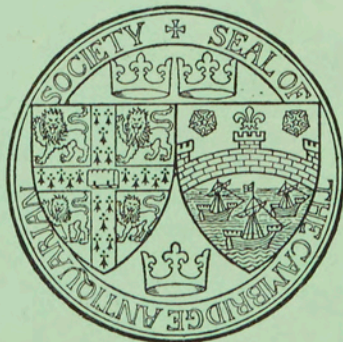


A CEMETERY AT LACKFORD
SUFFOLK

REPORT OF THE EXCAVATION
OF A CEMETERY OF THE PAGAN
ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD
IN 1947

COMPILED AND ILLUSTRATED
by
T. C. LETHBRIDGE, F.S.A.



CAMBRIDGE:
PUBLISHED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
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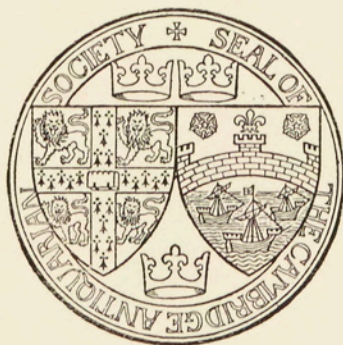
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EDITORIAL NOTE

WHEN in 1949 the Society issued its *Proceedings* in a new form, with larger page and improved type, the Council stated that it did not feel that it would be necessary to issue any more volumes in the Quarto Series. In the case of the present publication the Council has departed from its original intention by issuing this volume in the same form as earlier volumes in the New Series of Quarto Publications, for the benefit of those who may wish to bind all Mr Lethbridge's valuable Excavation Reports in one volume, or in uniform volumes.

CONTENTS

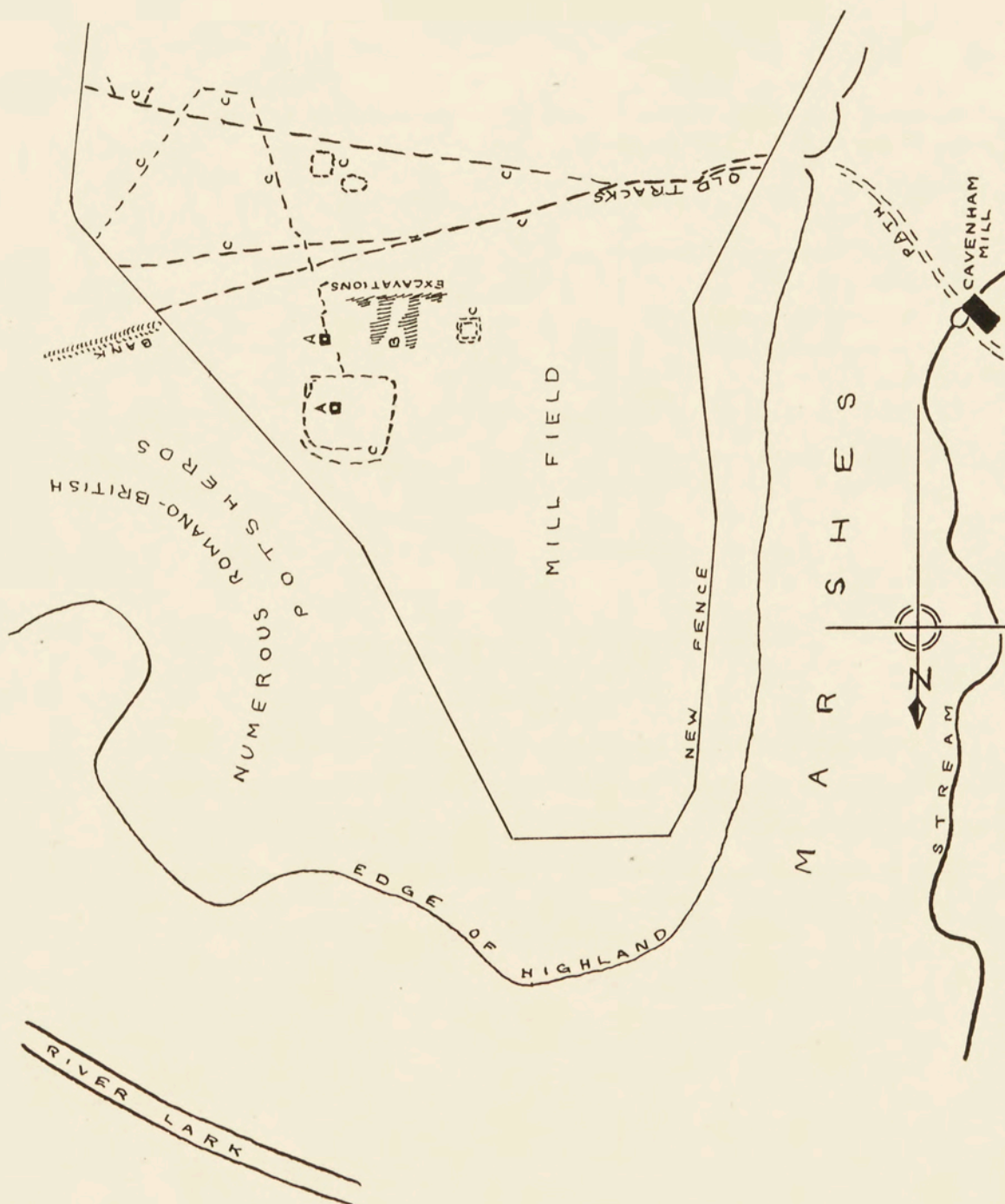
	PAGE
A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk: Report of the Excavation of a Cemetery of the Pagan Anglo-Saxon Period in 1947.	1
General Notes.	
1. Ornamental Styles	12
2. Combs, Tweezers and Shears	12
3. Holed Pots	13
4. Origins of the Lackford People	13
5. Illustrations of Pots	14
6. Stamps on Pottery	14
7. Distribution of Wares of Various Potters	15
Description of Text-figures.	16

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLANS

- I. Sketch-map to show the surroundings of the Lackford cemetery. (*Page viii*)
- II. The excavated portion of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Lackford. (*Page 2*)
- III. The arrangement of the cemetery c. A.D. 500. (*Page 5*)
- IV. Plan of the most northerly crop-mark together with that of a Roman tomb. (*Page 7*)

35 TEXT-FIGURES



Plan I. Sketch-map (scale approximately $\frac{1}{1000}$) to show the surroundings of the Lackford cemetery. A = Roman foundations. B = Site of excavations (the cremations were ploughed out as far as the northern side of the most northerly crop mark and up to the central track-way). C = Crop marks.

A CEMETERY AT LACKFORD, SUFFOLK:
REPORT OF THE EXCAVATION OF A CEMETERY OF
THE PAGAN ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD IN 1947

THE existence of this cemetery has been known for many years. Generations of warreners working on the Mill Heath, between Cavenham Mill and the Icknield Way crossing of the Lark at Lackford, have discovered numerous cinerary urns which found their way into various museums, notably the Ashmolean at Oxford and Moyses Hall at Bury St Edmunds. The exact site, however, was not known till 1945, when the peninsula of breckland opposite Cavenham Mill (Plan I) was ploughed up for the first time in many years. The site had been ploughed before, probably during the Napoleonic wars, as could be clearly seen on air photographs. In 1945 Miss T. Home of Cavenham Hall, now Mrs J. Briscoe, observed that an urnfield was being ploughed away. Owing to petrol shortages and other difficulties, it was not possible to undertake serious investigation of the site for two years, by which time Mr Sam Marston of Icklingham Mill was also urging us to investigate the matter. Accordingly, as the site was threatened with deep ploughing, permission was obtained from Mr Gough, the owner of the land, for investigations to be carried out. Through his kindness we have been enabled to excavate some five hundred cremations, which probably represent much less than half the total number of burials on the site.

At least thirty urns were ploughed out to the south of our excavations before we started work and very many others have undoubtedly been destroyed by former ploughing. A great number also have been displaced, smashed or removed by warreners, for the site was honeycombed by rabbit burrows. Blank patches in the urnfield (Plan II) probably give some indication of the extent of these former depredations. Bracken roots had reduced many urns to the condition of baskets and some were so soft that it was impossible to extricate them with any hope of future restoration. The number that remains, however, in a recognizable condition is so large that publication is a serious problem which will, I hope, be met to some extent by this report. The site has now been planted with spruce trees. It might be thought that these would destroy the very large number of urns still remaining in the ground. As, however, most of the area has already been ploughed to a depth of 15 in. and the spruce is a shallow-rooted tree, there is hope that the remainder of the cemetery will be available at some future date for more leisureed and thorough investigation than we have been able to give it.

The Society's thanks are due to Mr Gough for his kindness in permitting the work on his land, to Lady and Mrs Briscoe, Mr Sam Marston and the Mildenhall Archaeological Society. Other voluntary helpers were too numerous to mention, but we must not forget our members Mr S. Hopkin and Mr C. F. Tebbutt, who brought paid labour at their own expense, and Major Gordon Fowler, Dr Grahame Clark and Dr Hogg, who organized and brought out teams of eager volunteers. The site was triangulated to the 6 in. Ordnance Map by Dr G. H. S. Bushnell, and Dr Hogg surveyed one of the two small Roman buildings adjacent to the cemetery. Mr J. F. Head very kindly contributed £5 towards the cost of the excavation.



Plan II. The excavated portion of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Lackford.

(The top of the plan is true west)

The site appears to be entirely one of cremation burial. No skeletons were found in any of the excavations or trial holes, with the exception of a few human bones at the bottom of one of the little Roman buildings. As these were probably burial vaults rifled in Saxon times, it is thought that the occurrence of these bones has nothing to do with the Anglo-Saxon cemetery itself. No skeletons have ever been reported from the site.

The burials were in many cases covered by a layer or heap of flint nodules or Roman tiles, which were doubtless taken from the ruined Roman buildings for the purpose. It seems reasonable to suppose that these heaps of stones were intended as visible memorials on the original surface of the ground. If this reasoning is correct, at least 1 ft. of blown sand has accumulated above the urns since they were deposited. This is no doubt due to the cultivation of the land southwards of the site. The urns were therefore clearly buried only a short way beneath the surface of the ground and, in places where the blown sand did not accumulate, they have probably been ploughed out long ago. The subsoil is a gravel terrace and in Saxon times there appears to have been between 1 ft. and 18 in. of sandy soil above it. The holes for the cremations seldom penetrated into the subsoil, but in cases where they did so the urns were normally of a relatively early period.

Examples were not infrequently found of pots put into the ground one above the other. In other cemetery investigations it has usually been assumed that the lower urn belonged to an earlier period than the one above it. Our observations did little to confirm this suggestion. In most cases I am convinced that the pots were put in together and either represent the ashes of two or more individuals buried at the same time or collections made of the ashes of one individual in two or more pots.

A similar arrangement was also found when two or more pots were put into the same hole side by side. When this could be accurately observed, it is clear that the pots were contemporary. In one interesting example three pots were put in together; no. 49,23 contained no bones, no. 50,159 B very few and no. 49,1 a complete filling of cremation (see Fig. 20). In one case at least these pots appear to have been enclosed in a bag or sack (Fig. 18: no. 48,2480; Fig. 33: no. 50,130).

In a few cases it was possible to observe that a pot had been definitely put in at a later date than one beneath it and was separated from it by some inches of soil filling.

It was observed that children were frequently cremated, often very young ones. Bones of dog, sheep and red deer show that these animals were also burnt with the dead. Male and female burials could often be distinguished by the burnt remains of brooches, beads, weapons and other objects recovered from the pots. An examination of the grave goods and the pots themselves shows clearly that the cemetery extended in time from the earliest settlement to the very close of the pagan period in eastern England. There is no trace of the so-called 'flight from cremation', which has often figured in text-books on Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Cremation survived here to the end of paganism.

The investigation of this cemetery has probably been of as great importance as the digging of many inhumation cemeteries far richer in surviving grave goods. From it we can now look forward to a time when Anglo-Saxon pottery will be of as great value for dating purposes as rich jewels or important bronzes. A badly fired pot made of coarse earthenware is not an object which is likely to survive for many years in a

primitive household, whereas a brooch may be treasured for several generations. A properly established time-scale for pot forms would be of great value for dating purposes. The Lackford cemetery provides important clues to the establishment of such a scale.

The cemetery also affords evidence of another kind. It is possible to show that pots made by one manufacturer travelled as far away from Lackford as Little Wilbraham and Cambridge to the south-west and Pensthorpe near Fakenham in the north. Pots in pagan Saxon England were therefore made for sale and distribution. The old idea of women making pots for one household's use can now be abandoned. J. N. L. Myres is responsible for our success in this study, for it was he who first pointed out¹ that pots could be attributed with certainty to individual makers. We shall look forward to a great advance in this direction when other students enter this field of research, and it is for this reason that I am inflicting upon the reader so many illustrations of pots and stamps in the hope that they may be recognized even further afield.

The question of origin of the people buried in this cemetery is a very interesting one. Many attempts have been made in the past to differentiate Angle from Saxon graveyards. The early form of cruciform brooch (Fig. 2: no. 48,2491) has usually been accepted as a guide indicating Anglian settlement and the ornate stamp-decorated 'buckelurn' (Fig. 2: no. 49,581) as indicating the presence of Saxon settlers from the Elbe-Weser district of Germany. Recently J. N. L. Myres² has distinguished the pottery of Anglian settlers coming from homes in Frisia. At Lackford we have found early cruciform brooches, urns of 'Saxon' and 'Angle' types and those of Frisian Angles (Fig. 7: no. 49,15). But the Anglian cruciform brooches have been found in pots of Saxon type (Fig. 2: nos. 48,2491 and 48,2282). Further than this we have found several vessels which closely resemble the very latest debased form of pottery found on such Romano-British sites as Verulamium and Richborough (Fig. 25: nos. 48,2289 and 49,180). It seems probable that the Lackford cemetery represents the blending of three groups of peoples at an early stage of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, Angles, Saxons and Romano-Britons. Each element at first retained some of the characteristics of its own form of pottery, but before long they all merged together and ultimately produced a style of pottery which is characteristic and which can be tied in accurately to the accepted typological sequence of ornaments of the pagan period.

I propose to call this pottery the 'Icklingham' type for convenience. The reason I choose this name is that opposite the cemetery on the further bank of the Lark are extensive Romano-British pottery kilns, which appear to have been in use throughout the Roman period. It seems most probable that the same clay was used for the production of these Anglo-Saxon pots.

The 'Icklingham' pottery can be dated to the period when the best large square-headed brooches were in use in eastern England. One Icklingham pot at Lackford contained a portion of such a brooch and a fragment of a silver armlet (Fig. 17: no. 50,126), both of which are clearly contemporary with their counterparts in the richest grave at Holywell Row (Grave 11).³ There is reason for thinking that ornaments

¹ *Antiquity*, vol. XI, p. 389.

² 'Some English Parallels to the Anglo-Saxon Pottery of Holland and Belgium in the Migration Period', *L'Antiquité Classique*, XVII.

³ Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (C.A.S. Quarto Publications, New Series, No. III), fig. 2.



Plan III. Arrangement of the cemetery c. A.D. 500. Not all the burials shown can be dated with absolute certainty and other early burials have probably been left out. This plan, however, shows the sporadic character of the early burials and that no system was employed. S=Saxon, F=Friscian Angle, A=Angle. It is probable, however, that all A's should be F's.

of this kind are not earlier than A.D. 550 and they may well be considerably later than is at present believed.¹

The Icklingham type of pot is a globular jar or bowl, ornamented with several fine neck-grooves. It has often one or more horizontal zones of stamped ornament separated by three or four fine grooves and below that either a zone of pendant shield-shaped panels filled with stamped ornament, or a similar zone of incised chevrons (Fig. 18: nos. 49,3; 48,2480; 48,2476; etc.). It can be shown that identical stamps were used on many of these vessels, not only at Lackford but also at Little Wilbraham, West Stow Heath and the St John's College cemetery at Cambridge. The pots are very regular and well fired, and it seems possible that some form of rotating platform was used to throw them, but not a true wheel. The decoration of these pots combines the features of at least two peoples. The stamp ornament, ultimately derived from provincial Roman ideas, is characteristic of the Saxons; while the chevrons incised on some are characteristic of the Frisian Angles. The actual form may reflect Romano-British ideas.

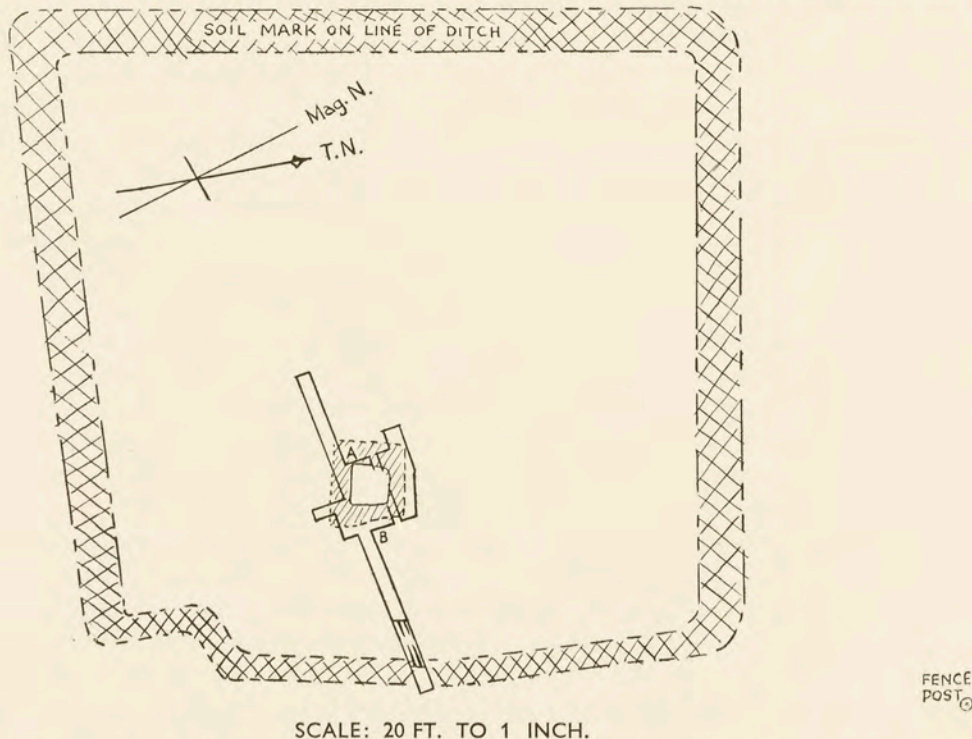
All this might well have been expected, but a surprise comes in when the potter wished to produce a pot of more than ordinary grandeur (Fig. 18: no. 48,2475). He then went deliberately back to customs of an older time. He ornamented his globular jar with applied neck cordons and divided the body into vertical panels with applied bands. In the panels he inserted large applied swastikas.

Mr Myres suggests to me that this is a deliberate piece of reversion for funerary purposes and compares it to the modern horse-drawn hearse, the nodding plumes, the top-hats and all the rest of it. He may be right, but I am not yet to be convinced that any pottery was made deliberately for funerals. I feel that all pottery was made for domestic use, which is borne out by the pieces of ornamented pottery often found on the floors of the huts of this period, and in fact in most periods. It is more probable that this archaic form of ornamentation is the only form that the potter knew for making a really elaborate pot. It may even be possible to recognize the survival of the tradition on late Saxon and medieval storage jars. In other periods we have found that the most elaborate vessels used for funerary purposes and formerly thought to have been baked specially for that purpose were the actual domestic vessels of the time. This does not exclude the possibility of some relative's making a special journey to buy a fine pot for the dead person's ashes, but I think he may just as frequently have tipped the milk or corn out of a pot already standing on the floor of the hut. There is no apparent relationship between the good appearance of the pot and the quality of the objects burned with the dead. If anything the reverse is the case. The fine objects already mentioned were contained in one of the poorest examples of the Icklingham type, while more than one unornamented vessel contained the remains of expensive objects (Fig. 14: nos. 50,71 and 50,127).

It is reasonable to suppose that hundreds of pots were used and broken in a village, for every one which found its way into the cemetery as a container of human remains. Most of the fragments of these broken pots would be thrown out of the houses and be ultimately destroyed. Only a comparatively small number would be preserved from frost and weather action by being trampled into the floors of huts or the ground outside. The output of a potter, like the Icklingham craftsman, was therefore considerable.

¹ E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*.

Since he was supplying vessels to places as far away as Cambridge and Wilbraham, it is probable that he was engaged in potting for a livelihood and did no other work. Here then is a definite tradesman in the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. There was also a local blacksmith to hammer out the innumerable iron spears, knives, shield bosses, buckles and farming gear. It is probable that there were others also. The picture always being drawn for us of the primitive village community supplying all its own wants is clearly in need of revision. Who, for instance, made and supplied the mass of bronze ornaments



Plan IV. Plan of the most northerly crop-mark shown on Plan I together with that of a Roman foundation (tomb), marked AB.

worn by the women, the combs broken and buried in every third pot, the numerous bronze bowls whose melted fragments are quite common in the urns? Where did the people buy the chatelaine rings of elephant ivory, of which a dozen examples were found at Lackford? These all had to be paid for out of local produce. There must have been wool, iron, bronze and leather merchants and probably dealers in grain. The roads and rivers of eastern England carried more traffic than has hitherto been supposed. Life was primitive no doubt, but each village was not entirely cut off from contact with the outside world.

It seems quite unnecessary to give a detailed description of each pot. Not only would this be tedious to read and costly to publish, but when there is nothing in the contents of a particular vessel to give any information as to its possible date, its description appears to be of small importance. I have, however, endeavoured to draw as many individual pots as possible and notes are supplied whenever they appear to be of value to the study.

The site of the Lackford cemetery lies in an area which has yielded a very large number of late Romano-British discoveries. Since these form the immediate background of the earliest burials in the cemetery, it seems necessary to include some note of them.

In the *Antiquaries Journal* of 1925, Miss Nina Layard reported the discovery of crowns and metal head-dresses on Cavenham Heath. These crowns are now celebrated. They are thought to have formed part of the outfit worn by priests when officiating in a temple. Miss Layard did not give the exact position of the find: 'the position in which the crowns were found is on a slight elevation overlooking the marshes on the right bank of the river Lark. It lies midway between the Icknield Way, and the so-called Black Ditches. Opposite, and across the valley, at the village of Icklingham, considerable Roman remains have come to light.' She dug some trenches on the site and found brown soft paste pottery, which was thought to be of Early Iron Age date, and also a bronze feather from a crown. Inquiries revealed that J. Harding of Lackford had found the crowns on the cemetery field. Mr Ashley, who obtained them from him and passed them on to Miss Layard, visited the field and was of the opinion that the find was made either on the site of the cemetery itself or very close to it. The soft paste pottery may well have been from Anglo-Saxon cinerary urns.

In the cemetery itself, we excavated the ruins of two small rectangular Romano-British buildings, which are thought to have been rifled burial vaults. Traces of banks and ditches, which probably once enclosed small fields, are still visible. These are probably Romano-British in date and do not actually surround the cemetery. Burials were found, scattered by the plough, both within and outside them. A former Romano-British settlement site is indicated by numerous scattered potsherds some 200 yards north of the cemetery, but not on the site of the cemetery itself. It is possible that this was also the site of the Anglo-Saxon village, but the fact could only be proved by considerable excavation, which cannot now be undertaken owing to the planting of trees there.

On the Icklingham bank of the Lark at least two large hoards of late Roman silver coins have been found.¹ Two or more hoards of pewter table ware have also been recovered; and these are preserved in the British Museum and the Cambridge Museum. These are both collections of late fourth- or fifth-century objects. There is an extensive Roman house, and numerous burials and late pottery kilns. A large leaden cistern, or trough, was also recovered here, with a 'chi-rho' on its side.

It therefore appears that there was a large and relatively wealthy late Romano-British population living in the neighbourhood of the Icknield Way crossing of the Lark. This was succeeded very early in the Anglo-Saxon period by settlements, whose inhabitants were buried in the cemeteries of Icklingham, West Stow Heath and Lackford. Some brooches from West Stow and Lackford belong to the very earliest Anglo-Saxon series, with the exception of those from Dorchester-on-Thames, which are probably earlier than the general Anglo-Saxon settlement. A village apparently of Anglo-Saxon type awaits excavation between the West Stow pottery kilns and the sewage works.

It seems probable that if any Romano-British community was completely wiped out during the Anglo-Saxon settlement period, this fate would have overtaken that of the

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle* (1908), p. 215; (1929), p. 319.

Icklingham district, which lies beside the Icknield Way. From the earliest times, however, the people buried at Lackford appear to have been a mixed community. There are, as I said before, pottery vessels of Saxon forms, others of Angle and Frisian-Angle types and yet others of debased Romano-British shapes. In pots of Saxon type, there are brooches of Anglian design. In a pot of Frisian-Angle form, there was a silver finger-ring exactly like one found in one of the hoards of late Roman silver at Icklingham, and a Romano-British bronze spoon together with an annular bronze brooch of a type which appears to have originated in this country. A small penannular brooch, presumably ploughed out of a cremation, was picked up in the cemetery and can be exactly matched in the same Icklingham hoard. The population buried at Lackford therefore has the appearance, admittedly based on evidence which is slender but is nevertheless of some circumstantial value, of being a complete blend of three racial groups, Angle, Saxon and Briton. If this is the case at a place obviously so exposed to acts of war, it seems reasonable to assume a similar blending over most of the country.

The trade of the potter itself will not be properly understood until we have found and excavated the shops and kilns at which he worked. It is possible, however, to make some observations about it. The Anglo-Saxon potter of the sixth century appears to have had no knowledge of the true wheel, although it is possible that in some cases he used some kind of turn-table. He had as models to guide him the pot forms of the Frisian Angles, decorated with grooves and lines, and those of the Saxons often covered with bosses and stamped decoration. It is obvious that Romano-British potsherds, and even surviving vessels of that age, must have influenced his thought. In the sixth century he was beginning to give up the grotesque and unpractical forms of the Saxon 'bossed urns' in favour of more simplified shapes, which were easier to use and keep clean. He was combining the linear ornament of the Frisian Angles with the stamp decoration of the Saxons, both originally borrowed from provincial Roman potters.

Where and how the work was done is as yet unknown, but it is clear that a man like the Icklingham potter had a considerable variety of stamps ready to his hand as he worked. Some of these stamps may have been of wood, but, by a curious chance, a bone stamp, which had been partly cremated, was found among the ashes with the great square-headed brooch and silver armlet in pot no. 50,126 (Fig. 17). There must also have been bone burnishers and tools for making the grooved linear ornament. Many such bone tools have been found in other cultures. They are similar to those used by children to model in plasticine; pencil-shaped bone rods with a blunt point at one end and the other cut to a chisel edge.

One result of the mixed origins of the Anglo-Saxon culture is to be seen in the remarkable diversity of shape and ornament found in the pottery. It is clear that an ordinary typological study can no longer be employed. One potter (Fig. 21: nos. 49,35; 49,282; 49,283) may either fit ring-feet to his pots or leave them with round bases. He may use a mixture of half a dozen of his available stamps to decorate one pot and employ a different selection on another (Fig. 18: nos. 48,2475 and 48,2477). He may make large numbers of plain pots and bowls with a few stamps, grooves or lines on them and suddenly produce a highly ornamental vessel with raised cordons, swastikas and panels. A general fusing of ornamental ideas and simplification of shape can be observed. In the sixth century we may undoubtedly recognize the gradual formation of an Anglo-

Saxon type of pottery, which combined the ideas of Angle, Saxon and provincial Roman and which in its turn was to have some influence on the pot forms of central England in late Saxon and medieval times. The general acceptance of this truly Anglo-Saxon type of pottery, of which the Icklingham potter was an energetic producer, can be tied in date to the period of the finest square-headed brooches, silver spiral armlets, elaborate cruciform brooches and so on. It probably can be dated to c. A.D. 550–600. The reasons which lead me to this conclusion are as follows:

(1) The actual date of the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon settlement in East Anglia cannot be fixed with great accuracy. J. N. L. Myres' hint, however, in his recent paper in *L'Antiquité Classique* mentioned above, that the Frisian-Anglian elements in the pottery from cemeteries in eastern England may be due to the deliberate settlement of Teutonic mercenaries as a defensive screen against the Picts, seems very probable. If this is the correct explanation, then the Anglian elements observed in the cemeteries outside the towns of Caister-by-Norwich, Lincoln and Cambridge, are due to the plan adopted by Vortigern in the years following A.D. 450. It should be noted that this screen of mercenaries would then have been given land in the areas which were not occupied by Belgic tribes at the time of the Roman Conquest. The Belgic tribes were the most highly organized elements in the country at the time of this conquest and remained the most civilized throughout the Roman occupation. For a hundred years after A.D. 450 most of the warfare described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* appears to have resulted from attempts by the Anglo-Saxons to dominate the Belgic areas. In other words, the Anglo-Saxons were originally settled in the non-Belgic country on the usual terms of the Later Roman Empire: they were given a third of the land they were expected to defend. No warfare is recorded from this area because the settlement was peaceful. The warfare took place in the Belgic areas when the Anglo-Saxons were tempted to take land therein.

If there is any truth in this argument, then from the middle of the fifth century onwards the history of eastern England was one of peaceful settlement and gradual mixing of populations. This appears to be borne out by the character of the objects recovered from graves and settlement sites. Anglo-Saxon objects are found in Romano-British villages. Romano-British objects are found in Anglo-Saxon houses and Romano-British objects in Anglo-Saxon graves. More than this, the style of ornamentation which developed in the pagan period in eastern England appears to be largely derived from provincial Roman ornament applied to objects of general Teutonic form. The Icklingham potter was working at a time when this form of ornament was fully developed.

(2) The duration of the pagan period cannot in itself be exactly defined. The date of the earliest Christian missions has, however, been recorded; A.D. 630 is the recorded date of the first mission to East Anglia. This was followed by a nominal conversion of the court. But a reversion to paganism intervened before finally the East Anglian royal family settled down to Christianity towards the middle of the seventh century. Yet this is no guarantee that Christianity became the established religion of the whole of East Anglia. It seems probable that in outlying villages paganism would have lingered on for many years. From what we know of the conservative outlook of the English countryman, it seems reasonable to suppose that one generation or even two would be needed to remove all trace of pagan worship.

It follows from this that our pagan cemeteries continued in use, not only down to A.D. 630, but probably many years longer. The pagan period lasted for at least two hundred years. We must study our culture not only against the dating of objects worked out by students on the Continent, but against our own historical knowledge. Our time-scale appears to be at least as worthy of consideration as any of theirs. To the best of my belief, our ancient written records are as good or better than anything to be found in the Teutonic lands and, if our results do not agree with those of German or Scandinavian research workers, the error is as likely to be found on their side of the North Sea as on this.

We have then a period of some two hundred years, from *c.* A.D. 450 to *c.* A.D. 650, into which we have to fit our typological sequences of weapons, ornaments and pottery vessels. No successful study of the weapons, other than swords, has yet been attempted. Much work has, however, been done on the ornaments, especially the brooches.

The most complete typology so far worked out is that of the cruciform brooches. These can be shown to have developed from small and undistinguished objects which occur both on the Continent and in Britain. It is to be presumed therefore that these are the types that were in use at the time of the first settlement, which is probably later than A.D. 450. These cruciform brooches went through a long series of changes and became more and more elaborate. Since, however, we do not find large numbers of women's graves in East Anglia which are not provided with these brooches, or contain other brooches or ornaments equally valuable to take the place of them, it can surely be inferred that the development of the cruciform brooch extended over almost the whole of the pagan period, and we can assume that some cruciform brooches were still being worn well into the seventh century.

At a certain stage in the development of the cruciform brooch, a new brooch form made its appearance in eastern England (Fig. 17), the large square-headed one. This can be tied into the time sequence of the cruciform brooches by many grave groups with associated objects such as small brooches and wrist clasps. It can be shown from comparative study that the large square-headed brooches begin to appear when the cruciform brooches have already become very elaborate (e.g. Fig. 16). That is somewhere at or after the middle point in this development was reached. It seems reasonable then to conclude that the big square-headed brooches made their appearance in East Anglia about the middle of the pagan period and perhaps later. But these big square-headed brooches have been found in association with the work of the Icklingham potter. Since it is very unusual to find new brooches buried with the dead, whereas pots on the whole have a short life, it is probable that the Icklingham potter was at work after the middle of the sixth century and probably towards the end of it.

The Icklingham potter was, however, only one of many. Other potters retained various primitive features in their work to the end. No. 49,584 (Fig. 28), a coarse and primitive pot ornamented with bosses and scratched designs, contained a silver ring from a necklace of the type found at Shudy Camps and Burwell, and may be dated to about the middle of the seventh century.

GENERAL NOTES

1. ORNAMENTAL STYLES

The barbaric ornament of the migration period, ultimately derived from naturalistic designs of the Roman world, has long been divided into two styles. Style I is well shown on the fragments of two large square-headed brooches from Lackford (Fig. 17), and was evolved by applying a chip-carving technique to late provincial Roman themes. Style II is later and does not occur at Lackford. It appears, however, that these barbaric styles and their variants, such as Kendrick's 'helmet style' (*Anglo-Saxon Art*, fig. 14), were not the only means of expression available in pagan Saxon times. The idea of attempting to represent things as they really appeared to the eye was not altogether unknown. The figures of horses engraved on the two pots (Fig. 8: nos. 49,4 and 48,2485) from Lackford are attempts to draw horses as they appeared to the potter's eye. One is drawn broadside on with its ears raised; another with its head turned to face the artist; a third with arched neck and raised tail. This is primitive 'naturalistic' art and an absolute contrast to the formal barbaric styles.

When we come to look more closely at the great mass of objects preserved from the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, it is clear that this 'naturalistic' idea was not really uncommon. There are quite a number of local objects on which animals are depicted in a way quite different from that of Style I or II. There is, for instance, the sword from the river Lark¹ on which three boars have been engraved; there are the silver 'applied' brooches from St John's College with crude representations of wolves (Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. III, fig. v); there is the bronze 'hanging bowl' from Hildersham, with applied figures of dogs (not yet published). At Lackford itself a small triangular bone comb from no. 50,22 A has had three or more figures of boars, two of which are now broken, carved on its back (Fig. 6). The pot no. 48,2487, from Lackford, has been stamped with figures of dogs (Fig. 31) and no. 48,248 (Fig. 31) has been stamped with those of ducks. The work-box from Burwell (Grave 32), shows the figure of a man killing a dragon (*Recent Excavations*, fig. 28).

It is clear that in our Cambridge area naturalistic ornament was not so rare as we had been led to expect. If the area is extended, we find a drawing of a galley on a pot from Caister-by-Norwich, other stamped figures of animals from the same cemetery and from Markshall, Norfolk. There is the bronze stag and enamelled fish from Sutton Hoo, the Lullingstone 'hanging bowl' with its stags and other beasts, and the boar on the Benty Grange helmet.

It seems evident, therefore, that we must recognize two contemporary ideas of art in pagan Saxon England: the one a highly conventionalized and barbarized version of late provincial Roman themes, the other a primitive attempt to represent things as they appear to be. A boar must be made to look something like a boar, even if it is no more like one than an Irish bog-oak pig. For convenience some name must be given to this second idea, and at the moment I can think of nothing better than 'Anglo-Saxon Naturalistic' style. This style appears to be the ancestor of the 'Anglian Beast' style of early Christian England. It probably had a dual origin. Freely drawn animal figures have been found in Angeln and Frisia, but the stamped ornaments and applied figures on hanging bowls may well have come from Romano-British sources.

2. COMBS, TWEEZERS AND SHEARS

It has been observed that the inclusion of these objects in cremations is in a different category from that of the partly burnt or melted things which are found in burials. The combs, tweezers and shears were invariably unburnt when they were placed in the funerary urn. The combs, in practically every case, had been deliberately broken. Their inclusion in the urn was clearly

¹ C.A.S. xxxII, Pl. VIII.

magical. They were objects so closely associated with the personality of the dead individual that no one must be allowed to use them again. Combs, tweezers and shears were in each case associated with the hair of the dead person and, as we know, the hair could be used for sympathetic magic. These toilet articles were therefore placed with the dead to prevent any unauthorized person, or demon, using them for an evil purpose. The comb in particular had to be deliberately 'killed'. As the original belief grew weaker, small dummy or token copies were put in the urns as symbols of the real things. These were often very roughly made. The original purpose had been forgotten. Since dummies were already being made before the Anglo-Saxons left their homeland, it is clear that the belief was very ancient. Professor J. H. Hutton has given me instances of similar beliefs still surviving in India and the East.

3. HOLED POTS

A large proportion of the cremation urns had a hole deliberately cut in their sides or bottoms. In theory this would have been done to permit the spirit of the dead person to come in and out of the pot at will. Since, however, cremation was supposed to release the spirit from being earth-bound, some confusion of ideas is apparent here. Some were probably used as churns, as was the case in recent times in the Hebrides.

4. ORIGINS OF THE LACKFORD PEOPLE

In view of the conflicting views of different scholars regarding the origins of the English people, some importance must be attached to an analysis of the pot forms from Lackford. It has long been appreciated that certain forms originated in the district of Germany between the rivers Elbe and Weser. Pots of types well known from the cemetery of Wester-Wanna in Stade, etc., are represented at Lackford (e.g. Figs. 1, 2, 4 and 9). It is to be supposed that these are the work of Saxon potters. A very large proportion of the Lackford pots, however, appear to have been made by potters whose recent homes had been in Frisia (e.g. Figs. 7 and 8). These have been described as the work of Frisian Angles by J. N. L. Myres.¹

In the course of a long correspondence with Professor Dr H. Jankuhn of Kiel, who has been working on the subject of the pottery of Angeln, it has become clear to me that Frisian pottery is probably a mixture of Angle with sub-Roman elements of another kind. The typical Frisian-Angle pottery (e.g. Fig. 7) may perhaps be regarded as genuine 'Frisian'. If so a very large proportion of the Lackford people were Frisians.

True Angles, however, seem to have been also represented. The highly ornamental Angle pottery is not found, but the plain domestic pot forms (e.g. Fig. 24: no. 50,178 A; Fig. 26: nos. 50,143 A and 50,40) are relatively numerous and have been found in such cemeteries as Little Wilbraham.²

There are types of pot in fact from all the Continental areas, starting in Schleswig in the north and ending in the Frisian 'terps' of Holland. There can be no question of an early settlement of Angles subsequently replaced by Saxons or vice versa. There also appears to be a sub-Romano-British element (e.g. Fig. 25: nos. 49,180; 48,2289; 50,226; etc.). All these ethnic groups merged to form the East Angles and their ideas of making pottery merged also.

This form of mixed settlement can hardly have been the result of warlike invasion. It has much more the appearance of settlement by individual family groups comparable to the colonization of America.

¹ Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*.

² Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (C.A.S. Quarto Publications, New Series, No. III), Pl. VI.

5. ILLUSTRATIONS OF POTS

It may take from 1 hour to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours to produce a scale-drawing of an Anglo-Saxon pot. It is clear therefore that the work of illustrating a large cemetery is considerable. In theory one should illustrate every pot. In practice this is more trouble than it is worth.

I have therefore attempted to draw every pot which I feel may be of value to other students. This means every early pot which may have some bearing on the origins of the early settlers; every pot which contained some recognizable object; every pot associated with another type; groups of vessels by the same hand; and all pots of late date.

It is clear that the early pottery is the easiest to understand. Saxon, Frisian and Angle forms can be identified. This presumably takes us down to c. A.D. 500. There is then a large number of pots dating from the middle portion of the sixth century. Between the first and second groups there is a gap about which I can say very little, for very few associated objects were found which can be fitted into this period. It is clear, however, that most pots, which do not belong to either the early group or the mid-sixth-century group, must belong to this half-century.

Statistics, although fashionable at the moment, cannot help us much here, for it is clear that the peoples who came over from the Continent were not single tribes each with a uniform culture. They were peoples whose cultures were already much mixed and who mixed once more in this country. Thus a pot of Saxon type may betray a mixture of traits of ornamentation, some of which came from the Scandinavian north, others from central Europe and others again from the Roman provinces. This mingling of types should be investigated in the skeletal material from our cemeteries. There is no pure breed of Angle or Saxon.

All the pot drawings have been reduced to the scale of one-quarter. The associated objects are drawn full size and so are all stamps on pots and figures drawn on them. I have drawn most pots whole. It is of little importance to know the thickness of a pot at the expense of losing half its ornament. Museum numbers are given first, excavation numbers in brackets.

6. STAMPS ON POTTERY

The most important part of this report lies not in the drawings of pots or of the objects which they contained, but in the drawings of the stamp impressions. A potter may shape his pot like any of the many forms known to him; but directly he puts his hand into his tool-kit, selects a stamp and presses it into the clay, he signs it. The impression of the stamp will vary with the angle at which the potter holds it and with the force he uses to press it home, and so the drawing of one particular impression may vary quite appreciably from another; but the individuality of a stamp is recognizable. Some stamps are so simple that they may not be of value singly for identification purposes, but a very large number are cut in a characteristic manner and can be identified with certainty. I have therefore attempted to make accurate drawings of every stamp found at Lackford. A few may have missed my eye, but not many.

To give just one instance of the value of these stamps, I happened to be looking through Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England*, vol. iv, and turned up Plate CXXXVII. Fig. 7 caught my eye; it is a photograph of a fragment of a pot without a provenance, but I can see at a glance that it was made by the same hand that made no. 49,9 (Fig. 31).

Stamps, then, are the key to our Saxon pottery. Bosses, grooves, cordons, pedestal feet, all may be repeated by potters long years after their fashion has been abandoned; but a good stamp is a trade mark more limited in time and distribution. Workers in museums ought to be able to determine the range of the products of many potters without much difficulty. No publication of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in future should omit a detailed study of the stamps. It is a tiresome job to do, but it is much more valuable than the shapes of the pots.

7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WARES OF VARIOUS POTTERS

This is by no means an exhaustive table. Further study would no doubt give a clearer picture. At the same time it demonstrates that a more detailed survey would yield most interesting results. One potter appears to be represented at Lackford and Caister-by-Norwich, i.e. no. 49,9 (Fig. 31).

Icklingham potter	'Double Triangle' potter	'Cross and Pellet' potter
Lackford (Suffolk)	Lackford (Suffolk)	Lackford (Suffolk)
Icklingham (Suffolk)	—	—
West Stow Heath (Suffolk)	—	—
Illington (Suffolk). (Not checked, but apparently numerous)	—	—
Cambridge (St John's College)	Pensthorpe near Fakenham (Norfolk)	Linton Heath (Cambs)
Girton (Cambs)	—	—
Little Wilbraham (Cambs)	—	—

The Little Wilbraham pottery is not well preserved and the stamps scarcely recognizable. I think that some other Lackford potters are represented, e.g. the 'dot and star' stamps of no. 50,63 (Fig. 30).

DESCRIPTION OF TEXT-FIGURES

FIG. 1. All pots whose immediate ancestry was in the north-western area of Germany up to the Dutch border. All fifth-century types. No. 50,90 contained diminutive triangular comb. No. 48,2288 may be by the same hand. Both made of coarse, brownish paste. No. 50,54: a typical buckelurn of grey ware. No. 49,6: hard, well-formed pot containing a double-sided comb and comb case. The comb does not fit the case. The case is ornamented in a provincial Roman manner. No. 50,25: of similar fabric, but with more pronounced bosses.

FIG. 2. Saxon pot forms with associated brooches or tweezers. All probably of fifth-century date. No. 48,2491 contained a cruciform brooch of an early type c. A.D. 450. No. 49,581 had a pair of tweezers which may have been of provincial Roman workmanship. Both pots were found together. A pot similar to no. 49,581 was found by Neville at Little Wilbraham and is in the Cambridge Museum. No. 50,19 is a badly made example of the same type as no. 49,581 and contained a pair of tweezers. No. 48,2282 is a 'buckelurn' of rather degenerate appearance, but it contained two early cruciform brooches, one, of the earliest group c. A.D. 450, the larger dating from before A.D. 500. This pot therefore appears to show that the Continental pot styles were already breaking down before A.D. 500. It is interesting to observe here the occurrence of typical 'Angle' brooches in typical 'Saxon' pots!

FIG. 3. No. 50,23: an early 'eyebrowed' buckelurn of hard, grey ware, which might have come direct from western Germany in the middle of the fifth century. No. 50,27 shows this eyebrowed type greatly degenerated; while no. 50,178 B, in Fig. 17, shows the stage reached at the time of the late square-headed brooches, presumably later than A.D. 550. This pot is one example of several which prove that the formed foot, formerly considered evidence for an early date, in reality persisted right through the pagan period (e.g. Fig. 19: nos. 48,2486 and 50,42).

No. 49, 579: this small pot contained the cremation of a very young child and also an imitation of a Roman third-brass coin (*gloria exercitus* type) pierced for suspension. This little coarse pot with its high neck and rudimentary ornament may be of Angle origin.

No. 50,191: badly made and fired degenerate buckelurn of the type of no. 50,54 (Fig. 1), probably early sixth century in date.

No. 50,123: a child's cremation. This small pot has had two handles. I have no evidence for its date or origin.

FIG. 4. No. 48,2283 is an elaborate, many-cordoned jar of Saxon type and probably of fifth-century date. It has probably had a high neck. Badly fired, brownish paste. No. 50,80: cordoned jar with smooth indentations, which might have been found in Stade in the fifth century.

No. 48,2286: this pot, which is badly fired and of brownish paste, combines features of some Saxon buckelurns with ornamentation of Frisian-Angle ancestry. It is probably of early sixth century date.

No. 50,18, which was found in association with no. 50,44, shows what is apparently a later form of the same combination of ideas. I date it provisionally a little before the middle of the sixth century. It has an artificial hole filled with lead near the bottom and was probably used at one time for a churn.

No. 50,44 is clearly ancestral to the later sixth-century work of the Icklingham potter (Fig. 18).

No. 49,583: this elaborately decorated pot is probably of much the same date as no. 50,18.

FIG. 5. No. 49,580: I regard this pot as early on account of the tweezers found in it. These carry on the provincial Roman tradition and were practically unused at the time of burial.

No. 49,2: probably a fifth-century form with traces of the neck cordons. The teeth of a comb have been used for some decoration and the end of a cylindrical rod for the remaining stamps.

No. 49,5: an ill-shaped vessel with rudimentary bosses of irregular shape. This may be a late pot, but the end of a triangular bone comb was found in it.

Nos. 49,585 and 50,125: two similar well-fired pots of early, probably of fifth-century date and north-west German ancestry. The first contained the burnt remains of an elephant-ivory girdle

ring. The large number of these rings found in the urns (thirteen), and the fact that they are found in all our local cemeteries, indicate a considerable trade in expensive foreign imports. No. 50,125 contained a fragment of a round-backed bone comb.

FIG. 6. Nos. 49,19 and 48,2490 are two badly fired pots burnished black. Each pot contained a broken, unburnt, triangular comb precisely similar to many found on Roman sites. The specimen from no. 48,2490 can be exactly matched from Roman Chesterford. The tweezers found with no. 49,19 are also of provincial Roman type and in new condition. The blades of a pair of iron shears and a small pair of tweezers were found in no. 48,2490. There can be little doubt that both these pots are of fifth-century date and west German ancestry. No. 50,22 A is probably later and perhaps of early sixth-century date. The associated triangular bone comb, deliberately broken before burial, is of small size and ornamented with three carvings of pigs, one of which is complete.

FIG. 7. Six pots of Frisian-Angle types chosen from many possible examples. No. 49,30 must be an early example, while no. 48,2474 contained a Roman bronze spoon (no. 4) and a late provincial Roman silver finger-ring (no. 3).¹ No. 49,15, containing the unburnt end of a bone comb, is probably of fifth-century date also. The fashion of decorating pots with these incised lines and chevrons probably continued unchanged for many years and can hardly be used for dating purposes. The annular bronze brooch found (no. 2) with no. 48,2474 is a type frequently found in our local burials, but apparently unknown on the Continent. It seems probable therefore that it originated among the British population in the fifth century. No. 5 is an ivory playing man as well turned as a billiard ball.

FIG. 8. Nos. 48,2485 and 49,4 are two pots of very poor brownish paste. They are certainly by the same hand and were found together. They are ornamented with free-hand drawings of horses and in one case with a single large swastika. J. N. L. Myres has sent me a tracing of a similar roughly drawn beast facing a swastika, on a pot from a Frisian 'terp', which without the evidence of these two Lackford pots would have been thought to represent a serpent eating a swastika. It seems probable, however, that it belongs to the horse and not the serpent family and has a religious significance. It may be noted that the pot no. 50,68 B (Fig. 27) has been ornamented by utilizing a horse's tooth as a stamp. The horse was of course frequently used for sacrifice in the northern lands. These two pots are presumably early and of Frisian ancestry. No. 48,2485 contained more than two dozen badly burnt ivory playing men similar to the one shown in Fig. 7.

FIG. 9. No. 48,2492 A: a well-baked buckelurn of reddish ware, containing an unburnt fragment of a triangular bone comb. This is probably a fifth-century example of a well-known Saxon type, with its 'slashed sausage' decoration, bosses and pitted ornamental stamps. Nos. 50,53 and 49,16 are examples of the degeneration of this style of pottery. They are both probably of the first half of the sixth century in date or later.

No. 50,52 B, with neck cordon and triple bosses, probably belongs to the first half of the sixth century, as does no. 50,81 also.

No. 49,586 was found with no. 50,73. The ill-executed mixture of Saxon with Frisian-Angle decorative ideas suggests a relatively late date in the period, which is borne out by the style of no. 50,73, which clearly belongs to the later half of the sixth century.

FIG. 10. No. 50,99 B: this badly baked pot was in a fragmentary state beneath no. 50,99 (Fig. 33). It has all the appearance of a well-designed Saxon pot of the fifth century. This may be said to be confirmed by the fact that no. 50,99 above it contained a triangular bone comb of provincial Roman type. I think it probable that no. 50,99 B was made by the same potter as 49,581 (Fig. 2).

No. 50,60 A shows the same general type of pot at a somewhat later date. Another can be seen in Fig. 31, no. 49,9. I estimate that these belong to the first half of the sixth century, and no. 49,27, where the bosses have entirely disappeared, belongs to the later half of the sixth century. There are two other fragmentary vessels by the same hand as no. 49,27, roughly made pots with careless ornamentation. No. 50,151 A, containing a very well made double-sided comb is a better example of the same type as no. 49,27 and may be the work of the Icklingham potter.

FIG. 11. Nos. 49,25 A and 49,26 A are two pots found together and apparently a pair. They are probably of fifth-century date and Hanoverian origin. One contained the badly cremated bones

¹ E.g. *Lydney Excavations*, fig. 163, nos. 51 and 52

of a large man together with large portions of red deer antler. It has been suggested that this man may have worn the antlers in life and was some kind of magician or shaman. The second pot contained bones of a smaller individual and a burnt ivory ring and unburnt comb of provincial Roman type. It is most probably the case of a man being buried with his wife.

No. 50,19 contained the remains of a burnt ivory toggle or button. The form of this pot is comparable to that of no. 50,69 A, which was found with no. 50,69 B. The form and decoration of this second vessel suggests a mid-sixth-century date. A pot with a similar triangular stamp to no. 50,69 A contained a small, globular vessel, no. 50,31 B, closely resembling the Icklingham potter's work (Fig. 32). It is probable therefore that all these four vessels belong to the later half of the sixth century.

FIG. 12. Wide-mouthed bowls were not common at Lackford. No. 50,50, with a pair of bronze tweezers, and no. 50,104 can be matched on west German sites and are of fifth-century date. No. 50,24 A preserves the Saxon forms of decoration, slashed cordons and sliced facets, but the half-moon loops incised beneath suggest a sixth-century date. Nos. 48,2470 and 49,11 probably belong to the first half of the sixth century. There is a badly preserved globular pot (not figured), no. 50,58 A, probably made by the same potter as no. 49,11.

No. 50,170 A, a child's cremation, may be as late as the seventh century.

FIG. 13. Nos. 48,2279 and 50,83: probably west German forms of fifth-century date. Burnished pots. No. 50,82 is a hard, red-ware, unburnished pot to which I can find no parallel. It has a sub-Roman look. No. 49,57, a highly burnished vessel, is probably a late sixth-century version of the same type.

No. 49,31 is probably an early sixth-century derivative of the buckelurns and no. 49,10 a later degenerate form of the same type.

No. 50,130 I is a relatively early pot of Saxon ancestry and probably of early sixth-century date. No. 49,12 is a very degenerate example of no. 50,99 B (Fig. 10), and may be of seventh-century date. It appears to have been ornamented with some kind of tooth, but I cannot identify it.

FIG. 14. No. 50,71 is a brown, unornamented pot containing a cruciform brooch of c. A.D. 500; the base-plate of a late *tutulus* brooch; two Roman brass coins pierced for suspension; a button or whorl made from the burr of a roe-deer antler; an ivory pendant of unknown type, and a fragment of a burnt ivory girdle-ring. This group must date early in the sixth century.

No. 50,127 is an unornamented buff pot, containing much shapeless iron; a girdle-ring made from the burr of a red-deer antler; a much worn 2*d.* brass coin pierced for suspension; a small bronze wrist-clasp, and the foot of a cruciform brooch of c. A.D. 525 or later.

FIG. 15. Nos. 50,17; 49,18; 50,16 are three tall pots by the same hand. Two had lids made to match. No. 49,18 contained a small pair of iron tweezers and a dummy bone comb too roughly made for use. In no. 50,17 was a fragment of the bronze mouth-piece of a sword scabbard similar to one found at Little Wilbraham. There is some Romano-British influence in the shape of these pots and perhaps also in their flanged lids. They probably belong to the first half of the sixth century. No. 48,2494 I believe to be a somewhat later version, also with a lid. No. 49,8 is a melon-form of pot, possibly of Angle ancestry and earlier than any of the others on the figure.

FIG. 16. No. 50,76 is a very badly made small pot, which contained a mid-sixth-century cruciform brooch, c. A.D. 525-550.

No. 50,78 contained an even later brooch¹ of c. A.D. 550. Above no. 50,78 and not apparently associated with it was no. 49,429, a small rough bowl with lines of fine rouletting and very small stamps. This is probably a seventh-century vessel.

No. 49,582 is a well-made, globular pot, probably of mid-sixth-century date, which contained the guard of a sword and a piece of the ivory hilt. A fragment of a similar hilt was found in the Roman fort at Richborough. No. 49,181: globular pot of rough brownish ware, probably mid-sixth-century date.

FIG. 17. No. 50,178 B is a roughly made, eyebrowed buckelurn with foot. Evidently this is a degenerate form derived from Saxon types. It contained the burnt remains of a wrist-clasp in the best zoomorphic style and of a late square-headed brooch. This burial must belong to the second

¹ See Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (C.A.S. Quarto Publications, New Series, No. III), Holywell Row, Grave 79.

half of the sixth century, and clearly shows that a formed foot is no evidence for the early date of a Saxon pot. No. 50,126 is a fragmentary vessel by the Icklingham potter. This contained a square-headed brooch of the best local type.¹ There was also a piece of a silver spiral armlet, closely similar to those found at Holywell Row, Grave 11,² and a bone object which was evidently a pottery stamp. This burial is, in respect of the brooch and armlet, exactly comparable with Grave 11 at Holywell Row and presumably ties the Icklingham potter to the later half of the sixth century. No. 50,234 is a similar type of globular pot by a different potter. The contents were a piece of the head of a square-headed brooch, probably of rather later date than the last; a trefoil-headed, small-long brooch, much cockled by heat; and part of the plate of an applied brooch. This brooch-plate seems to have been struck from the same die as that from Holywell Row (Grave 47), and, what is more remarkable, as that used for a pair of brooches found at Guildown in Surrey. This certainly appears to indicate some central point of distribution and the idea that this may have been London seems probable to me.

FIG. 18. A selection of vessels by the Icklingham potter. These have already been discussed. At least two 'cross' stamps were employed and two forms of the 'button' stamp (Fig. 33: no. 50,146 B). Examples of this potter's work occur at Cambridge, Little Wilbraham and other cemeteries many miles apart.

FIG. 19. Pots found in association with vessels by the Icklingham potter. Nos. 49,21 and 49,39 A may actually have been his work. The stamp of two joined triangles found on nos. 49,7 and 49,54 has been noted on a pot from Fakenham in Norfolk. No. 50,56 A (Fig. 21), is probably by this potter, whose pots are roughly made of hard, brown paste deeply and rudely scored by a sharp point. It should be noted that nos. 48,2486 and 50,42 both have formed feet and would have been thought early types but for their association with the work of the Icklingham potter. Two other pots by the same hand as nos. 48,2486; 48,2278 and 50,119 A, are shown in Fig. 22, and the ornamentation of a fourth in Fig. 33, no. 50,144.

FIG. 20. This figure shows the work of another potter using a characteristic S stamp common to the pots nos. 49,1; 48,2484; 48,2482 and 48,2483. Fragmentary specimens of his work were observed here and there on the ploughed land. Two closely associated groups of pots were found: (a) nos. 49,1; 49,23 and 50,159 B, and (b) nos. 48,2484; 48,2482 and 50,45. No. 48,2483 was found with no. 48,2472. The key to the date of the S potter is given by the bronze wrist-clasp and mount from a drinking-horn found with no. 48,2483. The wrist-clasp type is found fairly frequently with late cruciform brooches. The drinking-horn mount can be matched on one of the Taplow horns. The S potter must have worked in the later part of the sixth century.

FIG. 21. Nos. 50,56 A; 50,56 B; 50,56 C and 49,35 formed a closely associated group and are probably contemporary. No. 50,56 A, with flange bosses, appears to be of the same paste and rough tooling as nos. 49,7 and 49,54 (Fig. 19)—both associated with the Icklingham potter's work. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that on this count alone the group belongs to the later half of the sixth century. The globular shape and the ornamentation of no. 50,56 B would have led to the same conclusion, and so would that of no. 49,282 which, together with no. 49,283, is ornamented with precisely the same stamps as no. 49,35. A fourth pot from Lackford also has some of these stamps but is in a shattered condition. No. 50,129 (a small pot of precisely the same shape as no. 49,35), is not illustrated, but although it is unstamped it appears to be by the same potter. There is also a vessel with the cross and four pellets stamp from Linton Heath cemetery. This has a foot and vertical bosses alternating with mammiform bulges. It is interesting to observe formed feet on nos. 49,283 and 49,35, whilst other pots by this potter have rounded bases.

No. 49,29 is a globular pot of more or less Icklingham type, but ornamented with stabs and not stamps. It is not made with the same stab ornament as no. 50,56 A but is probably contemporary.

FIG. 22. Nos. 48,2278; 50,119 A and 48,2486 are three pots of hard, grey-brown paste with one stamp in common. The general style of ornament, except for the stamps, suggests a distant Frisian-Angle ancestry. A fourth pot by this potter differs again (Fig. 33; no. 50,144) in having paired groups of vertical bosses round its middle and two new stamps on its neck bands. This potter was therefore quite versatile in his use of pot shapes. No. 50,119 A contained an early pair

¹ Cf. E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, Pl. XXIV c, from Lakenheath.

² Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (C.A.S. Quarto Publications, New Series, No. III), fig. 2.

of bronze tweezers, but they had been worn to a very noticeable extent and were very old when buried.

No. 48,2278 was associated with nos. 50,114 A and B. Both these pots show considerable evolution from the traditional early buckelurn.

No. 50,114 A contained the foot of a brooch. This appears to have been one of those exotic small-long brooches such as that found at Holywell Row (Grave 69), and was not the foot of an early cruciform brooch. No. 48,2486 contained a late, horned, small-long brooch, and was associated with a typical Icklingham pot. All these vessels appear therefore to belong to the second half of the sixth century.

FIG. 23. The two 'rusticated' pots, nos. 48,2281 A and 50,138 A, were in each case members of groups of superimposed pots. The remainder were entirely unornamented and completely un-restorable. Fragments of similar 'rusticated' ware were found by Leeds in the Sutton Courtenay village and there are other specimens here and there about the country.

In the unornamented and neckless pot below 48,2281 A were fragments of a cup of very pale greenish yellow glass. Although these were somewhat distorted by heat, the restored shape on Fig. 23 is reasonably accurate. In the lower of two shattered pots beneath no. 50,138 A were fused glass beads and a fragment of bronze, too worn and shapeless to be illustrated, which may have come from a late 'Ipswich' type of square-headed brooch.

No. 50,138 A is clearly derived from metal bowls, such as that found in Grave 11 at Holywell Row. I feel that such evidence as there is points to a late sixth-century date for these 'rusticated' vessels. I can see nothing from Sutton Courtenay to suggest a date before A.D. 550 for the formation of this village. The well-known equal-armed brooch found there was obviously an ancient object when it was lost. No. 50,57: this pot, of reddish brown ware, is a late derivative of the Saxon pot form no. 48,2492 A (Fig. 9) probably of mid-sixth-century date. No. 49,34 is derived from Angle or Frisian-Angle types.

FIG. 24. All the pots shown in this figure, and several others not illustrated, are derived from types which Professor Dr D. Jankuhn believes to be typical of the Angles of Schleswig. Nos. 50,141 and 50,178 A might have been found in Angeln. The fact remains, however, that no. 50,95 A, containing a wrist-clasp, was found with an Icklingham pot, and that no. 50,172 A contained a piece of a flanged bronze bowl, such as that found in Holywell Row (Grave 11). The type is so simple that it can hardly be used as evidence for direct settlement from Angeln.

FIG. 25. In this figure I have shown four typical unornamented pots from Lackford, with the latest pots illustrated in Bush-Fox and R. E. M. Wheeler's reports of the excavations at Richborough and Verulamium (R=Richborough, V=Verulamium). No. 49,180 is a Romano-British wheel-turned pot in Saxon paste. I find the resemblances so striking that I feel we must assume either that the Anglo-Saxons at Lackford were mixed with Romano-Britons, or that Anglo-Saxons lived on the sites of Richborough and Verulamium. The first idea seems the more probable.

FIG. 26. Further types of unornamented pottery. All except no. 50,240 can be matched from Angeln, but they are so simple and indefinite that it is difficult to rely on them for proof of direct immigration from that district. No. 50,240, looking like an Iron Age pot with an omphalos base, is certainly not an early specimen. Its burial destroyed another unornamented vessel.

FIG. 27. No. 49,177 A, of good, hard, grey ware, contained a dummy triangular comb. I date it provisionally to the first half of the sixth century. No. 49,20 is of hard reddish paste apparently influenced by provincial Roman forms. It is, however, a fairly late pot, and was found well above no. 49,2 (Fig. 5).

No. 49,36 has what I take to be a magical inscription in bogus runes scribbled on one panel. The type is probably datable to the first half of the sixth century. No. 50,68 B is a globular pot, probably of late type, which has been stamped all round with the first molar tooth from a pony of the 'Forest' breed.

FIG. 28. No. 49,584, a coarse, brown ware pot with roughly scratched ornament and rudimentary bosses, would have been thought late even if it had not contained a silver wire ring of the 'elastic' type, such as occur in numbers in the 'Christian' cemeteries of Burwell and Shudy Camps. This must be a seventh-century pot. The same holds good for no. 49,17, which contained a small

bronze pin of a type found at Shudy Camps¹ and a small, dummy, round-backed bone comb. No. 48,2473 is probably a debased form of buckelurn, with three roughly drawn serpents on its bulge. These may be late versions of the horses (Fig. 8).

FIG. 29. I believe no. 50,32 to be the work of the Icklingham potter, although he has used no stamps on it (compare Fig. 18, no. 48,2475). A very similar pot was found in the Girtton cemetery and published by Hollingworth and O'Reilly in their report (Pl. VIII, no. 1). No. 50,58 A is probably very late.

No. 50,109 A, a badly baked, burnished pot, contained a triangular bronze plate, which has been bolted and soldered on to something else. There is a raised triangular central panel with a late style I, zoomorphic ornament on it. This and the other piece of bronze figured may have been parts of a bucket. No. 50,72 is a globular pot with similar scratched ornament. Both these vessels belong to the later part of the sixth century. No. 50,74, a plain, red-buff jar, is possibly related to the Kentish bottles, but I know no further evidence of date.

FIG. 30 illustrates a series of exotic stamps. Nos. 50,63; 49,284, and probably 50,98 are burnished, globular pots by the same hand. They may be the work of the Icklingham potter. A bone has been used (like that found with no. 50,126, Fig. 17) to form the stamp to the left of no. 50,63. The lower stamp on no. 50,98 was apparently cut on a section of a sheep's tibia. Two other pots by the same hand, nos. 50,147 and 50,113, are not illustrated.

No. 50,52 A, a bossed pot probably of early sixth-century date, shows curious stamps like wooden rattles. No. 50,33 is a late form of buckelurn, probably of mid-sixth-century date. No. 50,47, with its bird-headed S and swastika, clearly belongs to a time when 'Kentish' garnet-cloisonné ornaments were well known and is probably of seventh-century date.

FIG. 31. No. 49,9 and the stamps from the similar vessels, nos. 50,30 J and 50,64, appear to show a stage in ornamentation reached in the earlier half of the sixth century. No. 49,247 A was found above no. 49,2478 and is probably later than it. The first is perhaps contemporary with the Icklingham potter, the second looks earlier.

No. 48,248, a small, hard, grey-ware pot of sub-Roman appearance, is ornamented with stamps representing tiny birds treated in precisely the same way as some bird-headed pins from Lakenheath, etc., in the Museum collections. One of these pins is tinned in the manner of Merovingian Gaul and probably belongs to the seventh century. This may well be the date of the pot.

No. 48,2487: this pot, with stamped cabling round the neck, has large isolated stamps representing a whippet and an elaborated swastika respectively. The earliest date for the dogs appears to be that of the Brighthampton sword, but they are found on a late square-headed brooch from Linton Heath (cf. also a similar brooch from Ragley Park).² The earliest date for this pot may be c. A.D. 500, but both the dogs and the developed swastikas are not very far removed from their counterparts in the *Book of Durrow*. The pot is probably not earlier than A.D. 600.

FIGS. 32, 33 and 34. Illustrations of stamps and arrangement of ornament. The great majority of these stamps are found on late, globular pots of Icklingham type.

No. 50,99 (Fig. 33) is, however, a rough, grey-ware pot with a rudimentary neck cordon and is apparently contemporary with no. 50,99 B (Fig. 10). The triangular comb found in it is probably a later type than those shown in Fig. 6; so also is that found with no. 50,169 A (Fig. 34). No. 50,144 (Fig. 33) has been described already. No. 50,106 (Fig. 33), containing a bone comb with bronze rivets, is by the same hand as no. 50,107 (Fig. 33). Both pots are too shattered for their shape to be estimated, but they have several vertical bosses in groups and are perhaps early sixth-century in date. No. 50,146 B (Fig. 33) is a vessel by the Icklingham potter.

Nos. 50,196 and 50,130 C (Fig. 33) are by the same hand. Nos. 50,68 A and 50,110 A (Fig. 32) are by the same hand. There is also a second pot by the maker of no. 50,31 A (Fig. 32).

No. 50,134 (Fig. 34) is a shattered globular pot of grey ware with chevrons above the bulge. No. 50,24 A (Fig. 34), a very fragmentary and much decayed pot of red ware, was found with pieces of a pot by the 'cross and pellet' potter and a fragment of 'rusticated' ware similar to no. 50,138 A (Fig. 23). The 'cross and pellet' pot differed from those shown in Fig. 21 by having pendant shields, full of stamps, above the bulge. No. 50,169 A (Fig. 34), containing a triangular

¹ Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire* (C.A.S. Quarto Publications, New Series, No. V), fig. 4 C, 1.

² E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, Pl. XXVI a.

comb, is a coarse, globular pot with a band of slashed ornament on the neck. It probably belongs to the first half of the sixth century. The stamps lettered *a* to *l* are on fragments of urns destroyed by ploughing.

It is clear that the great bulk of the stamped pots belong to the latter part of the sixth century.

FIG. 35 shows various small objects:

No. 50,85 B: a crystal bead cut in facets.

No. 50,165 B: a pair of bronze tweezers.

No. 50,209 B: a pottery spindle whorl.

No. 50,142 B: small iron buckle with bronze chape.

No. 50,49 B: two dummy bone combs, presumably votive.

No. 50,94 A: minute pair of iron shears and iron strap end.

These were all from urns with no characteristic features and completely shattered.

The penannular brooch of bronze shown in the middle of the figure was found on the surface and had been ploughed out of a cremation. It is a late Romano-British type and similar to silver specimens found in a late hoard of silver coins at Icklingham (see p. 8).

The small-long brooch on the right of the figure had also been ploughed out. It is an early type.

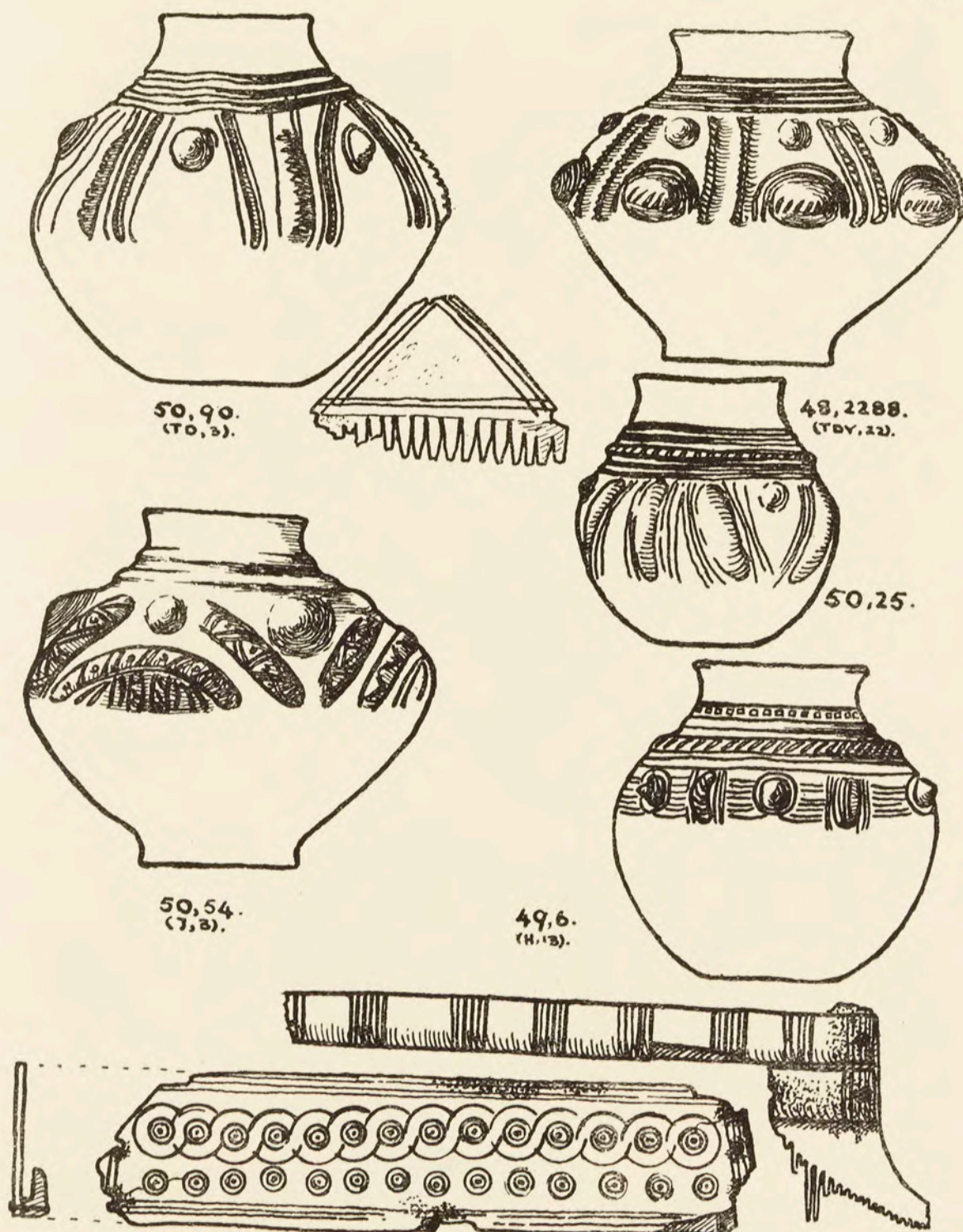


Fig. 1

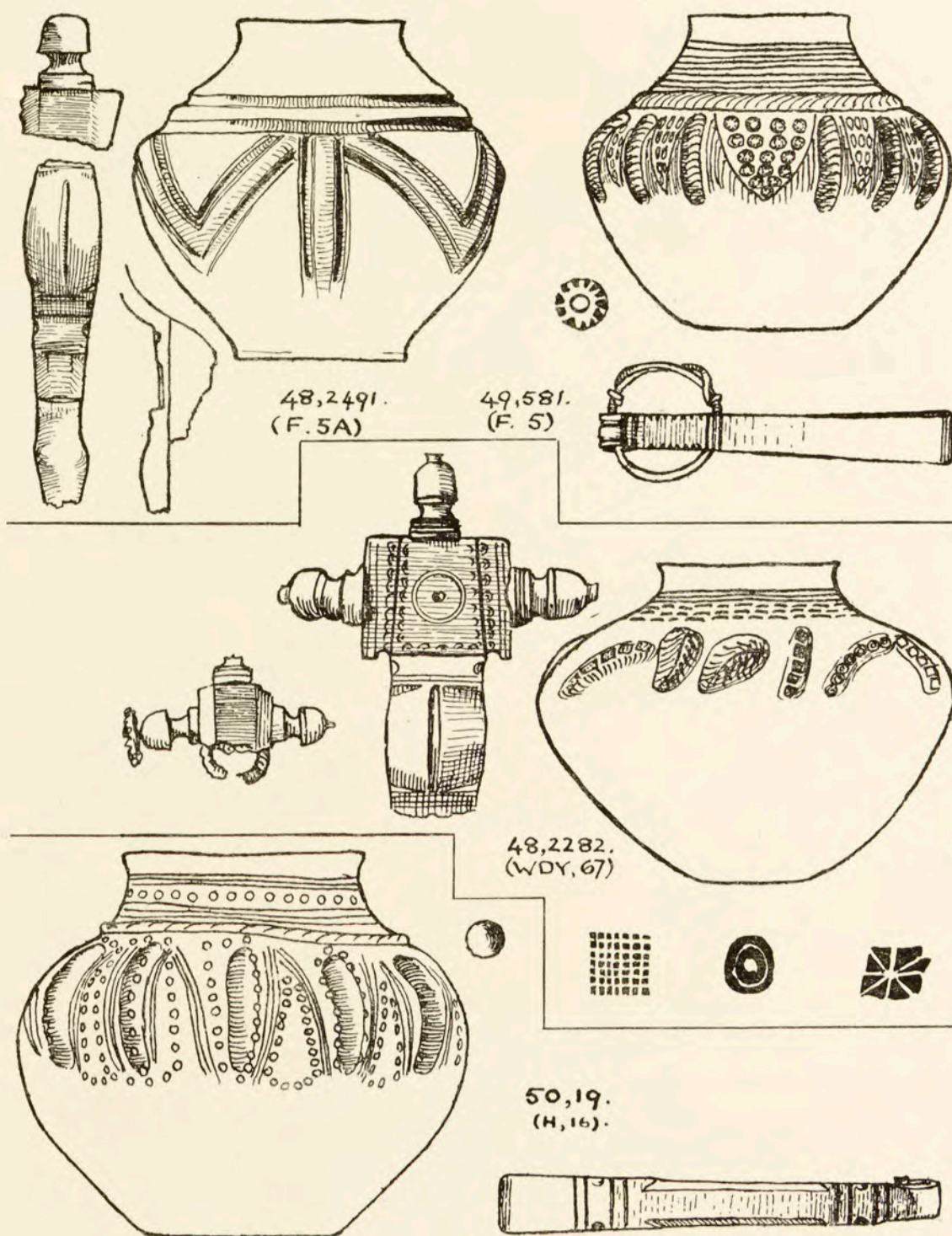


Fig. 2

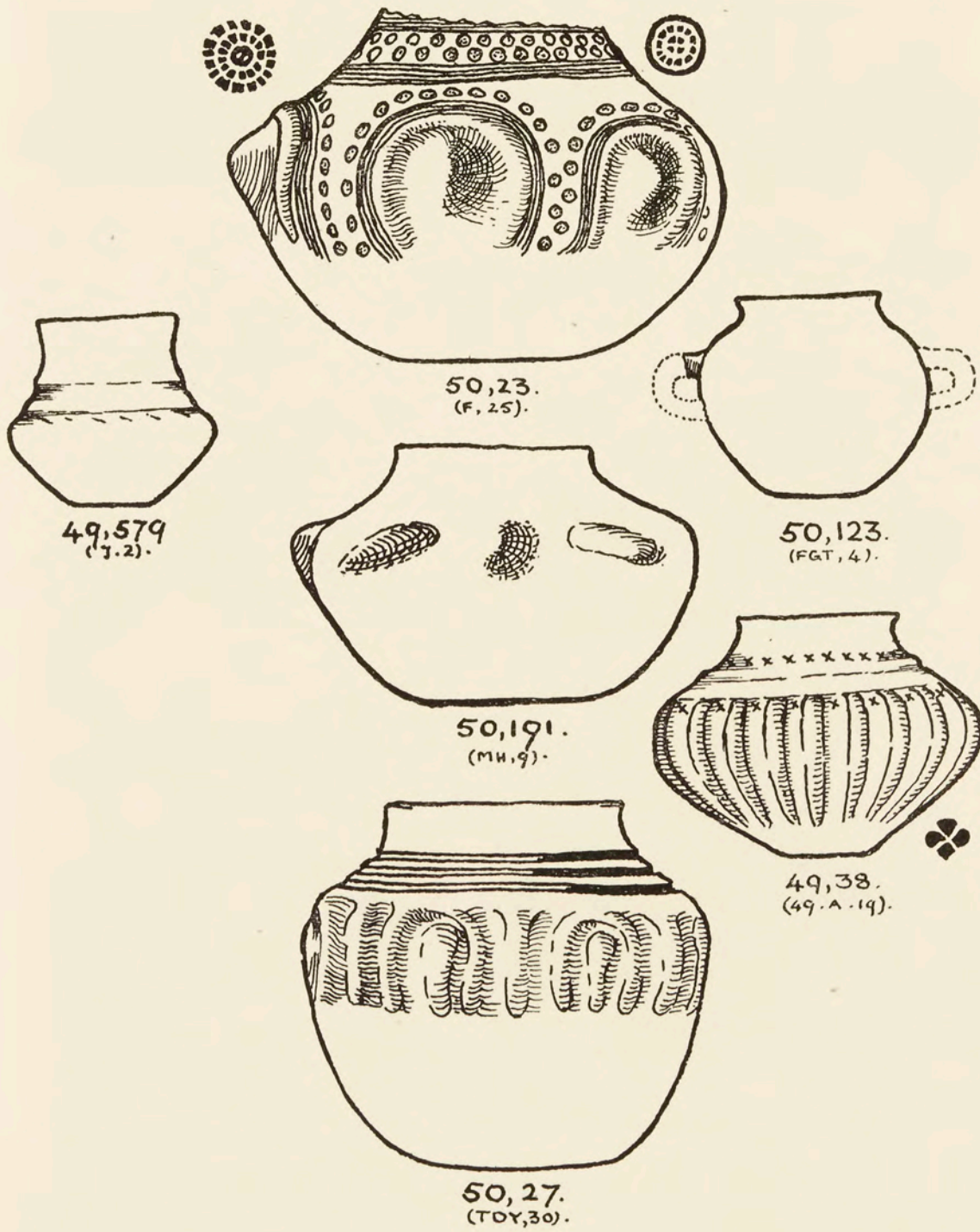
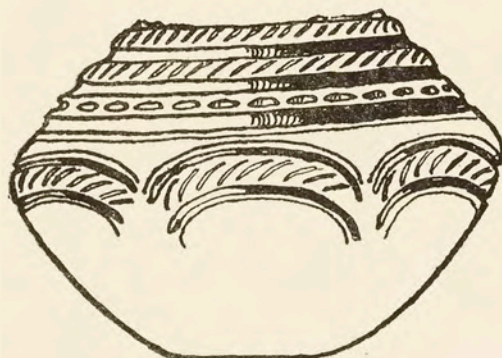
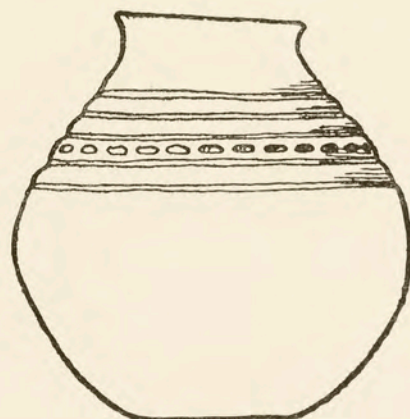


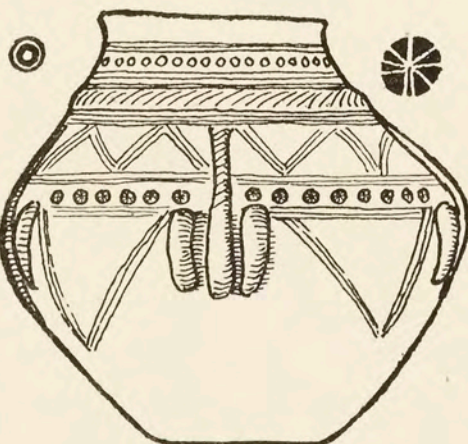
Fig. 3



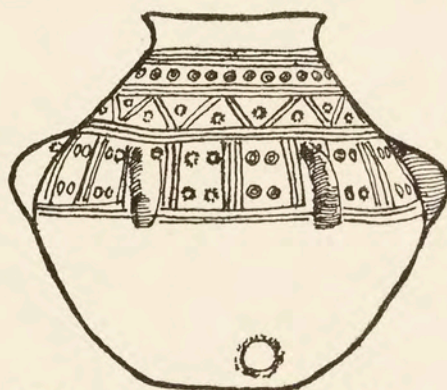
48,2283.
(WDR, 50A)



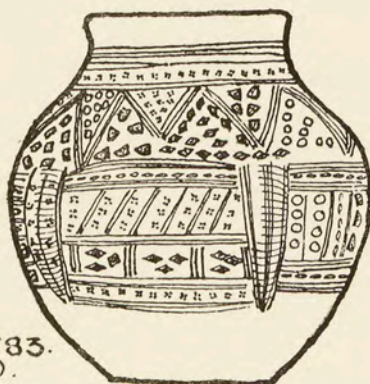
50,80.
(G.7)



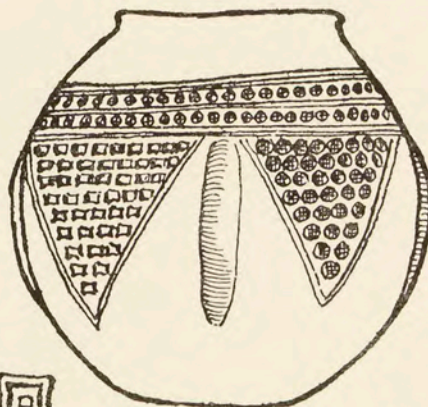
48,2286.
(J.B, 11).



50,18.
(F, 40)



49,583.
(8).



50,44.
(F, 40A).

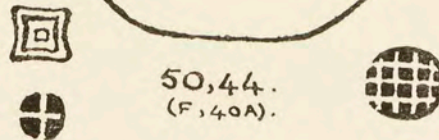
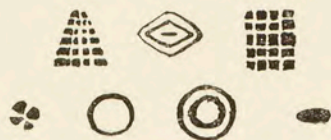


Fig. 4

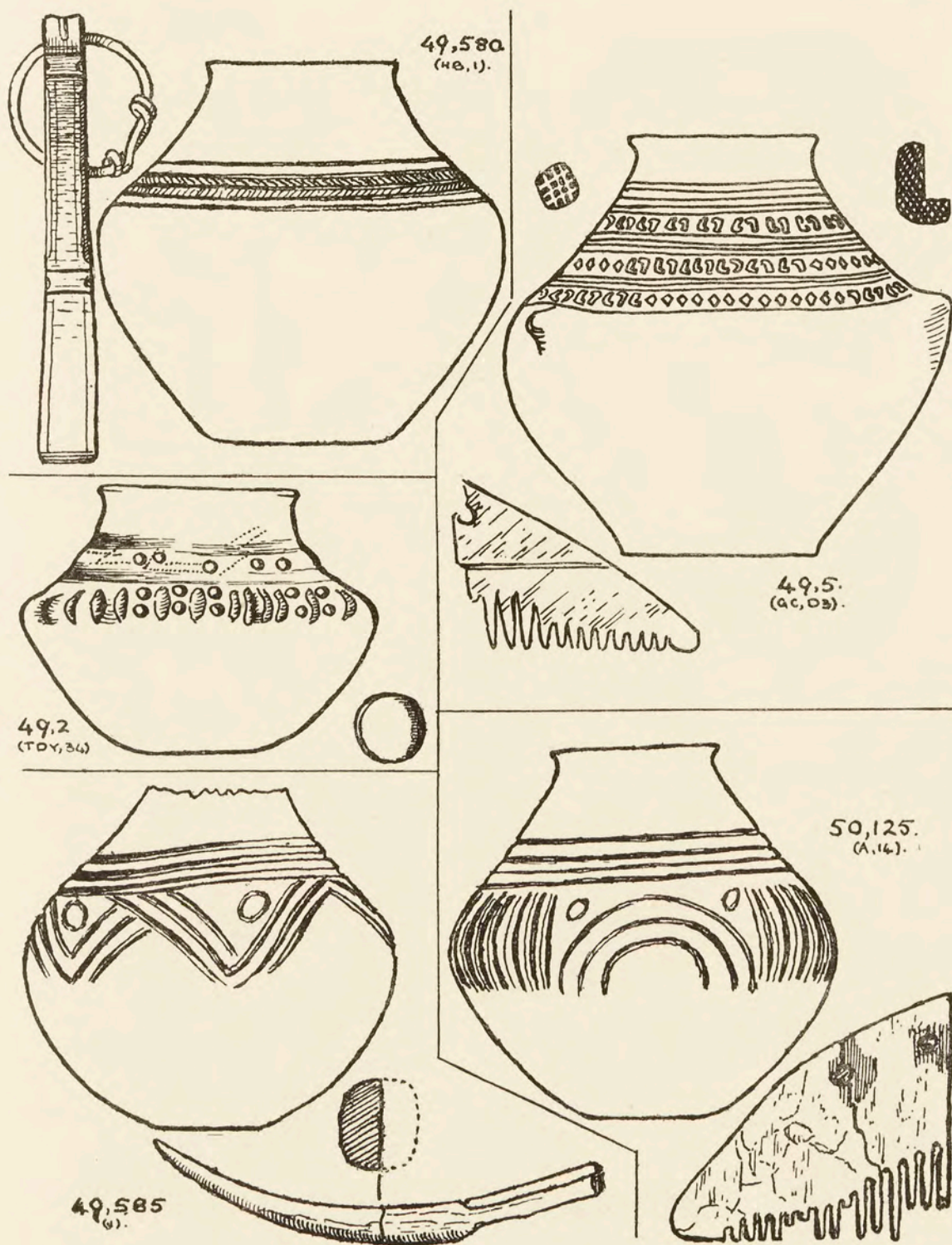


Fig. 5

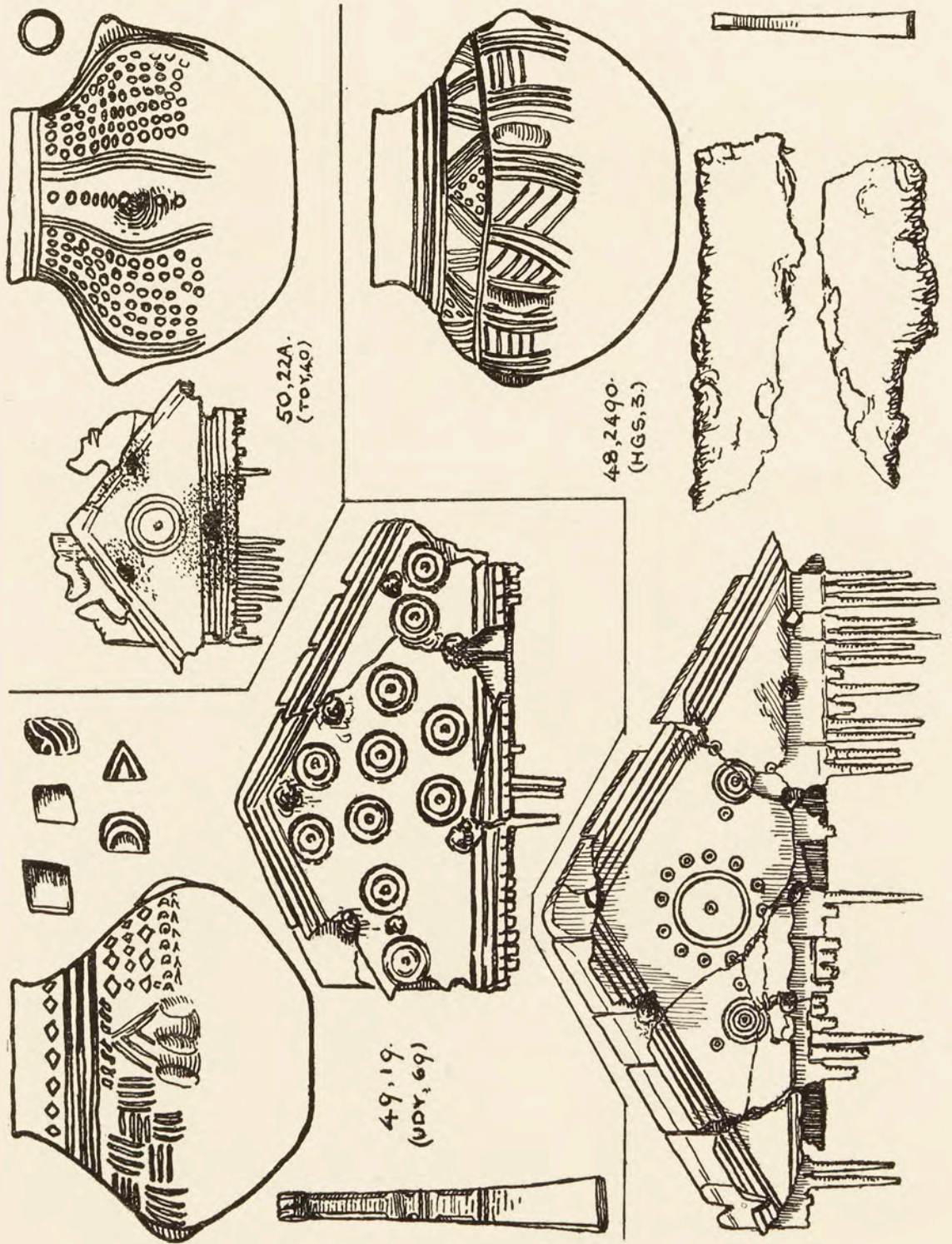
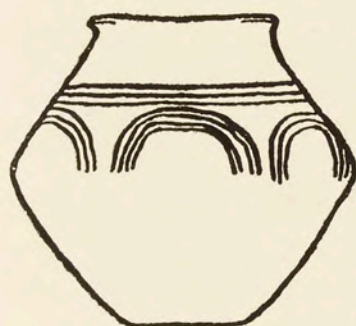
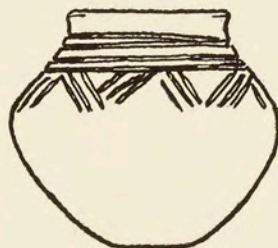


Fig. 6



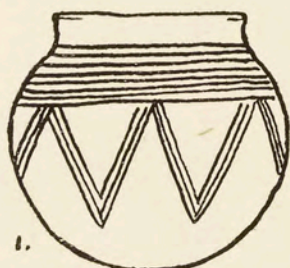
50,117.
(H,12).



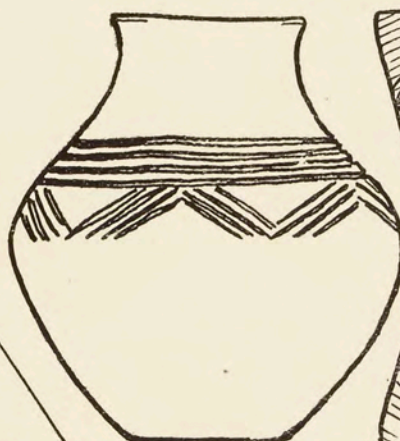
49,14.
(WDR,18).



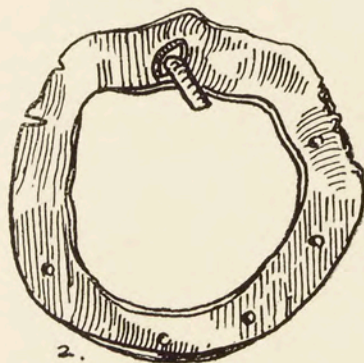
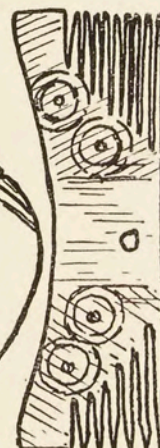
49,30.
(UDY,61).



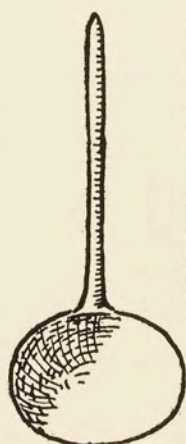
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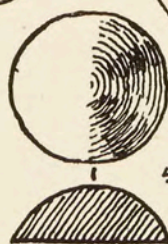
49,15.
(HB,02).



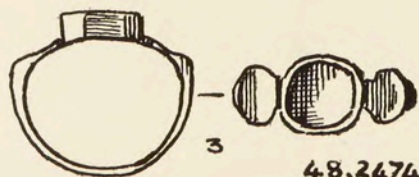
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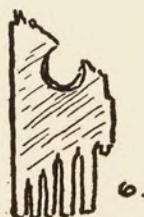


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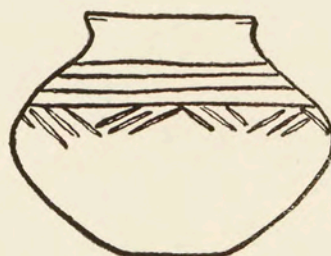


3

48,2474.
(UDY,2).



6.

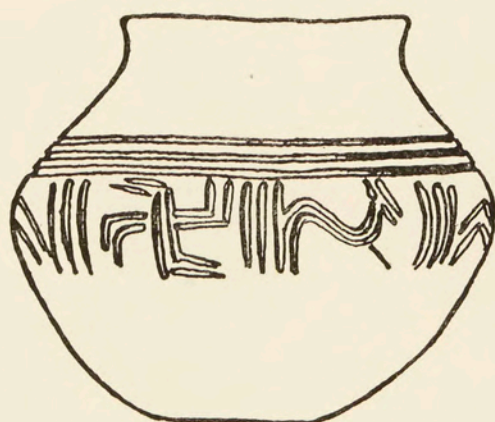
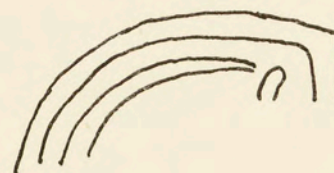
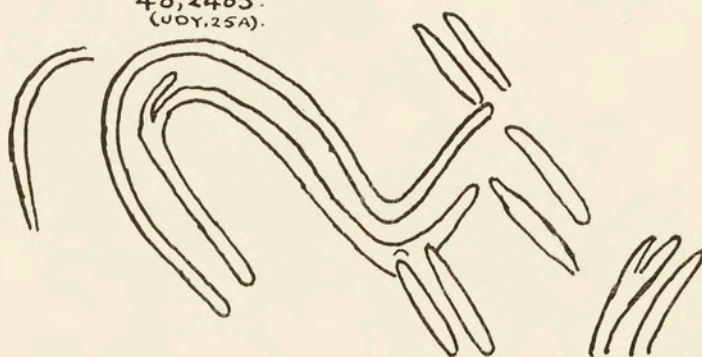
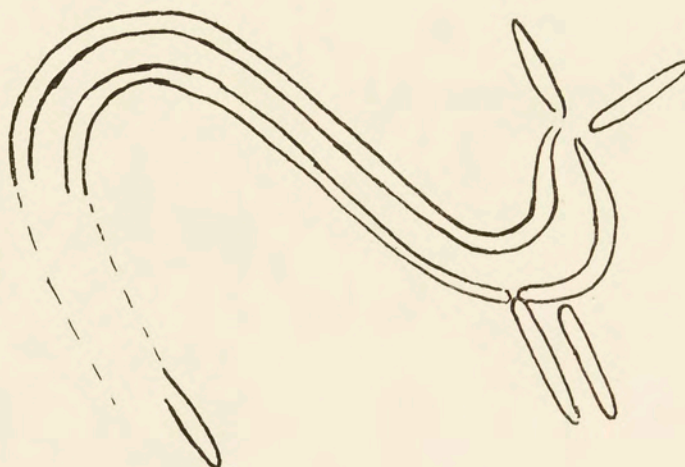


49,22.
(MH,10A).

Fig. 7



48,2485.
(VOY, 25A).



49,4.
(VOY, 26A).

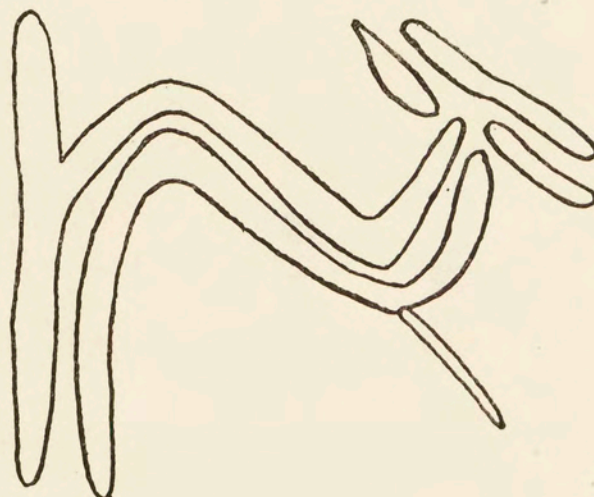
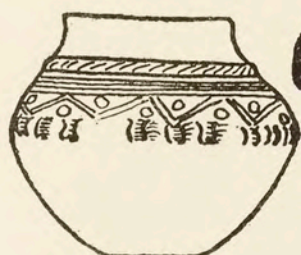


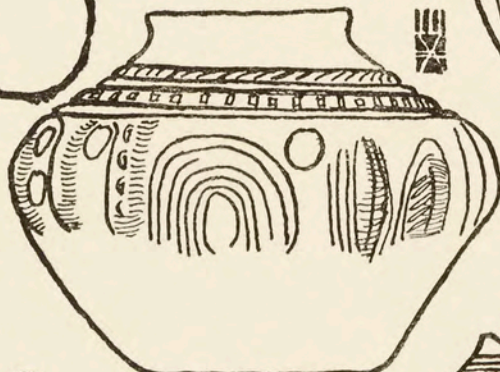
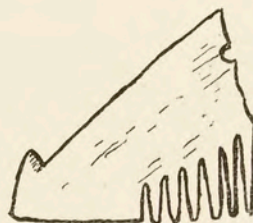
Fig. 8



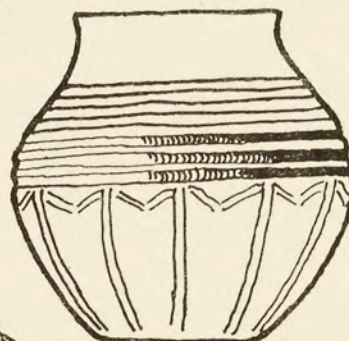
50,52B.
(TDY,41).



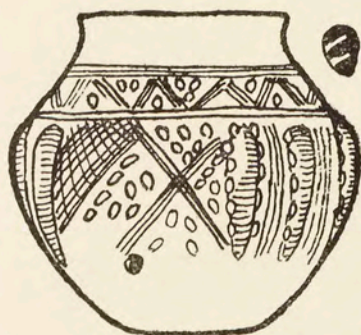
48,2492A.
(UDY,9).



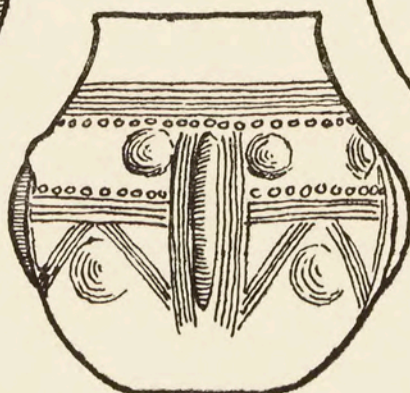
50,53.
(H,15).



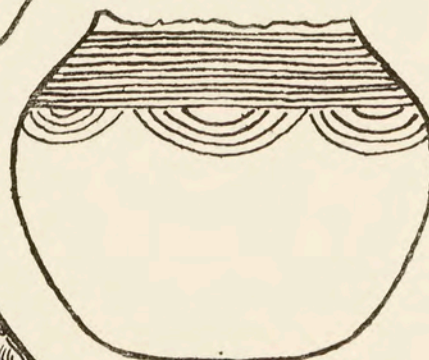
50,81.
(49,A,10).



49,586.
(G,20)



49,16.
(UDY,5)



50,73.
(G,20A)

Fig. 9

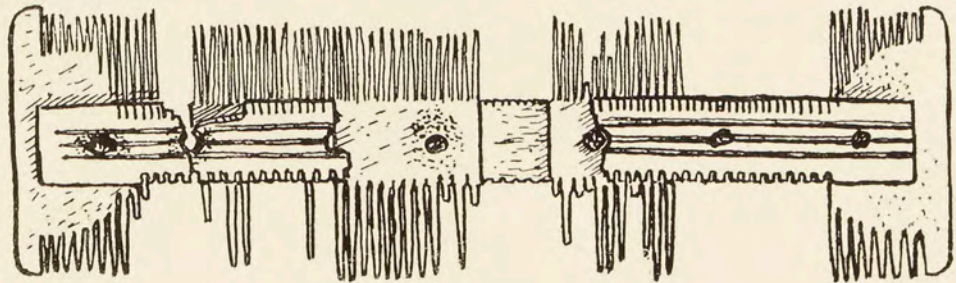
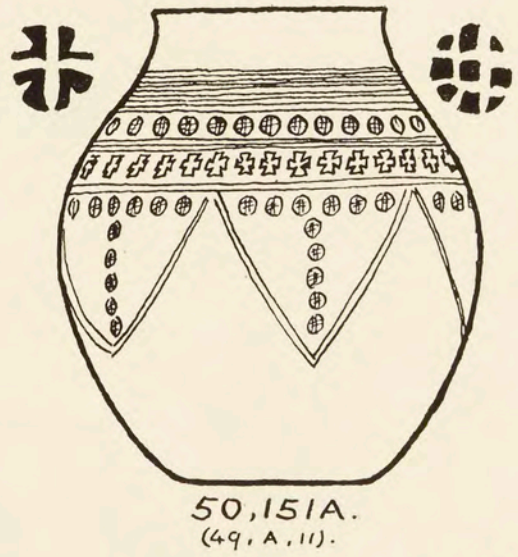
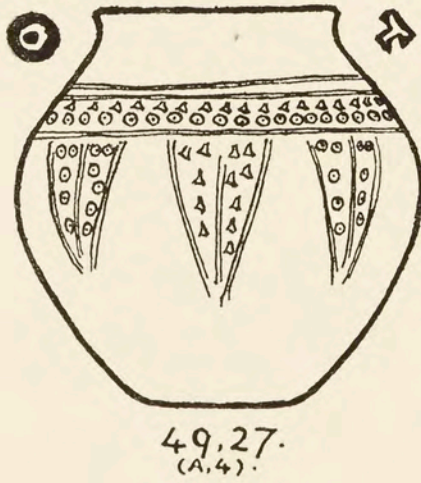
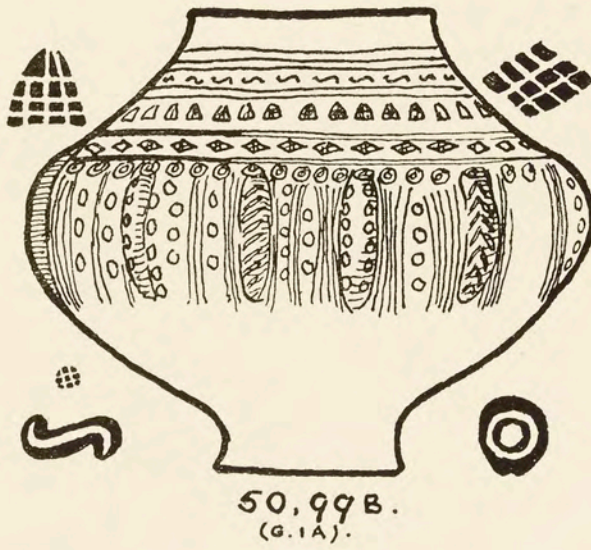


Fig. 10

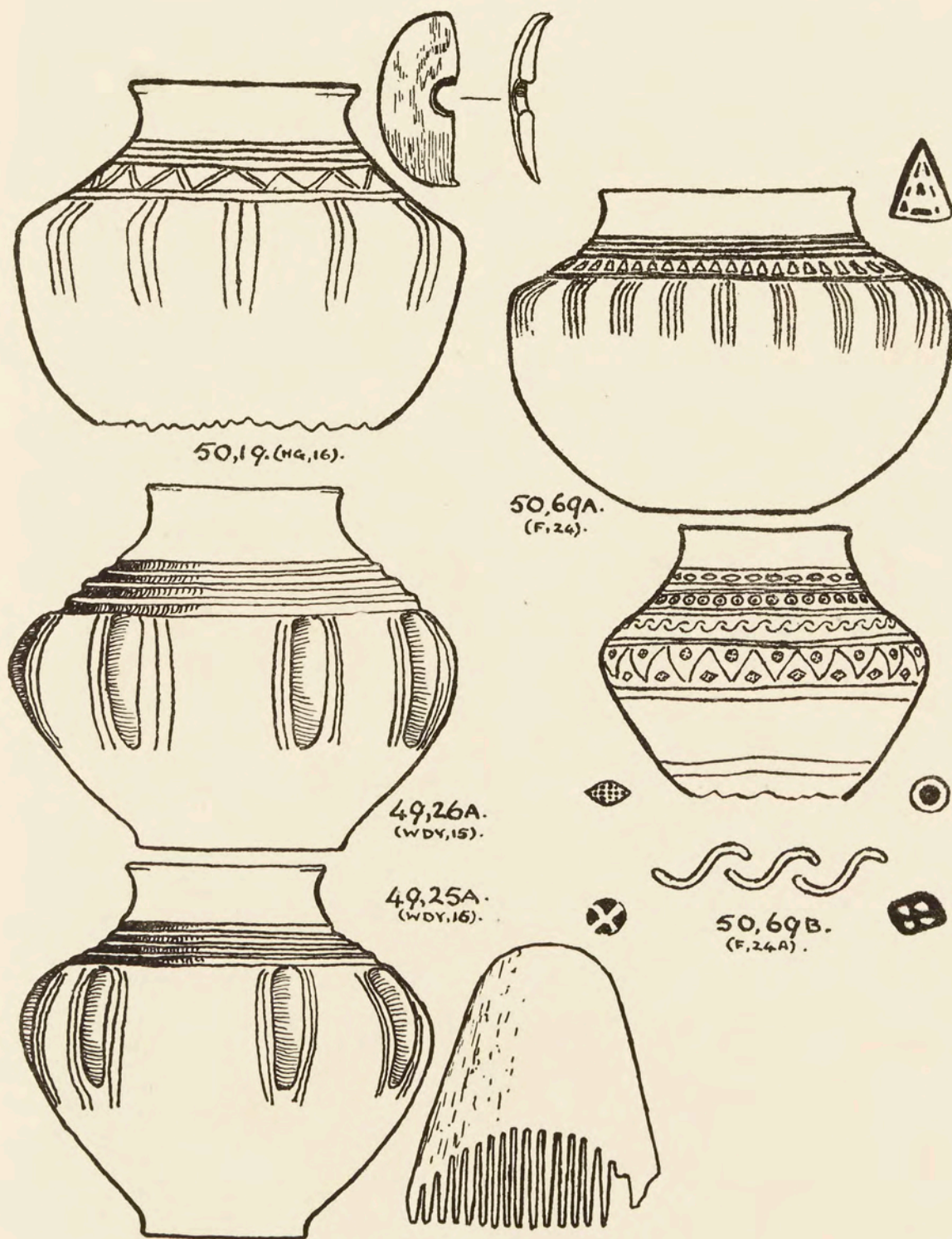


Fig. 11

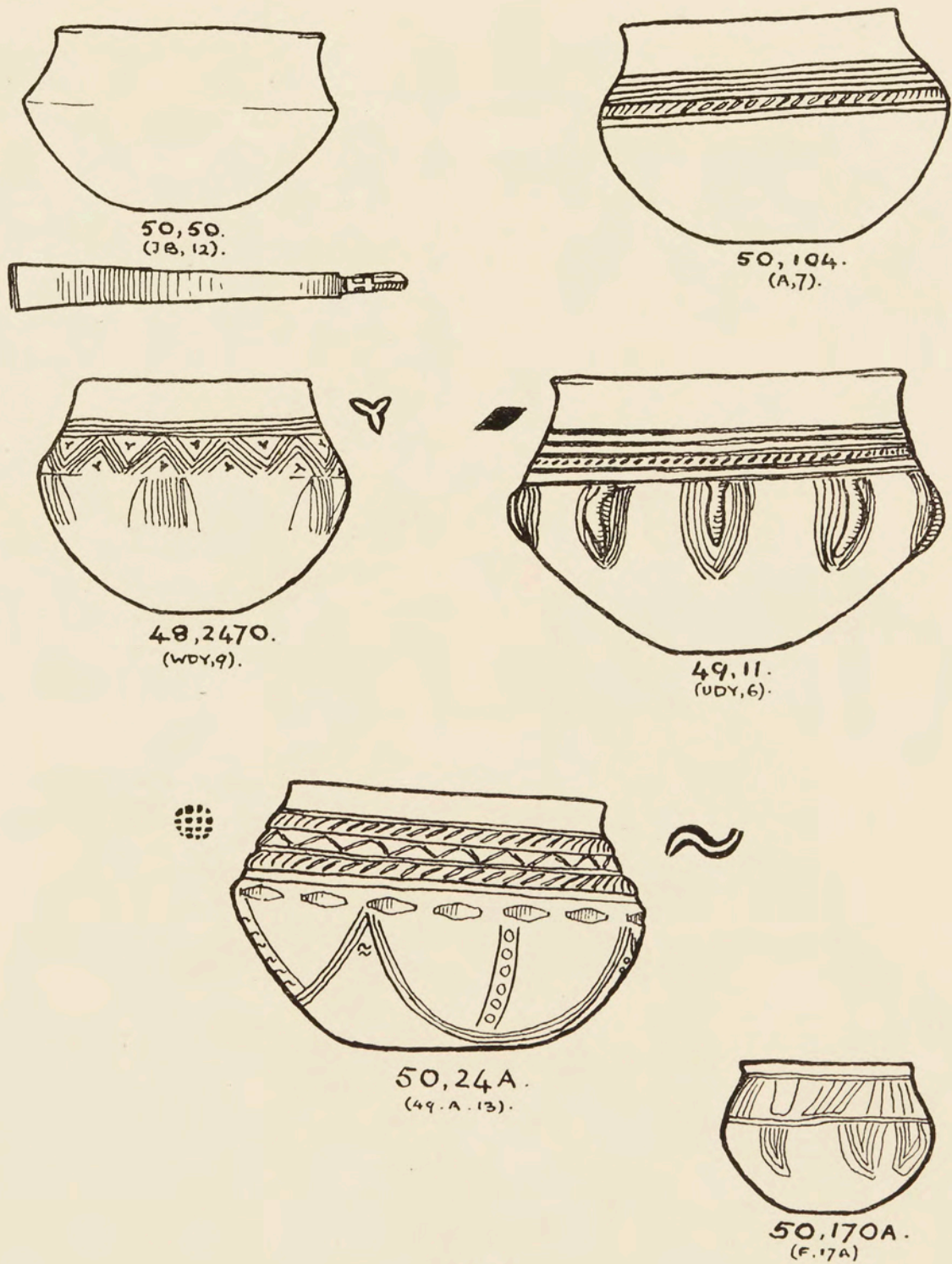


Fig. 12

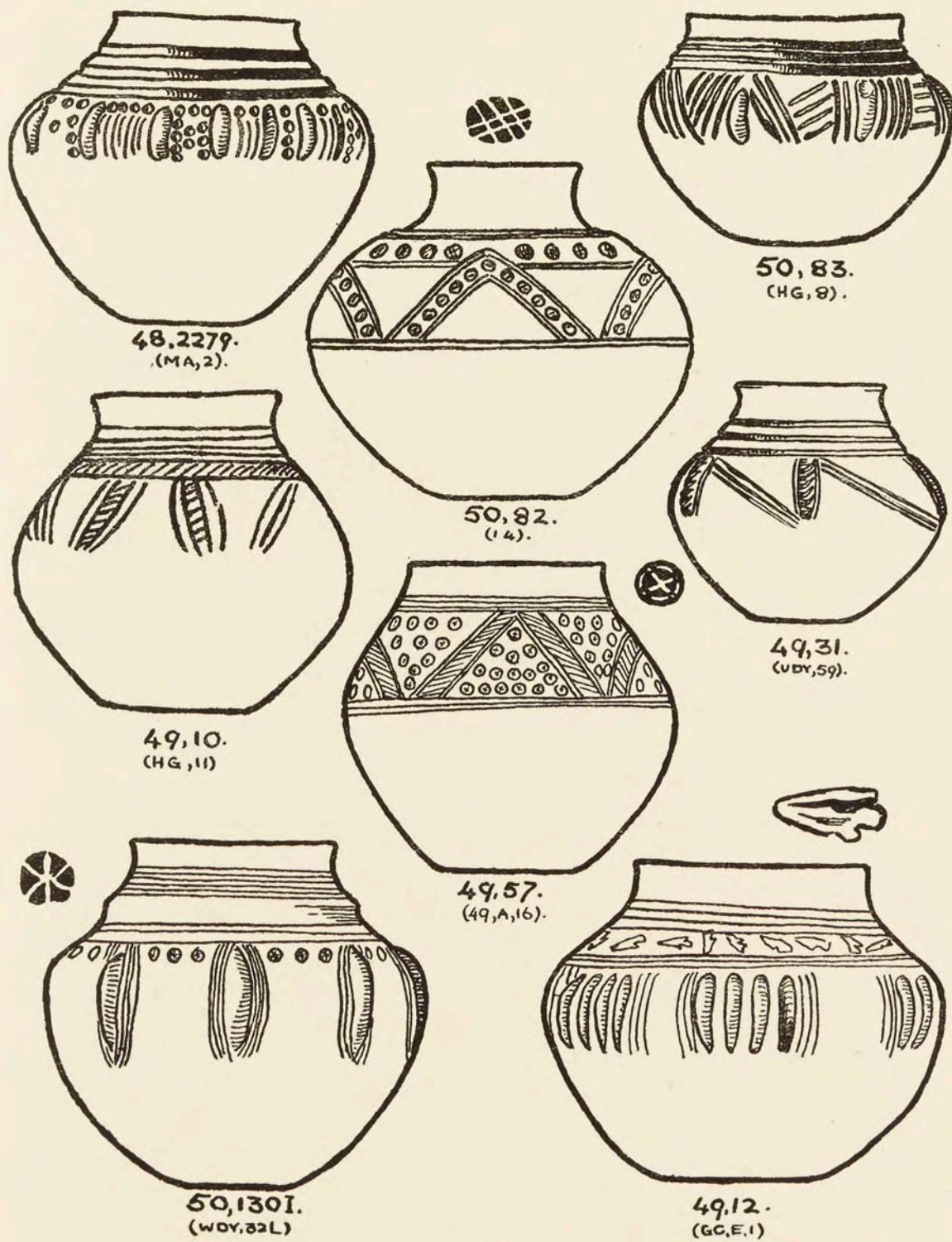


Fig. 13

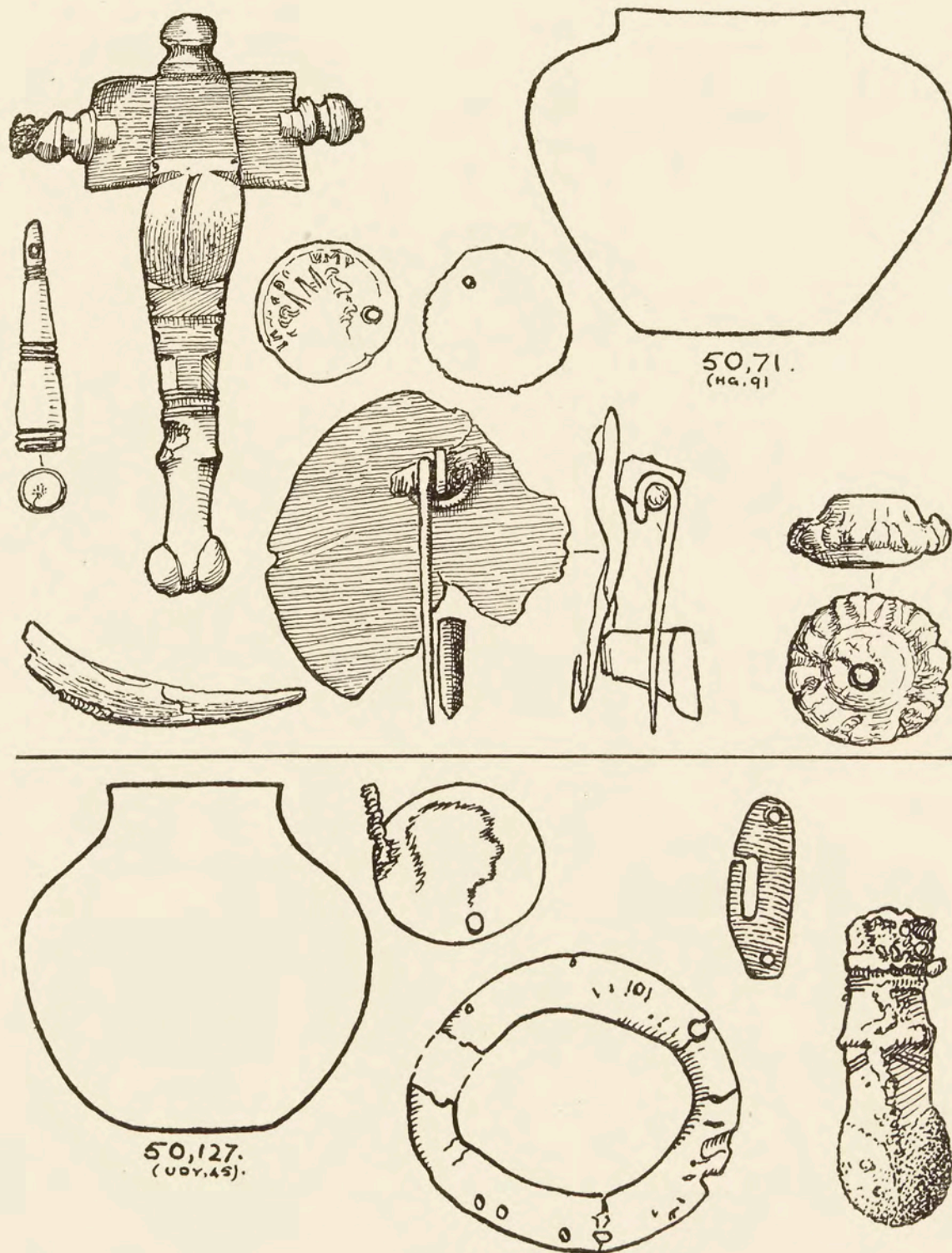


Fig. 14

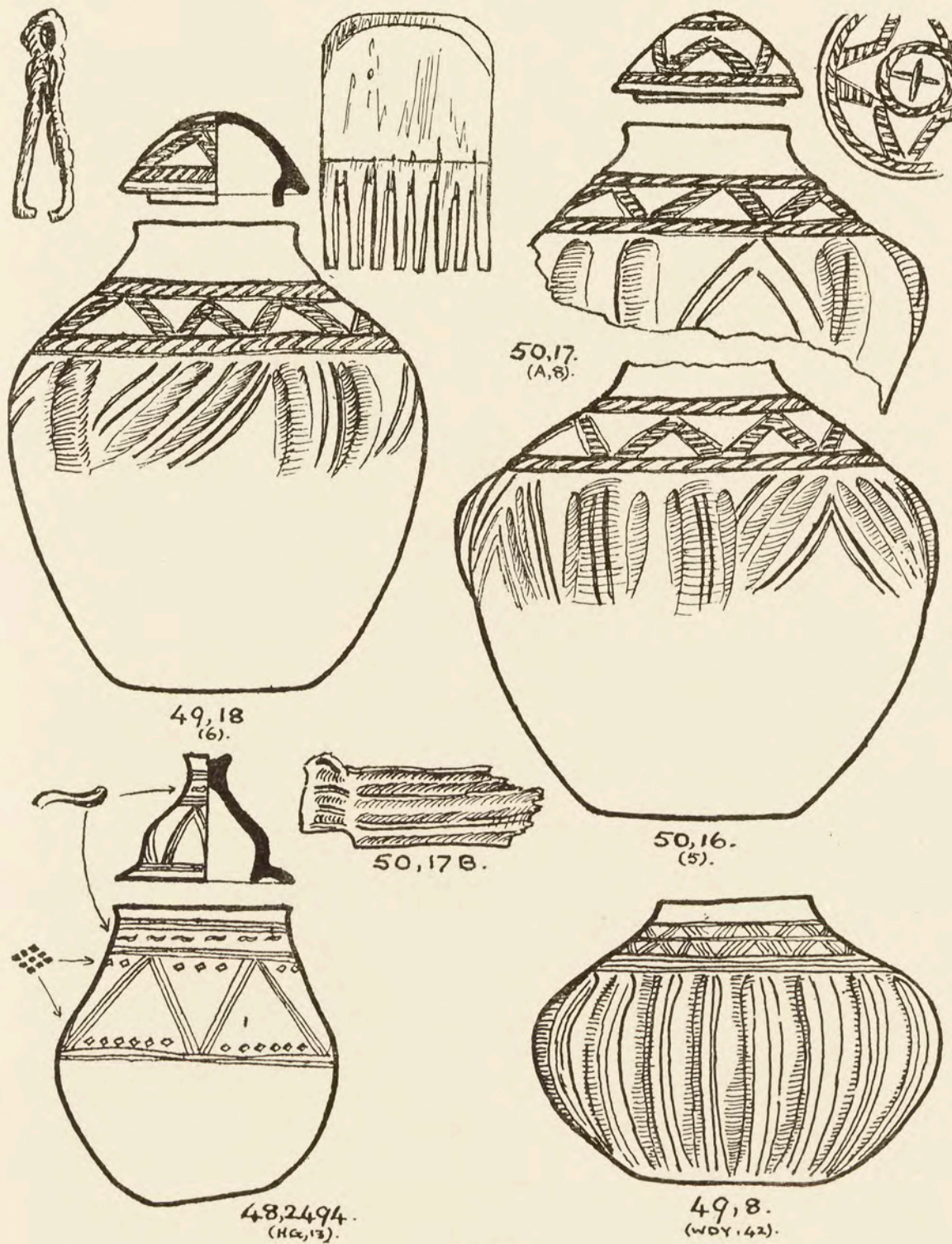


Fig. 15

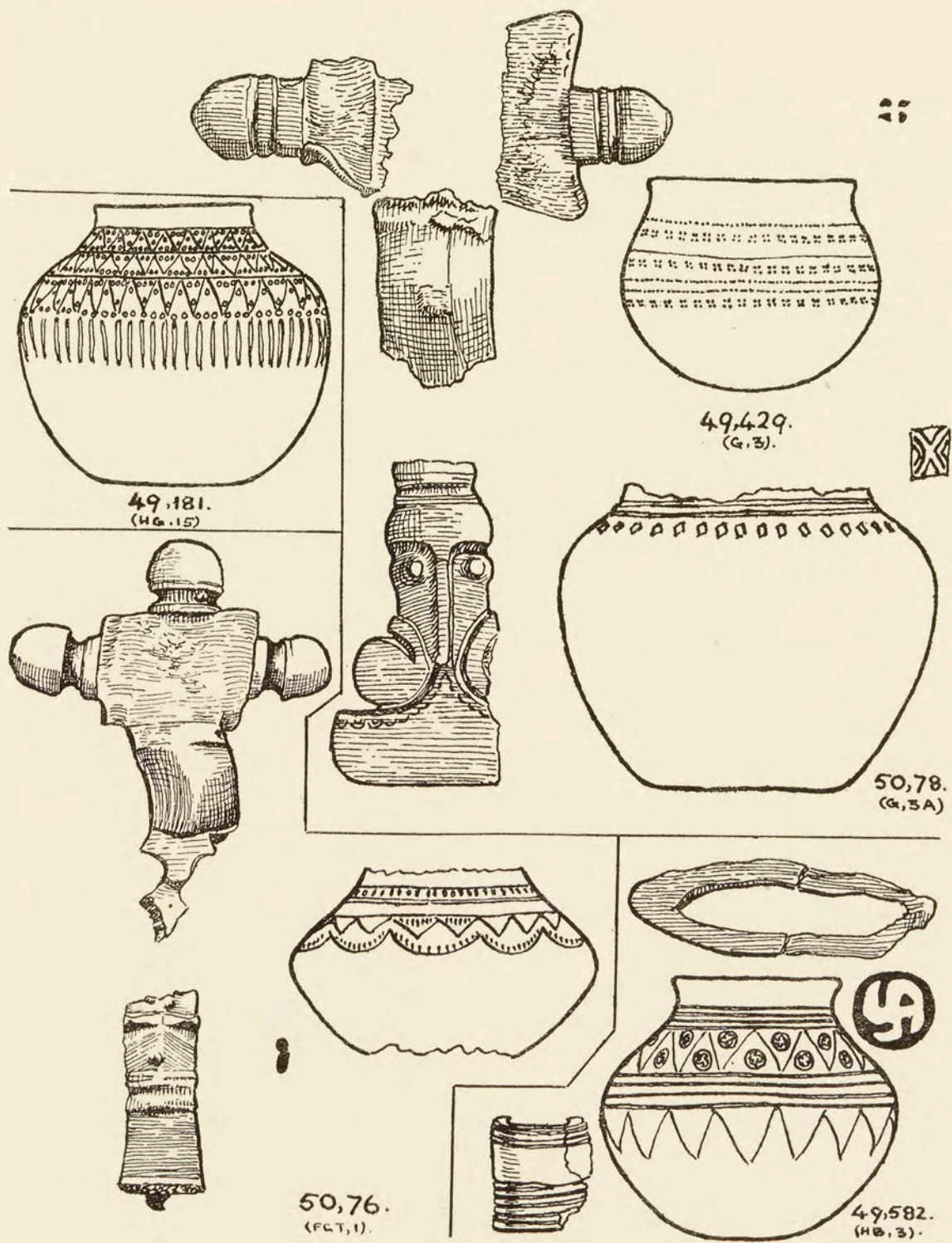


Fig. 16

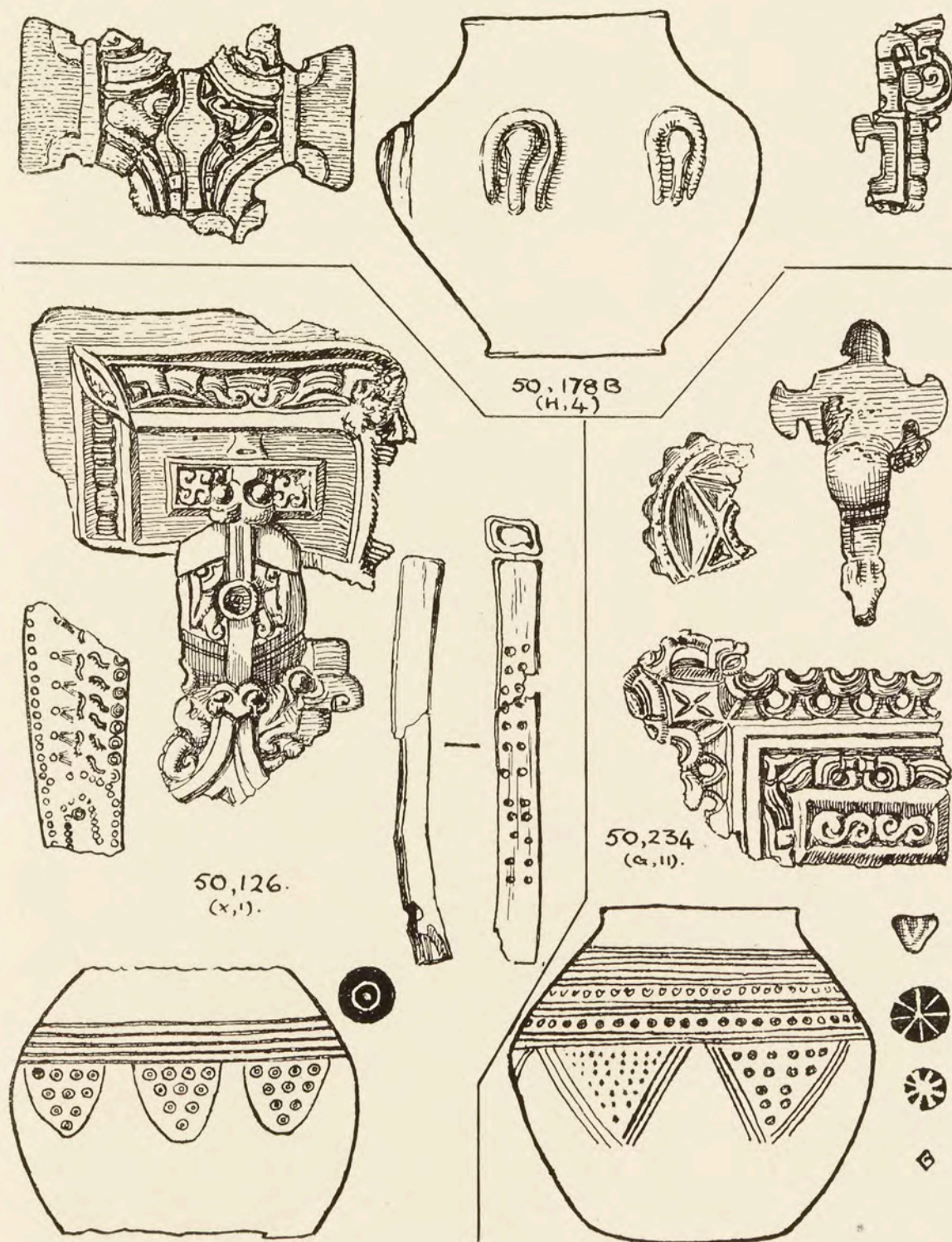


Fig. 17

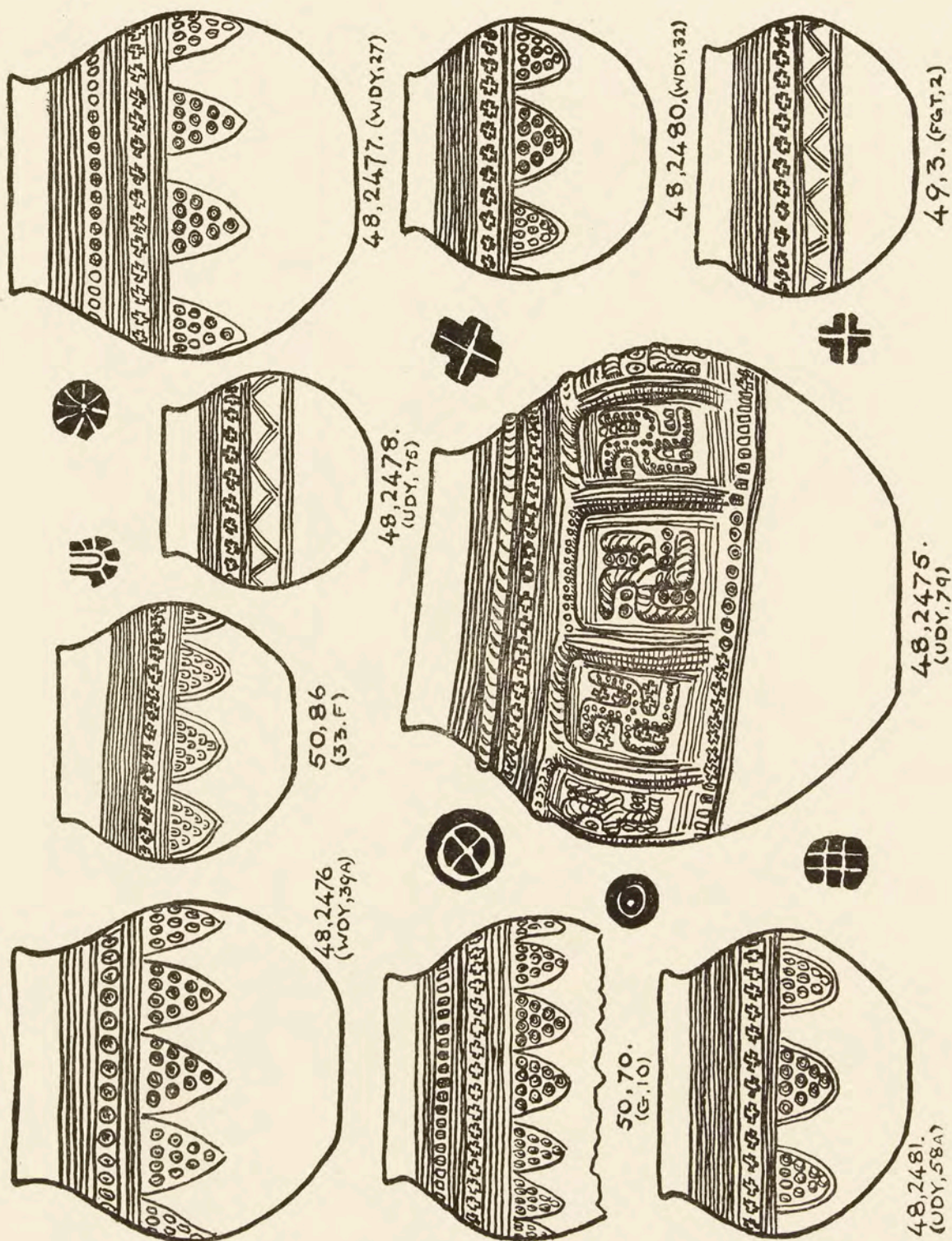


Fig. 18

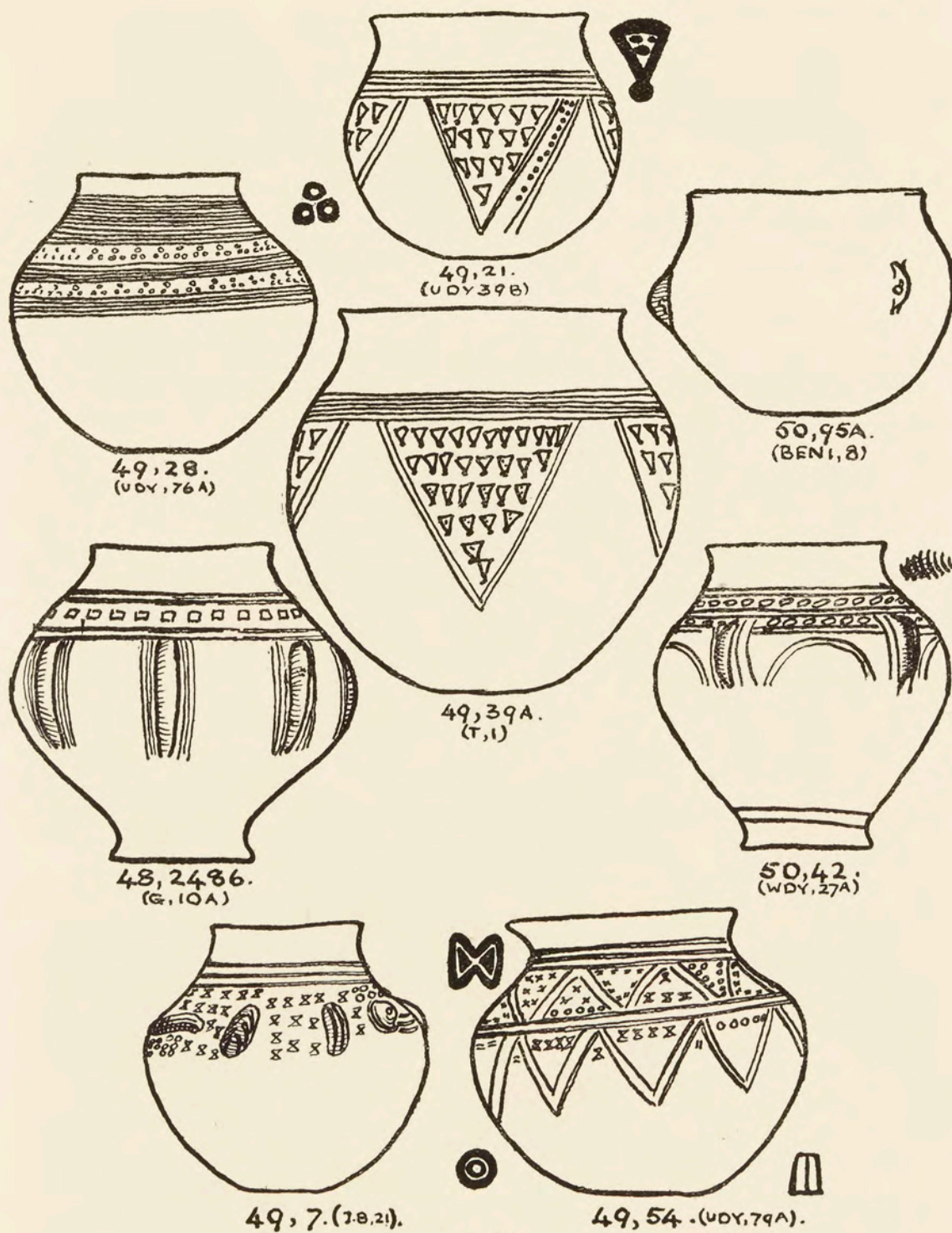


Fig. 19

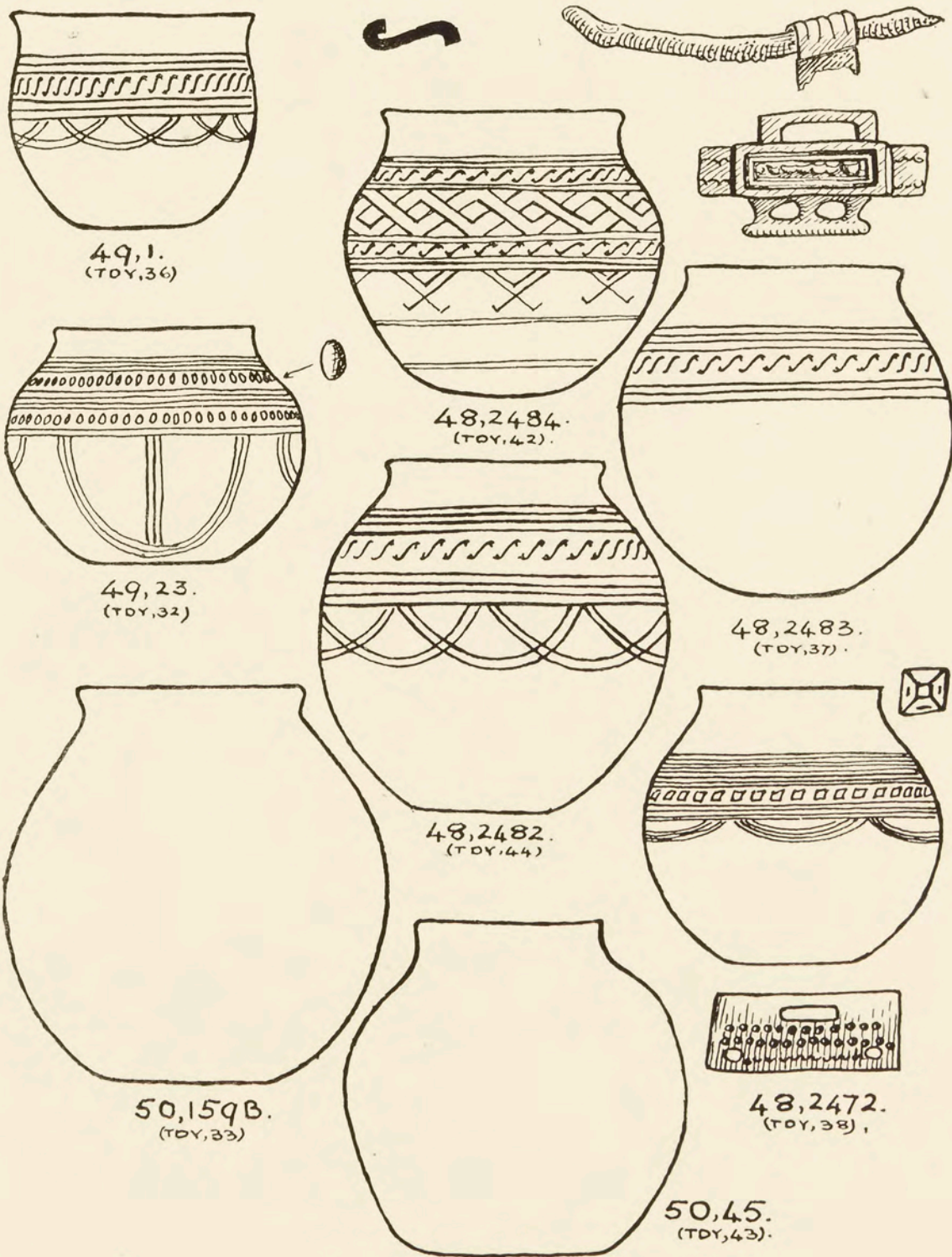
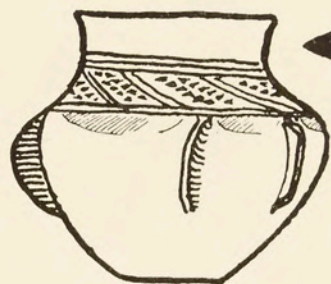


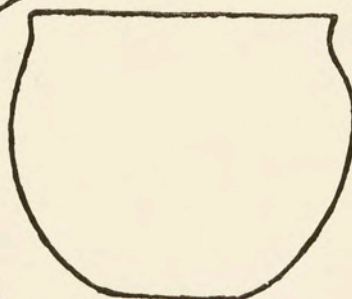
Fig. 20



50,56B.
(BENI, 3C)



50,56A.
(BENI, 2).



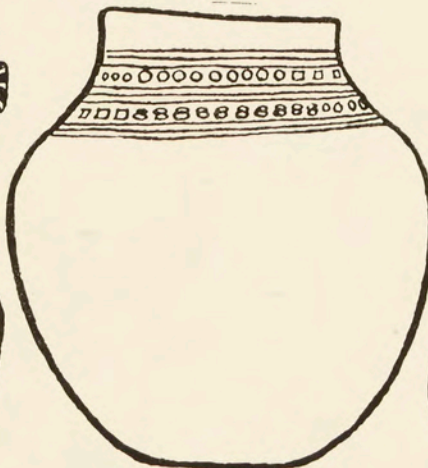
50,56C.
(BENI, 2A)



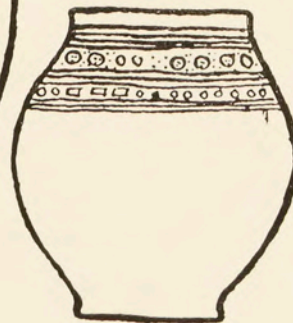
49,29.
(TDY, 23A)



49,283.
(49, A, 25).

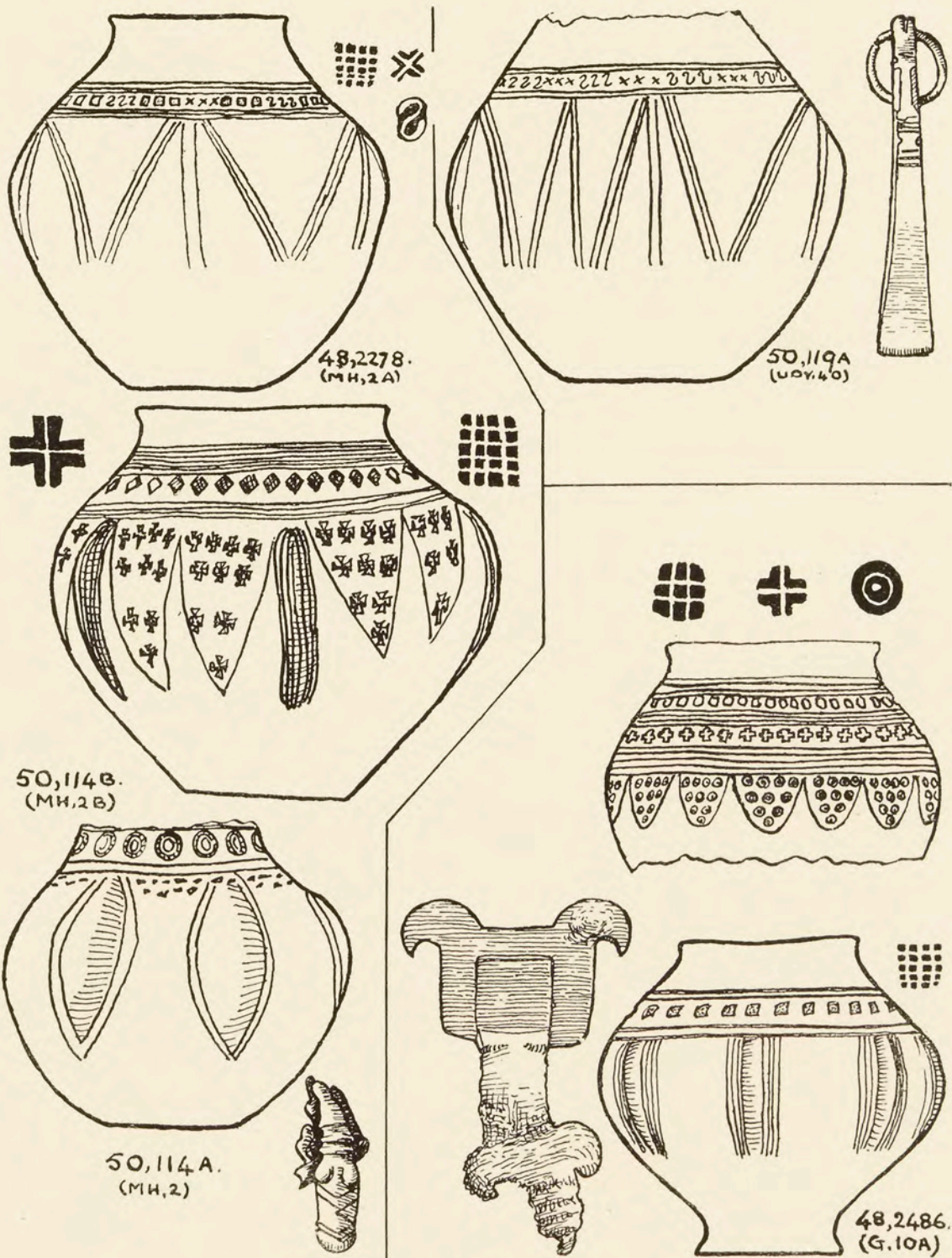


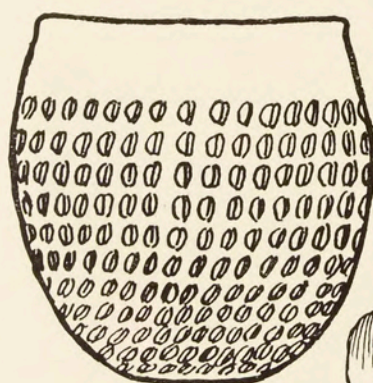
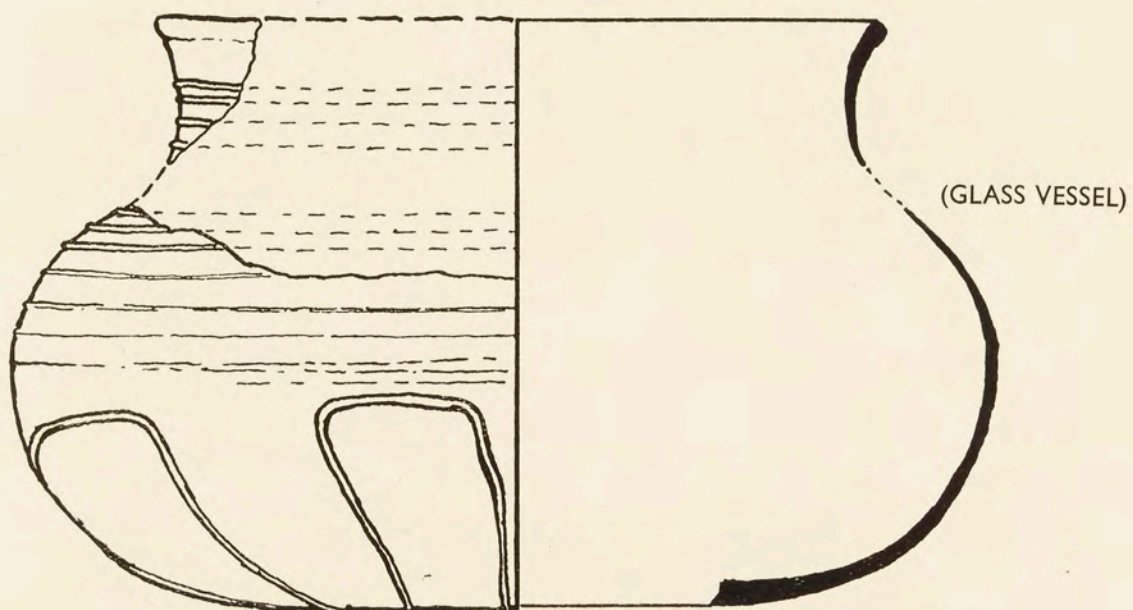
49,282.
(49, A, 15).



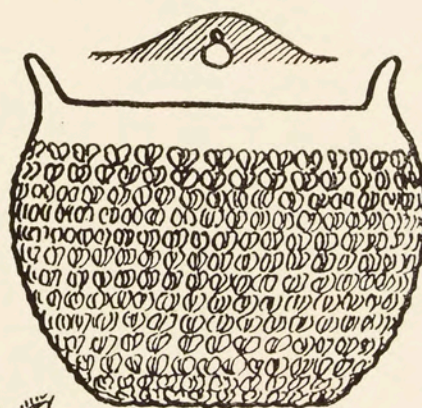
49,35.
(BENI, 2B).

Fig. 21

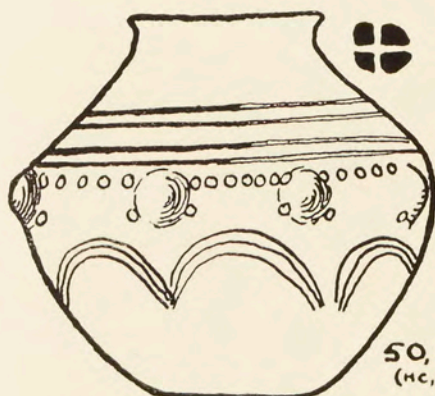




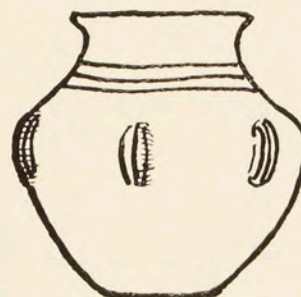
48,228IA.
(UDY, 21A).



50,138A.
(UDY, 24).



50, 57.
(HC, 1).



49, 34.
(WDY, 46).

Fig. 23

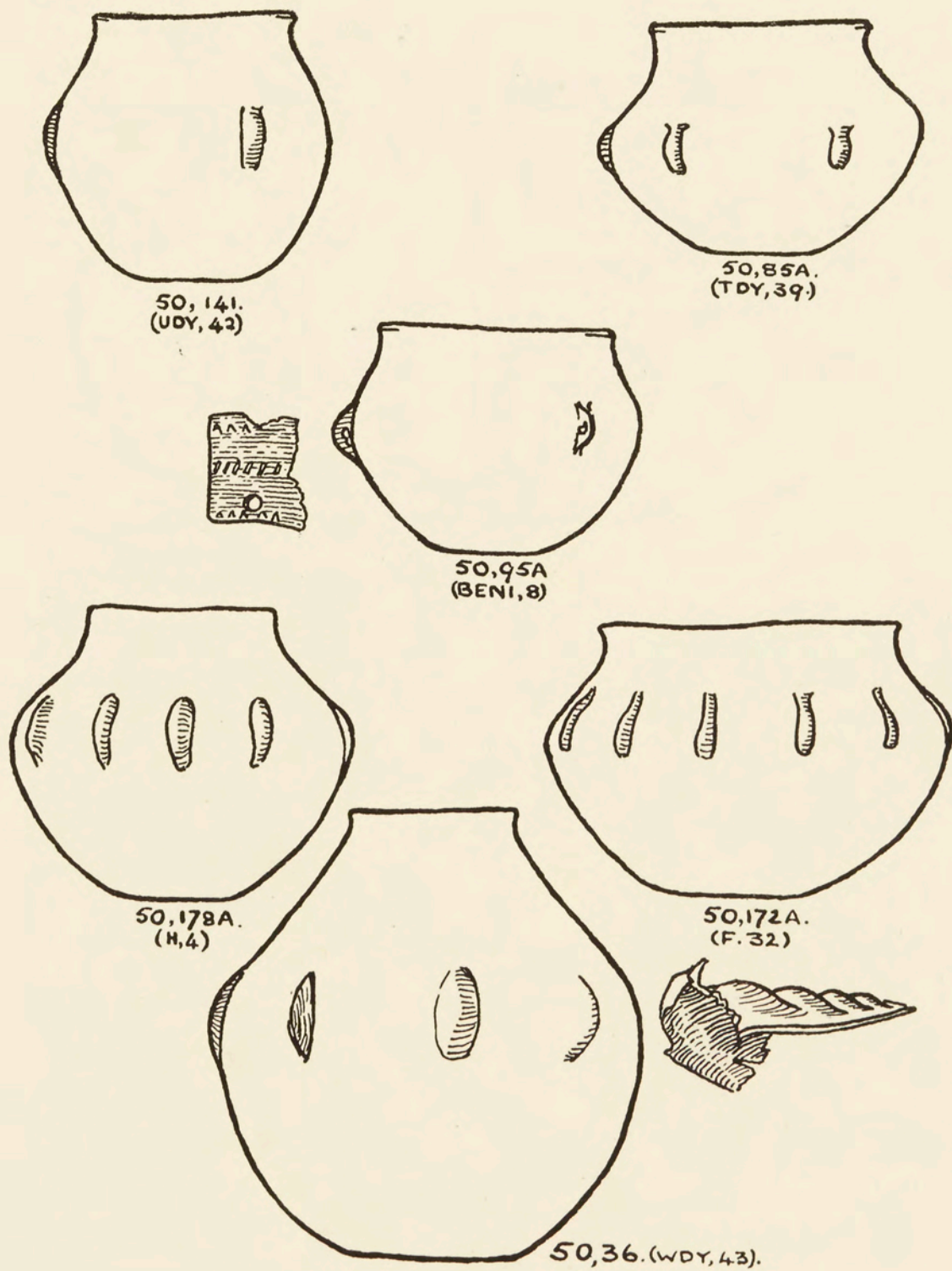


Fig. 24

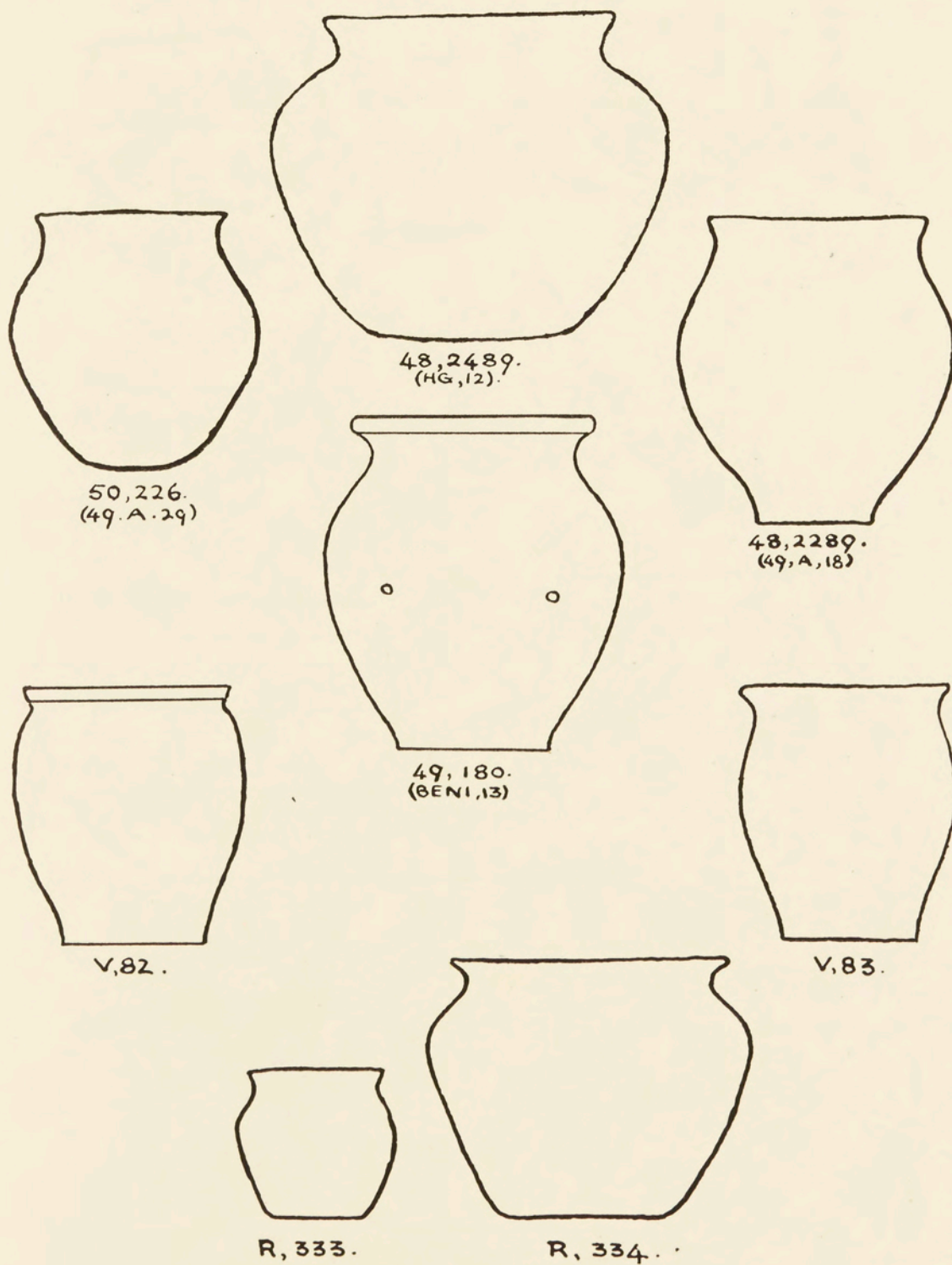
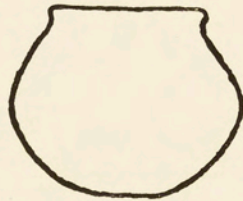
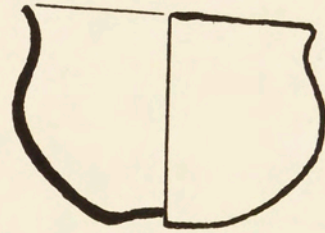


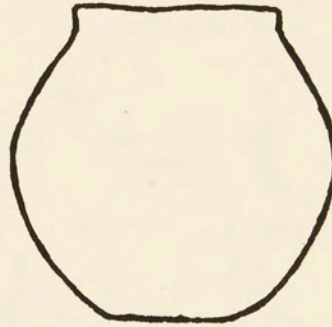
Fig. 25



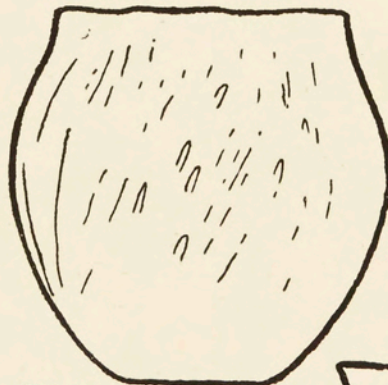
50,143A.
(UDY,54)



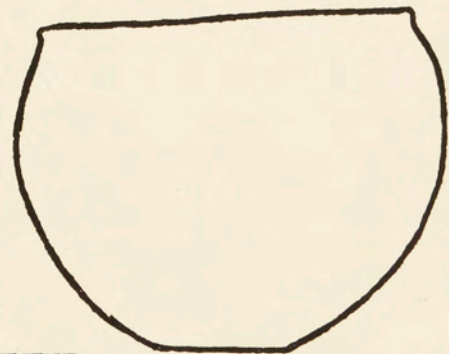
50,240.
(WBY,21)



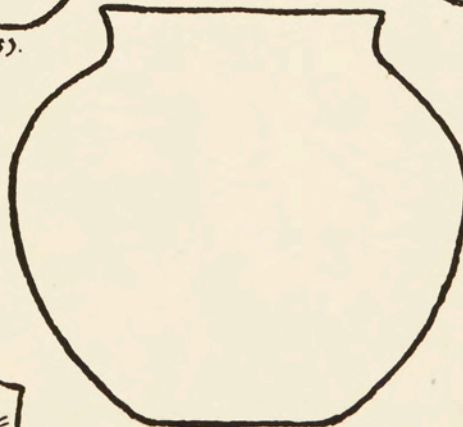
50,225A.
(49,A,28)



50,139. (UDY,25).



50,40.
(BENI,7)



50,197A. (TOY, 26)

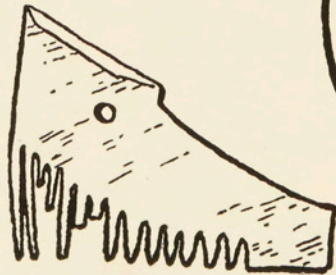
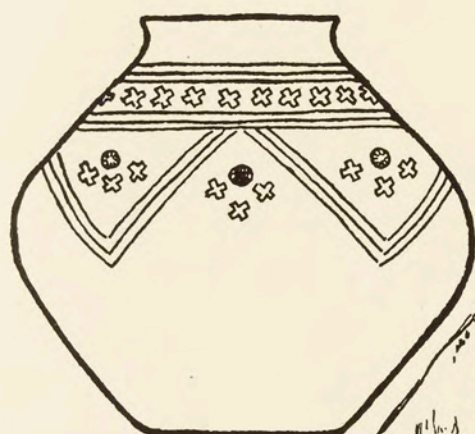
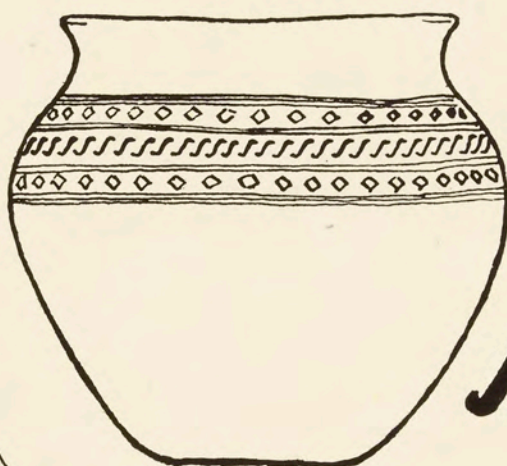
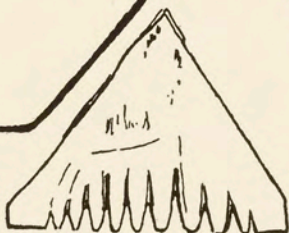


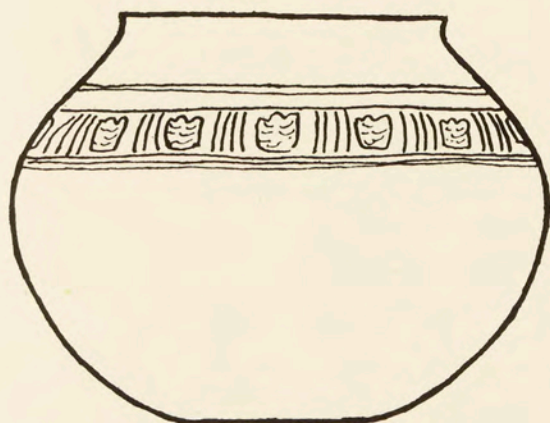
Fig. 26



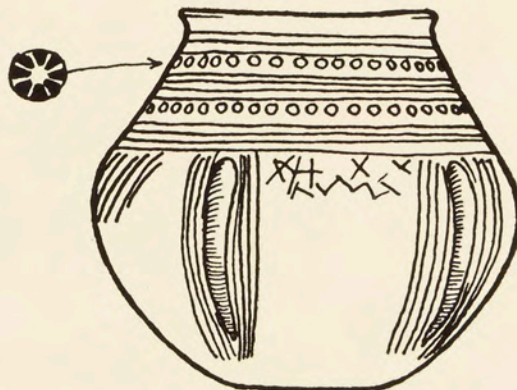
49,177A.
(HB, 10A).



49,20.
(TOY, 35).



50,68B.
(HB, 15).



49,36.
(BENI, 5).

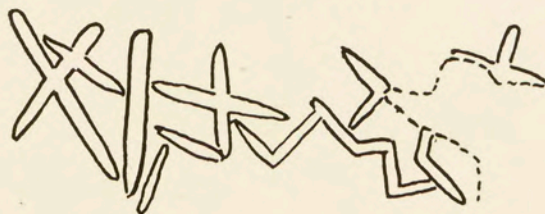
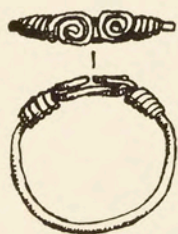
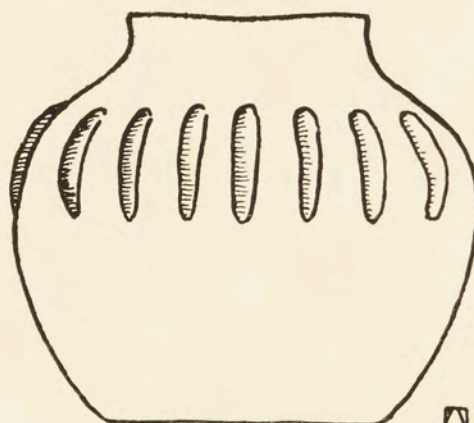
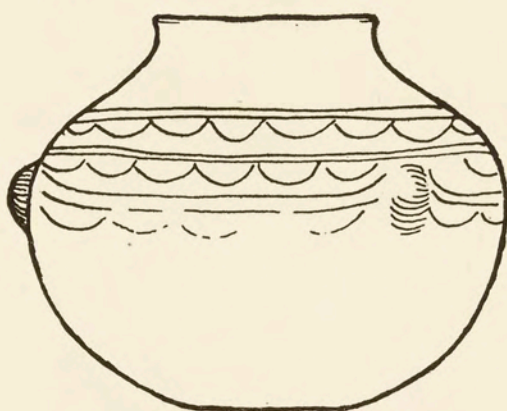
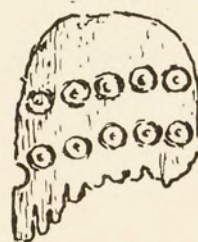


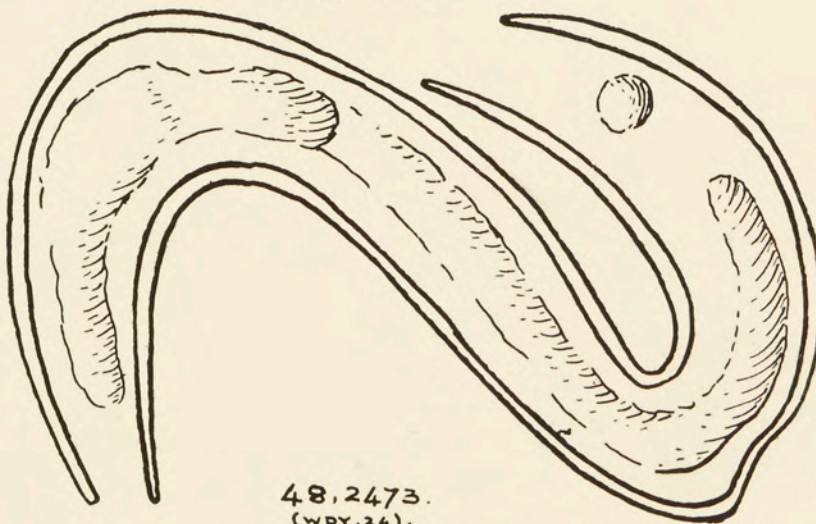
Fig. 27



49,584.
(2).

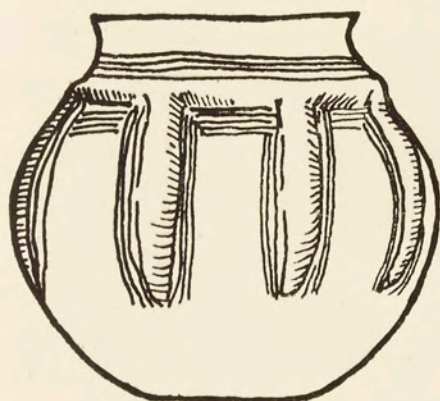


49,17.
(Woy, 69).

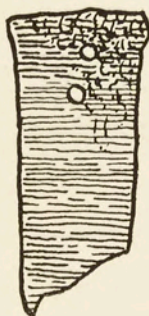


48,2473.
(Woy, 24).

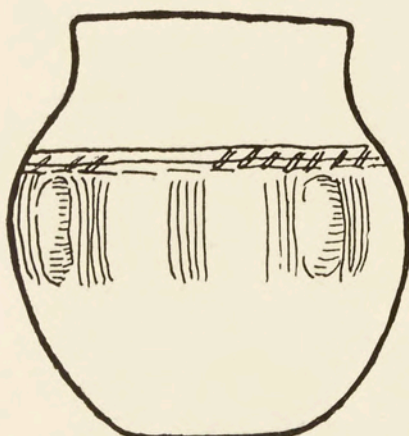
Fig. 28



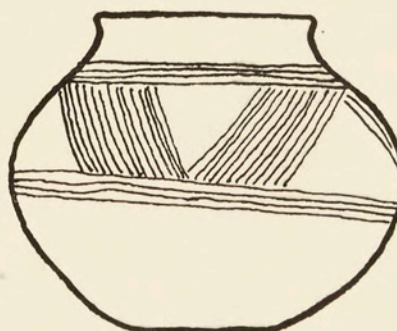
50,32.
(WBY, 66).



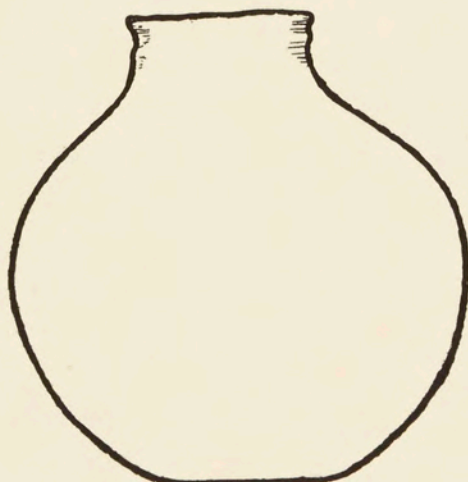
50,109A.
(49, A, 20).



50,58A.
(BENI, 12).

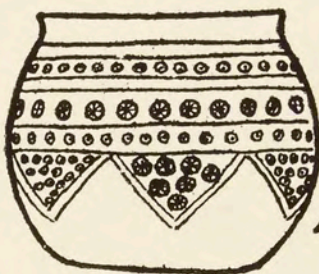
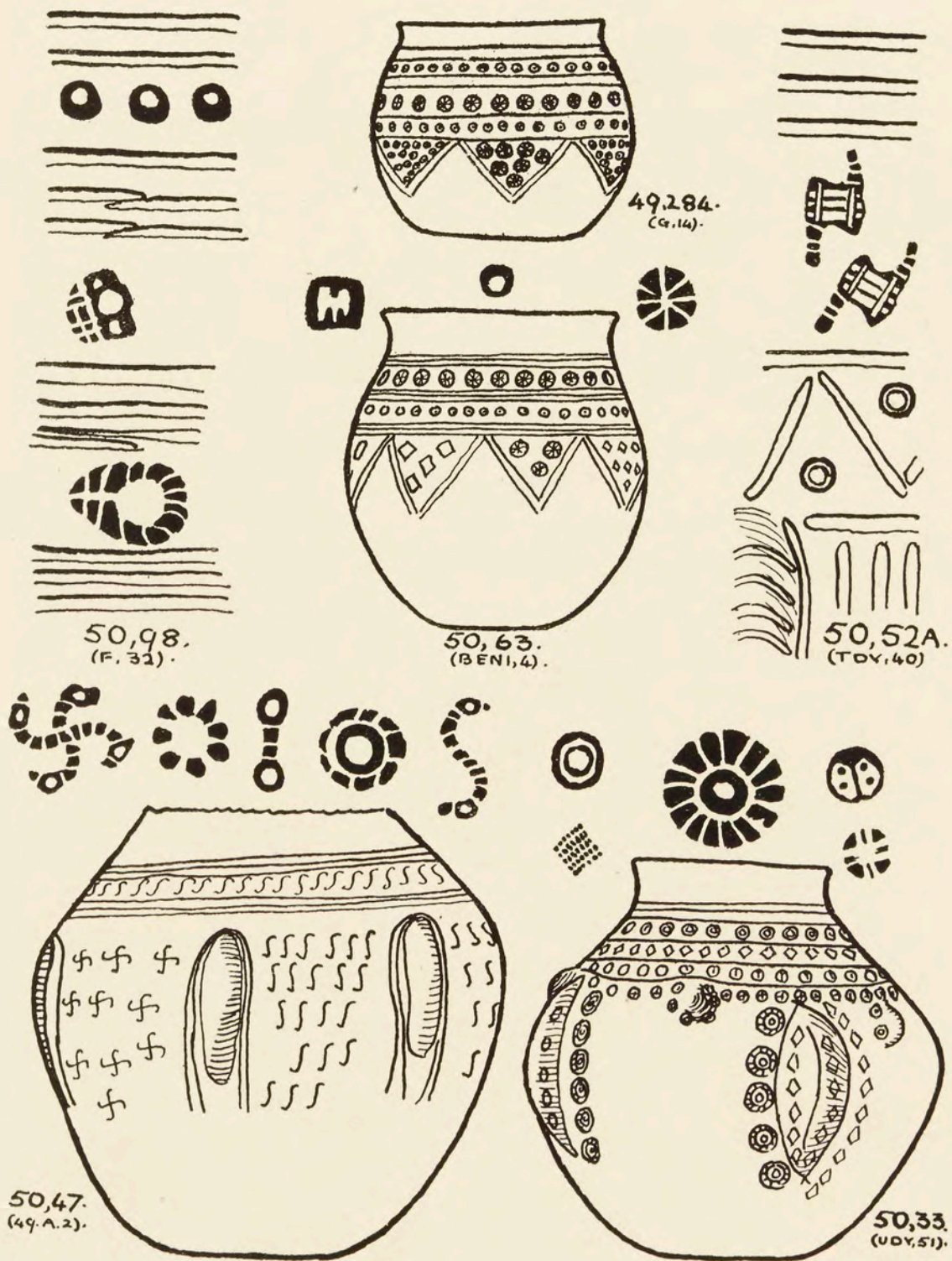


50,72.
(UDY, 49).

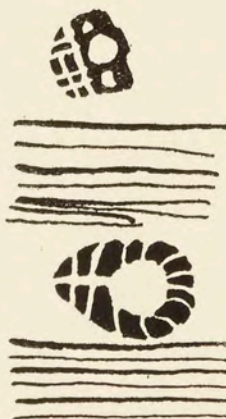
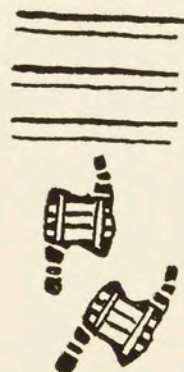


50,74.
(WBY, 50).

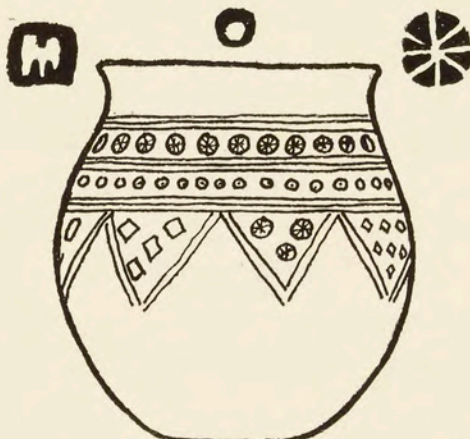
Fig. 29



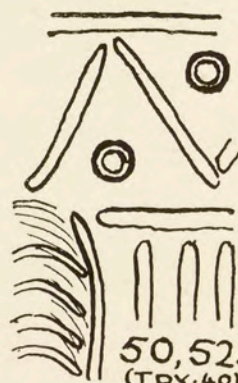
49.284.
(G.14).



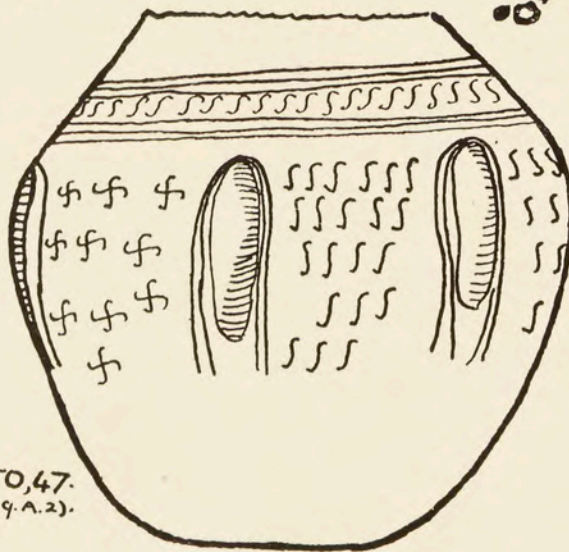
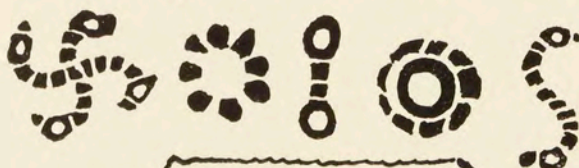
50,98.
(F. 32).



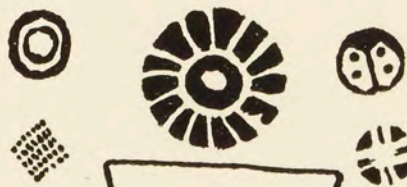
50, 63.
(BENI, 4).



50,52A.
(TOV,40)

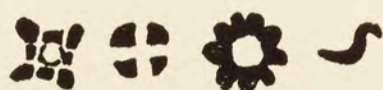


50,47.
(49. A. 2).



50,33.
(UDY, 51).

Fig. 30



50,30.7.

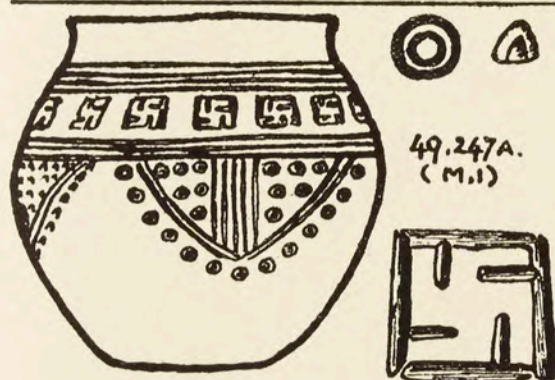
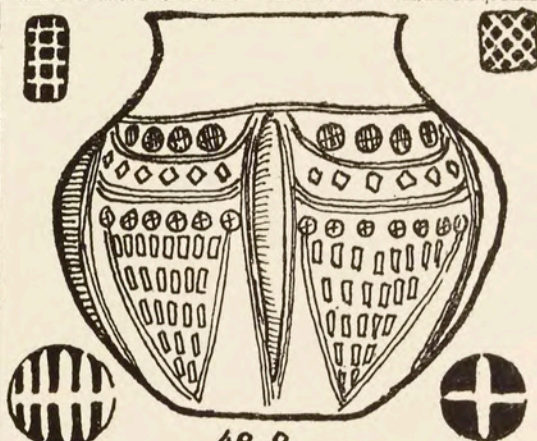
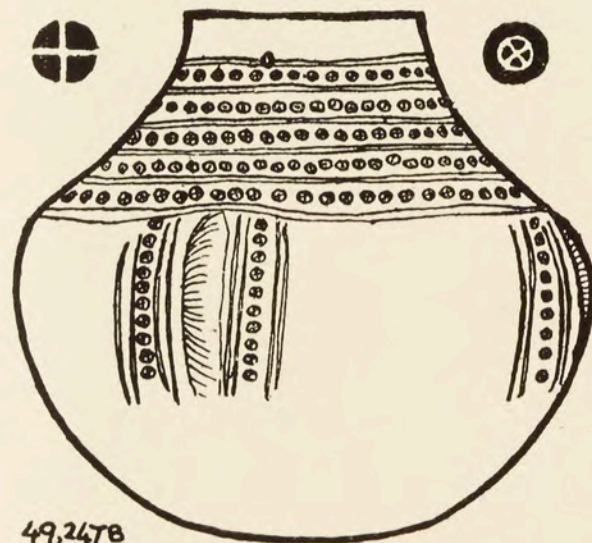
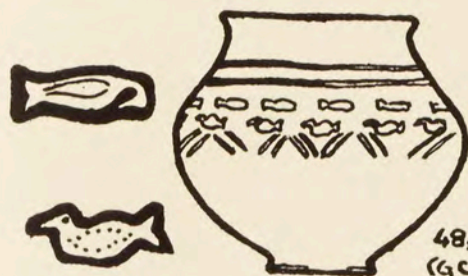
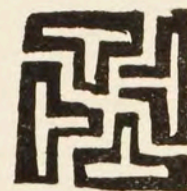
50,64.
(F,31).49,247A.
(M,1)49,9
(UDY, 12)49,247B
(M,2)48,2487.
(A,2)48,248.
(G,C,8)

Fig. 31

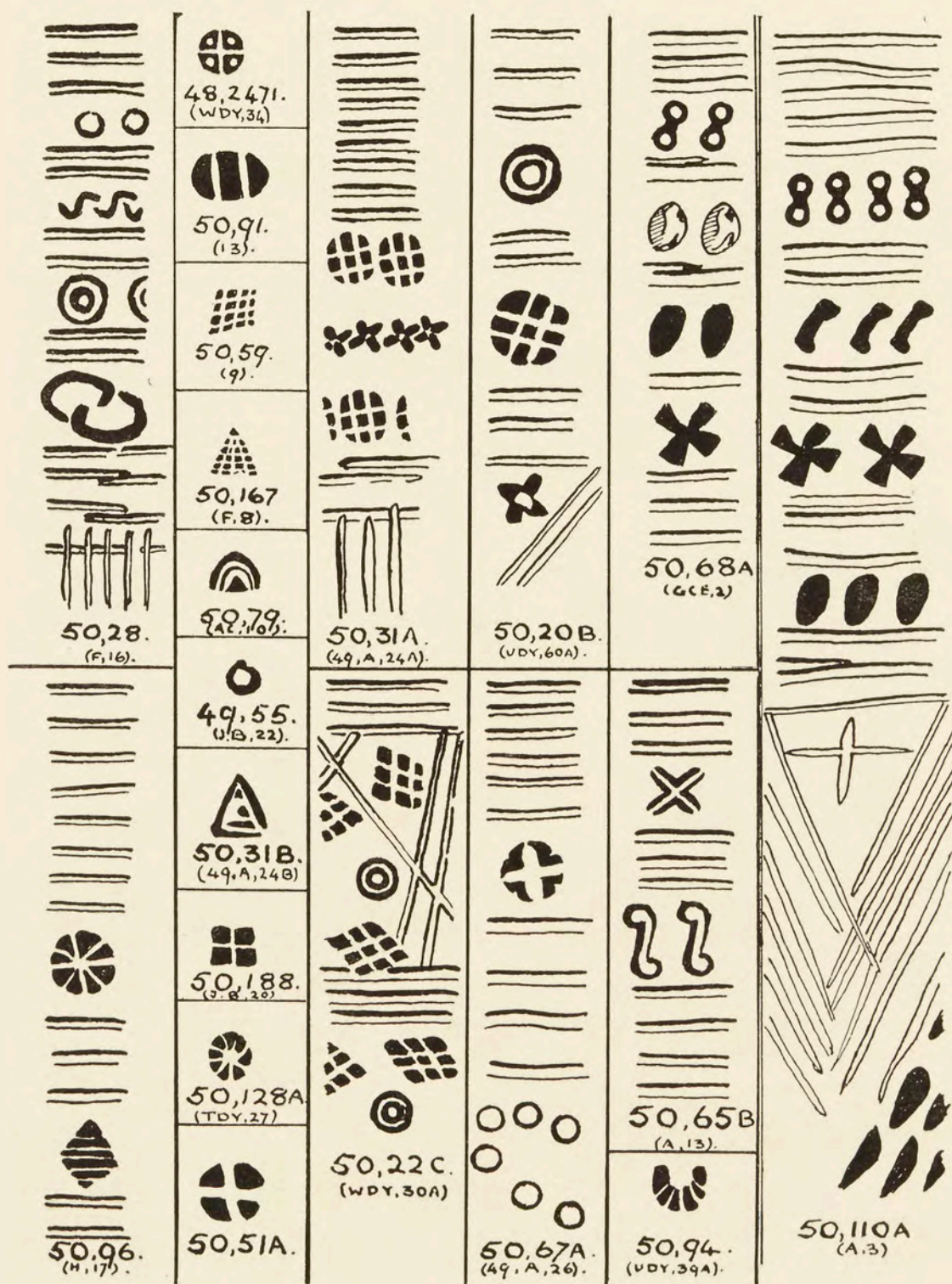


Fig. 32

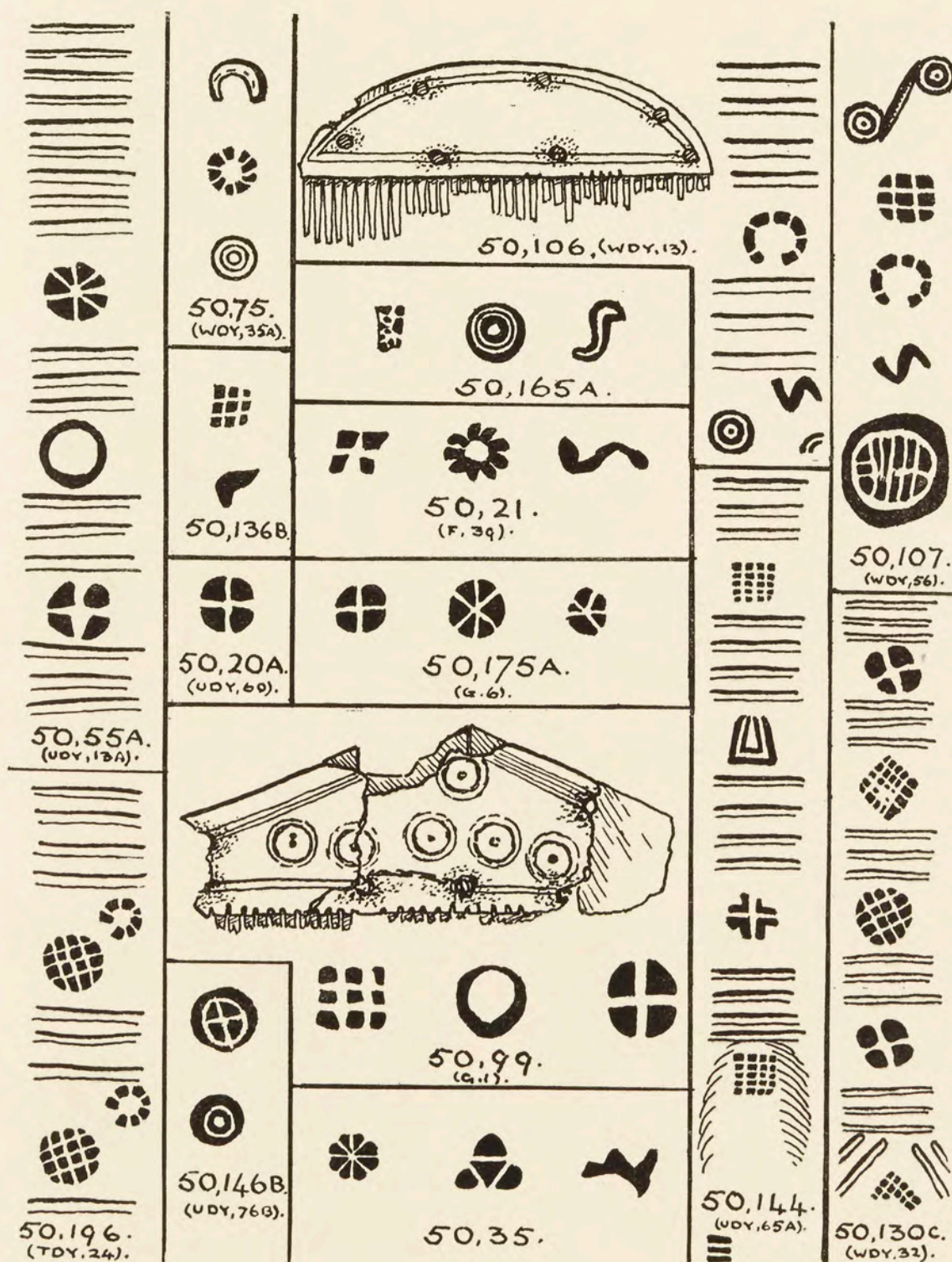
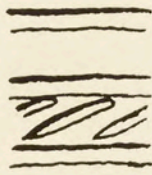


Fig. 33



50,169A.

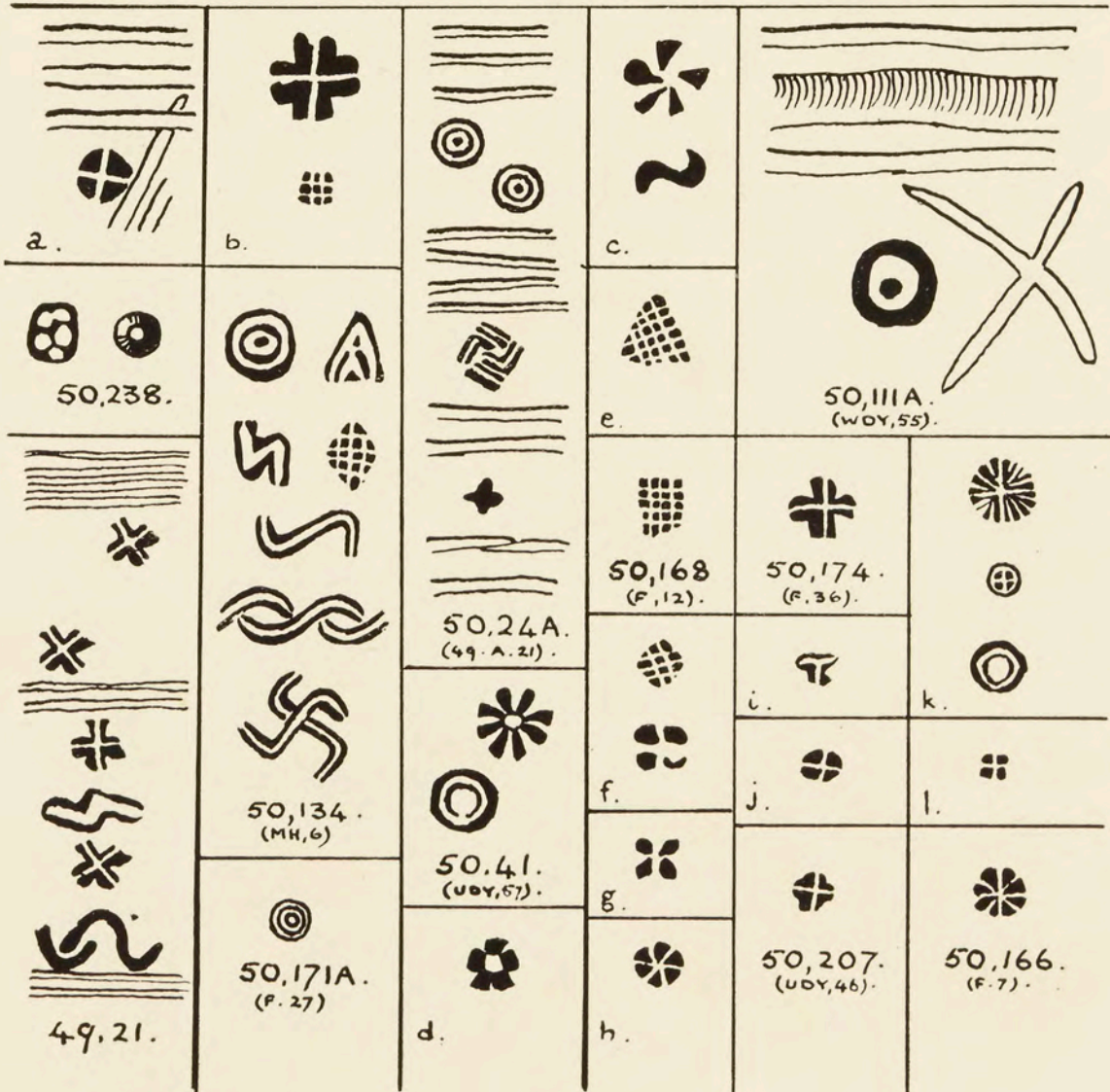
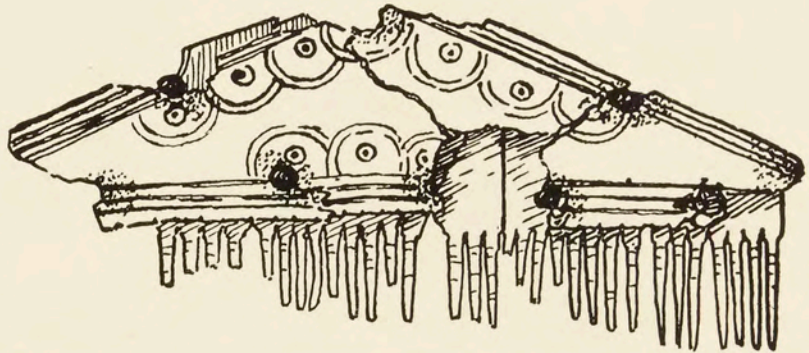
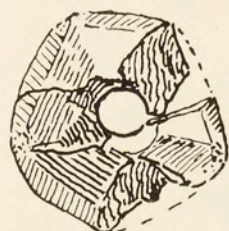
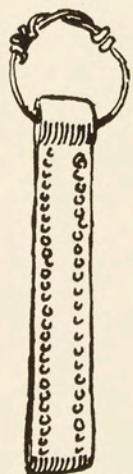


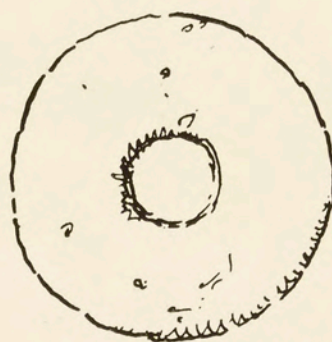
Fig. 34



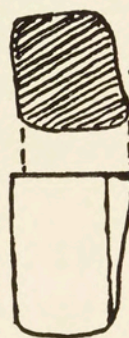
50,85 B.



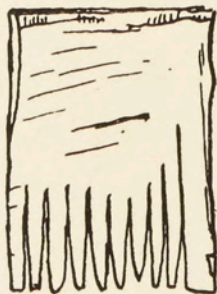
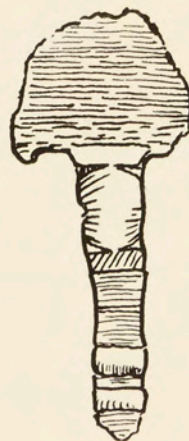
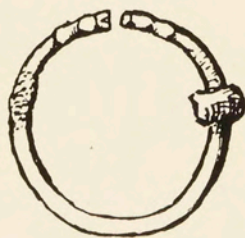
50,165 B



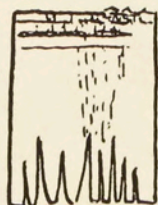
50,209 B.



50,142 B



50,49 B.



50,94 A.

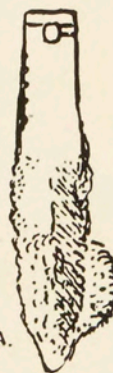


Fig. 35

