster graveyards points to burials beginning in the 8th century and after, not in the late 7th century, and postulates church burial as restricted and a privilege (Blair 1994, 72–3). At Caister-on-Sea, two or three 8th/11th-century cemeteries lie outside the wall of the Roman Shore Fort (Darling with Gurney 1993, 46–61), and may be local examples of unchurched cemeteries.

III. The local context

(Fig. 79)

The cemetery at Harford Farm stands on an elevated site overlooking the river Yare, with Markshall and its church a little way to the east, possibly a focus for early and high status activity, although the place-name element *halh* seems to denote a secondary settlement (Ekwall 1960, 315). Green and Metcalf (forthcoming) note a 19th-century find of a gold Anglo-Saxon *solidus* or amulet of mid-7th-century date, found 'at Chapel Hill, in Markshall' (County No. 9795); three sherds of Ipswich-type ware suggest activity nearby at some time in the period 650–850 (Myres and Green 1973, 240).

The prominent position of the church at Markshall commands attention, standing as it does on the spur of high ground between the rivers Yare and Tas, badly placed for easy access, but reminiscent of such sites as Bawsey, west Norfolk, where metalwork of the 8th and 9th century suggests an important early site (Blackburn *et al.* forthcoming). Whilst Harford Farm may have belonged in a large land unit (see below), these hints of Middle Saxon activity in Markshall suggest an important local context for the burials at Harford Farm, within sight of the prominent spur on which Markshall church once stood, and within the same ancient parish. [Chapel Hill, the site of Markshall church and its immediate environs, was destroyed by the cutting for the railway in the mid-19th century.]

There is evidence of important contemporary activity around the Roman walled town of *Venta Icenorum* at Caistor St Edmund across the river Tas. The Roman walled town seems to have been abandoned by the time an Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery (County No. 9791) was established on the hillside outside its walls to the south-east sometime in the 5th century (Myres and Green 1973; Morris 1974), but may have then continued to be some sort of centre, perhaps with a church, into the 8th century, perhaps to be replaced eventually by Norwich in the 8th or 9th century. The Early Saxon cemetery (Site 9791) continued as a mixed cremation/inhumation cemetery until at least the late 6th century and into the 7th century. The last phase of burial here seems to be represented by thirty-nine widely scattered inhumations, mostly unaccompanied and thought therefore to represent Christian burials (Myres and Green 1973, 15). Although the date of the latest burials is uncertain, and need not be late 7th-century, a number of other local finds indicate some important activity continuing around the walled town from the 6th to the 7th and 8th centuries, including a further 6th-century cemetery to the north-east of the Roman walled area (County No. 28200).

About thirty coins of late 7th- to mid-8th-century date have been found outside the Roman town walls (County

Nos 9759, 9813, 9819, 9836 and 20453), mainly in the area west of the town and extending to the west bank of the river Tas. A number of the coins are continental issues and include four Merovingian pieces (two gold, two silver), and an 8th-century Islamic coin from Palestine and a coin of Offa (County No. 9819); in addition, there are *sceattas* from Kent and Essex.

Although the context and significance of these coins (all surface finds) remains obscure, they must represent some sort of economic activity, and, with the existence of Merovingian coins and a possible link across the North Sea to Frisia or the lower Rhineland, some royal involvement is also possible (Green and Metcalf forthcoming).

This conclusion is supported by other discoveries, including a 'Coptic' bronze bowl (County No. 9813): such objects in Anglo-Saxon contexts are usually found in high status graves. Elsewhere, in Dunston Field, immediately west of the town (County No. 9759), three Middle Saxon pins and a strap-end were found. This relative profusion of metal objects is now joined by Ipswich-type ware from just north of the walled area (County No. 9813), although recent work has shown that there is almost no Middle Saxon Ipswich-type ware in Dunston Field (County No. 9759) in contrast to the large number of coins and pottery found to the north of the town (County No. 9813: Bellinger and Sims 1996). Some sort of trading place or exchange is therefore most likely.

Contemporary territory

The burials at Harford Farm and the Early Saxon cemetery at Markshall (County No. 9788) lie in the ancient parish of Markshall, but in the 6th and 7th century may have belonged in a larger land unit with Wymondham at its centre (Fig. 80; Penn 1996, fig. 1). By 700, land was often organized in very large units, much larger than the medieval parish, under some central control or 'lordship'. These units are sometimes described as 'multiple estates' or 'federal manors', often large units with a focal settlement, usually of high status, although Bassett (1989, 20) cautions against the economic implications of these terms. Some of these estates can be recognised in the late 7th century, but by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period had broken up into the small estates which became the parishes of medieval England (Aston 1958; Barrow 1973, ch 1; Bassett 1989; Blair 1988; Jones 1979; Everitt 1986). 'Extensive lordship' over land and the stratified society it implies is also attested by the laws of Kent (c. 600) and the somewhat later laws of Wessex (c. 680) (EHD I, 364–72). Secular lordship went hand-in-hand with the development of ecclesiastical provision, the early estate being often coterminous with a single minster *parochia*, probably by the early 8th century.

The parish of Wymondham stands out for its size — the largest 'upland' parish in Norfolk — and for some hints that it represents a relic minster *parochia* centred on Wymondham. To the north the parish boundary follows the river Yare and to the south rests on a very long cross-country boundary which runs north-westwards from the river Tas and defines a major watershed. Nowhere more than a minor lane, this boundary was used to define several of the pre-conquest hundreds and the deaneries of Hingham and Rockland, and is clearly of early date since a number of parish boundaries run off it but none crosses it. On the east, Wymondham parish boundary was created

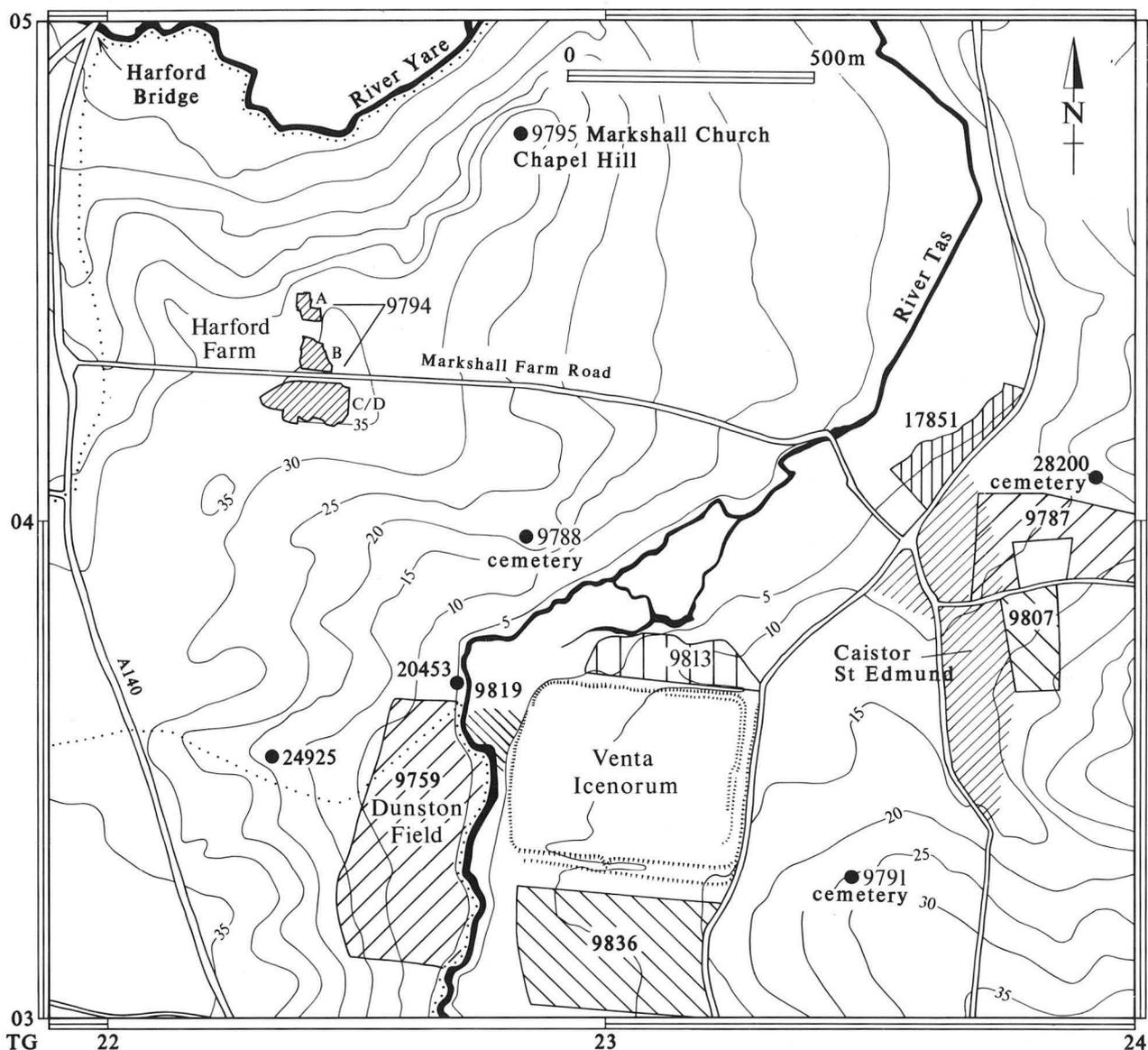


Figure 79 Location map: the area around Harford Farm and the Roman town at Caistor St Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*), showing sites mentioned in the text. Scale 1:14,000

by the irregular boundaries of adjoining parishes, suggesting the piecemeal carving-out of smaller estates, some with areas of shared common.

If the cross-country boundary and the river Yare represent parts of a *parochia* boundary, then the remainder of this boundary is most comfortably and naturally achieved by the rivers Yare and Tas to the north and east, which enclose parishes with interlocking boundaries and other hints of 'late' independence. In the west, small streams and a short overland stretch bring the line back to the main cross-country boundary and enclose a group of large parishes, including Hingham and Deopham. It is possible that the west side of this putative *parochia* lay along the western parish boundary and excluded this area, but this is not greatly relevant to the position of Harford Farm, which lies on the north-eastern boundary of the putative territory.

Some confirmation of the priority of Wymondham over the other parishes may be seen in the place-name (Wigmund's-ham), the only -ham name, except possibly

for Deopham (?deep meadow, *hamm*). The five or six -ingham names in this area may represent an early division of the territory into subsidiary parts, including Ketteringham, which again divided into minor 'estates' bearing -tun names, farm names and wood names, including Intwood, Keswick and Markshall (Maerec's *halh*: Ekwall 1960, 315). Some hint of the important pre-conquest status of a church at Wymondham may be indicated by the establishment of a Benedictine abbey here in the early 12th century, possibly an example of the Norman predilection for converting well-endowed collegiate secular churches into family priories (Cox 1906, 336-7; Golding 1982); the existence of parish and abbey church in the same building supports this idea.

The burials at Harford Farm lie in the former parish of Markshall, but may thus have belonged in a larger land unit, possibly one with a centre at Ketteringham or even the postulated large territory centred at Wymondham.

If Caistor St Edmund remained a centre of activity into the 8th century, as the evidence suggests, then it is likely

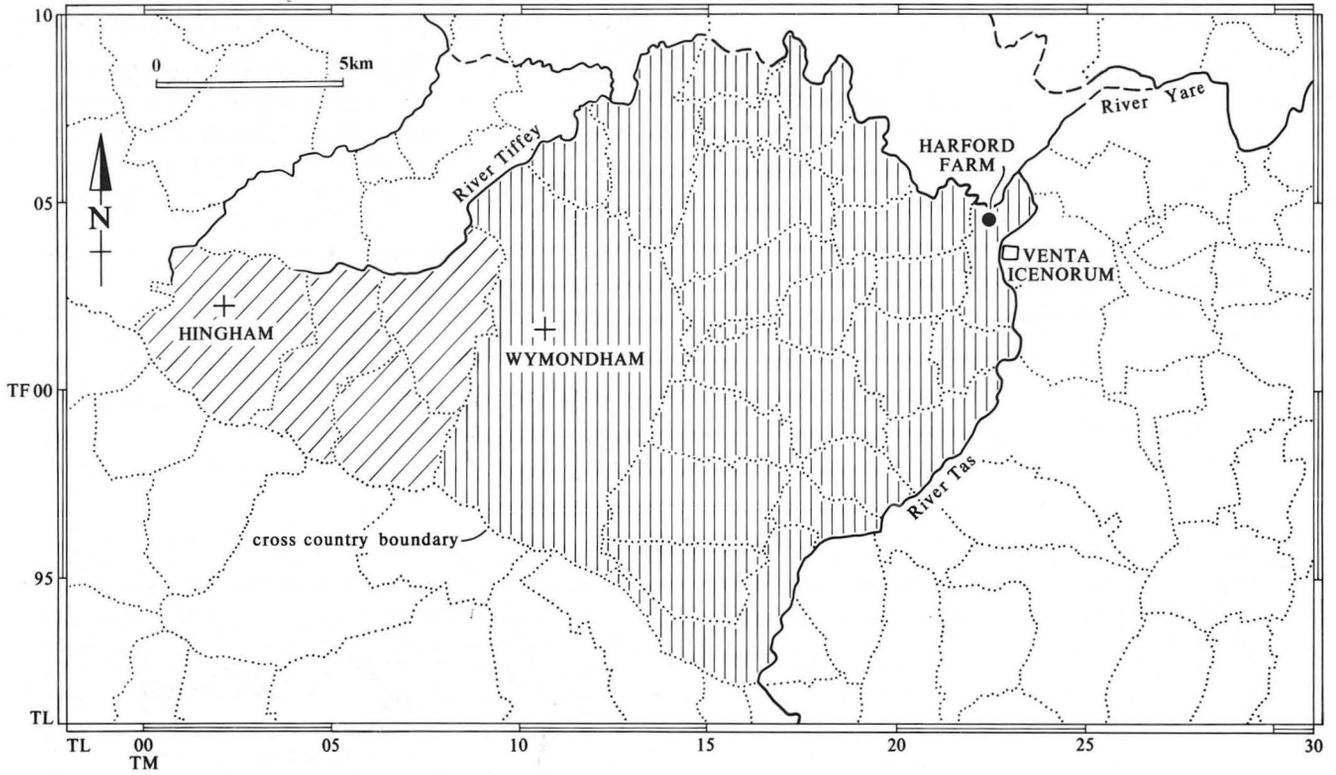


Figure 80 Wymondham and its suggested *parochia*. Scale 1:200,000

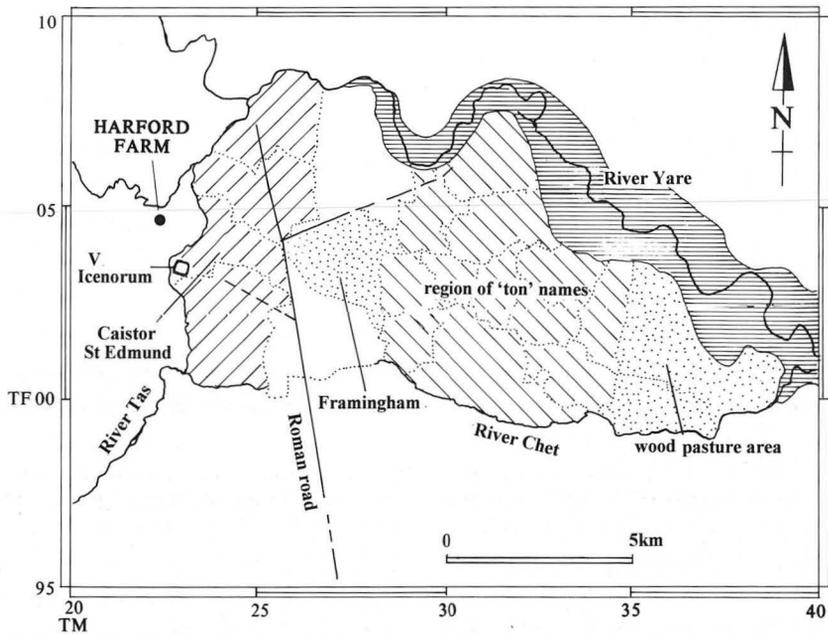


Figure 81 Caistor St Edmund and its suggested early land unit, showing areas mentioned in the text. Scale 1:200,000

to have become an ecclesiastical centre too, and to have received a church relatively early. The medieval parish church within the Roman walls, in the south-east corner, prompts the comparison with early churches in Roman enclosures (e.g. Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex, and ?Burgh Castle/Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk) and the likelihood that some ecclesiastical presence existed within the walled area, a possibility also touched upon by Biddle (1976, 67).

There is also topographical and place-name evidence that the river Tas formed the western boundary of another 'estate' which ran eastwards to Hardley and was bounded by the river Yare to the north and river Chet to the south; at its western end lay Caistor St Edmund, a likely early centre for this putative 'estate' (Fig. 81). The south boundary was defined by a small tributary to the river Tas, a short overland stretch following a narrow lane (Dove Lane), and then the Well Beck flowing eastwards into the river Chet, and then to its confluence with the river Yare. This area is some 16km long, but seems to have been divided into four parts by river-to-river boundaries, each part having a distinct character, hinted at by place-names.

At the west lay the Roman walls at Caistor St Edmund, the focus for activity since the 5th century, whose place-name (Caistor) would fit with an early recognition and re-use of the walled area. The other places in this western area bear mostly secondary or subsidiary names.

To the immediate east is an area which shared a high common with Caistor St Edmund; this area contains Framingham (*ham* of the *Framingas*: Ekwall 1960, 186), Whitlingham (possibly an *-ingaham* name), and two later, Scandinavian names, Kirby and Poringland. It is tempting to identify the *Framingas* as an important early group within this area, or even for the whole 'estate', since omitting the probably later place-names leaves Framingham the sole place-name for this area.

The third area is defined by its remarkable array of nine *-tun* place-names, which, whatever their date, suggests some early unity, and maybe shared tributary status; later and minor place-names are Washingford, Ashby and Rockland, both Scandinavian names, and Surlingham (the ham of the (south) *herelingas*: Ekwall 1960, 453).

The remaining and most easterly unit has three wood-names, Langley, Hardley and Chedgrave, perhaps indicating an area of early wood pasture.

The whole area could then be summarised as:

1. Caistor: ?central place
2. Framingas: 'tribal' or group name (and later vills)
3. Herelingas: group name (and tributary vills)
4. Wood pasture

Although the reconstruction of land units based on Wymondham and Caistor St Edmund is speculative to some extent, the likelihood of early importance attaching to those places enhances the significance of Harford Farm, the individuals buried there belonging in some way to one of these places.

IV. Harford Farm and the end of accompanied burial

The unenclosed cemetery at Harford Farm was separate from any known early church site, but the existence, even profusion, of minsters and family monasteries by c. 700 in England and France (James 1982, 109–11; Wormald

1985) draws a consideration of church provision into the discussion of Harford Farm.

If the Church exercised any influence on burial practice, it would have been to enjoin the Roman laws which kept church and burial apart, as late as the 6th and 7th centuries (Brühl 1988, 43–46). In Rome itself pagans and Christians used the same extra-mural cemeteries, which might sport *mausolea* and *cella memoriae*, whilst the church was inside the walls of the town (Krautheimer 1985a, 13–4).

In the early 8th century, perhaps a little earlier, a remarkable change allowed burial near a church. In England and France, an apparent shift away from isolated unenclosed cemeteries to churchyard burial within a settlement took place at the same period, and the absence of coin-dated graves beyond c. 710–720 in England suggests a fairly general finish date. The later Canterbury tradition that this change was prompted by Archbishop Cuthbert (740–760) does at least suggest that this change was important and deliberate enough to be noticed (and that no other explanation was known). There seems also to have been a mid-8th-century change in the burial of important churchmen (who were now buried on the central axis of a church), begun in Canterbury and possibly initiated by Archbishop Cuthbert (Biddle 1986, 13), and this development may have been instrumental in allowing church burial for other ecclesiastics and lay people.

That this shift toward burial near a church took place in both England and France at the same period suggests some common ideological change affecting burial. Bullough (1983) has drawn attention to developments in Church doctrine in the time of Pope Gregory I (590–604), in particular the concept of Purgatory, and its implications — the rest of the soul after death in an 'intermediate place' and a 'greater concern with the physical location of the pre-Resurrection body'. The doctrine of Purgatory, articulated by Gregory in his *Dialogues* (593–4), was originally a response to popular belief and had much appeal (Atwell 1987). Whereas the significance of the sacraments may have been obscure to most people, the attraction of salvation for self and kin (and perhaps the ancestral kin) through repentance, continuing prayers and masses must have been large (see Roberts 1913, 192; Vogt 1980). Burial near a church, a physical 'intermediate place' for the rest of the soul after death, was an obvious corollary, and with cash payments for soul-scot and masses, one which also had a certain appeal to holders of a church.

From the reverence for 'the special dead', and of the tombs of martyrs, regarded as still present, popular need had encouraged the creation and trade in relics. Saints were foci for shrines and churches, and could act as intercessors between the living and the dead, especially since by this time relics could be installed in churches. This further broke down the barriers between the living and the dead (Harries 1992; Krautheimer 1985b, 79–81).

Such matters may seem peripheral, but their importance as part of Catholic doctrine is asserted by Bede (strongly influenced by Pope Gregory I), who devotes a long story to it (Drycthelm's vision): 'but many are helped by the prayers, alms and fasting of the living, and especially by the offering of Masses, and are therefore set free before the Day of Judgement' (Bede HE V, 12).

Although articulated by Gregory I in the 590s, the doctrine was not imposed until the later 7th century in

England and France, when its adoption or imposition may have had much to do with Archbishop Theodore's reforms in the 670s and the aggressive assertion of Roman authority from the later 7th century, especially under Pope Gregory II, an active proponent of attention to the Roman liturgy and doctrine during his papacy (715–731), in which time the English coin-dated burials cease. (In adopting his name, Gregory II signalled his intention of imposing his namesake's doctrines).

In the matter of attention to ritual, Pope Agatho (678–681) sent a representative to Jarrow to check the orthodoxy of the church there (Bede HE IV, 18) and Pope Gregory himself insisted on proper ritual in the nearby Christian territories (Collins 1991, 241–2).

Burial at proprietary churches

A further connected strand is the aristocratic and proprietorial character of the Church (Wormald 1978), which determined the provision of churches (*eigenkirchen*), and their character as landholding institutions (Stutz 1961), ensuring that burial and landholding remained related. A concomitant of the spread of Christianity was a new (Roman) way of holding and alienating land, by charter (from the later 7th century), which was significant in relation to church foundation (John 1960, ch.1; 1971; Wormald 1985); once land could be held in perpetuity by churches then this privilege was soon extended to or grasped by landowners in the guise of church founders, as remarked by Bede (EHD I, 741). The consequent incentive to reinforce burial, or at least payment of soul-scot at a church may therefore have been a great centralising force in burial patterns.

It seems likely that a minster or monastery *familia* would establish its own burial place, as kings did with family churches, and thus the proprietorial and exclusive principle inevitably led to the creation of an enclosed burial space, next to the church. The action of Archbishop Theodore at Hertford (672) in encouraging the 'private' monastery (Bede HE III, 26; IV, 5; EHD I, 740) therefore encouraged the conjunction of church and burial place, and established them eventually as a new but regular feature of the Christian mortuary landscape. It is worth noting that this was also true in France where, although many monasteries were founded by aristocrats in the 6th century, increasingly in the 7th and 8th centuries, churches were founded as family *mausolea*, in order to offer prayers for the founder, and were rural not urban and independent of episcopal control (James 1982, 109–111).

Possible East Anglian examples are found at Brandon, where a church and its attendant cemetery lie within a contemporary settlement (Carr *et al.* 1988), and within the walls of the Shore Fort at Burgh Castle where the cemetery was probably accompanied by a church (Johnson 1983).

At first, the creation of a 'private' monastery or church with their churchyards possibly led to the exclusion of many burials and the continuation of older burial sites, perhaps for those who preferred not to be admitted to a newly-founded churchyard, owned by some other group or person (Morris 1983, 54).

If the proprietorial principle was significant in the eventual conjunction of church and burial place, then possibly the economic benefits of owning a church and receiving the soul-scot of its parishioners (as enjoined in the early laws) reinforced the pattern. The establishment and enforcing of a legal duty to pay soul-scot and other

taxes to the church might be a real reason to extend burial rights (and a burial duty) to as many as possible, and to make sure that this was observed, although it has been argued that 'the early coherence of the *parochiae* did not preclude dispersed cult sites within them. It mattered little that rural Christians were baptised at outlying wells, or buried where their ancestors were buried: all were parishioners of the mother church' (Blair 1988, 55). Thus unenclosed cemeteries of unaccompanied (and undated) burials continued as part of the Christian mortuary landscape.

The cessation of accompanied burial is striking, and may signify that accompanied burial was seen as inappropriate or ineffective, being replaced by church burial, prayers and the payment of soul-scot for the welfare of the deceased.

V. Conclusions

The discovery of the cemetery at Harford Farm was a fortunate chance, the result of the planned excavation of prehistoric ring-ditches in advance of roadworks. Without this work, these burials would almost certainly have escaped detection. It is also certain that similar cemeteries, with more unaccompanied burials, or slighter grave-goods, are more difficult to detect in fieldwork or building operations than 6th-century cemeteries producing easily-detected bronze brooches, iron spears and shields, and are thus under-represented in the archaeological record.

The cemetery seems to be unremarkable in its complement of forty-seven males, females and children. However, they belong to a time when the East Angles, or at least their leaders, had been Christian for over fifty years, and like the rest of England had come to adopt a material culture from the Mediterranean and Christian world, seen in several of the burials at Harford Farm, but not seen in the Roman or Byzantine world because there the dead were not buried with grave-goods, which may have come *via* France or directly from its source from the mid-7th century (Hyslop 1963, 192–3), especially with the decline in Frankish influence from that time. The adoption of this material culture possibly reinforced and advertised social and ideological changes, including the deliberate revival of *Romanitas* and a Christian ideological and cultural imperium in England (Higgitt 1973; Wormald 1983).

If cultural identity or social and ideological factors were reflected in burial practice, then the material character of 'late' cemeteries, contrasted with 6th-century burials and churchyard burials of the 8th century onwards, reveals the widespread adoption of continental accoutrements, customs of dress and, occasionally, the display or statement of this fact. This may have been done to signal identity or to reconstruct it for the grave so that the deceased retained some individual identity or presence.

Discussions of these cemeteries have involved their significance in the process of conversion, and an antithesis between pagan and Christian customs and behaviour. That some of these cemeteries were an expression of religious identity, perhaps in opposition to Christian culture (Carver 1989, 152), or that they were consciously Christian, somehow distinct from pagan burials (Boddington 1990; Geake 1992) may assume an unreal distinction between

burial customs. Because the 7th century saw many changes following the adoption of Christian and continental ideas, some discussions of late cemeteries have assumed an aggressive assertion of religious allegiance, whereas the Church itself seems to have made no such distinction or to have regarded burial practice as largely outside the religious arena.

The adoption of Christianity may also have been regarded as the addition of a more effective religion, rather than the outlawing of older beliefs, thus allowing the continuation of the old ways of burial, seen in final form at Harford Farm. Conceptions of Christian burial had moved away from Roman practice and was being redefined by popular feeling and the circumstances of the conversion.

Although cemeteries of unaccompanied burials continued (and a few in western Britain were even joined by a church), accompanied Final Phase cemeteries did not develop into churchyards but were eventually replaced by them.

Eventually, popular belief, the concept of relics, doctrinal changes, private churches and cemeteries, and the enforced payment of soul-scot implied in Ine's Laws

(ch. 4), came together to make the environs of a church the desired and natural resting-place for the dead, a development which would have been unthinkable in the classical Roman world. A possible result of this seems to have been the cessation of accompanied burial, now possibly superseded by church ritual even for those in unchurched cemeteries.

Given the large number of 6th-century cemeteries known, including one in Markshall parish, and the large population this must imply, the burials at Harford Farm must represent a small proportion of Markshall's population in the 7th century.

The burials at Harford Farm therefore probably represent part of the normal Christian mortuary landscape before churchyard burial became more widely adopted in the 8th century, and they lie at the end of a long tradition in which worship and burial were separated, both in the Roman and the Germanic world, just before it changed to a remarkable but now familiar pattern of unaccompanied burial within a churchyard, where the living could discharge their duty to the souls of the departed with prayers and processions.

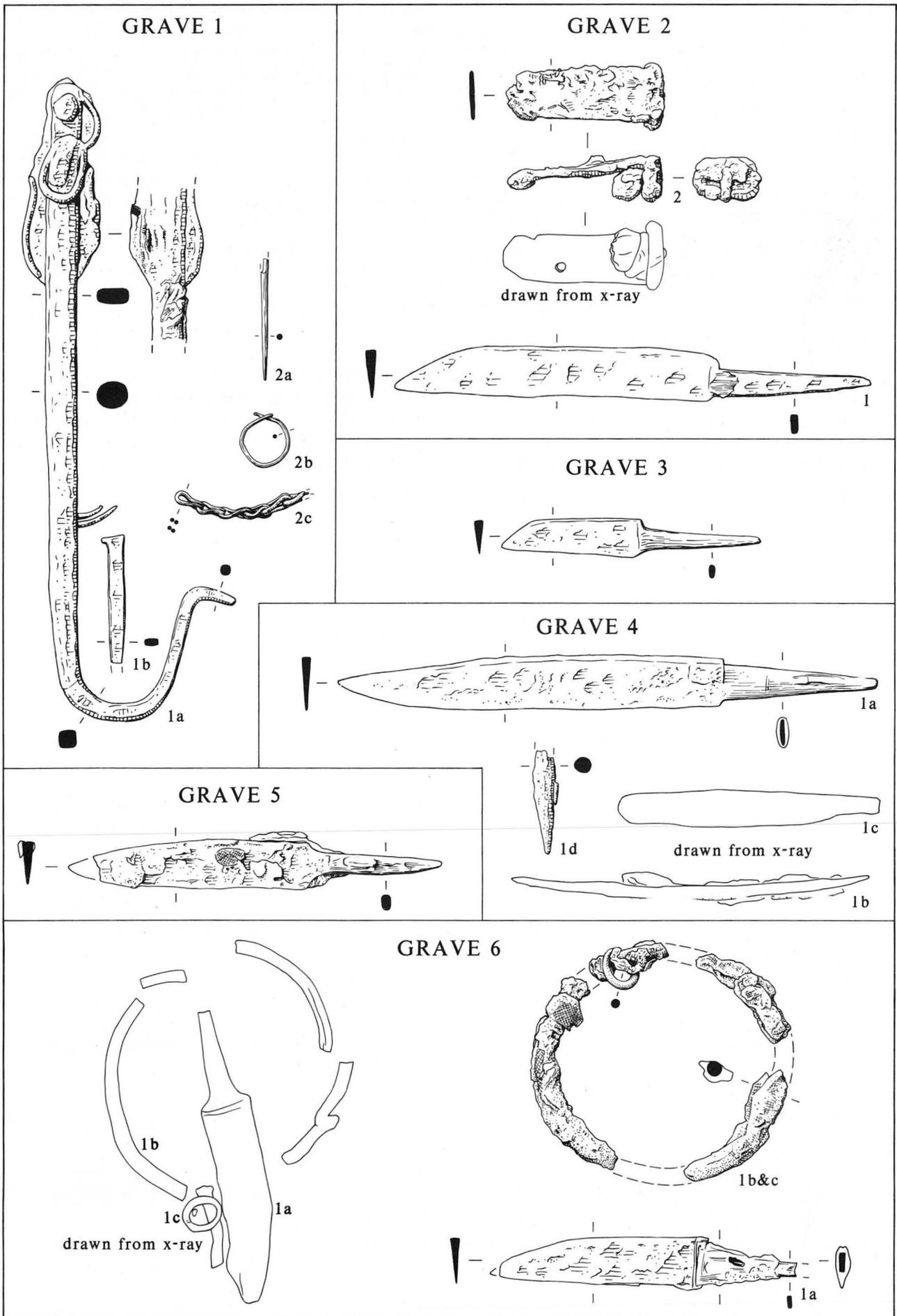
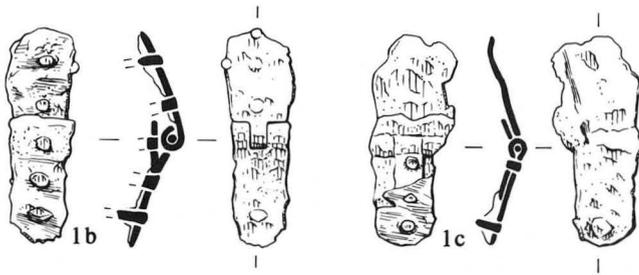
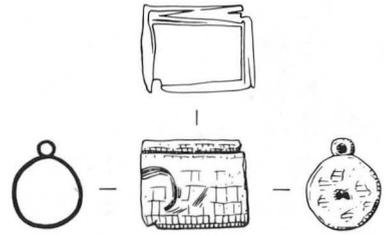


Figure 82 Grave-goods from Graves 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Scales; Grave 1 (2a, b, c) 1:1; other objects at 1:2

GRAVE 7



drawn from x-ray



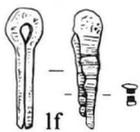
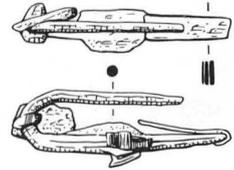
1a



1d



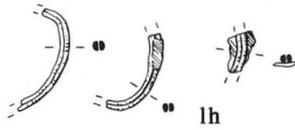
1e



1f



1g

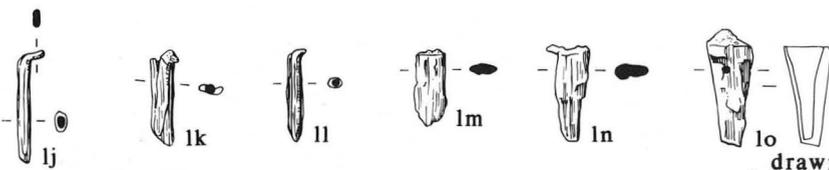


1h



1i

drawn from x-ray



1j

1k

1l

1m

1n

1o

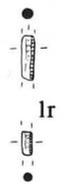
drawn from x-ray



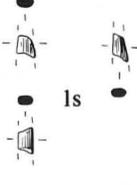
1p



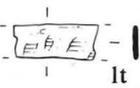
1q



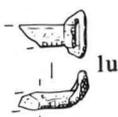
1r



1s



1t



1u



2b



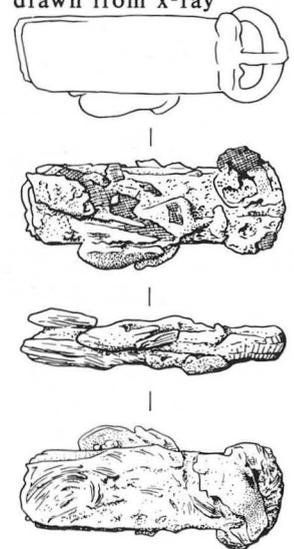
2c



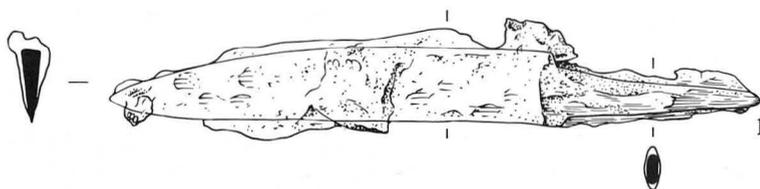
2e

GRAVE 8

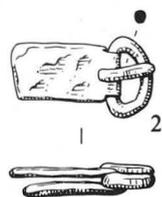
drawn from x-ray



GRAVE 10



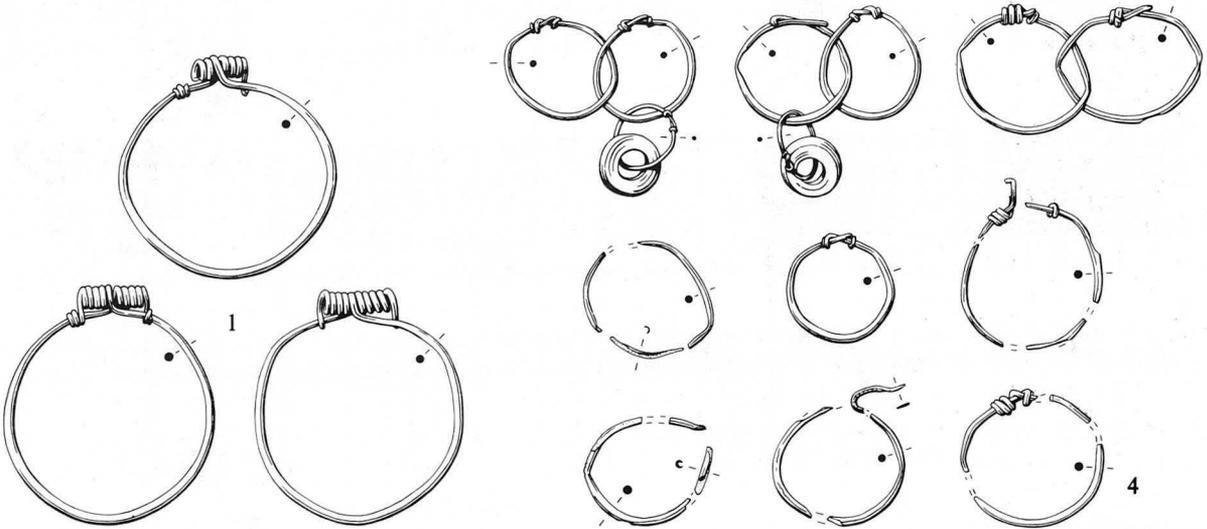
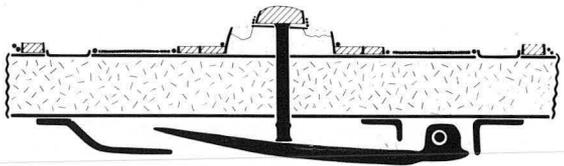
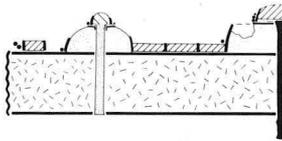
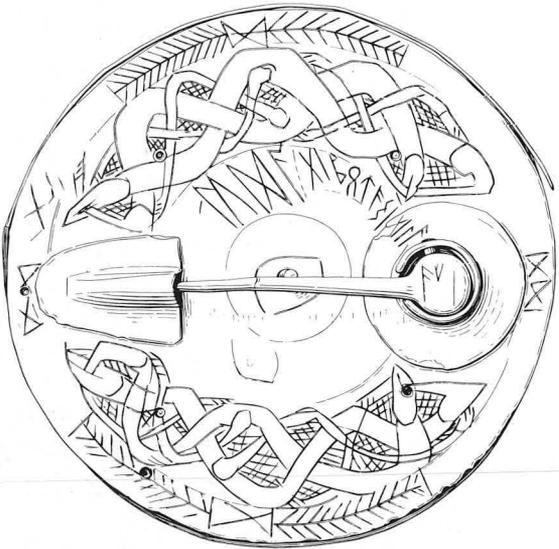
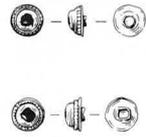
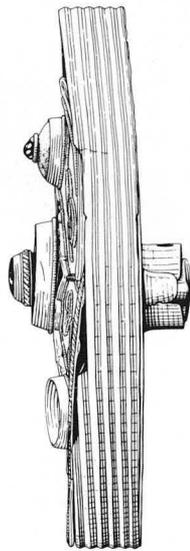
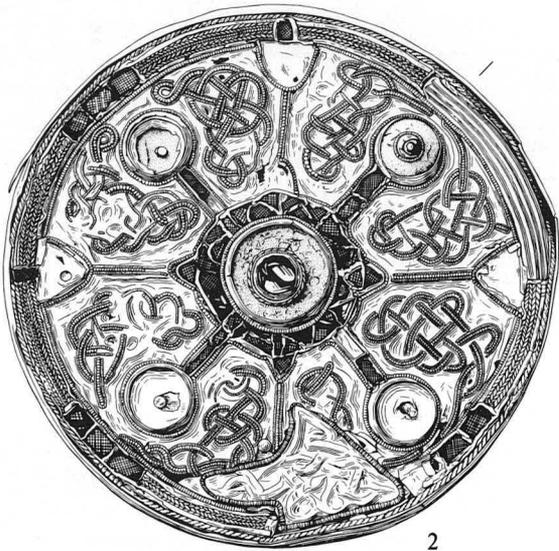
1



2

Figure 83 Grave-goods from Graves 7, 8 and 10. Scale 1:2

GRAVE 11



continued

Figure 84 Grave-goods from Grave 11 (part). Scale 1:1

GRAVE 11 continued

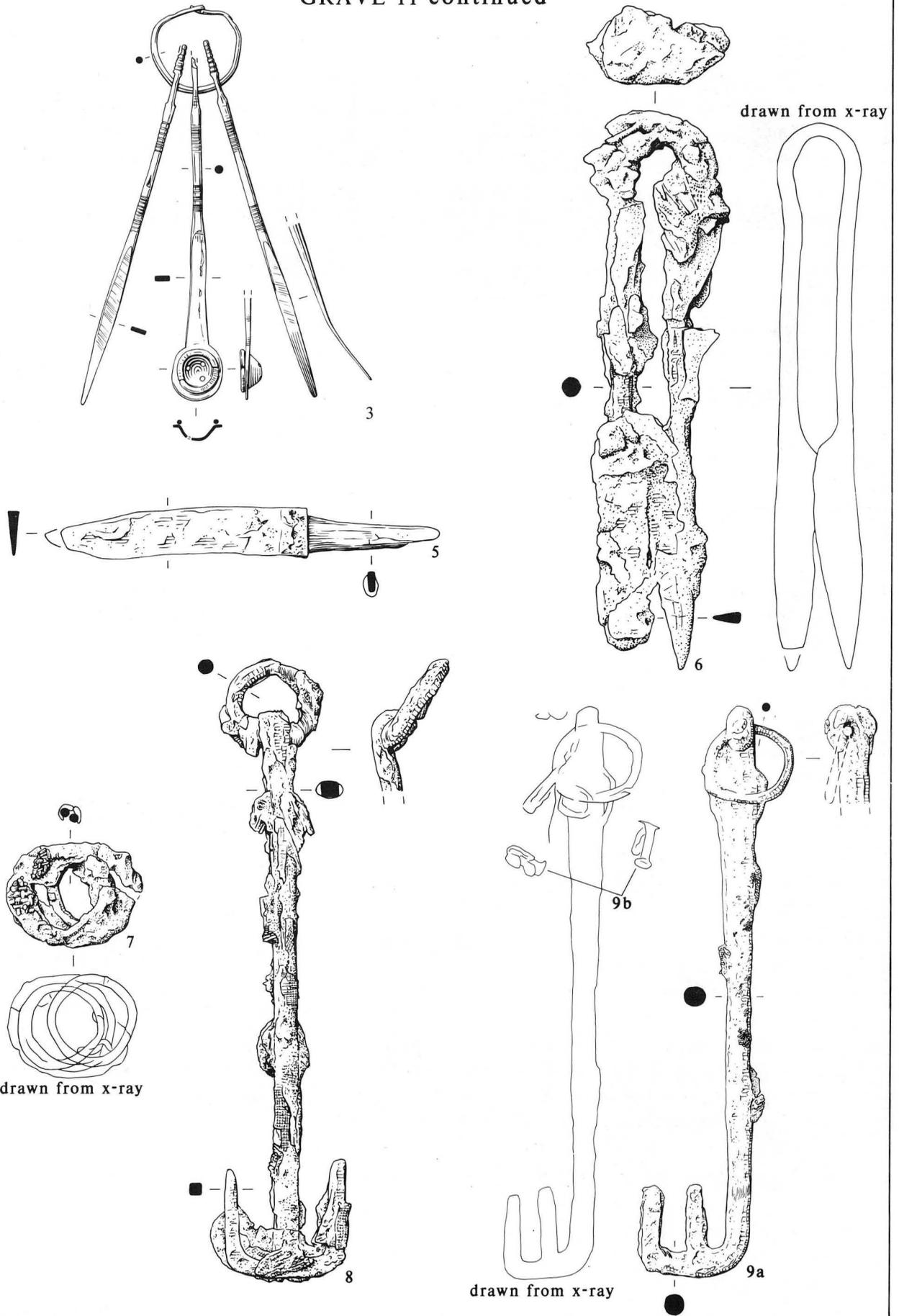


Figure 85 Grave-goods from Grave 11 (part). Scales; 11 (3) 1:1; other objects at 1:2

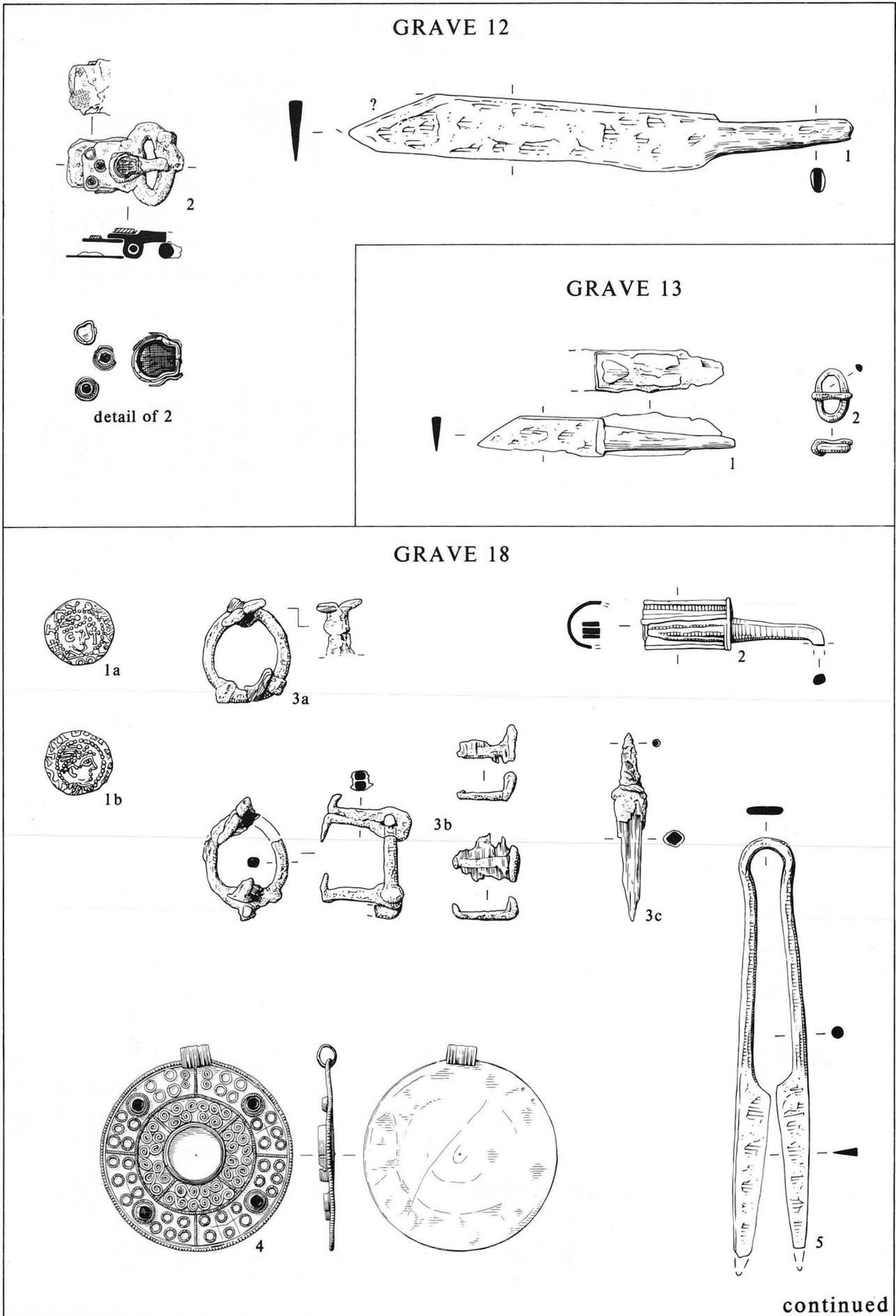


Figure 86 Grave-goods from Graves 12, 13 and 18 (part). Scales; 18 (1a, b, 4) at 1:1; other objects at 1:2

GRAVE 18 continued

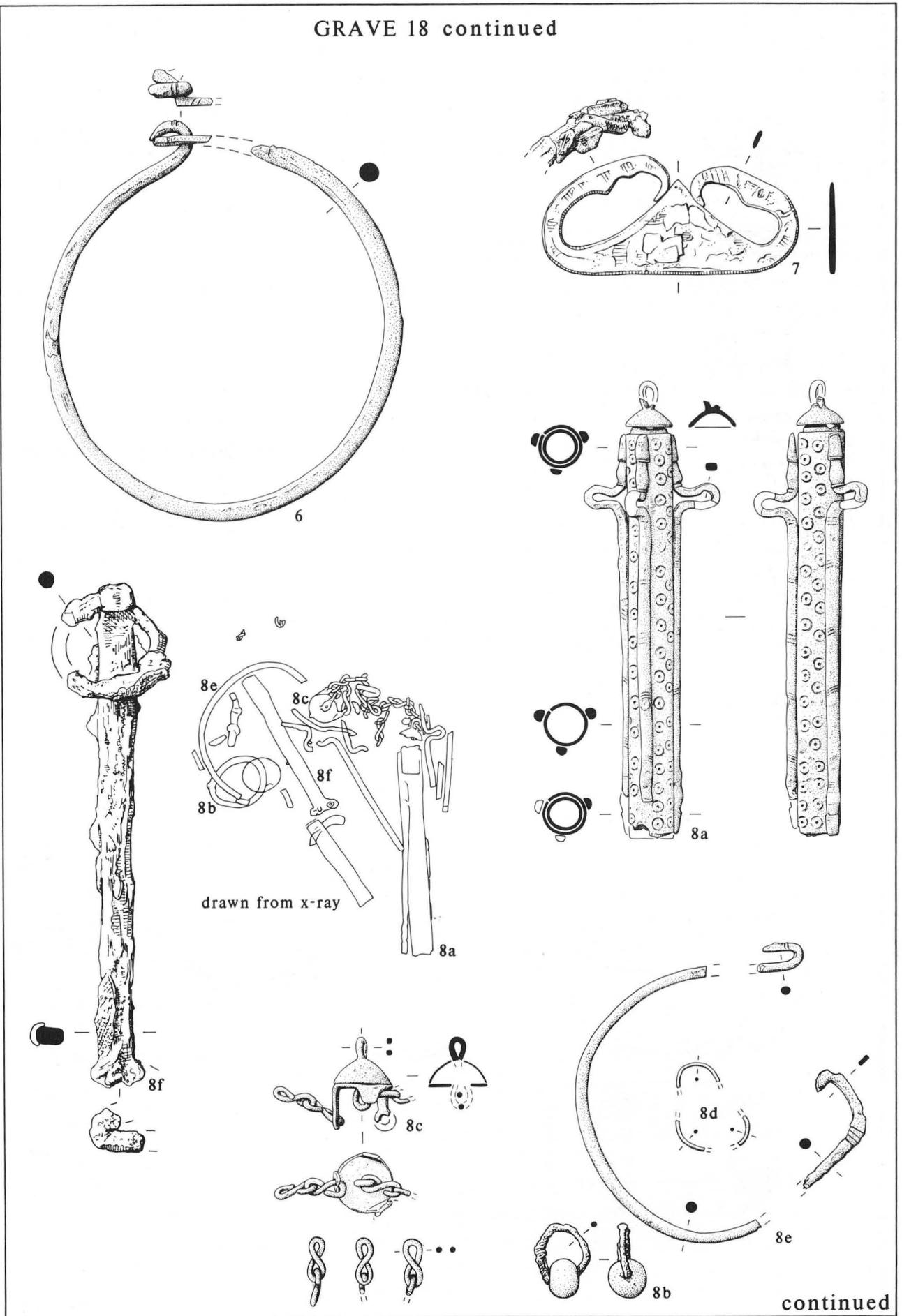


Figure 87 Grave-goods from Grave 18 (part). Scales; 18 (7) 1:2; other objects at 1:1

GRAVE 18 continued

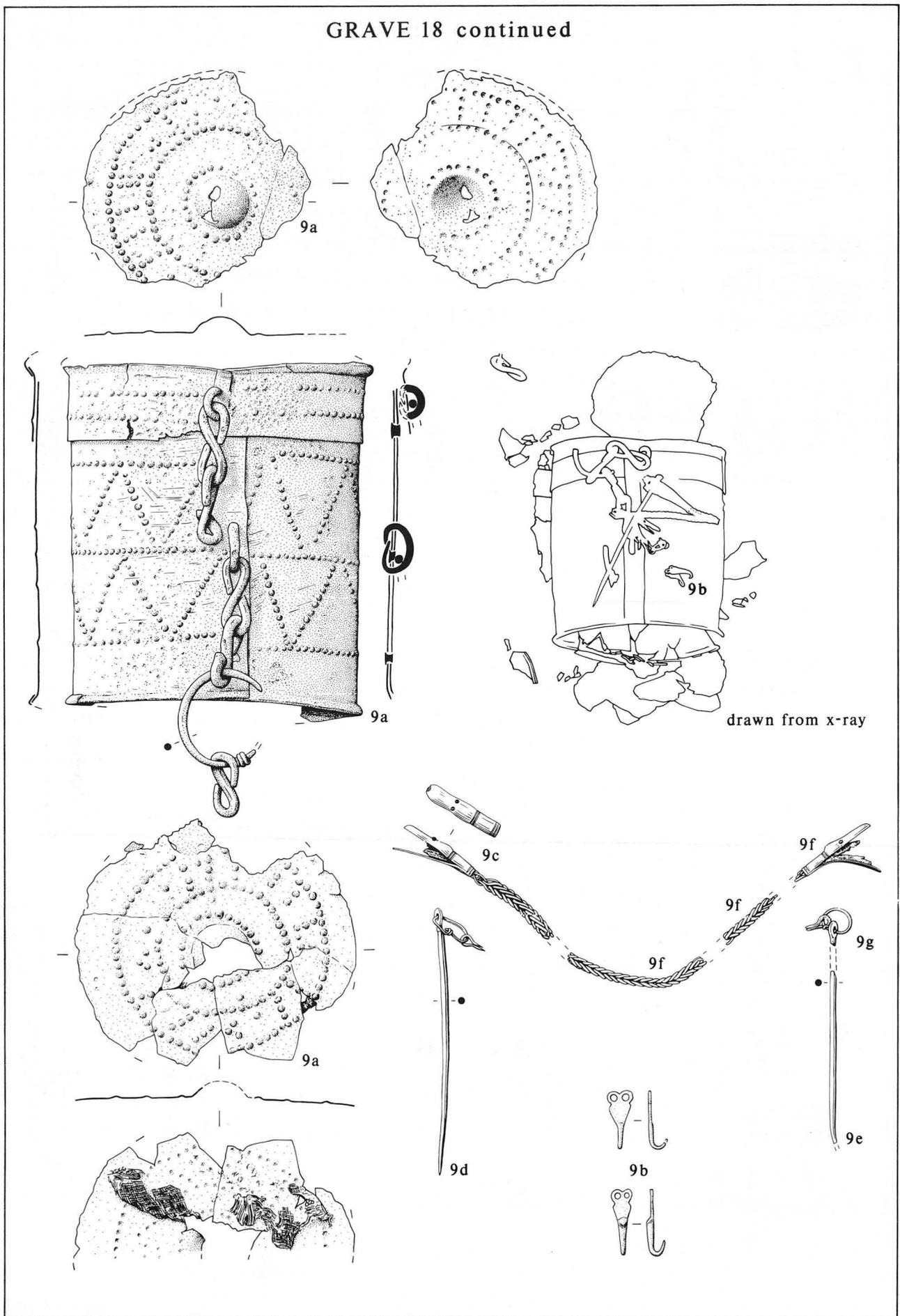


Figure 88 Grave-goods from Grave 18 (continued). Scale 1:1 (X-ray drawing at 1:2)

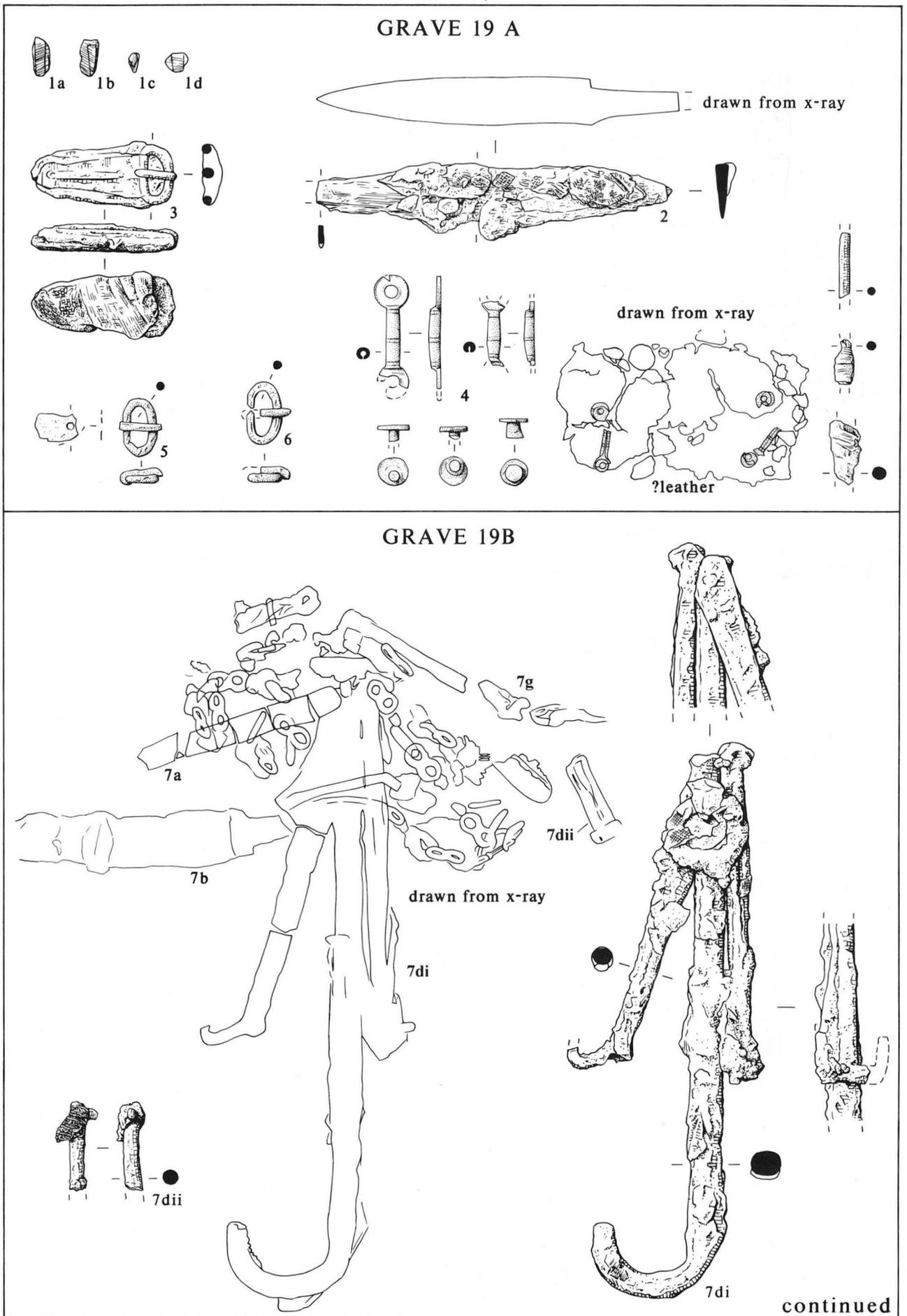


Figure 89 Grave-goods from Grave 19 (part). Scales; 19A (4) 1:1; other objects at 1:2

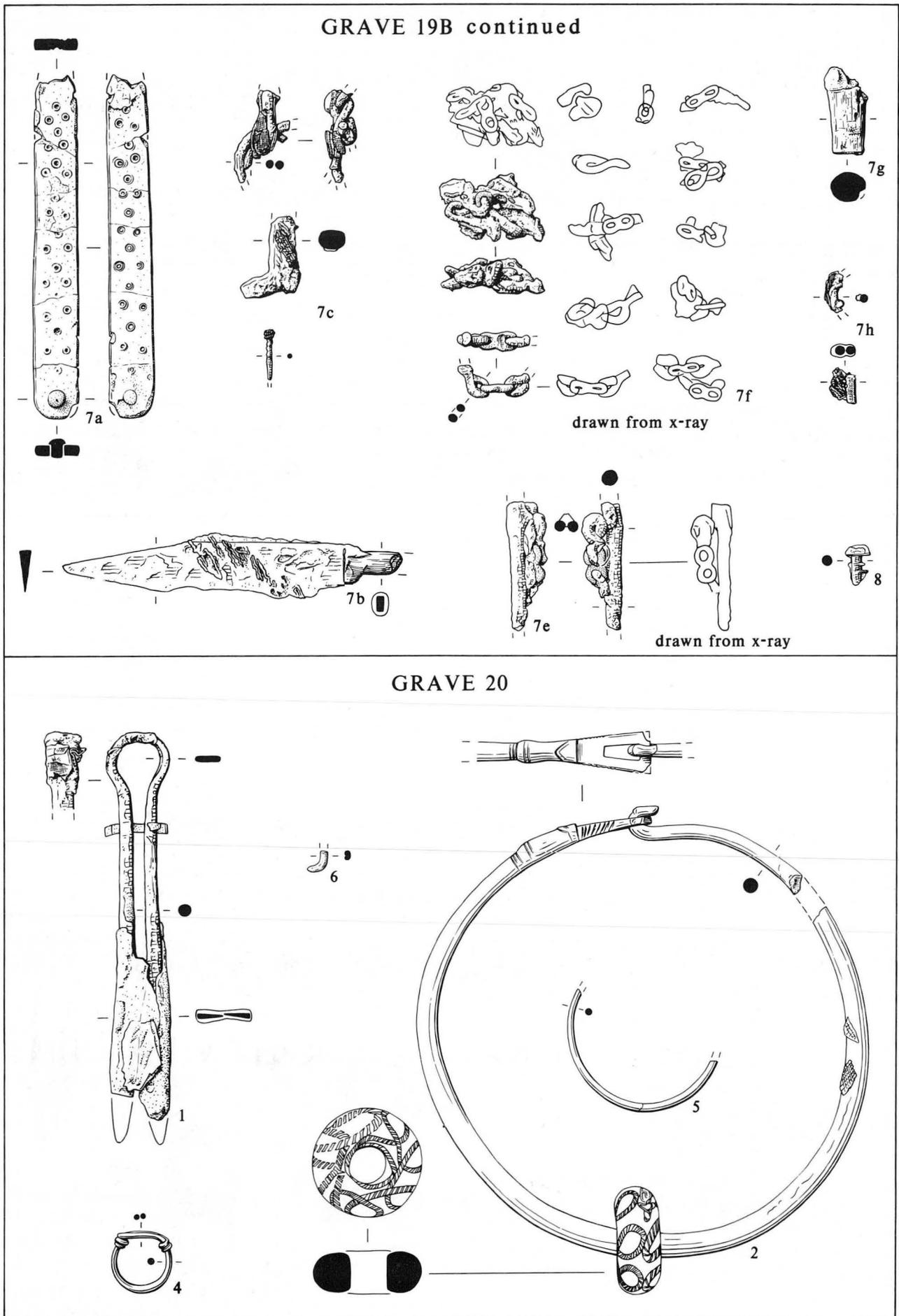


Figure 90 Grave-goods from Grave 19B (continued) and 20. Scales; 19B (7b), 20 (1) at 1:2; other objects at 1:1

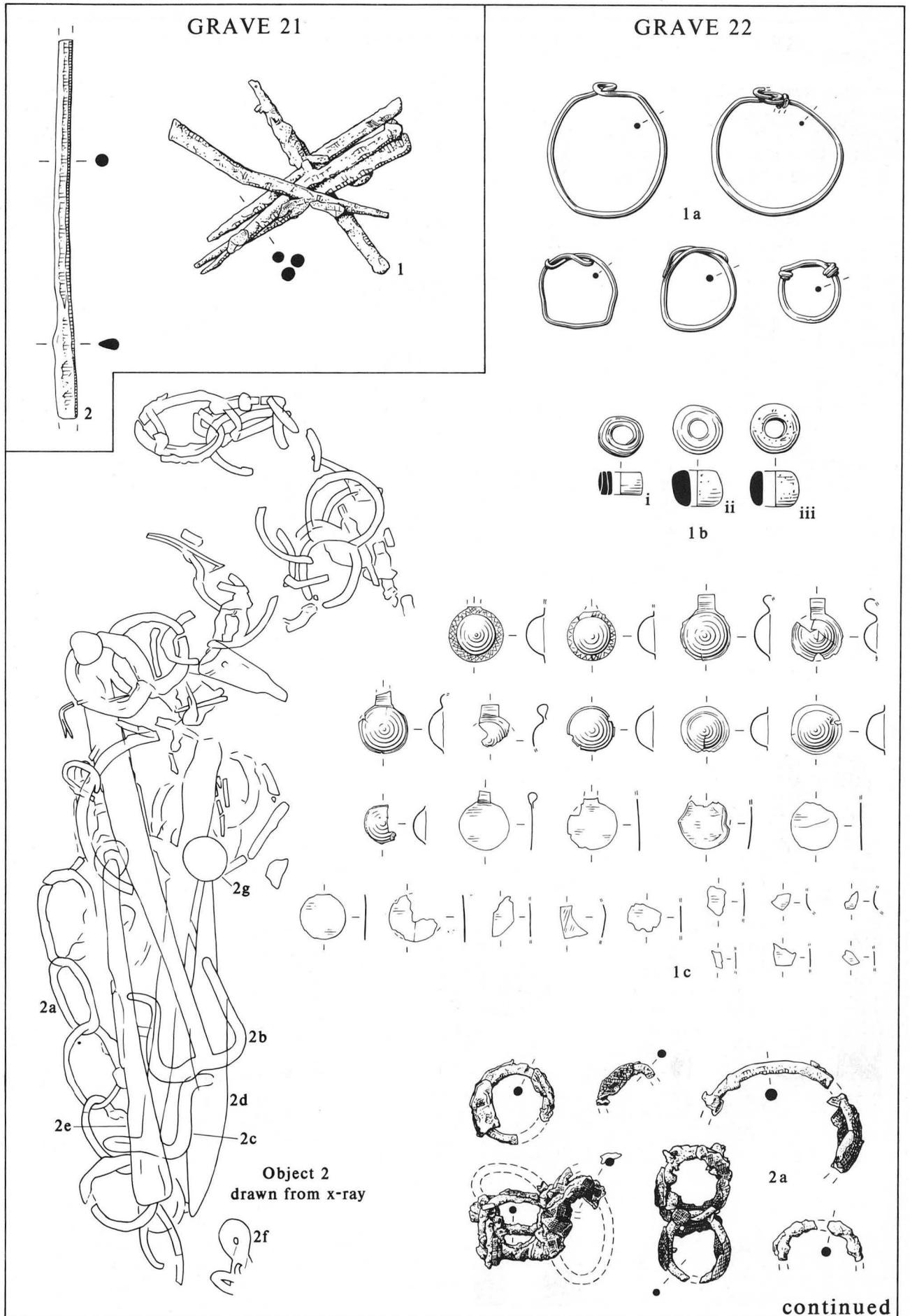


Figure 91 Grave-goods from Graves 21 and 22 (part). Scales; 21 (1 and 2), and 22 (2a) (drawn from X-radiographs) 1:2; other objects at 1:1

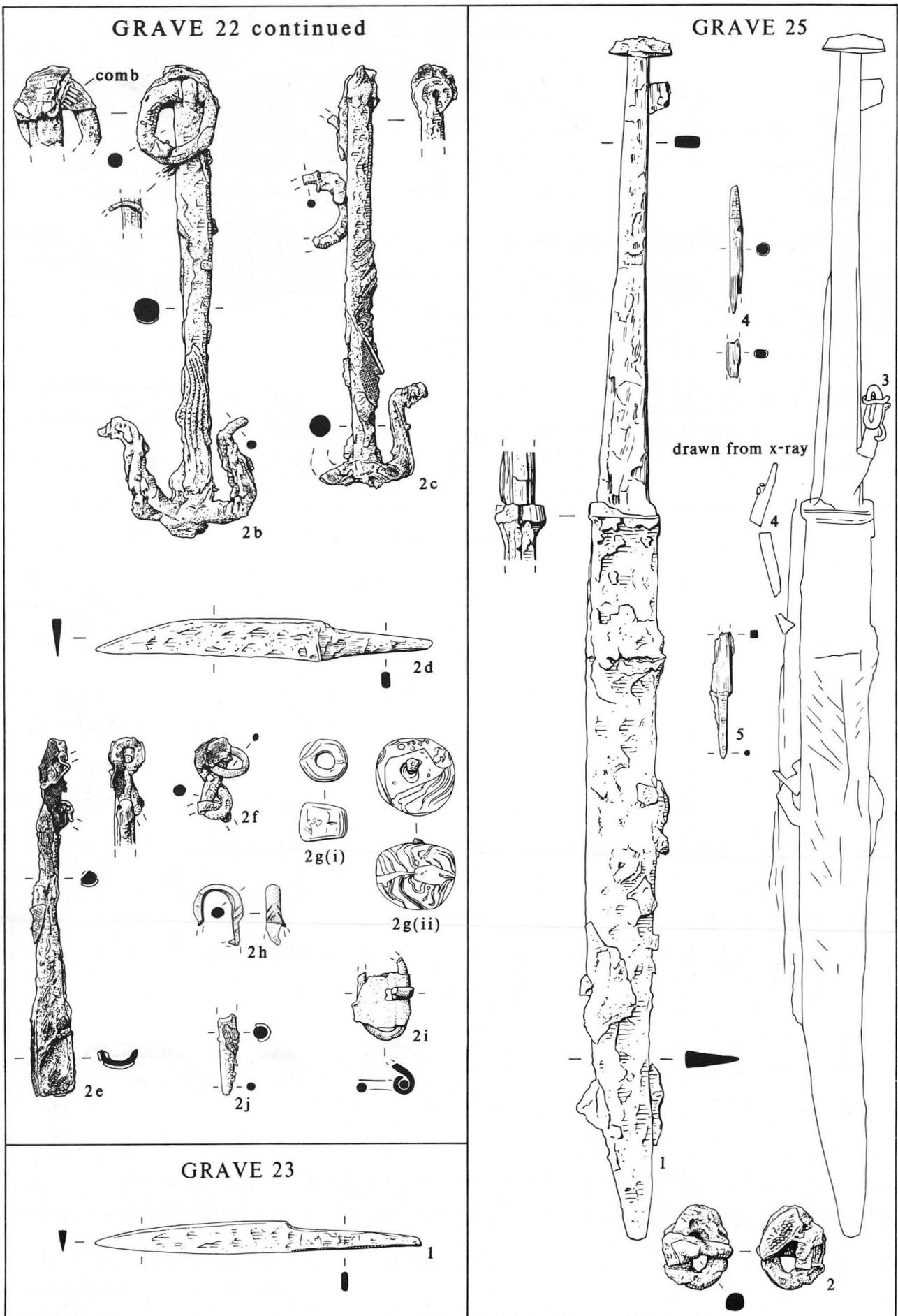
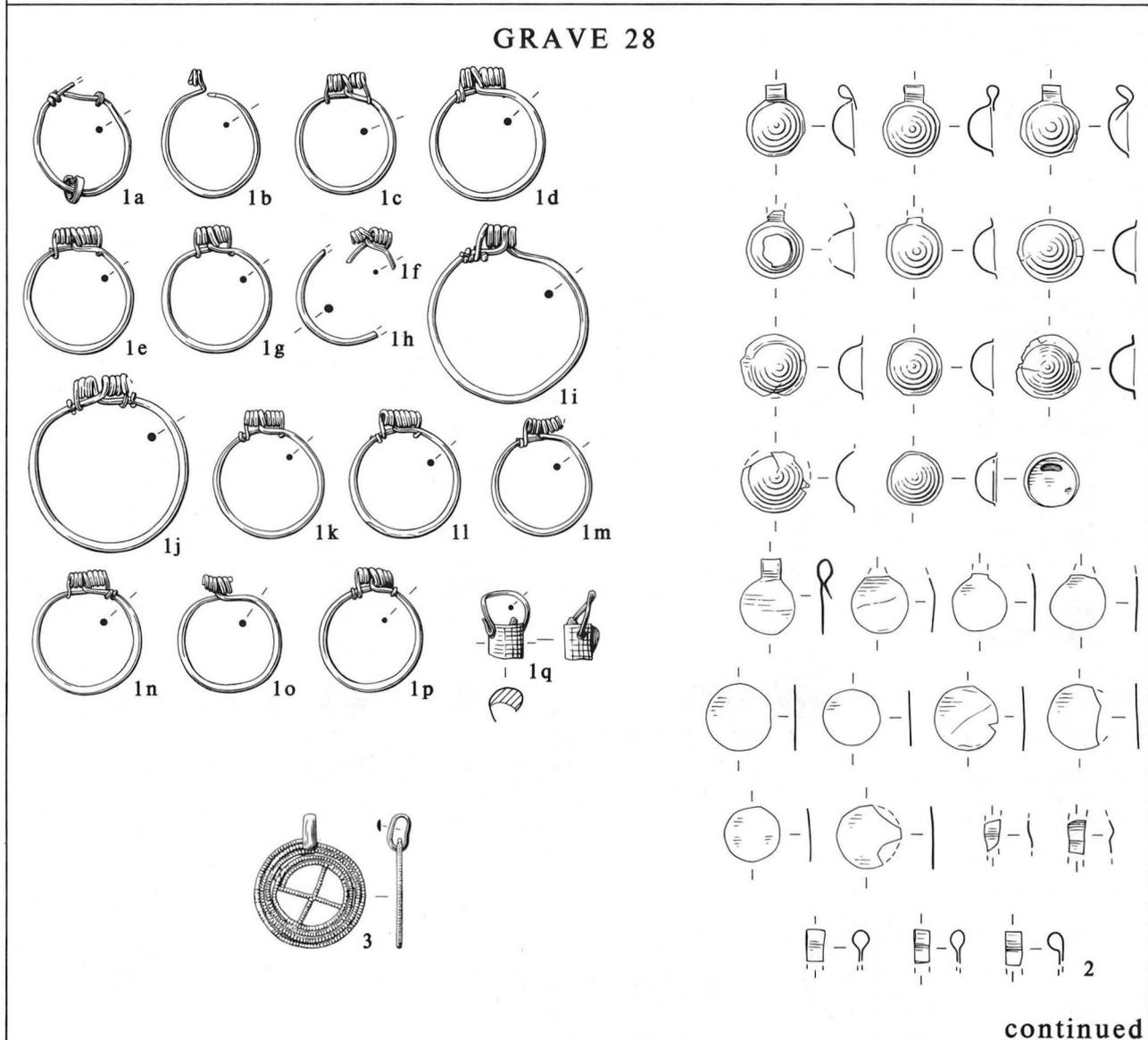
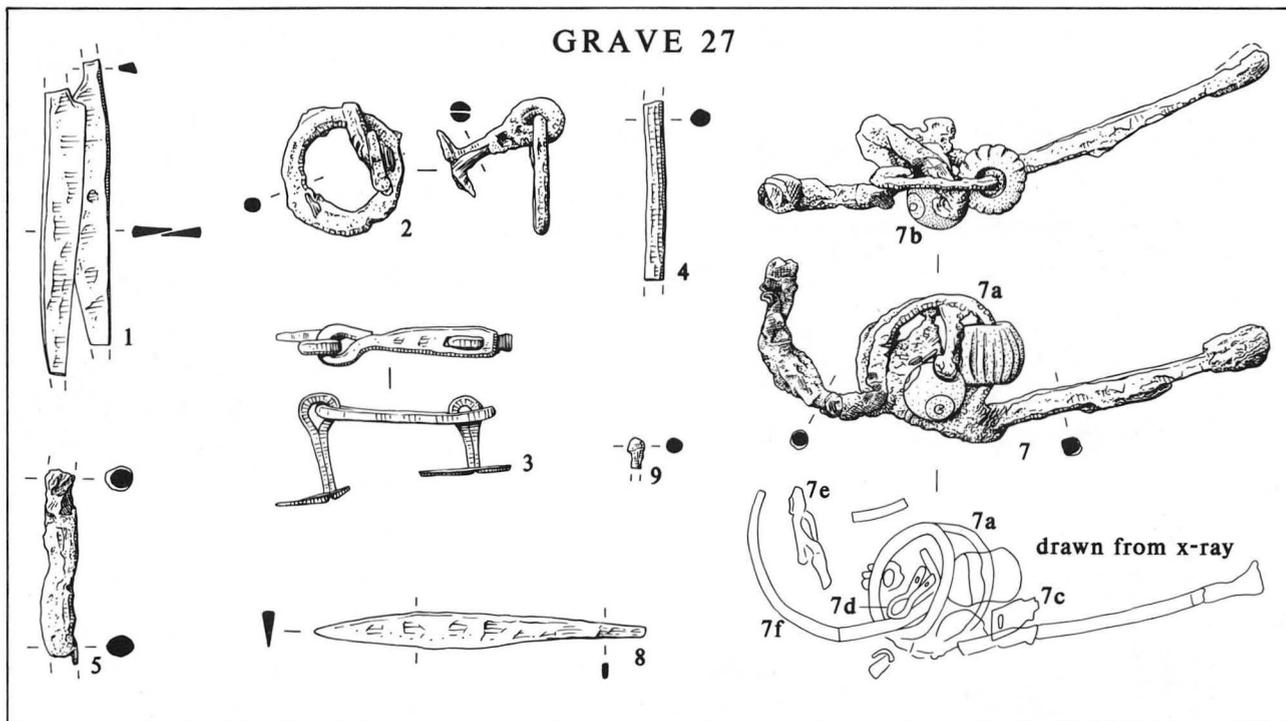


Figure 92 Grave-goods from Graves 22 (continued), 23 and 25. Scales; 22 (g-j) 1:1; other objects at 1:2



continued

Figure 93 Grave-goods from Graves 27 and 28 (part). Scales; 27 (1-9) 1:2; 28 (1-3) 1:1

GRAVE 28 continued

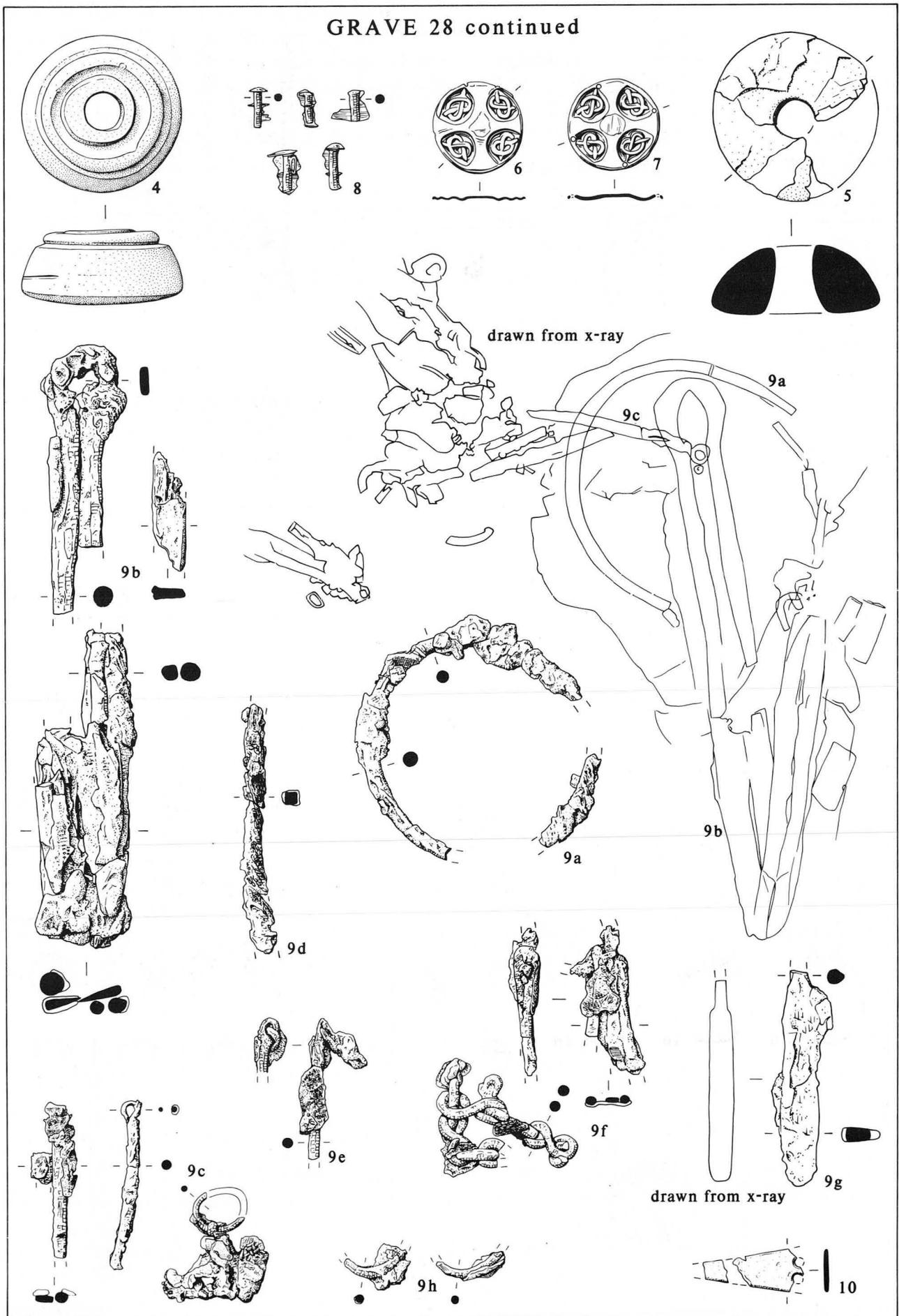


Figure 94 Grave-goods from Grave 28 (continued). Scales; 28 (4-8) 1:1; 28 (9a-g and 10) at 1:2

GRAVE 33

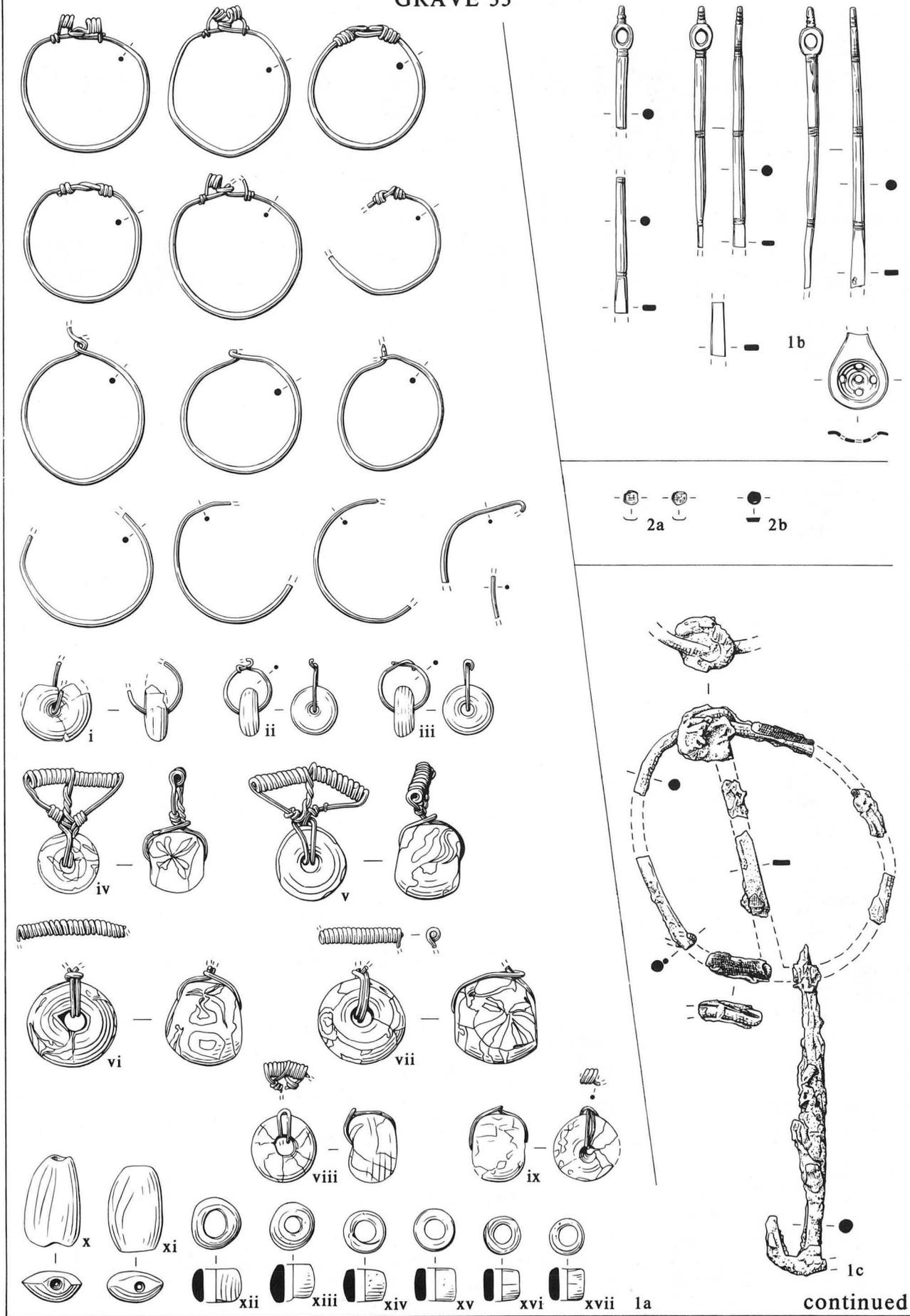


Figure 95 Grave-goods from Grave 33 (part). Scales; 33 (1a, b and 2a, b) 1:1; 33 (1c) at 1:2

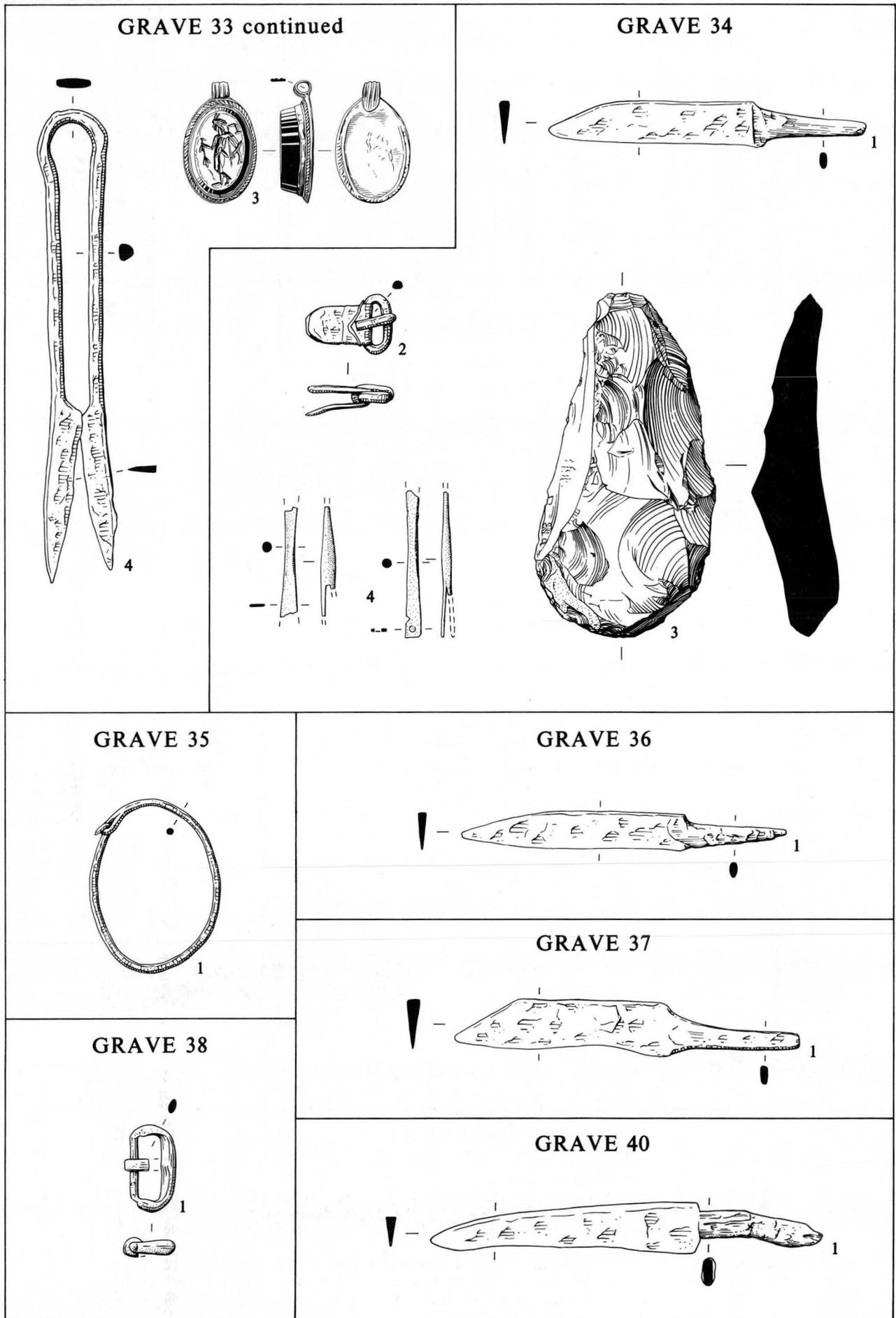


Figure 96 Grave-goods from Graves 33 (continued), 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 40. Scales; 33 (3), 34 (4) and 35 (1) 1:1; other objects at 1:2

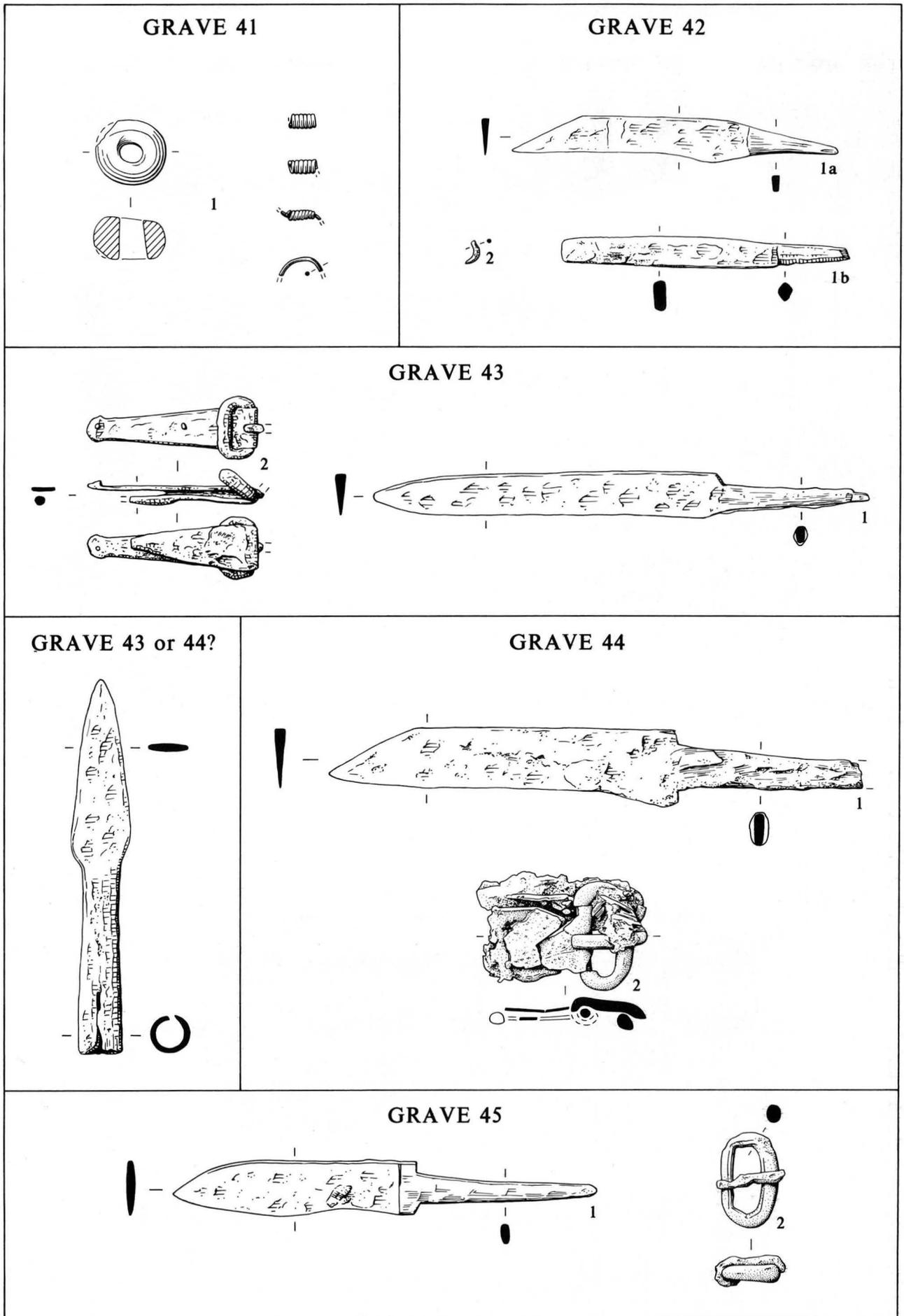


Figure 97 Grave-goods from Graves 41, 42, 43, 44 and 45. Scales; 41 (1) 1:1; other objects at 1:2

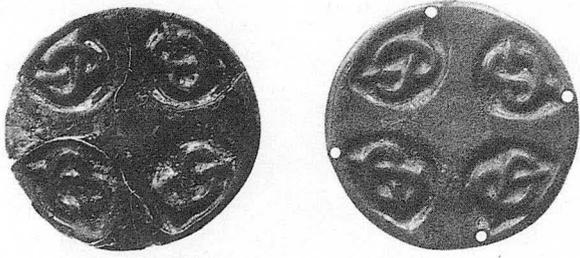


Plate V Grave 28, objects 6 and 7, silver decorated discs



Plate VI Grave 28, object 4, spindle-whorl

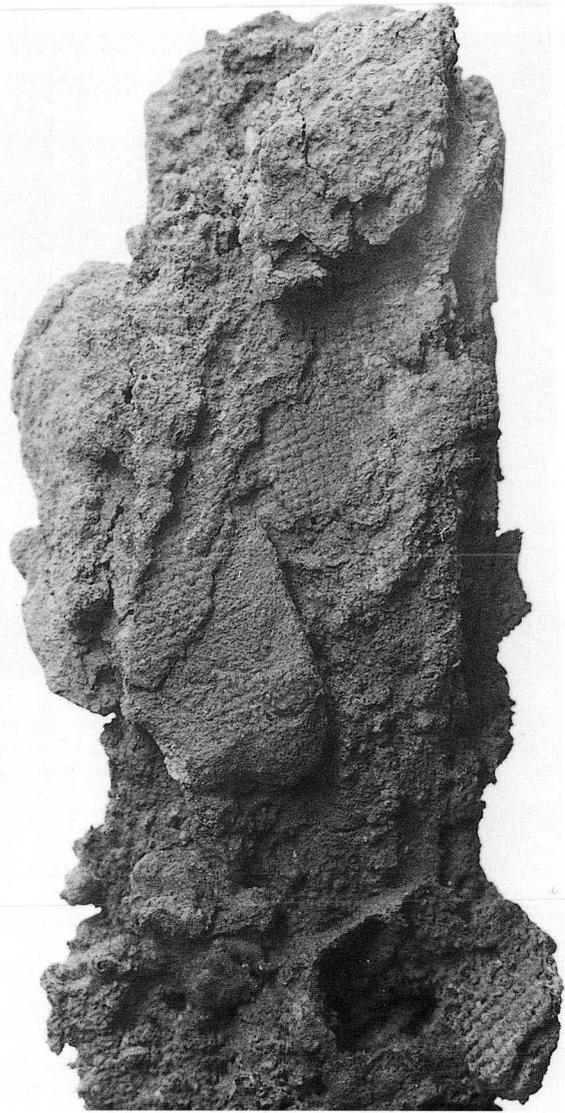


Plate VIII Grave 28, object 9b, loop of shears (from side), with remains of textile

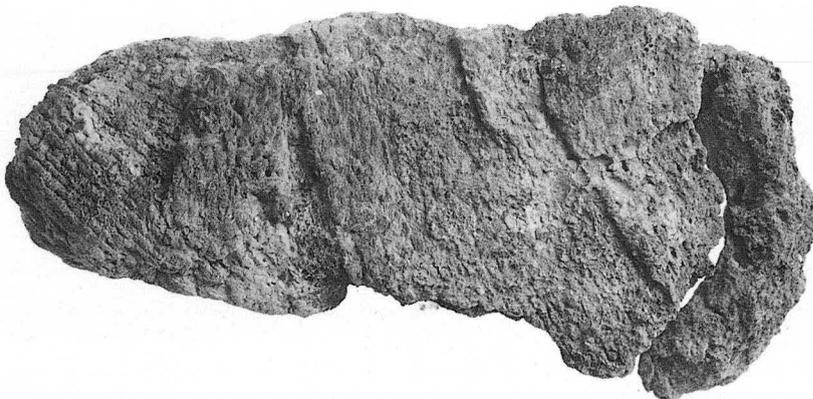


Plate VII Grave 19A, object 3, iron buckle, with remains of textile



Plate IX Area A from south, during excavation, showing prehistoric ring-ditch and Anglo Saxon graves, foreground



Plate X Grave 2, showing body stain



Plate XI Grave 10, showing body and coffin stains



Plate XII Grave 33, showing body stains and remains of ?bag



Plate XIII Grave 40, showing body stain and remains of ?mat



Plate XIV Grave 18, object 8, *in situ*, from south



Plate XV Grave 18, object 9, textile remains on inside of lid



Plate XVI Grave 33, objects 1-3, selected parts

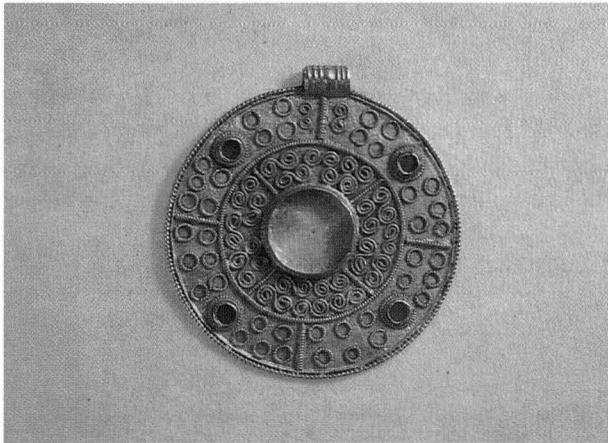


Plate XVII Grave 18, object 4, gold and garnet pendant



Plate XVIII Grave 28, object 3, gold open-work pendant



Plate XIX Grave 18, object 4, gold and garnet pendant, detail

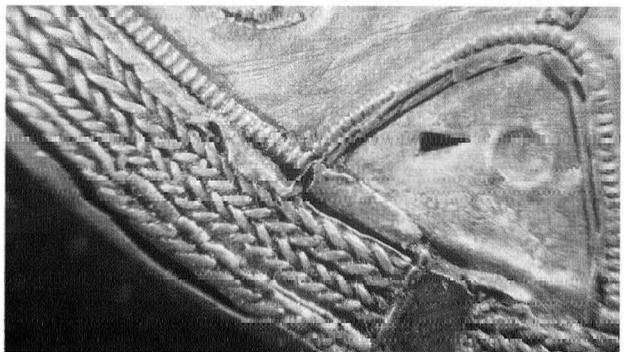


Plate XX Grave 11, object 2, composite disc brooch, detail at rim



Plate XXI Grave 18, objects 1b and 1a, silver coins (obverse)



Plate XXII Grave 18, objects 1b and 1a, silver coins (reverse)

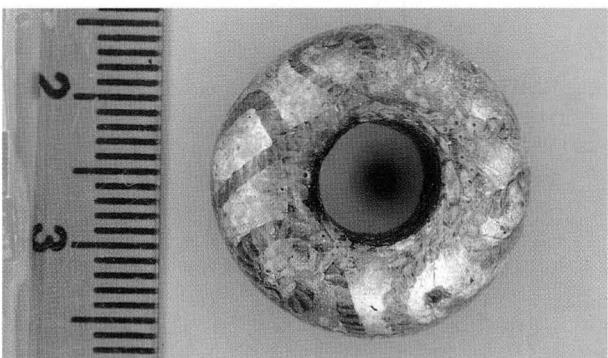
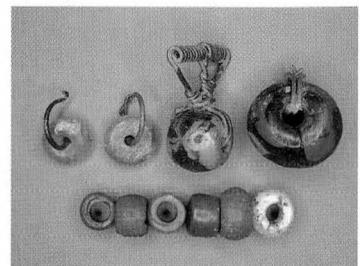


Plate XXIV Grave 20, object 2, reticella bead



Plate XXIII Grave 18, object 9c, silver chain terminal

Plate XXV Grave 33, object 1a, selected beads (i, iii, vi, iv, xii-xvii). Top row, third and fourth; front and back of Doughnut beads. Bottom row, Wound Spiral beads



Appendix: archive index

A: Reports

A1: Archive Site Reports

- A1-1 Archive site report: Bixley (Sites 6099, 9585)
- A1-2 Archive site report: Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund (Site 9794)
- A1-3 Archive site report: Valley Belt, Trowse (Site 9589)
- A1-4 Archive site report: Markshall Borrow Pit, Caistor St Edmund (Site 9584)
- A1-5 Archive site report: Tas-Yare Project (Sites 9585, 9794, 11757, 13350, 29057)
- A1-6 Site 13350: draft report by Andrew Lawson and Peter Murphy (1979)
- A1-7 Archive site report drafts and notes

A2: Publication Reports

- A2-1 Publication reports for *East Anglian Archaeology*
- A2-2 Publication report drafts and notes; readers' comments

B: Site Data

B1: Bixley (Sites 6099, 9585)

- B1-1 Context/graphics registers
- B1-2 Context cards (Site 6099)
- B1-3 Context cards (Site 9585)
- B1-4 Sample records
- B1-5 Photographic records
- B1-6 Level books
- B1-7 Preliminary phase lists
- B1-8 Site drawings

B2: Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund (Site 9794)

- B2-1 Context/graphics registers
- B2-2 Context cards
- B2-3 Sample records
- B2-4 Photographic records
- B2-5 Level books
- B2-6 Electronic survey data
- B2-7 Preliminary phase lists
- B2-8 Site drawings

B3: Valley Belt, Trowse (Site 9589)

- B3-1 Context/graphics register
- B3-2 Context cards
- B3-3 Sample records
- B3-4 Photographic records
- B3-5 Level books
- B3-6 Preliminary phase lists
- B3-7 Site drawings

B4: Markshall Borrow Pit, Caistor St Edmund (Site 9584)

- B4-1 Context/graphics register
- B4-2 Context cards
- B4-3 Sample records
- B4-4 Photographic records
- B4-5 Preliminary phase lists
- B4-6 Site drawings

B5: Tas-Yare Project/Norwich Southern Bypass Watching Brief

- B5-1 Context register/cards: Boundary Belt, Bixley (Site 9585)
- B5-2 Context register/cards: Harford Farm, Caistor (Site 9794)
- B5-3 Context register/cards: Ipswich Road, Caistor (Site 11757)
- B5-4 Context register/cards: Frettenham Lime Quarry, Caistor St Edmund (Site 13350)
- B5-5 Context register/cards: Watton Road, Lt. Melton (Site 29057)
- B5-6 Plans of Norwich Southern Bypass route
- B5-7 Site drawings
- B5-8 Norwich Southern Bypass Watching Brief records
- B5-9 Correspondence

C: Finds Records

C1: Bixley (Sites 6099, 9585)

- C1-1 Bulk finds cards (Site 6099)
- C1-2 Bulk finds cards (Site 9585)

- C1-3 Small finds register/cards (Site 6099)
- C1-4 Small finds register/cards (Site 9585)
- C1-5 Catalogue of small finds by material (Site 6099)
- C1-6 Catalogue of small finds by material (Site 9585)
- C1-7 Finds X-rays

C2: Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund (Site 9794)

- C2-1 Bulk finds cards
- C2-2 Small finds register
- C2-3 Small finds cards
- C2-4 Finds X-rays
- C2-5 Period 4 grave/small finds: preliminary listing and concordance
- C2-6 Catalogue of small finds by material
- C2-7 Miscellaneous documents

C3: Valley Belt, Trowse (Site 9589)

- C3-1 Bulk finds cards
- C3-2 Small finds register
- C3-3 Small finds cards
- C3-4 Finds X-rays
- C3-5 Catalogue of Small Finds by material
- C3-6 Miscellaneous documents

C4: Markshall Borrow Pit, Caistor St Edmund (Site 9584)

- C4-1 Bulk finds cards
- C4-2 Small finds register, small finds cards
- C4-3 Catalogue of Small Finds by material
- C4-4 Finds X-rays

C5: Tas-Yare Project/Norwich Southern Bypass Watching Brief

- C5-1 Bulk finds cards (Sites 9585, 9794, 11757, 13350, 29057)
- C5-2 Miscellaneous documents

D: Photography

E: Environmental/Specialist Reports

- E1 Lithics, by Steven Kemp (Sites 6099, 9585, 9794) and Peter Robins (Sites 9584, 9589)
- E2 Lithics (Tas-Yare Project), by Peter Robins (Sites 9585, 9794, 11757, 13350, 29057)
- E3 Pottery and loomweights, by Sarah Percival (Sites 6099, 9585, 9794, 9584, 9589)
- E4 Pottery: Tas-Yare Project, by Sarah Percival (Sites 9585, 9794, 11757, 13350, 29057)
- E5 Pottery: Period 1 Accessory Vessels, by Helen Bamford (Sites 6099, 9585, 9794)
- E6 Composite bracelet and associated objects from Period 1 grave 1803 (Site 9794), by Helen Bamford
- E7 Cremations, by Simon Mays (Sites 6099, 9585, 9794)
- E8 Human bone, by Sue Anderson (Sites 6099, 9794)
- E9 Animal bone, by Trevor Ashwin (Sites 6099, 9585, 9584, 9589)
- E10 Textiles, by Elisabeth Crowfoot (Site 9585)
- E11 Environmental and botanical evidence, by Peter Murphy
- E12 Coins (Site 9794), by Mark Blackburn
- E13 The composite disc brooch from Period 4 grave 11 (Site 9794), by Duncan Hook and Susan La Niece
- E14 The composite disc brooch from grave 11 (Site 9794): The runic inscription, by John Hines
- E15 Textiles (Site 9794), by Elisabeth Crowfoot
- E16 Beads (Site 9794), by Birte Bruggmann

G: Correspondence

- G1 Correspondence with English Heritage
- G2 Correspondence with developers and landowners
- G3 Other correspondence

H: Other Records

- H1 Research Designs
- H2 Permission to excavate: Scheduled Monument Consent
- H3 Radiocarbon dating certificates
- H4 Other documents

Bibliography

- Aberg, N., 1926 *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, (Uppsala)
- Adams, B. and Jackson, D. 1988–9 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wakerley, Northamptonshire; Excavations by Mr D. Jackson', *Northants Archaeol.* 22, 69–183
- Addyman, P.V., 1964 'A Dark Age settlement at Maxey, Northants.', *Medieval Archaeol.* 8, 20–73
- Addyman, P.V. and Hill, D.H., 1969 'Saxon Southampton: A Review of the Evidence, Part II: Industry, Trade and Everyday Life', *Proc. Hampshire Fld. Club* 26, 61–96
- Ager, B.M., 1989 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery' in Stead, I. and Rigby, V. (eds), *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane Site*, (English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 12), 219–239
- Aldsworth, F., 1979 'Droxford Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Soberton, Hampshire', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club* 35, 93–182
- Ament, V.H., 1991 'Zur Wertschätzung antiker Gemmen in der Merowingerzeit', *Germania* 79, 401–24
- Arnold, C., 1982 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of the Isle of Wight*, (London)
- Arrhenius, B., 1985 *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery: emergence and social implications*, (Stockholm)
- Aston, R.H., 1958 'The Origins of the Manor in England', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (5th Ser.), 59–83
- Ashwin, T. and Bates, S., 2000 *Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91 part I: Excavations at Bixley, Caistor St Edmund and Trowse*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 91
- Atwell, R.R., 1987 'From Augustine to Gregory the Great: an Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory', *J. Ecl. Hist.* 38, 173–186
- Avent, R., 1975 *Anglo-Saxon Disc and Composite Brooches*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 11, (two vols: Oxford)
- Avent, R. and Leigh, D., 1977 'A Study of Cross-Hatched Gold Foils in Anglo-Saxon Jewellery', *Medieval Archaeol.* 21, 1–46
- Bailey, R. and Cramp, R. (eds), 1988 *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, II, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands*, (Oxford)
- Barrow, G.W.S., 1973 *The Kingdom of the Scots*, (London)
- Bassett, S., 1989 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in Bassett, S. (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 3–27, (Leicester)
- Battiscombe, C.F. (ed.), 1956 *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, (Oxford)
- Bede, H.E., *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, B. and Mynors, R.A.B., 1969, (Oxford)
- Bellinger, R. and Sims, J., 1996 'Caistor St Edmund Fieldwalking Project 1992–1994', *The Annual*, (Bulletin of the Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group), 11–20
- Biddle, M., 1976 'The archaeology of the church: a widening horizon' in Addyman, P.V. and Morris, R.K. (eds), *The Archaeological Study of Churches*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 13, 65–71
- Biddle, M., 1986 'Archaeology, architecture, and the cult of saints in Anglo-Saxon England' in Butler, L.A.S. and Morris, R.K. (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 60, 1–31
- Biddle, M. and Blair, J., 1987 'The Hook Norton hoard of 1848: A Viking burial from Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia* 32, 186–95
- Bierbrauer, V., 1967 *Die Ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien*, (Centro Italiano di Studi, Sull'Alto Medioevo)
- Blackburn, M., 1984 'A chronology for the *sceattas*' in Hill, D. and Metcalf, D.M. (eds), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British ser. 128, 165–74, (Oxford)
- Blackburn, M., 1991 'A Survey of Anglo-Saxon and Frisian Coins with Runic Inscriptions' in Bammesberger, A. (ed.), *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, 137–89, (Heidelberg)
- Blackburn, M., Rogerson, A. and Margeson, S., forthcoming 'A productive Middle and Late Saxon site at Bawsey, Norfolk' in Metcalf, D.M. and Blackburn, M. (eds), *Productive sites of the Middle Saxon period: Proceedings of the 12th Oxford Symposium on coinage and monetary history*
- Blair, J., 1988 'Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church' in Blair, J. (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 17, 1–17, (Oxford)
- Blair, J., 1994 *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, (Alan Sutton: Stroud)
- Blair, J., 1995 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and their Prototypes', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 8, 1–28
- Boddington, A., 1990 'Models of burial, settlement and worship: the final phase reviewed' in Southworth, E. (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: A Reappraisal*, 177–99, (Liverpool)
- Born, H., 1975 'Material und Herstellungstechnik antiker Melonperlen', *Jahrbuch Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz* 22, 134–140
- Bradley, R., 1987 'Time regained: The creation of continuity', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assn.* 140, 1–17
- Brady, J.D., 1982 *Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins in American Collections*, Sylloge Coins British Isles 30, (London)
- Brenan, J.D., 1991 *Hanging Bowls and their Significance*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 220, (Oxford)
- Brothwell, D., 1981 *Digging up Bones*, (BM (Nat. Hist.): London)
- Brown, G.B., 1903 *The Arts in Early England*, 1
- Brown, P.D.C., 1977 'Firesteels and purse mounts again', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 177, 451–77
- Brown, P.D.C. and Schweitzer, F., 1973 'X-ray fluorescent analysis of Anglo-Saxon jewellery', *Archaeometry* 15, 175–92

- Brown, P.R.L., 1977 *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours*, (The Stenton Lecture 1976: Reading)
- Bruce-Mitford, R.L., 1975 *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, I, (Trustees of the British Museum)
- Brugmann, B., in prep. *Glass beads from Anglo-Saxon Graves*
- Brühl, C., 1988 'Problems of the continuity of Roman *civitates* in Gaul, as illustrated by the interrelation of cathedral and *palatium*' in Hodges, R. and Hobley, B. (eds), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD700-1050*, Counc. Brit. Arch. Res. Rep. 68, 43-46
- Bullough, D., 1983 'Burial, Community and Belief' in Wormald, P. (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, 177-201, (Oxford)
- Callmer, J., 1977 'Trade beads and bead trade in Scandinavia ca 800-1000AD', *Acta Arch. Lundensia ser. in 4°*, 11, (Lund-Bonn)
- Campbell, A., 1959 *Old English Grammar*, (Oxford)
- Campbell, J., 1971 'The First Century of Christianity in England', *Ampleforth Journal* 76, 12-29
- Campbell, J., 1973 'Observations on the Conversion of England', *Ampleforth Journal* 78, 12-26
- Campbell, J., John, E. and Wormald, P. (eds), 1982 *The Anglo-Saxons*, (Oxford)
- Carr, R.D., Tester, A. and Murphy, P., 1988 'The Middle Saxon settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity* 62, 371-377
- Carver, M.O.H., 1989 'Kingship and material culture in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia' in Bassett, S. (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 141-58, (Leicester)
- Carver, M.O.H., 1992 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sutton Hoo: An Interim report' in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), 343-371, (Woodbridge)
- Charles-Edwards, T.M., 1976 'Boundaries in Irish Law' in Sawyer, P. (ed.), *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, (London)
- Clark, J.G.D., 1936 'The Timber Monument at Arminghall and its Affinities', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 2, 1-51
- Collingwood, W.G., 1927 *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, (London)
- Collins, R., 1991 *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000*, (Macmillan)
- Cook, A.M. and Dacre, M.W., 1985 *Excavations at Portway, Andover 1973-1975*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 4
- Cox, J.C., 1906 'The Abbey of Wymondham' in *Victoria History of the County of Norfolk* Vol.II
- Cox, P., 1988 'A Seventh Century Inhumation Cemetery at Shepherd's Farm, Ulwell near Swanage, Dorset', *Proc. Dorset Natur. Hist. Archaeol. Soc.* 110, 37-47
- Crowfoot, E., 1978 'The Textiles' in Green, B. and Rogerson, A., *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 7, 98-106
- Crowfoot, E., 1983 'The Textiles' in Bruce-Mitford, R., *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* 3.i, 409-479
- Crowfoot, E., 1985a 'The Textiles' in Hirst, S.M., *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire*, York University Archaeological Publications 4, 48-54
- Crowfoot, E., 1985b 'Textiles' in Hedges, J.D. and Buckley, D.G., 'Anglo-Saxon burials and later features excavated at Orsett, Essex, 1975', *Medieval Archaeol.* 29, 15-6
- Crowfoot, E., 1988 'Textiles from Ardale Anglo-Saxon cemetery' in Wilkinson, T.J., *Archaeology and Environment in South Essex: Rescue Archaeology along the Grays Bypass, 1979-80*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 42, 54-5
- Crowfoot, E., 1990 'Textile fragments from relic-boxes' in Walton Rogers, P. and Wild, J.P. (eds), *Textiles in Northern Archaeology*, (NESAT III Textile Symposium, York), 47-56
- Crowfoot, E., forthcoming (a) 'The Textiles' in Hirst, S.E., (Excavations at Mucking)
- Crowfoot, E., forthcoming (b) 'The Textiles' in Hawkes, S.C., (Excavations at Finglesham)
- Crowfoot, E., forthcoming (c) 'The Textiles', in Scull, C.J., *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich*, (English Heritage)
- Crowfoot, E. and Hawkes, S.C., 1967 'Early Anglo-Saxon Gold Braids', *Medieval Archaeol.* 11, 42-86
- Crowfoot, E. and Henshall, A.S., 1981 'The Textiles in Cook, A.M., *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fonaby, Lincolnshire*, Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 6, 69-101
- Curle, A.O., 1923 *The Treasure of Traprain*, (Glasgow)
- Current Archaeology, 1998 'Royal Opera House', *Current Archaeol.* 158, 60-63
- Darling, M. with Gurney, D., 1993 *Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-55*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 60
- Dickinson, T.M., 1993 'An Anglo-Saxon "Cunning Woman" from Bidford-on-Avon' in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), *In Search of Cult*, 45-54, (Boydell: Woodbridge)
- Döppelfeld, O., 1960 'Das fränkische Frauengrab unter dem Chor des Kölner Domes', *Germania* 38, 89-113
- Douglas, J., 1793 *Nenia Britannica*, (London)
- Down, A. and Welch, M.G., 1990 *Chichester Excavations VII: Appledown and the Mardens*, (Chichester)
- Drinkall, G. and Foreman, M., 1998 *Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber*, (Southampton)
- E.H.D. I. *English Historical Documents I c.500-1042*, Whitelock, D. (ed.), 1955
- Ekwall, E., 1960 *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th Edition, (Oxford)
- Everitt, A., 1986 *Continuity and Colonization: the evolution of Kentish settlement*, (Leicester)
- Evison, V.I., 1956 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Holborough, Kent', *Archaeol. Cantiana* 70, 84-141
- Evison, V.I., 1961 'The Saxon objects' in Hurst, J.G., 'The Kitchen Area of Northolt Manor, Middx.', *Medieval Archaeol.* 5, 226-30
- Evison, V.I., 1963 'Sugar-loaf shield bosses', *Antiq. J.* 43, 38-96
- Evison, V.I., 1964 'The Dover rune brooch', *Antiq. J.* 44, 242-5

- Evison, VI., 1969 'Note on the seax and bronze belt-fitting, Laverstock' in Musty, J., 'Excavations of two barrows', *Antiq. J.* 49, Appendix I, 98–117
- Evison, VI., 1987 *Dover: The Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 3, (London)
- Evison, VI. 1988 *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alton, Hampshire*, Hampshire Field Club Archaeol. Soc. Monograph 4
- Faden, W., 1797 (reprinted 1975) *Map of Norfolk*, Norfolk Record Society XLII
- Faull, M., 1977 'British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria' in Laing, L. (ed.), *Studies in Celtic Survival*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 37, 1–55, (Oxford)
- Faussett, B., 1856 *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Roach Smith, C. (ed.), (London)
- Fenwick, V., 1984 'Insula de Burgh: Excavations at Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk, 1979–1981', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeol. and Hist.* 3
- Fletcher, E., 1982 *Benedict Biscop*, (Jarrow Lecture 1981)
- Filmer-Sankey, W., 1992 'Snape Anglo-Saxon cemetery: The Current State of Knowledge' in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, 39–51, (Woodbridge)
- Fox, C., 1923 *The archaeology of the Cambridge region*, (Cambridge)
- Gale, D., 1989 'The seax' in Hawkes, S.C. (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 21, 71–83
- Garner, M.F., 1993 'Middle Saxon Evidence at Cook Street, Southampton (SOU254)', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeol. Soc.* 49, 77–127
- Geake, H., 1992 'Burial practice in Seventh- and Eighth-century England' in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, 83–94, (Woodbridge)
- Geake, H., 1994 'Anglo-Saxon Double-Tongued Buckles', *Medieval Archaeol.* 38, 164–7
- Geake, H., 1995 *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England c. 600–850 AD*, (PhD thesis: University of York)
- Geake, H., 1997 *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c. 600–850*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Series 261, (Oxford)
- Geijer, A., 1983 'The Textile finds from Birka' in Harte, N.B. and Ponting, K.G. (eds), *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe*, Pasold Studies in Textile History 2, 80–97, (London)
- Golding, B., 1982 'The Coming of the Cluniacs', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4, (Proc. Battle Conference 1981), 65–77
- Green, B. and Metcalf, D.M. forthcoming 'Middle Saxon finds from Caistor-by-Norwich'
- Green, B. and Rogerson, A., 1978 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 7
- Green, B. and Rogerson, A., 1987 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 36
- Gregory, A., 1986 'An Enclosure of the First Century AD at Thornham' in Gregory, A. and Gurney, D., *Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton and Caistor, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 30, 1–13
- Guido, M., 1989 'Comment' in Speake, G., *A Saxon bed-burial on Swallowcliffe Down*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 10, 51–2
- Guido, M. (ed.) in press *Anglo-Saxon beads*
- Hägg, I., 1983 'Viking Women's dress at Birka' in Harte, N.B. and Ponting, K.G. (eds), *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe*, Pasold Studies in Textile History 2, 306–350, (London)
- Hald, M., 1980 *Ancient Danish textiles from Bogs and Burials*, (Copenhagen) English Edition
- Halsall, G., 1995 *Settlement and social organization: The Merovingian region of Metz*, (Cambridge)
- Harhoiu, R., 1977 *The Treasure from Pietroasa, Romania*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Supp. Ser. 24, (Oxford)
- Härke, H., 1989 'Knives in Early Saxon Burials: Blade Length and Age at Death', *Medieval Archaeol.* 33, 144–148
- Harries, J., 1992 'Death and the dead in the late Roman West' in Bassett, S. (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600* 56–67, (Leicester)
- Hawkes, S.C., 1965 'The Finglesham Man', *Antiquity* 39, 17–23
- Hawkes, S.C., 1973a 'Finds from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Eccles, Kent', *Antiq. J.* 53, 281–6
- Hawkes, S.C., 1973b 'The dating and social significance of the burials in the Polhill cemetery' in Philp, B. (ed.), *Excavations in West Kent 1960–1970*, (Dover)
- Hawkes, S.C., 1974 'The Monkton brooch', *Antiq. J.* 54, 244–256
- Hawkes, S.C., 1981 'Recent finds of inlaid iron buckles and belt plates from seventh-century Kent' in Brown, D., Campbell, J. and Hawkes, S.C. (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeol. and Hist.* 2, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 92, 49–70
- Hawkes, S.C., 1982 'The archaeology of conversion: cemeteries' in Campbell J., John, E. and Wormald, P. (eds), *The Anglo-Saxons*, (London)
- Hawkes, S.C., 1986 'The Early Saxon Period' in Briggs, G., Cook, J., and Rowley, T. (eds), *The Archaeology of the Oxford Region*, 64–108, (Oxford)
- Hawkes, S.C., 1990 'The Anglo-Saxon necklace from Lower Brook Street' in Biddle, M. (ed.), *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Studies 7.ii, 621–627, (Oxford)
- Hawkes, S.C., Merrick, J.M. and Metcalf, D.M., 1966 'X-ray fluorescence analysis of some Dark-Age coins and Jewellery', *Archaeometry* 9, 98–138
- Hawkes, S.C. and Pollard, M., 1981 'The gold bracteates from sixth-century graves in Kent in the light of a new find from Finglesham', *Frümittelalterliche Studien* 15, 316–370
- Henig, M., 1974 *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 8, (Oxford)
- Higgitt, J., 1973 'The Roman background to medieval England', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* (3rd series) 36, 1–15
- Hills, C.M. and Penn, K.J., 1981 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, Norfolk: Part II*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 11
- Hills, C.M., Penn, K.J. and Rickett, R.J., 1984 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, Norfolk: Part III*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 21

- Hines, J., 1984 *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 124, (Oxford)
- Hines, J., 1991 'Some Observations on the Runic Inscriptions of Early Anglo-Saxon England' in Bammesberger, A. (ed.), *Old English runes and their Continental Background*, 61–83, (Heidelberg)
- Hines, J. and Høilund Nielsen, K., forthcoming 'The search for a chronological sequence: correspondence analysis of the grave assemblages' in Penn, K.J. forthcoming, *Four Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemeteries in East Anglia*, E. Anglian Archaeol.
- Hines, J., Høilund Nielsen, K. and Siegmund, F. (eds), 1999 *The Pace of Change: Studies in Early Medieval Chronology*, (Oxford)
- Hinton, D. A., 1990 'Hooked Tags' in Biddle, M. (ed.), *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Studies 7.ii, 548–552, (Oxford)
- Hinton, D.A., Keene, S. and Qualmann, K.E., 1981 'The Winchester reliquary', *Medieval Archaeol.* 25, 45–77
- Hirst, S., 1985 *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sewerby, Yorkshire*, York University Archaeological Publications 4
- Hogarth, A.C., 1973 'Structural features in Anglo-Saxon graves', *Archaeol. J.* 130, 104–19
- Hook, D.R., La Neice, S.C., Lang, J., Cartwright, C. and Meeks, N.D., forthcoming 'Scientific analysis of the composite disc brooch and other jewellery from Boss Hall, Suffolk' in Scull, C., *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich*, Engl. Heritage Archaeol. Rep.
- Huggett, J.W., 1988 'Imported Grave-goods and the Early Anglo-Saxon Economy', *Medieval Archaeol.* 32, 63–96
- Hundt, H.-J., 1972 'Die Textilreste aus dem Reihengräberfriedhof von Donzdorf' in Neuffer, M. (ed.), *Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg* Band 2, 97–108
- Hunter, M., 1974 'Germanic and Roman Antiquity and the sense of the past in Anglo-Saxon England (Appendix: The Pagan Saxon Period)', *Anglo-Saxon England* 3, 29–50
- Hyslop, M., 1963 'Two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Chamberlain's Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire', *Archaeol. J.* 120, 161–200
- James, E., 1982 *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000*, (London)
- James, E., 1988 *The Franks*, (Oxford)
- James, E., 1992 'Royal Burials among the Franks' in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, 243–254, (Boydell: Woodbridge)
- Jensen, S., 1991 *The Vikings of Ribe*, (Ribe)
- Jessup, R., 1950 *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery*, (London)
- John, E., 1960 *Land Tenure in Early England*, (Leicester)
- John, E., 1971 'Social and Economic Problems of the Early English Church' in Thirsk, J. (ed.), *Land, Church and People: Essays presented to H.P.R. Finberg*, Agric. Hist. Review Supplement to vol. 18
- Johns, C. and Potter, T., 1983 *The Thetford Treasure*, (British Museum, London)
- Johnson, S., 1983 *Burgh Castle: excavations by Charles Green, 1958–61*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 20
- Jones, G.R.J., 1979 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement' in Sawyer, P.H. (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement*, 7–34, (London)
- Kendrick, T.D., 1933 'St Cuthbert's Pectoral Cross, and the Wilton and Ixworth Crosses', *Antiq. J.* 17, 283–93
- Kjølbye-Biddle, B., 1992 'Dispersal or concentration: the disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years' in Bassett, S. (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, 210–247, (Leicester)
- Knocker, G.M., 1958 'Early burials and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Snell's Corner, near Horndean, Hampshire', *Proc. Hampshire Fld. Club* 19, 2, 117–70
- Knol, E. and Looijenga, T., 1991 'A Tau Staff with Runic Inscriptions from Bemsterburen (Friesland)' in Bremmer, R. et al. (eds), *Aspects of Old Frisian Philology*, 226–41, (Amsterdam)
- Koch, U., 1974 'Mediterrane und fränkische Glasperlen des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts aus Finnland' in Kossack, von G. and Ulbert, G. (eds), *Festschrift für Joachim Werner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Münchener Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Ergänzungsbd. 1/II, 495–520, (München)
- Koch, U., 1977 *Das Reihengräberfeld bei Schretzheim*, Germ. Denkmäler Völkerwanderungszeit A 13, (Berlin)
- Koch, U., 1982 *Die fränkischen Gräberfelder von Bargen und Berghausen in Nordbaden*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg, (Stuttgart)
- Koch, U., 1987 *Der Runde Berg bei Urach IV. Die Glas- und Edelsteinfunde aus den Plangrabungen 1967–1983*, Heidelberger Akad. Wiss. Komm. Alamannische Altertumskde 12, (Sigmaringen)
- Koch, U., 1990 *Das Fränkische Gräberfelder von Klepsau im Hohenlohekreis*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 38, (Stuttgart)
- Koch, U., 1994 *Franken in Heilbronn. Archäologische Funde des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts*, Museo 8, (Heilbronn)
- Koch, U., forthcoming *Das alamannisch-fränkische Gräberfeld bei Pleidelsheim, Kr. Ludwigsburg*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg, (Stuttgart)
- Krautheimer, R., 1985a *St Peter's and Medieval Rome*, (Rome)
- Krautheimer, R., 1985b *Rome in the Dark Ages*, (Princeton, N.J.)
- Lamm, J.P. and Axboe, M., 1989 'Neues zu Brakteaten und Anhängern in Schweden', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23, 453–477
- Lang, J. and Ager, B., 1989 'Swords of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Periods in the British Museum: A Radiographic Study' in Hawkes, S.C. (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, (Oxford)

- La Niece, S., 1987 'White inlays on Anglo-Saxon Jewellery' in Slater, E.A. and Tate, J.O. (eds), *Science and Archaeology*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 196, 235–246, (Oxford)
- Lasko, P., 1971 *The Kingdom of the Franks*, (Thames and Hudson)
- Layard, N.F., 1907 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ipswich', *Archaeologia* 60, 325–352
- Leeds, E.T., 1936 *Early Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology*, (Oxford)
- Leeds, E.T., 1940 'Two Saxon cemeteries in North Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia* 5, 21–30
- Leeds, E.T. and Atkinson, R.J.C., 1944 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Nassington, Northants', *Antiq. J.* 24, 100–28
- Lethbridge, T.C., 1926–7 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Burwell, Cambs. Part III', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 29, 84–94
- Lethbridge, T.C., 1931 *Recent excavations in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*, Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Quarto Publ. new ser. 3
- Lethbridge, T.C., 1936 *A cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Quarto Publ. new ser. 5
- Lethbridge, T.C., 1938 'Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire' in *VCH Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* ii
- Malim, T. 1990 *Barrington Anglo-Saxon cemetery Edix Hill: Interim Report*, (Cambridgeshire County Council)
- Martin, M., 1997 'Die goldene Kette von Szilágysomlyó und das frühmerowingische Amulettgehänge der westgermanischen Frauentracht' in von Freeden, U. and Wiczorek, A., 'Perlen: Archäologie, Technik und Statistik', *Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 16.–19.11.1994*, Koll. zur Vor- und Frühgesch. 1, 349–372, (Bonn)
- Matthews, C.L., 1962 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable', *Bedfordshire Archaeol. J.* 1, 25–47
- Matthews, C.L. and Hawkes, S.C., 1985 'Early Saxon Settlements and Burials on Puddlehill, near Dunstable, Bedfordshire', *Anglo-Saxon Stud. Archaeol. Hist.* 4, 59–115
- May, J., 1977 'Romano-British and Saxon sites near Dorchester, Oxon', *Oxoniensia* 42, 42–79
- Meaney, A., 1964 *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, (London)
- Meaney, A.L., 1981 *Anglo-Saxon amulets and curing stones*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 96, (Oxford)
- Meaney, A.L. and Hawkes, S.C., 1970 *Two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Winnall*, Soc. Medieval Archaeol. Monogr. Ser. 4, (London)
- Metcalf, D.M., 1994 *Thrymsas and sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, vol. 3, Royal Numismatic Society and Ashmolean Museum Oxford, (London)
- Miles, D. and Palmer, S., 1986 *Invested in Mother Earth: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Lechlade*, (Oxford)
- Morris, J., 1974 Review of Myres and Green 1973 in *Medieval Archaeol.* 18, 225–232
- Morris, R., 1983 *The Church in British Archaeology*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 47
- Mortimer, J.R., 1905 *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*
- Morton, A., 1992 *Excavations at Hamwic Volume I: excavations 1946–83*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 84
- Musty, J. and Stratton, J.E.D., 1964 'A Saxon cemetery at Winterbourne Gunner, near Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeol. Nat. Hist. Mag.* 59, 86–109
- Myres, J.N.L. and Green, B., 1973 *The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk*, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London XXX, (London)
- Nenk, B.S., Margeson, S.M. and Hurley, M., 1991 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1990', *Medieval Archaeol.* 35, 126–138
- Newman, J., 1991 'The Boss Hall Anglo-Saxon cemetery', *The Quarterly*, (Journal of the Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group), 16–23
- Norfolk Archaeological Unit, 1974 *The Archaeological Implications of the Norwich Southern Bypass*, (Gressenhall)
- Odenstedt, B., 1990 *On the Origin and Early History of the Runic Script*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi LIX, (Uppsala)
- Orsi, P., 1912 'Byzantium Siciliae: IV. Incensieri e candelieri in bronzo', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 21, 195–8
- Owen-Crocker, G., 1986 *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Manchester)
- Ozanne, A., 1962–3 'The Peak Dwellers', *Medieval Archaeol.* 6–7, 15–52
- Painter, K.S., 1977 *The Water Newton Early Christian Silver*, (British Museum, London)
- Parfitt, K. and Brugmann, B., 1997 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Mill Hill, Deal, Kent*, Soc. Medieval Archaeol. Monograph Series 14
- Peers, C. and Radford, C.A.R., 1943 'The Saxon monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia* 89, 27–88
- Penn, K.J., 1996 'The Early Church in Norfolk: Some Aspects' in *A Festival of Norfolk Archaeology*, 40–46, (Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society)
- Périn, P. and Feffer, L.-C. (eds), 1985 *La Neustrie*, (Rouen)
- Pinder, M., 1995 'Anglo-Saxon Garnet Cloisonné Composite Disc Brooches: Some Aspects of their Construction', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 148, 7–28
- Plunkett, S., 1994 *Guardians of the Gipping: Treasures from Hadleigh Road, Ipswich*, (Ipswich Museum, Ipswich Borough Council)
- Premières restaurations, n.d. *De la Canche à l'Authie, Premières restaurations*, Musée Municipal de Berck-sur Mer, (undated)
- Preston-Jones, A., 1992 'Decoding Cornish Churchyards' in Edwards, N. and Lane, A. (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxbow Monograph 16, 105–124
- Redin, M., 1919 *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, (Uppsala: Universitets Arsskrift)
- Rees, H. and Butterworth, C.A., 1992 'Excavations at Field Farm, Burghfield' in Butterworth, C.A. and Lobb, S.J., *Excavations in the Burghfield Area*, Wessex Archaeol. Rep. 1
- Ridyard, S.J., 1988 *The royal saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a study of West Saxon and East Anglian cults*, (Cambridge)

- Rigold, S.E., 1960–61 'The two Primary series of *sceattas*', *British Numismatic Journal* 30, 6–53
- Rigold, S.J., 1980 'The *sceattas*' in Wade-Martins, P., *Excavations in North Elmham Park, 1967–72*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 9, 497–9
- Rigold, S.E., 1988 'Coins found in Anglo-Saxon burials' in Casey, J. and Reece, R. (eds), *Coins and the Archaeologist*, 201–205, (London)
- Rigold, S.E. and Metcalf, D.M., 1977 'A check-list of English finds of *sceattas*', *Brit. Numis. J.* 46, 31–52
- Rigold, S.E. and Metcalf, D.M., 1984 'A revised check-list of English finds of *sceattas*' in Hill, D.H. and Metcalf, D.M. (eds), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 128, 245–267, (Oxford)
- Roberts, J.M., 1913 *A Short History of Christianity*, (London)
- Roes, A., 1958 'Origine et Destination des Cuillers Perforées de l'époque Mérovingienne', *Revue Archéologique de l'est* IX, 88–96
- Rollason, D., 1989 *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford)
- Sasse, B. and Theune, C., 1995 'Merovingian glass beads — a classificational model' in Rasmussen, M., Lund Hansen, U. and Näsman, U. (eds), *Glass Beads: Cultural History, Technology, Experiment and Analogy*, Studies in Technology and Culture 2, 75–82, (Lejre)
- Sasse, B. and Theune, C., 1996 'Perlen als Leittypen der Merowingerzeit', *Germania* 74, 187–231
- Sasse, B. and Theune, C., 1997 'Das Programm ProPer. Klassifizierung und Anwendung' in von Freeden, U. and Wiczorek, A. (eds), 'Perlen: Archäologie, Technik und Statistik', *Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 16.–19.11.1994*, Koll. zur Vor- und Frühgesch. 1, 169–176, (Bonn)
- Scull, C.J., forthcoming *Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich*, (English Heritage)
- Scull, C. and Bayliss, A., forthcoming 'Dating burials of the 7th and 8th centuries: a case study from Ipswich, Suffolk' in Hines, J., Høilund Nielsen, K. and Siegmund, F. (eds), *The Pace of Change: Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology*, (Oxford)
- Scull, C.J. and Harding, A.F., 1990 'Two early medieval cemeteries at Milfield, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeol. J.* 6, 1–29
- Searle, W.G., 1897 *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, (Cambridge)
- Shephard, J.F., 1979 'The social identity of the individual in isolated barrows and barrow cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England' in Burnham, B.C. and Kingsbury, J. (eds), *Space, Hierarchy and Society*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. 59, 47–79
- Siegmund, M., 1997 'Die Perlen des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes von Liebenau, Kr. Nienburg/Weser (Niedersachsen)', in von Freeden, U. and Wiczorek, A. (eds), 'Perlen: Archäologie, Technik und Statistik', *Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 16.–19.11.1994*, Koll. zur Vor- und Frühgesch. 1, 133–142, (Bonn)
- Siegmund, M., forthcoming *Die Perlen des frühmittelalterlichen Gräberfeldes von Liebenau, Kr. Nienburg/Weser, (Niedersachsen)* (PhD thesis Göttingen)
- Sims-Williams, P., 1990 *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, (London)
- Smith, R., 1911–12 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Uncleby, East Riding of Yorkshire', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Ser.* 2, 24, 146–58
- Speake, G., 1980 *Anglo-Saxon animal art and its Germanic Background*, (Oxford)
- Speake, G., 1989 *A Saxon bed burial on Swallowcliffe Down*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 10
- Stead, I. and Rigby, V., 1989 *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane Site*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 12
- Stein, F., 1967 *Adelsgräber des Achten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit ser. A, 9, 2 vols, (Berlin)
- Stutz, U., 1961 'The Proprietary Church as an element of Mediaeval German ecclesiastical law', (1985) reprinted in Barraclough, G. (ed.), *Medieval Germany 911–1250*, 35–70, (Oxford)
- Swanton, M.J., 1973 *The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, (London)
- Swanton, M.J., 1974 *A Corpus of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Spear-Types*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 7, (Oxford)
- Thomas, C., 1971 *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*, (Glasgow)
- Thomas, C., 1986 'Recognising Christian origins: an archaeological and historical dilemma' in Butler, L.A.S. and Morris, R. (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, Comit. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 60, 121–125
- Toller, T.N., 1921 *Supplement to J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, (Oxford)
- VCH Victoria County History
- Van de Noort, R., 1993 'The context of Early Medieval barrows in western Europe', *Antiquity* 67, 66–73
- Vierck, H., 1972 'Raedwalds Asche: Zum Grabbrauch in Sutton Hoo, Suffolk', *Offa* 29, 20–49
- Vierck, H., 1978 'La chemise de Saint-Bathilde à Chelles et l'influence byzantine sur l'art de cour mérovingien au VII siècle', *Actes du Colloque Internationale d'Archéologie Rouen 1978*, 3, 521–64
- Vogt, H.J., 1980 'The Epilogue of Early Christian Latin Literature' in Baus, K., Beck, H.-G., Ewig, E. and Vogt, H.-J., *History of the Church, Vol. II: The Imperial Church from Christianity to the Early Middle Ages*, ch. 44, (New York)
- von Freeden, U. and Wiczorek, A. (eds), 1997 'Perlen: Archäologie, Technik und Statistik', *Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 16.–19.11.1994*, Koll. zur Vor- und Frühgesch. 1, (Bonn)
- Wade-Martins, P., 1980 *Excavations in North Elmham Park, 1967–72*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 9
- Waldbaum, J.C., 1983 *Metalwork from Sardis: the finds through 1976*, Archaeol. Exploration of Sardis Monograph 8, (Cambridge, Mass./London)
- Walton Rogers, P., forthcoming 'The Textiles' in Powlesland, D., *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at West Heslerton, Yorkshire*
- Warner, P., 1996 *Origins of Suffolk*, (Manchester University Press)
- Watson, J., 1992a 'Mineral preserved organic material associated with metalwork from Harford Farm, Norfolk', *Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report Series*, 66/92

- Watson, J., 1992b 'Casket Reconstruction' in Rees, H. and Butterworth, C.A., 'Excavations at Field Farm, Burghfield' in Butterworth, C.A. and Lobb, S.J., *Excavations in the Burghfield Area*, Wessex Archaeol. Rep. 1, 56-7
- Webster, L., 1982 'The Canterbury pendant', *Antiquity* 56, 203-204
- Webster, L., 1985 'The Grave Goods' in Hedges, J.D. and Buckley, D.G., 'Anglo-Saxon and later features excavated at Orsett, Essex 1975', *Medieval Archaeol.* 29, 9-14
- Webster, L. and Backhouse, J., 1991 *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900*, (British Museum Exhibition Catalogue)
- Werner, J., 1964 'Frankish royal tombs in the cathedrals of Cologne and Saint-Denis', *Antiquity* 38, 201-16
- West, S.E. 1988 *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 38
- West, S.E., 1998 *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 84
- Whitfield, N., 1990 'Round wire in the Early Middle Ages', *Jewellery Studies* 4, 13-28
- Wilson, D.M., 1956 'The initial excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Melbourn, Cambridgeshire', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 49, 29-41
- Wilson, D.M., 1984 *Anglo-Saxon Art: from the Seventh century to the Norman Conquest*, (Thames and Hudson)
- Wood, I., 1983 *The Merovingian North Sea*, Occasional Papers on Medieval Topics 1, (Alingsås)
- Wood, I., 1992 'Frankish Hegemony in England' in Carver, M.O.H. (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo, 235-242*, (Boydell: Woodbridge)
- Workshop of European Anthropologists, 1980 'Recommendations for age and sex diagnoses of skeletons', *J. Human Evolution* 9, 517-549
- Wormald, P., 1978 'Bede, Beowulf and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy' in Farrell, R.T. (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 46, 32-95
- Wormald, P. (ed.), 1983 *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, (Oxford)
- Wormald, P., 1985 *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence*, (Jarrow Lecture 1984)
- Yorke, B., 1990 *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, (Seaby: London)
- Youngs, S.M. (ed.), 1989 *'The Work of Angels': Masterpieces of Celtic metalwork, 6th-9th centuries AD*, (British Museum)
- Youngs, S., forthcoming *Celtic Antiquities from c.400-1100 AD in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities of the British Museum*

Index

Illustrations are denoted by page numbers in *italics*.

- Agatho, Pope, 105
Aldwulf, King, 96
amulet, gold, Chapel Hill, 101
antler fragments *see* combs; handles
archive, 4
Arminghall Henge, 1
Ashby, 104
awls, 18, 25, 111
axe, flint, 34, 66, 121
- bags
 catalogue, 21, 29, 31–3, 114, 125
 discussion, 54–5, 66
- bars, iron, 7, 21, 107, 114; *see also* suspension complex; wool comb teeth
- beads
 amethyst, 31–4, 52–3, 95, 120
 glass
 analysis, 77, 78; catalogue and specialist report, 91–5;
 discussion, 52, 53; illustrations, 109, 115–18, 120, 122, 126
- Bede, 104
belts and straps, remains of, 8, 12, 21, 25, 39, 40, 45, 58
Bixley, ring ditches, 1
body length, 74
body position, 74
bone, human, 69, 76; *see also* body length
Boss Hall cemetery (Suffolk), 98
bowl, Coptic, 101
boxes and caskets
 catalogue, 10–12, 18, 27
 discussion, 64, 65, 66
 see also threadbox
- bracelets, 18, 19, 21, 67, 112, 115, 126
Brandon (Suffolk), church, 105
brooch, composite disc
 analyses, 76, 79, 80, 81
 catalogue, 14, 109, 126
 discussion, 45–6, 47, 48–9
 inscription, 47, 81–2
- buckles/buckle plates
 catalogue
 copper alloy, 23, 36, 41; copper alloy and iron, 40; iron, 8, 12, 14, 15, 21, 25, 34, 39; iron with garnets, 15
 discussion, 58, 59, 79
 illustrations, 107, 108, 111, 114, 117, 121, 122
 knives, association with, 55–6
 textile remains, 123
 see also shoe-buckles
- bullae*
 catalogue, 22–3, 29, 116, 118
 discussion, 51–2
 specialist report, 77, 79
- Burgh Castle, church, 105
burial practice, Final Phase cemeteries, 99–100, 104–5, 106
Burwell cemetery (Cambs), 97
- Caistor St Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*), 98, 101, 102–3, 104
cap, from suspension complex, 19, 66, 112
caskets *see* boxes and caskets
cemeteries, Anglo-Saxon
 and churches, 104–5
 Final Phase, 96–101
 local, 101
- chains, associated with
 chatelaines, 21, 23, 27, 55, 115, 116, 118
 pin suites, 7, 19, 53–4, 77, 79, 107, 113
 suspension complex, 19, 66, 112
 threadbox, 19, 113
- chatelaines
 catalogue, 10, 21, 23, 27, 29, 31, 33
 discussion, 54–5
 illustrations, 107, 114, 116–17, 118, 119, 120
- Chedgrave, 104
- chests *see* boxes and caskets
Christianity, 96–101, 104–6
churches, Anglo-Saxon, 100–1, 102–5, 106
Clark, Grahame, 1
clothing *see* textiles
coffins, 1, 3, 68–9, 70, 71–3, 96, 124
coins
 Caistor St Edmund, 101
 cemetery
 catalogue, 18, 111, 126; discussion, 62; metal analysis, 77;
 specialist report, 75–6
- combs
 catalogue
 antler, 10, 12, 14, 21, 23, 29; bone, 25
 discussion, 61–2
 see also wool comb teeth
 copper alloy objects, miscellaneous, 14, 21
 cushions *see* pillows
 Cuthbert, Archbishop, 104
- dating, 96; *see also* phasing
Dennis E. Smith (Norwich) Ltd., 3
Deopham, 102
deserted medieval village, 3
discs
 gold, 34, 78, 120
 silver
 analysis, 76, 77, 79; catalogue, 23, 29, 116, 118, 119, 123;
 discussion, 54
- double burial, 19, 20, 21, 70, 72
dresshooks, 19, 60, 113
Dunston Field, 101
- Edwards, Derek, 2
enclosures, rectangular, 2, 4, 5
English Heritage, 1, 2
environmental sampling, 4
excavation methods, 3–4
Exeter University, 3
eyelets, 18, 27, 65, 111, 118
- festoons
 analysis, 76, 77, 78, 79
 catalogue, 14, 22, 23, 28, 29, 31
 discussion, 50
 illustrations, 109, 116, 118, 120
- firesteels
 catalogue, 9, 18, 29, 39, 107, 112, 119, 122
 discussion, 56–8, 59
- fittings, copper alloy, 21, 114
flax, 83, 84, 89, 90
Fourier transform infra-red analysis, 76, 80
Framingham, 104
- garnets, associated with
 brooch, 14, 46–7, 80, 81, 109
 buckle, 15, 58–9, 77, 79, 111
 disc, 34, 120
 pendant, 18, 50, 79, 111
- geology, 2
glass, from
 brooch, 79, 80
 terminal, 19, 77
 see also beads
- grave-goods, tabulated, 44
grave-marker, 38; *see also* post-holes
- graves
 depth, 69
 excavation method, 3
 plans of, 6, 71–3
 see also body position; layout; orientation
- Gregory I, Pope, 104
Gregory II, Pope, 105

- handaxe *see* axe
- handles
- bone/antler, 39
 - horn, 55, 56
 - iron, 12, 27, 108, 118
 - wood, 25
- Hardley, 104
- Harford, place-name, 3
- hasp, 27, 65, 66, 118
- heckle teeth *see* wool comb teeth
- hemp, 82, 84, 90
- hilt, horn, 25
- hinges, 10, 65, 108
- Hingham, 102
- hitch rings, 28, 29, 76, 77–8, 118
- hook, 23, 117
- hooked tags *see* dresshooks
- horn *see* handles; hilt
- Insall, Wing Commander, 1
- inscription *see* brooch, composite disc
- intaglio, Roman, 34, 51, 78, 80, 121
- iron objects, miscellaneous, 9, 21, 22, 27, 39, 107, 116, 122
- ivory inlay, 80, 81
- Ketteringham, 102
- keys
- catalogue, 7, 12, 14, 18, 21, 23, 29, 34
 - discussion, 54, 55
 - illustrations, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114, 117, 119, 120
- kinship, 98
- Kirby, 104
- knives
- catalogue, by type
 - Evison Type 1, 10, 20, 27, 35, 107, 114, 118, 121; Evison Type 1/2, 23, 117; Evison Type 1/3, 15, 111; Evison Type 2, 9, 23, 107, 117; Evison Type 3, 21, 115; Evison Type 4, 8, 10, 14, 34, 35, 38, 39, 107, 108, 110, 121, 122; Evison Type 5, 8, 15, 39, 40, 41, 107, 111, 122
 - discussion, 55, 56, 57
- knot-rings
- copper alloy, 21, 115
 - silver
 - analysis, 77, 78, 79; catalogue, 7, 14, 21, 22, 31 illustrations, 107, 109, 115, 116, 120
- land units, Anglo-Saxon, 101–2, 103, 104
- Langley, 104
- latchlifters *see* keys
- layout, cemetery, 68, 69, 96
- leather fragments, associated with
- box, 10
 - chatelaines, 10, 29, 34, 55
 - comb, 12
 - composite object, 21
 - festoons, 14, 23, 29, 50
 - firesteel, 18
 - shears, 34
 - shoe-buckles, 21
 - threadbox, 19
 - see also* bags; belts and straps; sheaths
- locks
- catalogue, 10, 12, 18, 108, 111
 - discussion, 64, 65
- loops
- iron, 12, 18, 23, 27, 108, 111, 117, 118
 - silver
 - analysis, 77, 78, 79; catalogue, 19, 29, 113, 118
- Low, H. Frederick, 2
- Luda, 45, 46, 49, 81
- Markshall, 3, 100, 101, 102, 106
- mats, 1, 38, 70, 96, 125
- metal analyses, 76–81
- nails, 10, 12, 108
- necklace, 29, 77, 79, 118; *see also* beads; festoons
- Norfolk Archaeological Rescue Group, 3
- Norfolk Research Committee, 2
- orientation, 68, 69
- parochiae*, 101–2, 103
- pattern-welding, *seax*, 25
- pendants
- gold, 49–50
 - cornelian, 34, 51, 78, 80, 121
 - garnet, 18, 50, 77, 79, 111, 126
 - open-work, 29, 50–1, 77, 80, 118, 126
 - silver, 23, 29, 51, 116, 118
- phasing, 4; *see also* dating
- picks, 14, 110
- pillows, 18, 34, 70
- pin-suites, 7, 19, 53–4, 77, 107, 113
- pins, Dunston Field, 101
- pit, 23
- plough damage, 4
- point, iron, 23, 117
- Poringland, 104
- post-holes, 4, 34, 38
- pottery
- prehistoric, 18, 29, 35
 - Anglo-Saxon, 101
- pursemount/firesteel, 18, 56–8, 59, 112
- recording, 3–4
- relic box *see* threadbox
- relics, 64, 90, 104
- ring-ditches *see* round barrows
- rings, miscellaneous
- iron, 14, 35, 110, 121
 - silver-wire, 38, 78, 122
 - see also* chatelaines; festoons; hitch rings; knot-rings; suspension complex; toilet sets
- rivets
- bag?, 21, 114
 - combs?, 12, 14, 21, 29, 108, 110, 115, 119
 - garnet-headed, 15, 111
 - miscellaneous, 7, 20, 27, 114, 118
- Rockland, 104
- rods
- iron, 9, 21, 27, 29, 107, 115, 118, 119
 - silver, 34
- round barrows, 1, 2–3, 5, 68, 99, 124
- sceattas* *see* coins
- seax*, 25, 43–5, 117
- shears
- catalogue, 14, 18, 21, 27, 29, 34
 - discussion, 61
 - illustrations, 110, 111, 115, 118, 119, 121, 123
- sheaths, leather
- knives, 55, 56
 - seax*, 25, 43
 - shears, 14, 27, 29
- shell inlay, 80, 81
- shoe-buckles, 21, 59, 114
- shoelace tags, 21, 29, 34, 59, 114, 119, 121
- shrines, Iron Age/Romano-British, 4
- shrouds, 38, 41, 70
- Shudy Camps (Cambs), 97
- Sigeberht, King, 96
- spearhead, 39, 41, 42, 43, 122
- spindle-whorls, 29, 62, 119, 123
- split loop, 12, 65–6, 108
- spoons, 14, 34, 59–60, 110, 120
- status, evidence of, 64, 69, 98–9
- strap-end, Dunston Field, 101
- straps *see* belts and straps
- straw?, 40
- strips, copper alloy, 14, 21, 114–15
- studs, 29, 119; *see also* rivets
- Surlingham, 104
- suspension complex, 19, 66–7, 112, 125
- suspension-hitches, 31, 78, 120
- tags *see* shoelace tags
- terminals, zoomorphic, 19, 54, 77, 113, 126
- textile fragments, 123, 125
- catalogue, 83–8

clothing, 90
fibres and dyes, 82, 90–1
spinning and weaves, 89, 90
see also bags
Theodore, Archbishop, 105
Thornham (Norfolk), 97–8
threadbox, 19, 62–4, 90, 113, 125
toilet sets
 catalogue, 14, 31, 34, 110, 120
 discussion, 59–60
 metal analysis, 77, 78
topography, 2
tube, copper alloy, 19, 66, 67, 112

Venta Icenorum see Caistor St Edmund

Wake, T., 2

Washingford, 104
weapons *see* seax; spearhead
whetstones, 56
Whitlingham, 104
wood fragments
 awl handles, 25
 boxes and caskets, 10–12, 18, 64, 65–6
 bung-shaped object, 21, 115
 chatelaine, associated with, 21
 miscellaneous, 14, 20, 21, 29, 34
 see also coffins
wool, 82, 84–8, 89, 90–1
wool comb teeth, 22, 66, 116
Wymondham, 101 2, 103, 104

X-ray diffraction analysis, 76, 79, 80
X-ray fluorescence analysis, 76–9, 80

East Anglian Archaeology

is a serial publication sponsored by the Scole Archaeological Committee. The Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex Units, the Norwich Survey and the Fenland Project all contribute volumes to the series. It is the main vehicle for publishing final reports on archaeological excavations and surveys in the region. Copies and information about the contents of all volumes can be obtained from:

Phil McMichael, Essex County Council Archaeology Section
3B Montrose Road, Chelmsford, Essex CM2 6TE

or directly from the Archaeology Unit publishing a particular volume.

Reports available so far:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|---|--------|------|---|
| No.1, | 1975 | Suffolk: various papers | No.46, | 1989 | Norfolk: The Deserted Medieval Village of Thuxton |
| No.2, | 1976 | Norfolk: various papers | No.47, | 1989 | Suffolk: West Stow, Suffolk: Early Anglo-Saxon Animal Husbandry |
| No.3, | 1977 | Suffolk: various papers | No.48, | 1989 | Suffolk: West Stow, Suffolk: The Prehistoric and Romano-British Occupations |
| No.4, | 1976 | Norfolk: Late Saxon town of Thetford | No.49, | 1990 | Norfolk: The Evolution of Settlement in Three Parishes in South-East Norfolk |
| No.5, | 1977 | Norfolk: various papers on Roman sites | No.50, | 1993 | Proceedings of the Flatlands and Wetlands Conference |
| No.6, | 1977 | Norfolk: Spong Hill Anglo-Saxon cemetery | No.51, | 1991 | Norfolk: The Ruined and Disused Churches of Norfolk |
| No.7, | 1978 | Norfolk: Bergh Apton Anglo-Saxon cemetery | No.52, | 1991 | Norfolk: The Fenland Project No. 4, The Wissey Embayment and Fen Causeway |
| No.8, | 1978 | Norfolk: various papers | No.53, | 1992 | Norfolk: Excavations in Thetford, 1980–82, Fison Way |
| No.9, | 1980 | Norfolk: North Elmham Park | No.54, | 1992 | Norfolk: The Iron Age Forts of Norfolk |
| No.10, | 1980 | Norfolk: village sites in Launditch Hundred | No.55, | 1992 | Lincolnshire: The Fenland Project No.5: Lincolnshire Survey, The South-West Fens |
| No.11, | 1981 | Norfolk: Spong Hill, Part II | No.56, | 1992 | Cambridgeshire: The Fenland Project No.6: The South-Western Cambridgeshire Fens |
| No.12, | 1981 | The barrows of East Anglia | No.57, | 1993 | Norfolk and Lincolnshire: Excavations at Redgate Hill Hunstanton; and Tattershall Thorpe |
| No.13, | 1981 | Norwich: Eighteen centuries of pottery from Norwich | No.58, | 1993 | Norwich: Households: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971–1978 |
| No.14, | 1982 | Norfolk: various papers | No.59, | 1993 | Fenland: The South-West Fen Dyke Survey Project 1982–86 |
| No.15, | 1982 | Norwich: Excavations in Norwich 1971–1978; Part I | No.60, | 1993 | Norfolk: Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green, 1951–55 |
| No.16, | 1982 | Norfolk: Beaker domestic sites in the Fen-edge and East Anglia | No.61, | 1993 | Fenland: The Fenland Project No.7: Excavations in Peterborough and the Lower Welland Valley 1960–1969 |
| No.17, | 1983 | Norwich: Waterfront excavations and Thetford-type Ware production, Norwich | No.62, | 1993 | Norfolk: Excavations in Thetford by B.K. Davison, between 1964 and 1970 |
| No.18, | 1983 | Norfolk: The archaeology of Witton | No.63, | 1993 | Norfolk: Illington: A Study of a Breckland Parish and its Anglo-Saxon Cemetery |
| No.19, | 1983 | Norfolk: Two post-medieval earthenware pottery groups from Fulmodeston | No.64, | 1994 | Norfolk: The Late Saxon and Medieval Pottery Industry of Grimston: Excavations 1962–92 |
| No.20, | 1983 | Norfolk: Burgh Castle: excavation by Charles Green, 1958–61 | No.65, | 1993 | Suffolk: Settlements on Hill-tops: Seven Prehistoric Sites in Suffolk |
| No.21, | 1984 | Norfolk: Spong Hill, Part III | No.66, | 1993 | Lincolnshire: The Fenland Project No.8: Lincolnshire Survey, the Northern Fen-Edge |
| No.22, | 1984 | Norfolk: Excavations in Thetford, 1948–59 and 1973–80 | No.67, | 1994 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part V: Catalogue of Cremations |
| No.23, | 1985 | Norfolk: Excavations at Brancaster 1974 and 1977 | No.68, | 1994 | Norwich: Excavations at Fishergate, Norwich 1985 |
| No.24, | 1985 | Suffolk: West Stow, the Anglo-Saxon village | No.69, | 1994 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part VIII: The Cremations |
| No.25, | 1985 | Essex: Excavations by Mr H.P.Cooper on the Roman site at Hill Farm, Gestingthorpe, Essex | No.70, | 1994 | Fenland: The Fenland Project No.9: Flandrian Environmental Change in Fenland |
| No.26, | 1985 | Norwich: Excavations in Norwich 1971–78; Part II | No.71, | 1995 | Essex: The Archaeology of the Essex Coast Vol.I: The Hullbridge Survey Project |
| No.27, | 1985 | Cambridgeshire: The Fenland Project No.1: Archaeology and Environment in the Lower Welland valley | No.72, | 1995 | Norfolk: Excavations at Redcastle Furze, Thetford, 1988–9 |
| No.28, | 1985 | Norwich: Excavations within the north-east bailey of Norwich Castle, 1978 | No.73, | 1995 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part VII: Iron Age, Roman and Early Saxon Settlement |
| No.29, | 1986 | Norfolk: Barrow excavations in Norfolk, 1950–82 | No.74, | 1995 | Norfolk: A Late Neolithic, Saxon and Medieval Site at Middle Harling |
| No.30, | 1986 | Norfolk: Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton and Caistor St. Edmund, Norfolk | No.75, | 1995 | Essex: North Shoebury: Settlement and Economy in South-east Essex 1500–AD1500 |
| No.31, | 1986 | Norfolk: Settlement, religion and industry on the Fen-edge; three Romano-British sites in Norfolk | No.76, | 1996 | Nene Valley: Orton Hall Farm: A Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon Farmstead |
| No.32, | 1987 | Norfolk: Three Norman Churches in Norfolk | No.77, | 1996 | Norfolk: Barrow Excavations in Norfolk, 1984–88 |
| No.33, | 1987 | Essex: Excavation of a Cropmark Enclosure Complex at Woodham Walter, Essex, 1976 and An Assessment of Excavated Enclosures in Essex | No.78, | 1996 | Norfolk: The Fenland Project No.11: The Wissey Embayment: Evidence for pre-Iron Age Occupation |
| No.34, | 1987 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part IV: Catalogue of Cremations | No.79, | 1996 | Cambridgeshire: The Fenland Project No.10: Cambridgeshire Survey, The Isle of Ely and Wisbech |
| No.35, | 1987 | Cambridgeshire: The Fenland Project No.2: Fenland Landscapes and Settlement between Peterborough and March | No.80, | 1997 | Norfolk: Barton Bendish and Caldecote: fieldwork in south-west Norfolk |
| No.36, | 1987 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morningthorpe: Catalogue | No.81, | 1997 | Norfolk: Castle Rising Castle |
| No.37, | 1987 | Norwich: Excavations at St Martin-at-Palace Plain, Norwich, 1981 | No.82, | 1998 | Essex: Archaeology and the Landscape in the Lower Blackwater Valley |
| No.38, | 1987 | Suffolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds: Catalogue | No.83, | 1998 | Essex: Excavations south of Chignall Roman Villa 1977–81 |
| No.39, | 1988 | Norfolk: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Norfolk, Part VI: Occupation during the 7th–2nd millennia BC | No.84, | 1998 | Suffolk: A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material |
| No.40, | 1988 | Suffolk: Burgh: The Iron Age and Roman Enclosure | No.85, | 1998 | Suffolk: Towards a Landscape History of Walsham le Willows |
| No.41, | 1988 | Essex: Excavations at Great Dunmow, Essex: a Romano-British small town in the Trinovantian Civitas | No.86, | 1998 | Essex: Excavations at the Orsett 'Cock' Enclosure |
| No.42, | 1988 | Essex: Archaeology and Environment in South Essex, Rescue Archaeology along the Gray's By-pass 1979–80 | No.87, | 1999 | Norfolk: Excavations in Thetford, North of the River, 1989–90 |
| No.43, | 1988 | Essex: Excavation at the North Ring, Mucking, Essex: A Late Bronze Age Enclosure | No.88, | 1999 | Essex: Excavations at Ivy Chimneys, Witham 1978–83 |
| No.44, | 1988 | Norfolk: Six Deserted Villages in Norfolk | No.89, | 1999 | Lincolnshire: Salters: Excavations at Helpringham, Holbeach St Johns and Bicker Haven |
| No.45, | 1988 | Norfolk: The Fenland Project No. 3: Marshland and the Nar Valley, Norfolk | No.90, | 1999 | Essex: The Archaeology of Ardeleigh, Excavations 1955–80 |
| | | | No.91, | 2000 | Norfolk: Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91 Part I Bixley, Caistor St Edmund, Trowse |
| | | | No.92, | 2000 | Norfolk: Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91 Part II Harford Farm |

Contents

HARFORD FARM, CAISTOR ST EDMUND