The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Wakerley, Northamptonshire
Excavations by Mr D Jackson, 1968–9

by

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ABSTRACT

The excavation of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Wakerley was undertaken between 1968 and 1969 by Mr Dennis Jackson for the Department of the Environment in advance of open-cast iron working. Eighty-five graves were excavated under difficult circumstances, the finds being conserved by the Department of the Environment.

It was seen that the cemetery was laid out within a fairly short space of time, although a single period (eg plague) burial has been rejected in favour of a 6th- to early 7th-century date range, covering more than one generation. A group of later 7th-century graves, excavated after the 1968/69 seasons, has been discussed, but it has been stressed that this group was separate from the main cemetery. Grave goods were a mixture of cheap items such as small-long brooches or swastika brooches, with good quality square-headed and florid cruciforms. Unusual items included a drinking horn; a lozenge-shaped mount, perhaps from a harness set; a complete example of a florid cruciform brooch of Leeds' type Vj; and a runic inscription scratched on a square-headed brooch. Most pottery was of the plain domestic type with a very few decorated vessels.

All the cultural indications suggested second generation settlers using a hybrid Anglo-Saxon grave furniture. Specialist reports were submitted on the pottery and the skeletal and textile remains. From the latter came evidence for a possible coloured pattern weave. Presence of Iron Age and Roman settlement and industry nearby was seen to have had a possible influence on the choice of Wakerley as a settlement.

Nevertheless no continuity could be ascertained between Roman and Saxon settlement or industry.

INTRODUCTION

Quarrying for ironstone in 1968 revealed an Anglo-Saxon cemetery sited in the parish of Wakerley in Northamptonshire. A total of 85 burials in 72 graves were recorded, as well as one possible cremation. The cemetery dates mainly to the 6th century AD. The excavation of the cemetery was carried out by D A Jackson and a small team of helpers in 1968 and 1970, as quarrying progressed. The work was sponsored by the then Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, through a grant administered by Kettering Borough Council.

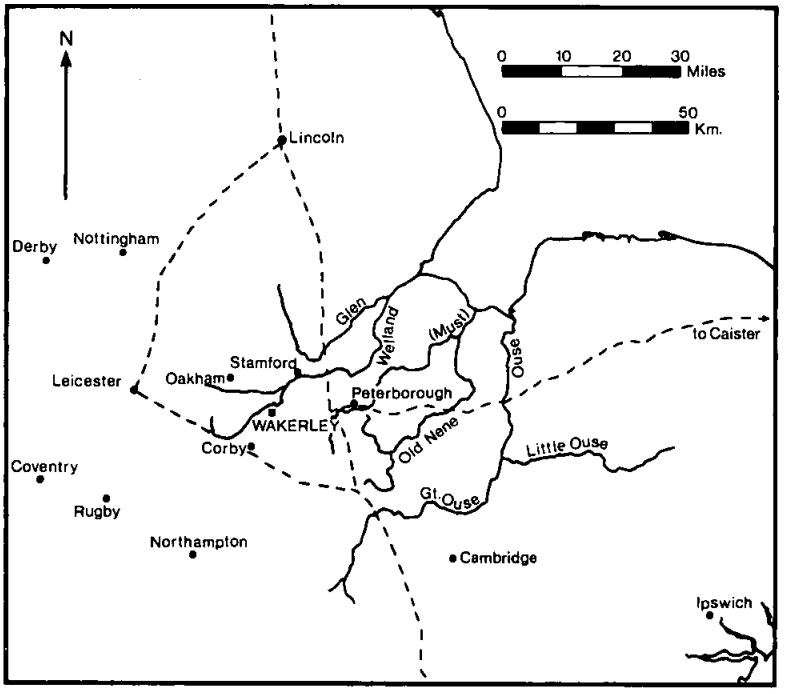

Fig 1 Wakerley, Northamptonshire: Location map showing contemporary river courses and major Roman roads.

LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY (FIGS 1, 2 and 3)

The cemetery was sited in an ironstone quarry just south of the road between the villages of Wakerley (SP 955994) and Harringworth, in Northamptonshire. It lay within a triangle bounded by the towns of Oakham to the west, Stamford to the north, and Corby to the south. It was situated some 2km from Wakerley village and 275m from the parish boundary.

The graves were dug on a north facing slope (OD 84m) with a cleft in the hillside forming the eastern boundary of the cemetery. The site overlooked the valley of the River Welland and beyond to the County of Rutland (now Leicestershire). The river itself forms the county boundary, which lies some 0.8km NW of the cemetery at that point. The bedrock in the area of the cemetery is Lincolnshire Limestone which has been affected by glacial action and weathering near the surface.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF EXCAVATION

The first graves (numbers 1 to 5) were exposed when the topsoil was being removed for a new area of quarrying; no graves had previously been quarried away. Once the existence of the cemetery was known, soil-stripping was carried out with care, and it is unlikely that any surviving burials were removed unrecorded.

Over half of the cemetery area (burials 1 to 55) was unavoidably excavated in bad weather in the winter of 1968/9, and working conditions were very unpleasant on the bleak hillside. The rest of the cemetery was excavated when under threat of quarrying in the summer of 1970.

Because of easy access from the road, and a pilfering problem, no graves goods could be left overnight. Therefore, once a grave was outlined, the aim was to excavate and record it on the same day.

Grateful thanks are due to the British Steel

Corporation both for permission to excavate and for the care taken in removing the topsoil once the cemetery was discovered. Thanks are due to Brian Dix, John Small, and the late Terry Panter for their help on the excavation, and to Alex Rollings for photographic assistance.

COMPILATION OF THE EXCAVATION REPORT

Following the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wakerley by Dennis Jackson, it became the subject of a thesis by Brian Adams for the degree of MPhil at Birkbeck College, University of London; the thesis is now lodged in Birkbeck College Library and in the University's Senate House Library. This report is largely the product of Mr Adams' research, but has been edited for publication by Lindsay Badenoch. It was completed in 1980 and the discussion, in the main, reflects the state of research in the period at that date.

Some 400 objects were found in the Wakerley cemetery, and many of these were treated by the Conservation Laboratory of the then Department of the Environment (now the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England). The Department also took the X-ray photographs, and all finds photographs except the Roman coins, which were taken by Mr Fredrick W Blake of Verulamium Museum, St Albans. Specialist reports were compiled by Miss Elisabeth Crowfoot (textiles) and D Brothwell and Miss Justine Bayley (skeletal remains).

Grateful thanks are due to Professor V I Evison whose advice I (Lindsay Badenoch and Brian Adams) have always valued. I am indebted to Terry Pearson and Pascale Brunier, both formerly of the Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit, for examining the pottery and providing the specialist report. I should like to acknowledge the excellent work done by Frank Gardiner of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission Drawing Office whose drawings make up the majority of those in the report. Other drawings were done by Christine

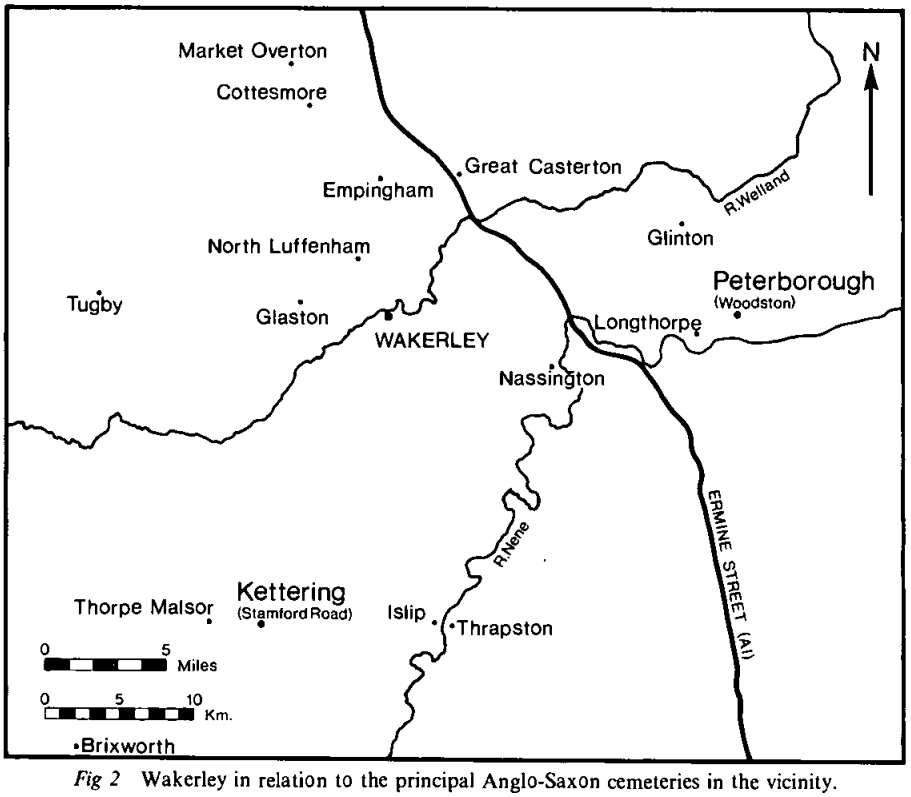

Fig 2 Wakerley in relation to the principal Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the vicinity.

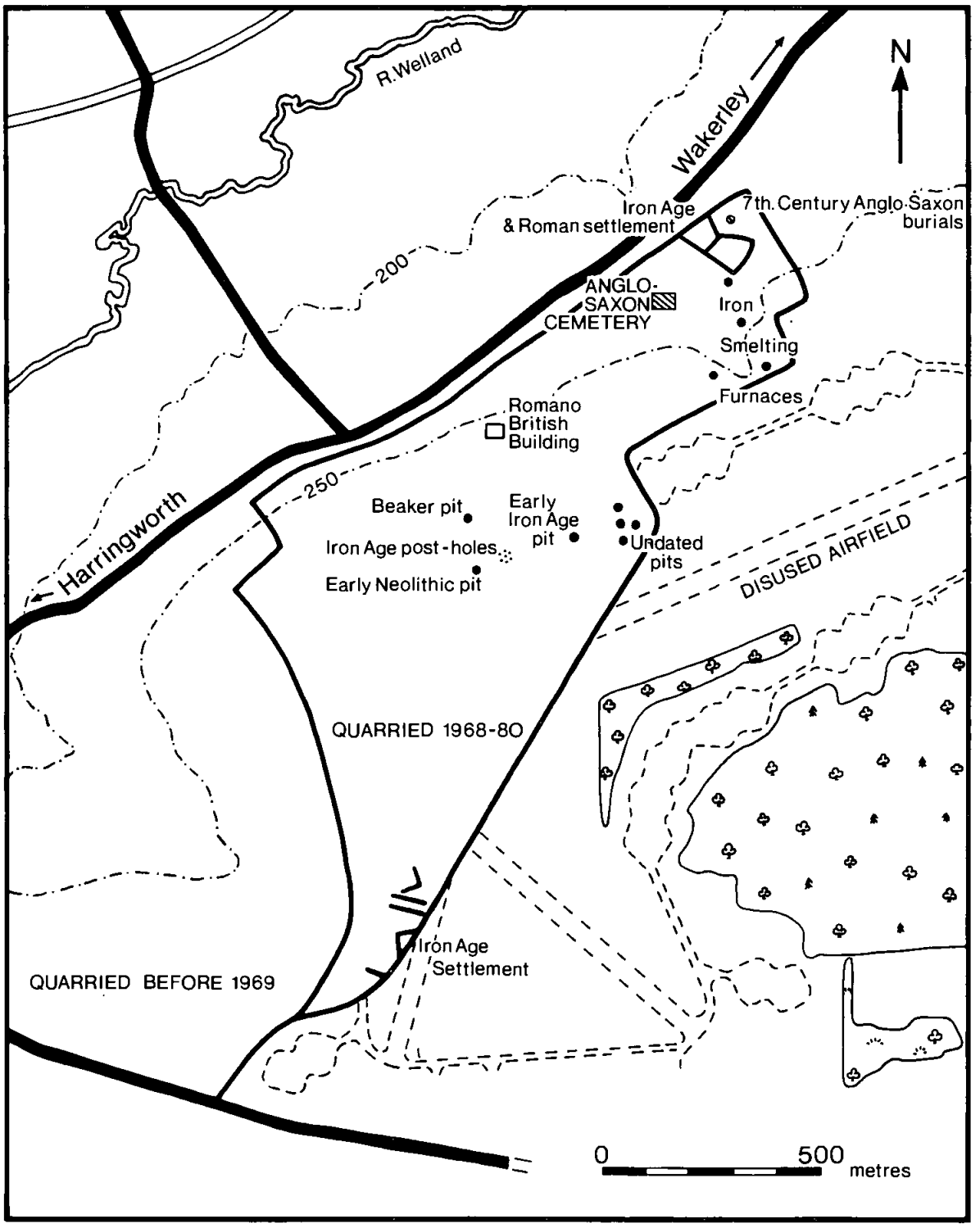

Fig 3 The cemetery in relation to other archaeological discoveries in the Wakerley-Harringworth area.

Bodington, Judith Dobie, Susan Heaser and James C Thorn. Terry Pearson provided the majority of the pottery drawings. I should like to thank Margaret Etherington for drawing the maps and plans and Abigail Dodd who prepared the figures.

I have had useful discusions with Martin Howe, Curator of Peterborough Museum, and Carol Morris and would like to thank them for their advice. Thanks are due to Jacqui Watson, Paul Wilthew and M E Hutchinson of the HBMC Laboratory for their useful assistance.

Lindsay Badenoch is greatly indebted to Mr W N Terry of the Central Museum Northampton, for allowing her access to the Wakerley material where it is now housed. She is also very grateful for the assistance and co-operation received from Robert Moore, Keeper of Archaeology at the Museum.

Terry Pearson is grateful to Liz Ward for help in the preparation of FIG 78 and also for reading through his part of the text, which was typed by Carol Harrison. Brian Dix and Graham Cadman kindly read and commented on a draft version.

Elisabeth Crowfoot is grateful to the expert weavers, and particularly to Dr Dorothy K Burnham (late of the Royal Ontario Museum) and Dr Peter Collingwood, for their interest in the float-patterned weave from grave 85.

ORGANISATION OF THE EXCAVATION REPORT

The excavation report has been divided into two sections: a section of printed text, and a section reproduced in microfiche. The former contains a general assessment of the cemetery dealing with such topics as its extent, the dimensions of the graves, the deposition of the bodies, etc; a table of the occurrence and distribution of grave goods and a discussion of the grave goods; and a section dealing with the chronological range of the cemetery. The microfiche section contains the definitive catalogue of the burials, the human bone report, the detailed report on the Anglo-Saxon pottery, and part of the specialist report on the textile remains (a list of microfiche contents is available on p 178).

All the figure drawings, excluding the individual grave plans, are reproduced in the printed text (FIGS 1–81). The textile remains are at the end of the report. The grave plans (FIGS 82–3) are on a large sheet in the file pocket at the back of this volume.

THE EXCAVATION

THE EXTENT OF THE CEMETERY (FIG 4)

The graves were generally difficult to locate in the limestone rubble, patches of brown clay, and sand which formed the natural bedrock. When all the graves had been excavated, deep trenches were cut into the bedrock round the perimeter of the cemetery and where gaps in the distribution of graves occurred. It was therefore fairly certain that no surviving burials were missed, but to be quite sure a watching brief was maintained when the surrounding area was quarried.

The boundary of the graves on the east follows a line where the ground falls away sharply to form a cleft, presumably an old water course, in the hillside. In modern times any water in the cleft has been piped away and the cleft, like the surrounding area, has been ploughed. Probably as a result of this ploughing the topsoil over the graves at the east end of the cemetery was severely eroded and barely 0.15m of soil overlay the bedrock. This could be significant because most of the graves to the east of the cemetery were extremely shallow, and many only just cut into the bedrock. It is quite possible therefore that a few graves had been completely ploughed away, as might be suggested by the local name of 'Dead Man's Hollow' for the adjacent cleft. It seems unlikely that the cemetery continued beyond the slope on the east, and two burials on the perimeter were oriented differently from the rest (35 and 39), perhaps because of the physical boundary and consequent lack of space.

To sum up, it seems unlikely that the cemetery extended beyond the limits shown on the plan, but there is a possibility of shallow burials being destroyed by ploughing. Roughly one third of the graves, as found, barely cut into the bedrock, and it is possible, considering the gaps in the plan, that a similar number had not survived.

At least eight Anglo-Saxon burials were discovered when an Iron Age and Roman settlement was excavated to the east of the cleft in the hillside (Jackson and Ambrose 1978). The grave goods suggest that these burials were of 7th-century date (see pp 175–76), and therefore later than those in the cemetery, but they do perhaps imply a continuity of settlement in the area.

THE DEPTHS OF THE GRAVES

The depths at which the tops of the graves had survived was

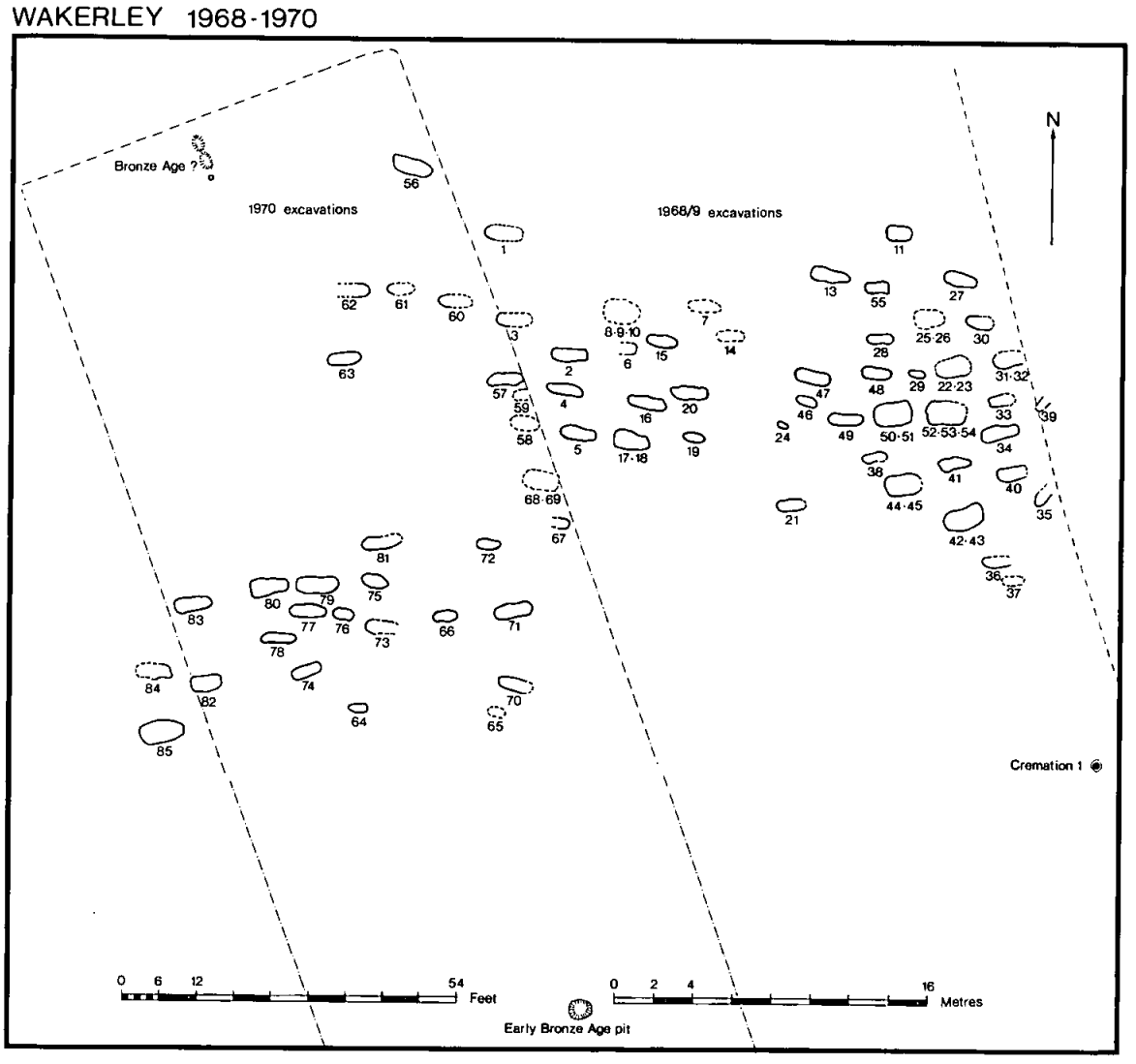

Fig 4 General plan of the cemetery.

not constant, so the depths taken and shown in the catalogue are from the modern ground surface. The depth of soil above the bedrock (and the ploughing depth) varied from 0.15m in the east to around 0.30m in the west; this has to be allowed for when calculating the depths of the graves in the bedrock.

The shallowest graves (7in—0.18m) were found on the east side of the cemetery, and the deepest (2ft 9in—0.84m) on the west. For the purpose of description the graves have been divided into three groups, as follows:

1. *The eastern group.* 29 graves (Burials 11–13, 21–55). Average depth of graves (below the modern surface), just over 12in (0.30m); deepest grave, 1ft 6in (0.46m) (Burials 43–43, double burial).
2. *The centre group.* 24 graves (Burials 1–20, 56–63, 67–69). The average depth of the graves was 15in (0.38m); the increase in depth compared with those in group 1 could be attributed to a greater depth of topsoil. The deepest grave, 2ft 4in (0.71m) (Burial 63), was the most westerly in the group and could be an outlier of group 3.
3. *The western group.* 18 graves (Burials 64–66, 70–85). The average depth of the graves was 25in (0.64m). Eleven adjacent graves in this group (Burials 73, 75–83, 85) were over 2ft (0.61m) deep.

From this it can be seen that all the deep graves were at the west end of the cemetery, and the variation is too great

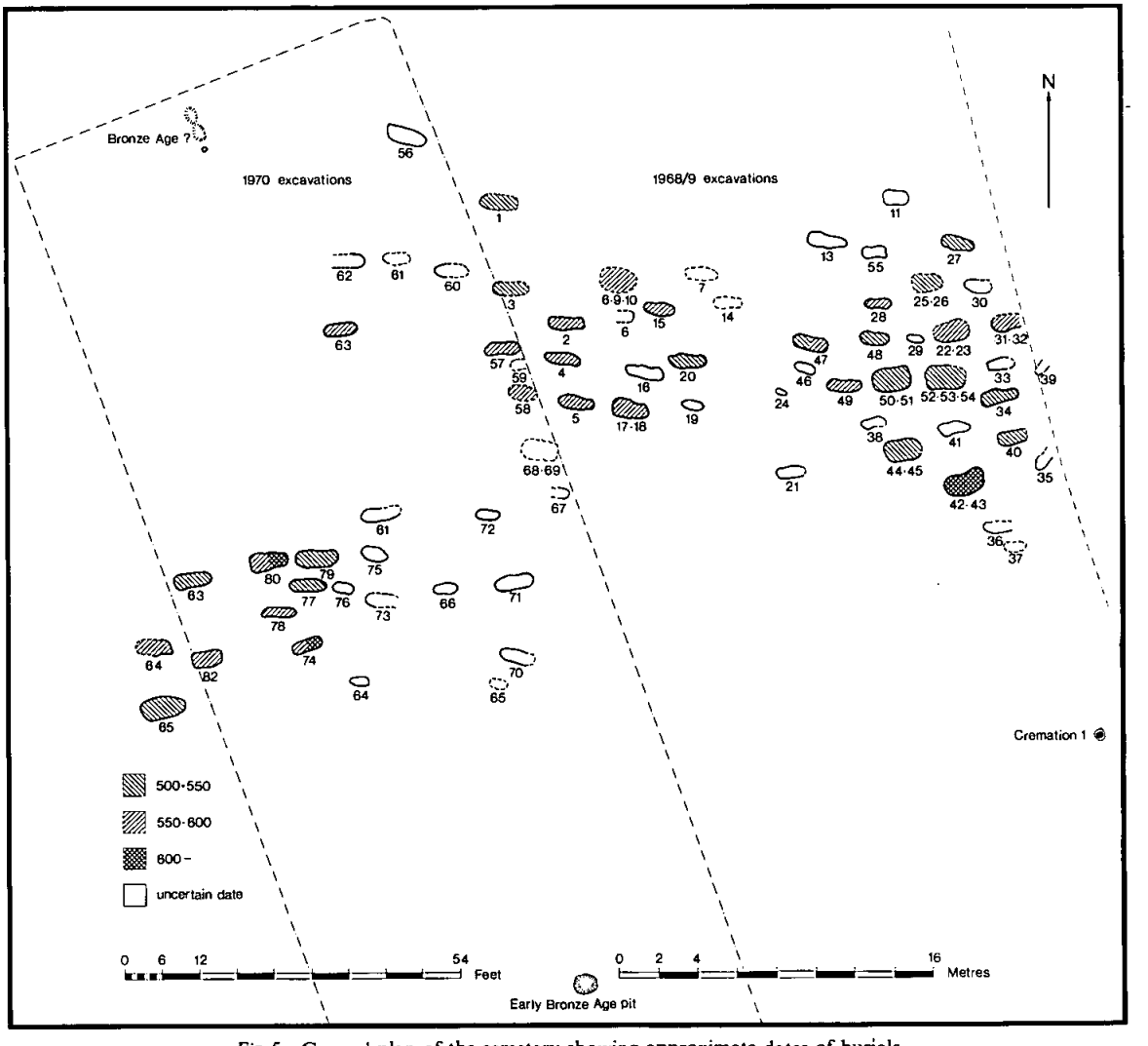

Fig 5 General plan of the cemetery showing approximate dates of burials.

to be attributed entirely to soil erosion. The simplest explanation is that the bedrock was slightly more sandy at the west end of the cemetery and therefore afforded easier digging.

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE GRAVES

The shape of many of the graves could not be accurately plotted because they were too shallow. Nevertheless it is clear that little attempt was made to dig the graves to a pre-conceived shape and in general they were dug just large enough to receive the body or bodies. The bottoms of the graves were generally flat and the irregular sides could be in part due to the nature of the bedrock.

All the graves were roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. It was noticeable, however, that the graves for the multiple burials tended to be more evenly cut and to have more angular corners, and this may suggest that the size of the grave was planned to take more than one burial from the outset. Certainly there was no evidence of a filled grave being re-opened, but the enlargement of open graves is possible.

EVIDENCE OF COFFINS

In general the graves were backfilled with the bedrock through which they had been cut, and many appeared to be too shallow to accommodate wooden coffins. At the west

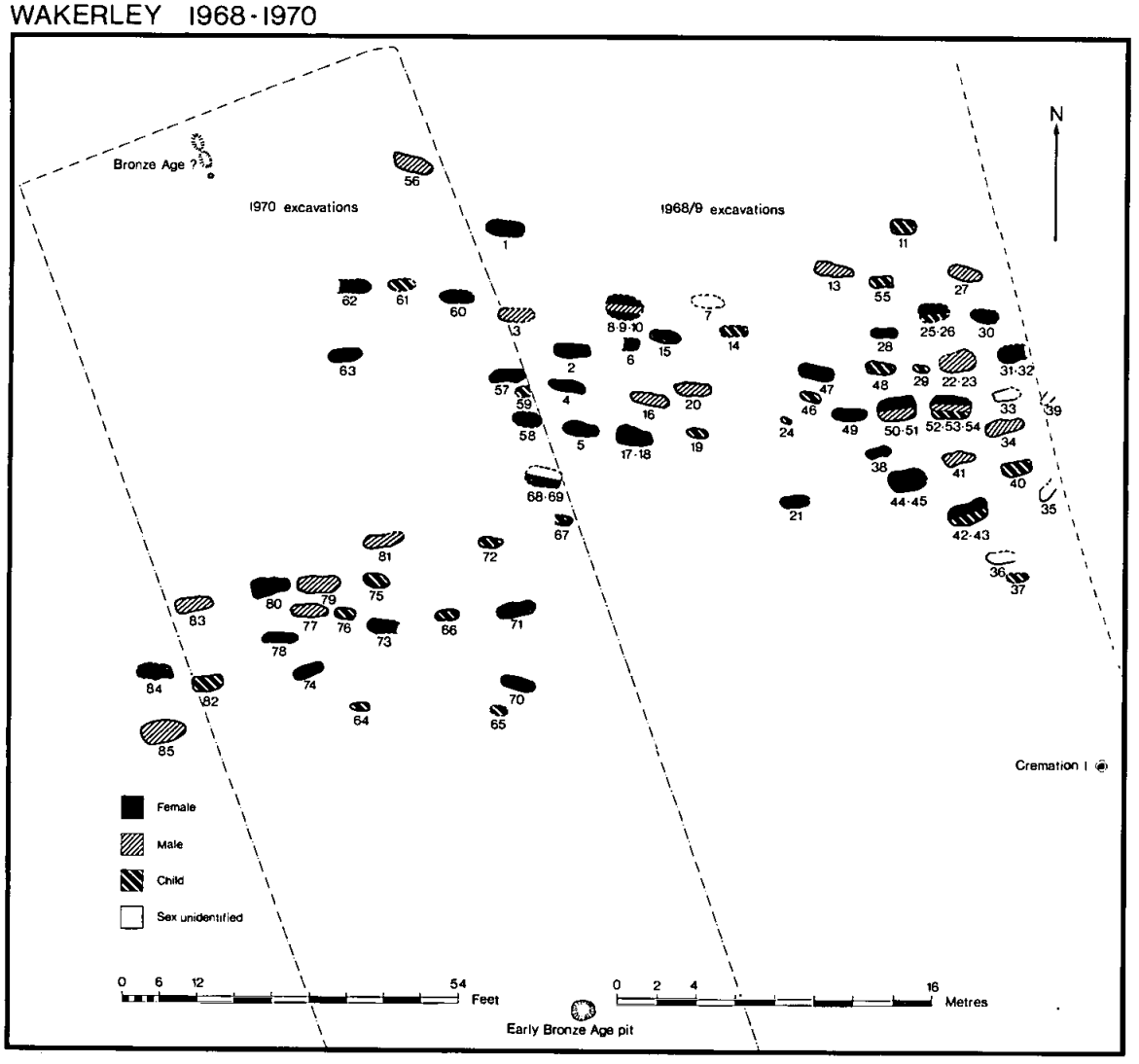

Fig 6 General plan of the cemetery showing sexes of burials.

end of the cemetery, however, it was noted that in a number of the graves (63, 79, 80 and possibly 56 and 85) the limestone rubble backfill was closely packed round the edges, as if filling the space between a coffin and the sides of the grave. Objects too, such as the pot in burial 63, the shield boss and spearhead in burial 79, and the two spearheads in burial 85, were found on edge above the bottom, but close to the side, of the grave. This suggests that they had perhaps been placed in the grave outside a coffin. The presence of coffins at the west end of the cemetery may explain why the graves had been dug to a greater depth.

There is evidence of what may be coffin fittings. Grave 41 contained fragments of iron at the top of the grave-fill, but there was no other evidence to substantiate the presence of a coffin. Similar iron fragments were uncovered at the top of the filling for the double burial 42/43. These fragments were concentrated in one area. A strip of riveted bronze was recovered from grave 62 bent in such a way as to suggest that the piece was originally shaped as a right angle. One half of the piece (now broken) is decorated. A corner fitment for a box or coffin seems possible here, although the grave was too disturbed for a more positive identification. At the left hand side of grave 74, an iron nail, a broken iron ring and a small fragment of iron were found, together with riveted strips of iron lying on top of the body at waist level. From grave 80 came iron fragments, two of which have traces of wood adhering. A small wooden object is more likely here, rather than anything more substantial, but the remote possibility remains.

There was no evidence of stones being used to line the graves and none had been placed adjacent to the burials.

CONDITION OF THE BONES

At an early stage in the excavation it was decided that it was only worth keeping the skulls and a selection of long bones. Many of the bones did not survive at all and other were in a poor condition. The variation in the survival of the bones appears to be, at least in part, attributable to the nature of the filling; where there was a lot of limestone rubble in the filling the bone survival tended to be better than where the graves were filled with clay or sand.

THE POPULATION REPRESENTED

The analysis of the bones showed that all the individuals represented were aged from one to about 45 years (see microfiche F3–5). In many cases insufficient evidence remained for sexing to be based on the skeletal material alone. Out of the 73 samples of bone considered, 18 individuals could be recognised as male, and 31 as female. The sexing by cultural evidence confirms the trend shown by the skeletal material that the cemetery contained a preponderance of female burials.

ORIENTATION

Almost all the burials were aligned roughly east-west with heads at the west end. The exceptions were two burials (35 and 39) on the eastern edge of the cemetery, which lay with heads to the south-west, and burial 77 where the body lay face down with its head to the east.

DISTURBANCE AFTER BURIAL

There was evidence that burial 85 had been disturbed after it had been placed in the grave. The upper mandible had been twisted to the right, away from the lower mandible, while both the left scapula and humerus were missing. It is possible that burial 85 had been interred in a coffin.

THE CREMATION

A single cremation was found just to the south-east of the main group of burials. The pottery fabric conforms to a type found in inhumation graves elsewhere in the cemetery (see specialist report by T Pearson).

DISPOSITION OF THE BODIES

The generally poor condition of the skeletal remains makes accurate analysis of body positions difficult. Since several of the bodies were either badly disturbed or severely decayed, the actual value of any statistics collected from the remainder is limited, although certain generalisations are still possible. Ploughing and soil erosion almost certainly accounts for most of the grave disturbance, although grave 73 had been cut into by a later trench. Bearing the difficulties in mind, it seems that the most common laying-out for the corpses was full length, with arms at the side of the body and legs straight. Thirty-seven bodies were positioned this way, and more than half of these were males. Nineteen bodies were flexed, ie with the knees drawn up, and of these only two were positively identified as male, and a further three were children. Fifteen bodies (nine male) were placed with the right arm only across the body, while six (female) had the left arm only across the body. Eight bodies were buried with both arms folded across the body, and half of these were men. Eight burials (six of them females) lay with the legs crossed, usually at the ankles.

The placing of the head differed in some instances. Most bodies rested with the skull lying straight on the back of the cranium, but twenty-three bodies were placed with the head to the left, and ten with the head to the right. Of these, those bodies in graves 17, 18, 21, 71, 74 and 79 were placed with the whole body on the left side. Only 79 was a male. Burial 78 (a female) was unique in being placed on its right side.

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the skeletal remains is that the men tended to be laid out straight, with arms at the side of the body or with the left arm only across the body. Women were often in a flexed position, with crossed legs, and a tendency towards placing the head to the left. Of those bodies placed on their sides, the majority were female. Crossed arms seem to have equal incidence for both men and women.

The male burial in grave 77 was unique to the Wakerley cemetery. Buried face downwards, with the head to the east, the man's left arm was across his back at the base of the spine, whilst the right hand apparently lay under the pelvis. The right ankle lay over the left, with a knife of common type beneath the body, in a position suggesting that he was wearing it at the time of burial, with a spear to the left side. Although there is no evidence for this, the position of the hands and feet could suggest that the man had been bound before burial. One can only speculate on the reasoning behind so dramatic a departure from the normal modes of burial. Assuming that the positions of bodies in graves had religious significance for the pagan Anglo-Saxons, it may be suggested that in some way, perhaps, this man had transgressed accepted social behaviour among this group. Parallels to this burial rite are not common, but it is interesting to note that at Swaffham, Norfolk (Haspall Road) (note in *Medieval Archaeol* 15 (1971), 130, and Hills and Wade-Martins 1976, figs 3, 6, 9; pl III, V, IV) one of the twenty burials also lay face downwards. This grave (number 15) held a six-feet tall warrior lying with his feet stretched out and his arms doubled up at the elbow. Goods consisted of a shield placed over the head and shoulders, shield discs, a small knife, buckle and pin. Evidence from other graves at Haspall Road suggests a date somewhat into the 6th century for the cemetery.

A more detailed description of the skeletal material is given in the catalogue section, printed in microfiche (E14–F8). Since identification of sex was not always possible from the bones it is inferred from the grave furniture.

BURIAL RIGHTS

The bodies at Wakerley were laid out and equipped quite deliberately, and such attention would presumably be postponed for two or more days, as is the case today when the *rigor mortis* phase had passed off. There are, however, slight indications to suggest that the dead were in fact exposed for several days, perhaps a fortnight or so before

the graves were filled in, during which time the graves and contents remained open to view.

The evidence comes from the remains of empty pupae cases, replaced by corrosion on iron or bronze objects. It must be stressed that only the most tentative conclusions can be drawn from this type of evidence and that explanations for the presence of larvae, other than as a result of the exposure of corpses, are quite possible, even probable. The obvious suggestion is that insects—more particularly flies—were able to lay eggs on decomposing body tissue in the graves. It would be easy for them to do so in open graves, but quite possible for insects to enter through loose soil over a closed grave. Fly larvae, too, are capable of working down through one or two feet of soil to reach nutriment (Stafford 1971, 6). However, the escape of the developed fly after pupation would be less easy, and the empty cases suggest that escape had been possible because the graves were still open. The period of time necessary for an egg to develop to the adult fly stage would have been between 11 and 14 days. Flies are 'first stage' invaders of decaying organisms, followed by beetles and similar insects (Celoria 1970, 15).

There is no surviving evidence for the presence of beetles in any of the Wakerley graves. This is, of course, negative evidence, and beetle remains could in any case be easily overlooked, but the possibility remains that their absence suggests that they were discouraged from entering the graves, because these had been filled in after the period of exposure. The excavator of the late 6th- or early 7th-century at Empingham (II), Rutland has suggested (Reynolds 1976, 140–3) that the disturbance of skeletons in the graves was due to the eventual collapse of a timber covering over which the grave fill had been heaped. The mass of earth and rotten wood would then have damaged the bones in the hollow beneath. Unfortunately the stripping of soil at Wakerley precluded the recording of ledges around the graves for timbering of this sort, but insect life would have been equally possible inside an unfilled grave.

OTHER SETTLEMENT IN THE AREA

The cemetery was sited in an area which appears to have been attractive to settlers since at least the early Neolithic period (Jackson 1981, fig 2). The limestone slopes on which the cemetery was situated would have been free draining and numerous springs on the lower slopes of the valley provided a water supply. The meadows, too, could have been attractive as good grazing land. Local outcrops of iron ore were undoubtedly used for smelting in the Iron Age and Roman periods.

Small Bronze Age and Iron Age features were noted in the cemetery area and just across the cleft, some 200m to the east, and from 1972 to 1975 an Iron Age and Roman agricultural ironworking settlement was excavated ahead of quarrying (Jackson and Ambrose 1978, fig 3). Another Roman settlement which was situated some 500m W of the cemetery, was excavated ahead of quarrying in 1972 and 1979 (Jackson 1981, fig 2).

It is tempting to see occupation in the erea as being continuous from the Iron Age and Roman periods into Anglo-Saxon times, but there was no evidence of this on the adjacent Iron Age and Roman site to the east. A few small pieces of Anglo-Saxon pottery were found in the upper levels of the Roman site to the west.

An extensive area of land to the south and west of the cemetery at Wakerley has now been quarried, and observation during this work did not reveal any evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement. It seems reasonably certain therefore that if there was a nearby settlement it must have been situated either to the east or, more likely, on the lower slopes of the valley between the Wakerley to Harringworth Road.

The area in question has been fieldwalked by David Hall since the excavation of the cemetery and a small amount of Anglo-Saxon pottery was recovered in a field some 950m WSW of the cemetery (NGR SP 9295 9783). The pottery scatter lay in the parish of Harringworth, just over the parish boundary, in a field with the interesting name of *Boseley* (*Medieval Archaeol*, 25 (1981), 175; cf Hall and Martin 1981, 36). This is one of three 'ley' names near the cemetery, the others being Wakerley itself and the deserted medieval village of Shotley in Harringworth parish. The name of Harringworth itself is regarded as an early place-name (Steane 1974, 63).

The modern villages along this stretch of the River Welland, Rockingham, Gretton, Harringworth, Wakerley and Duddington, are sited on average 4.8km apart. In the valley of the River Nene the villages are spaced at only half this distance; does this mean that there are early settlements that have not survived along the Welland? In addition to the Anglo-Saxon pottery scatter at 'Boseley' between Harringworth and Wakerley, another Anglo-Saxon site had been located between Rockingham and Gretton.

It is not possible to date the pottery found during fieldwalking accurately, but it quite possibly dates to the period when the cemetery was in use. This is clearly of considerable interest and further research into this area may pay dividends. Perhaps the correct title for this report should be 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Boseley'?

THE GRAVE GOODS

In the discussion, the grave goods are considered in the following categories: objects common to both sexes (knives, buckles and strap ends), male objects (spearheads, shields, shears, hone and worked stone), female objects (brooches, silver pendants, coins, beads, wrist clasps, etc), and other finds (vessels, objects of bone, etc). Except where stated to the contrary, the finds discussion is by Brian Adams. It is followed by the specialist report on the pottery by Terry Pearson and the specialist report on the textiles by Elisabeth Crowfoot. The report is concluded with an assessment by Brian Adams of the chronological range of the cemetery.

Within the discussion, the name of the old county of Rutland has been retained although since the 1974 re-organisation of local government, Rutland has been included within Leicestershire. Items within grave groups are referred to in parenthesis, eg grave 4(2) means item 2 in grave 4.

Throughout the catalogue and discussion of the finds, the term 'bronze' has been used for all copper alloy objects.

The occurrence and distribution of the grave goods is presented in tabular form (Table 1).

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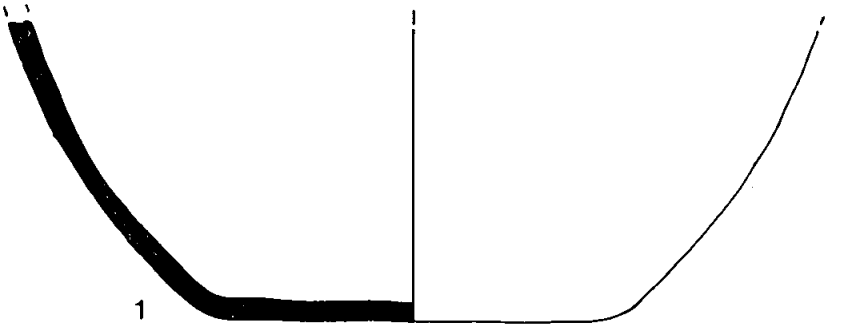


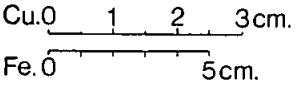
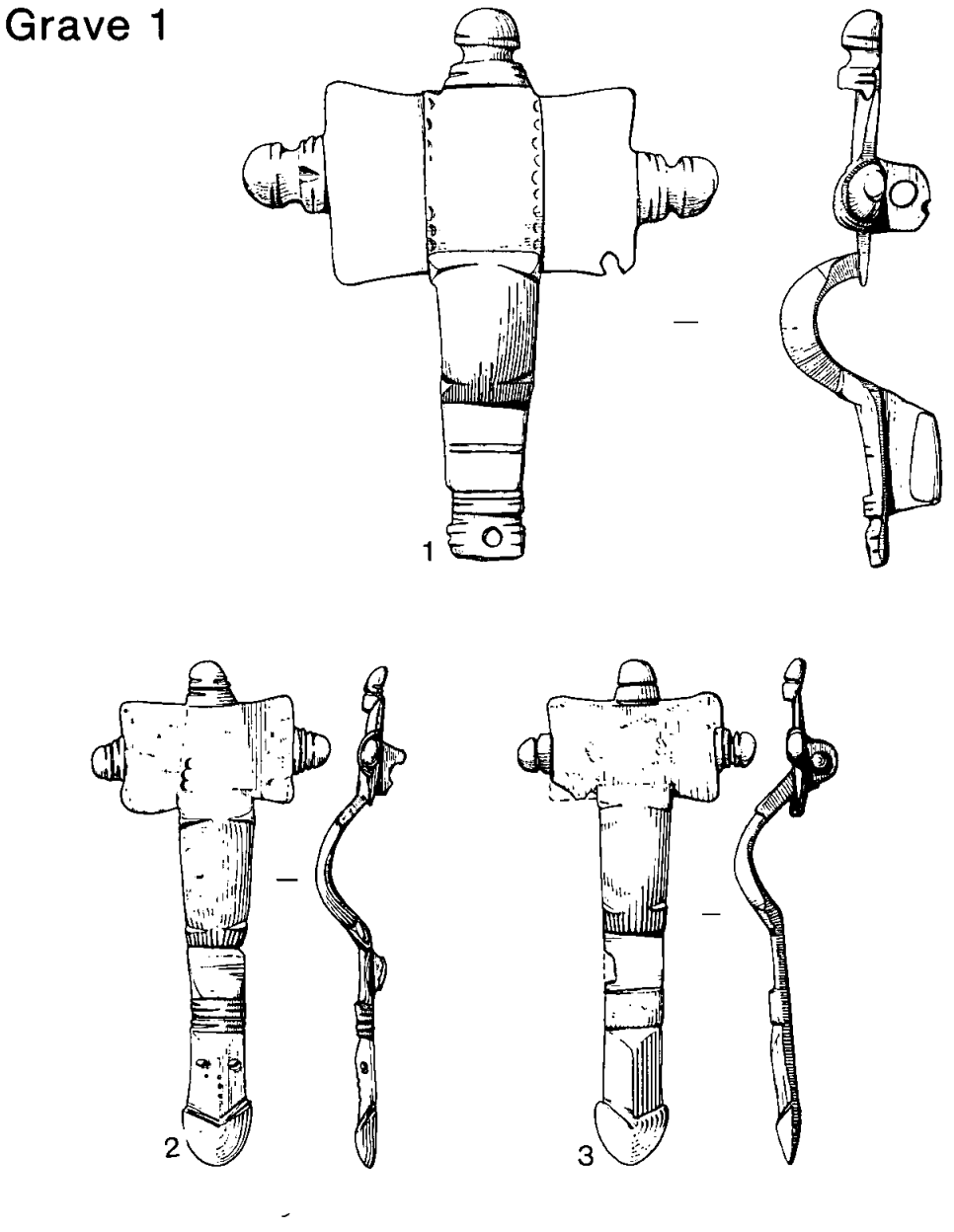


Fig 7



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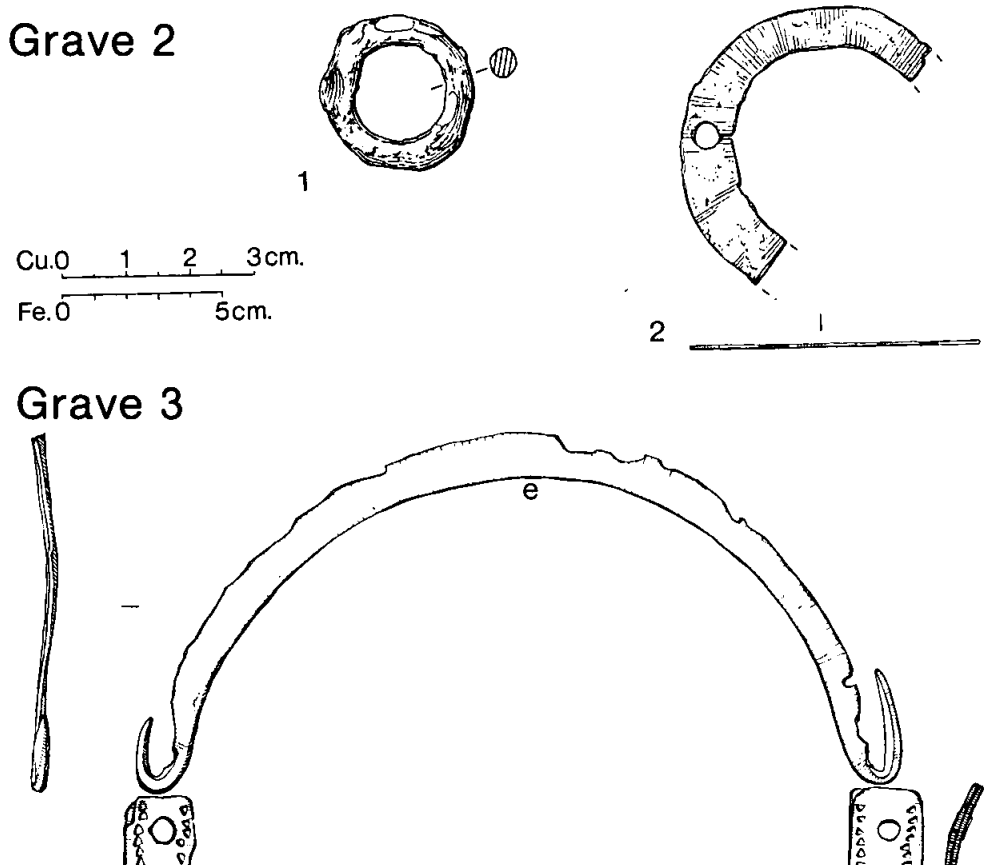
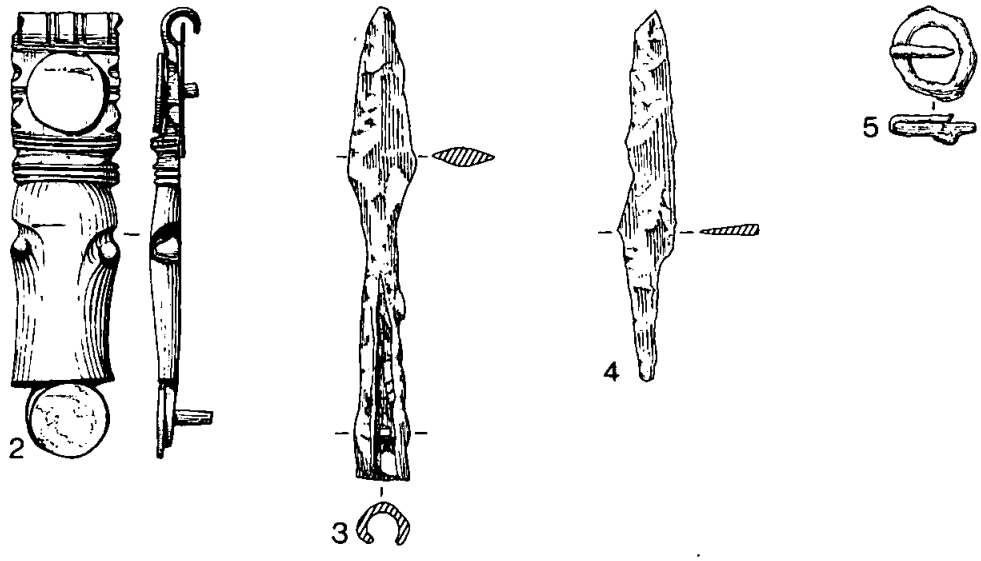


Fig 9



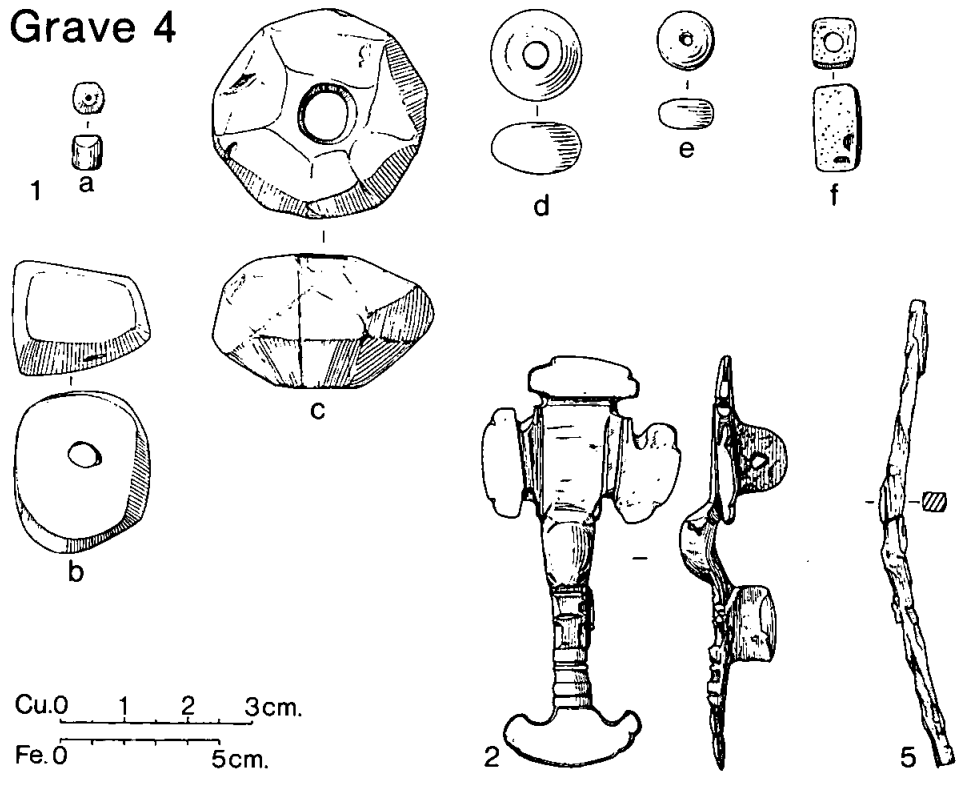


Fig 10

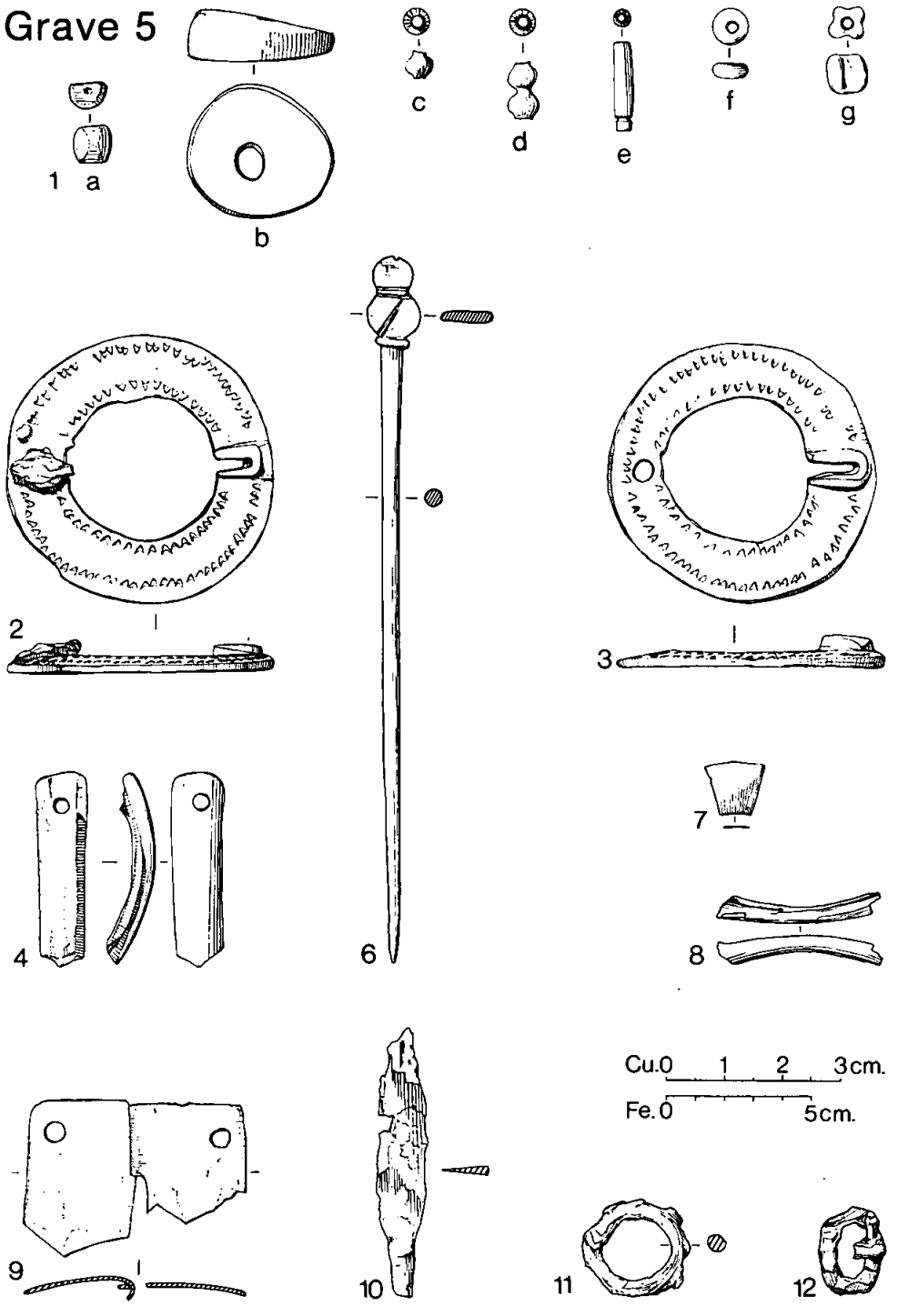
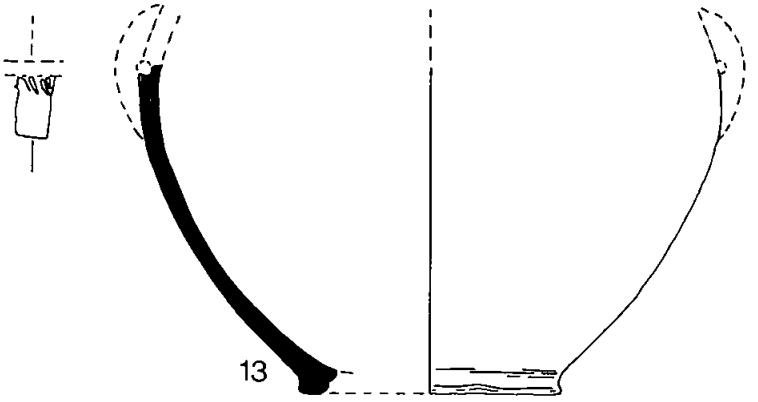
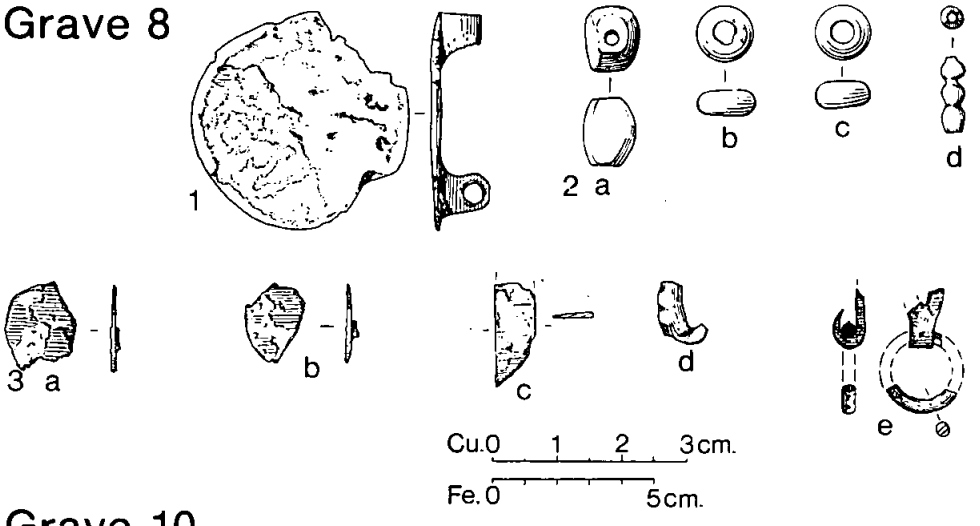


Fig 11



Grave 8



Grave 10

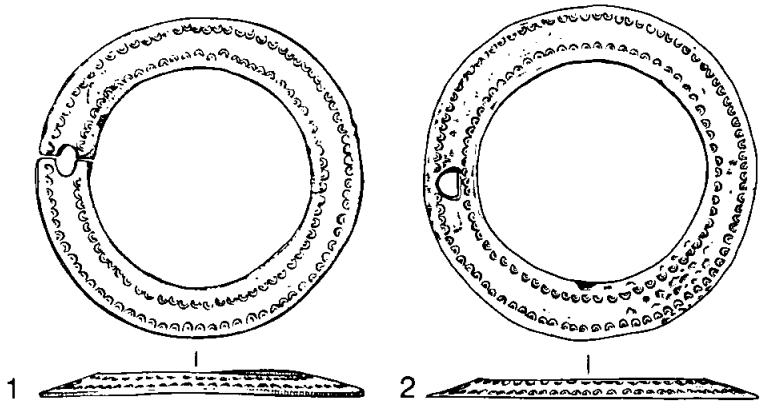
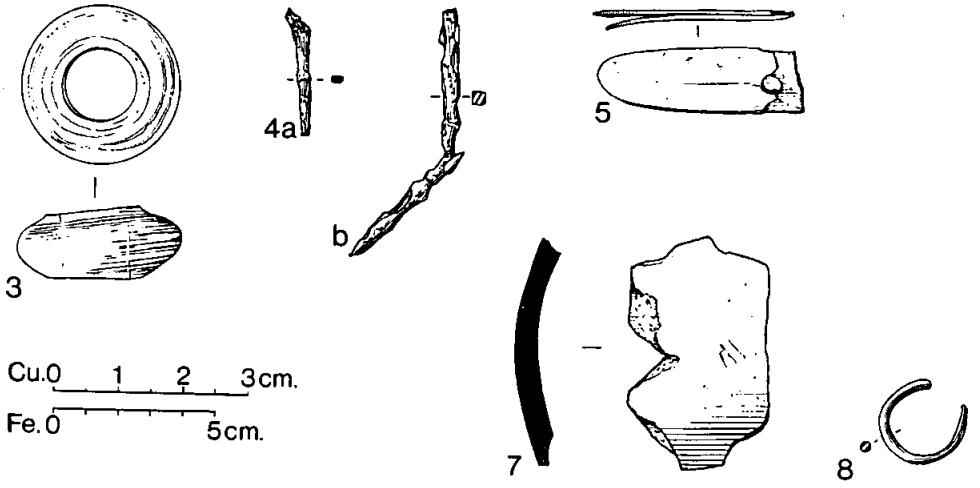
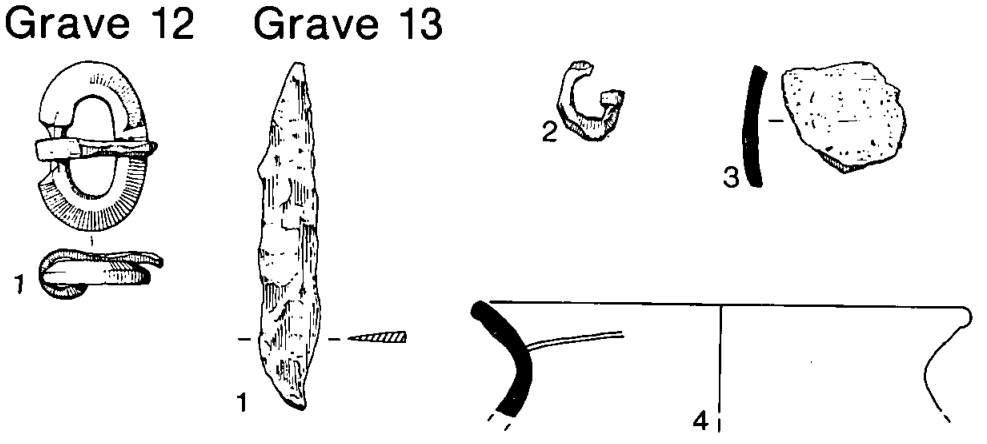


Fig 12





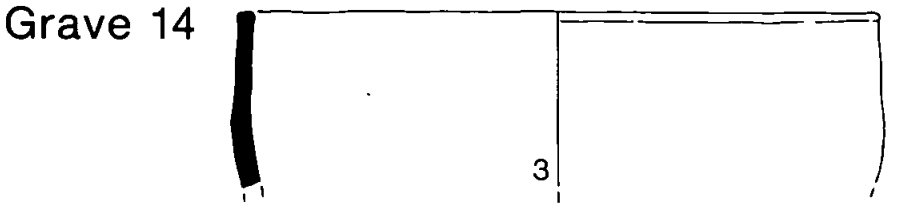
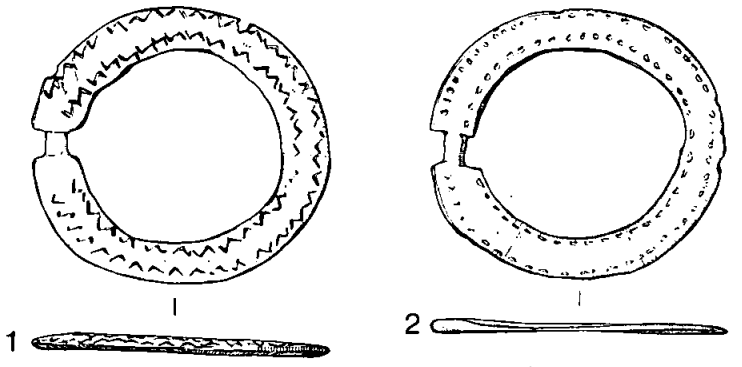
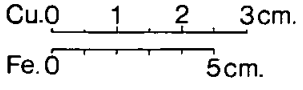
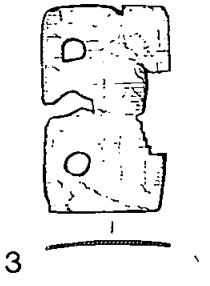


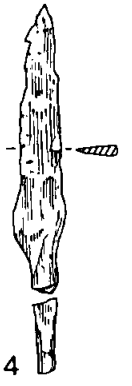
Fig 13

Grave 15









Grave 16

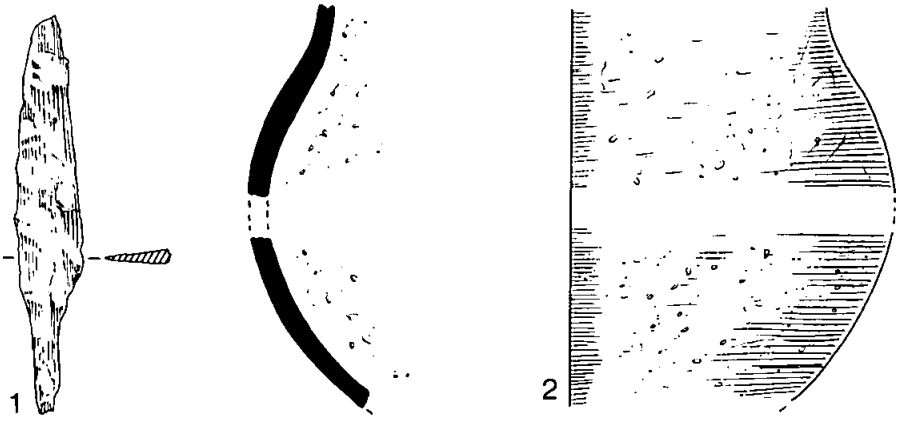


Fig 14

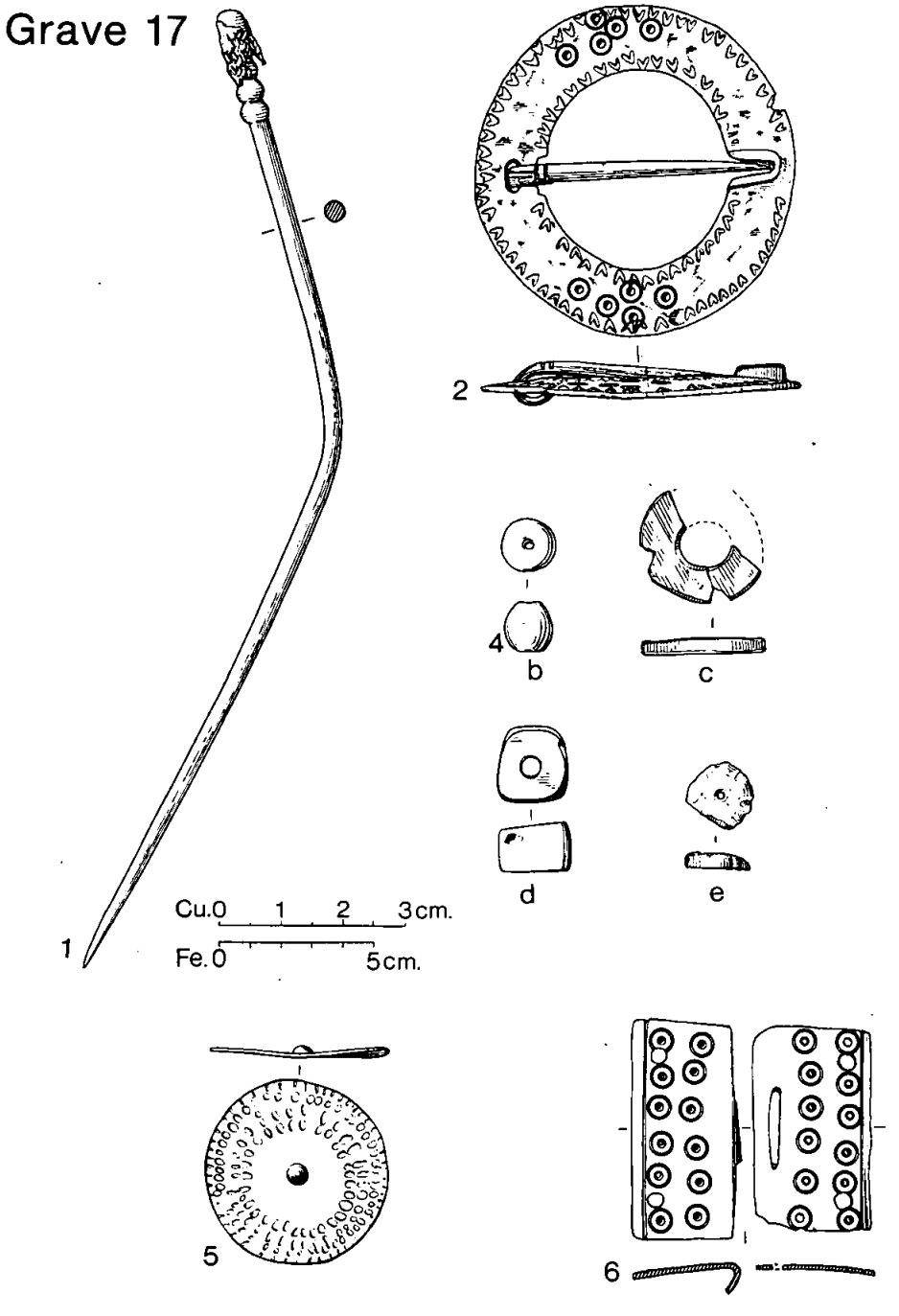


Fig 15

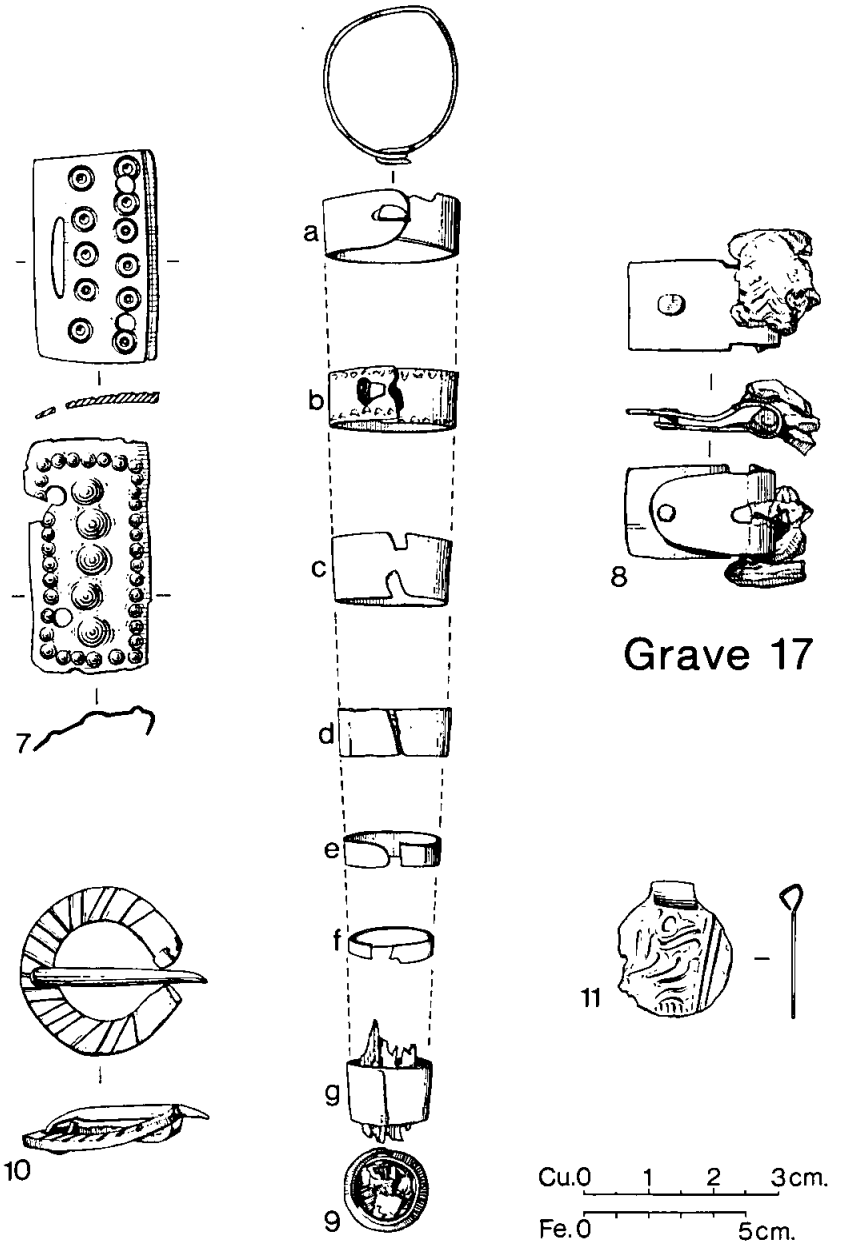


Fig 16

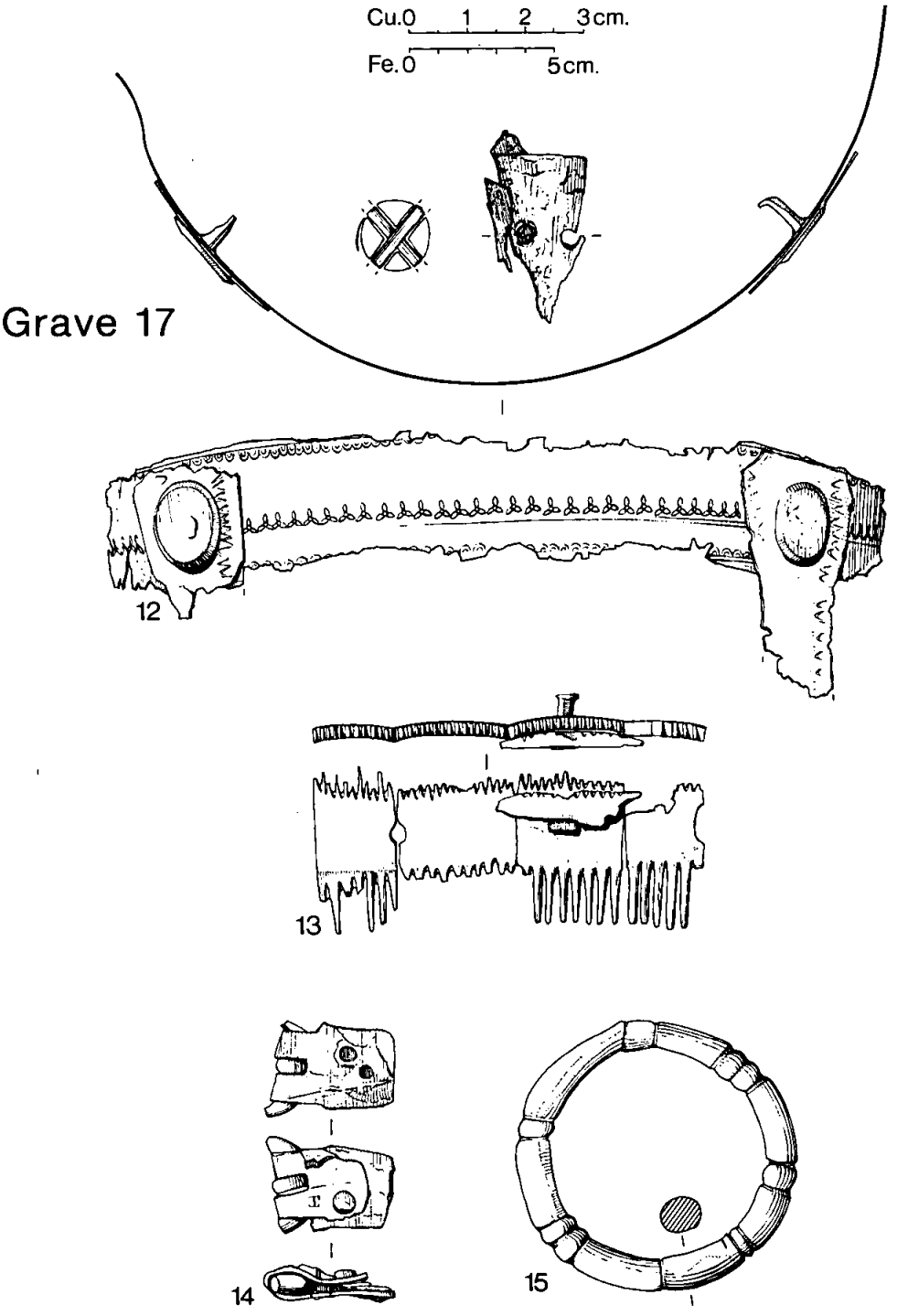


Fig 17

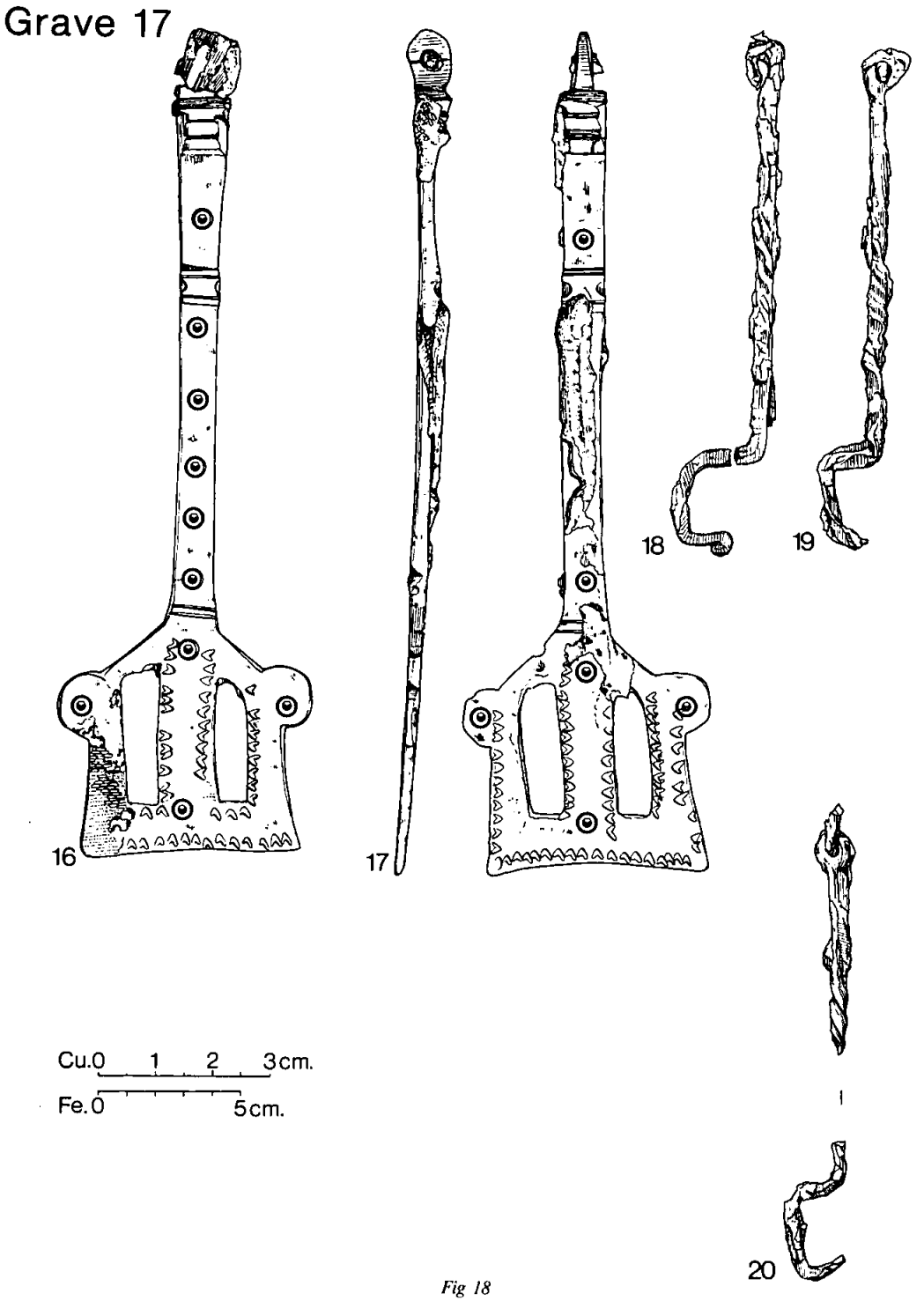
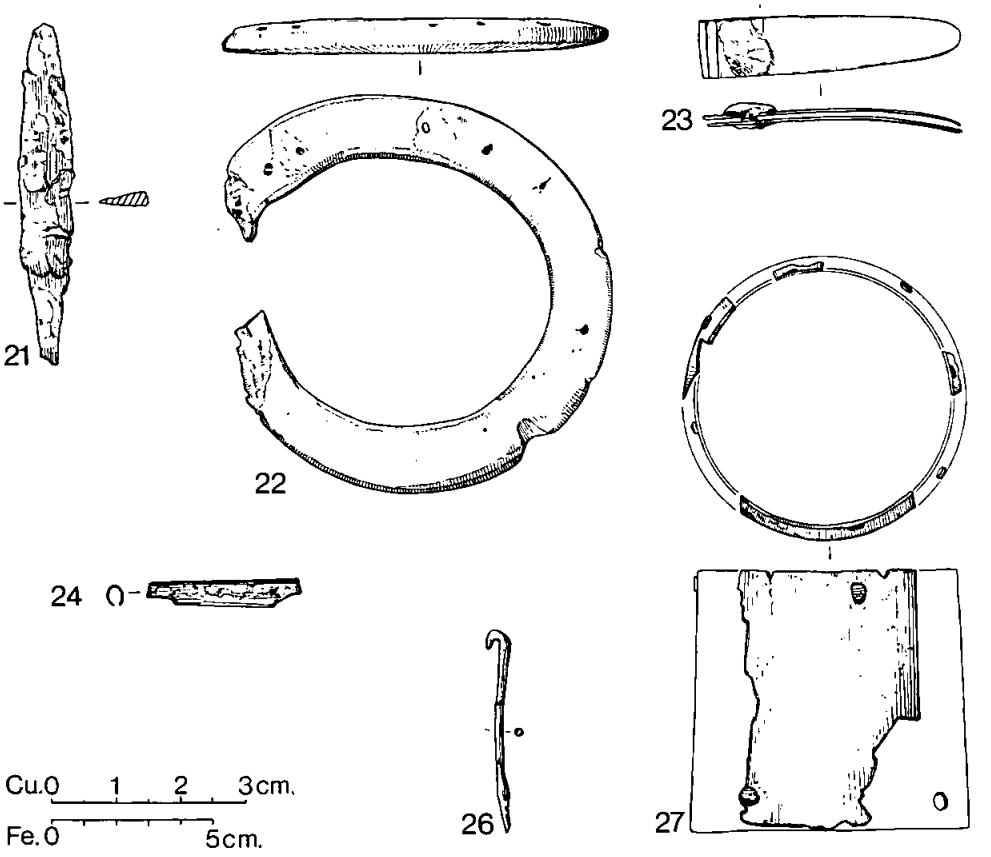


Fig 18

Grave 17



Grave 18

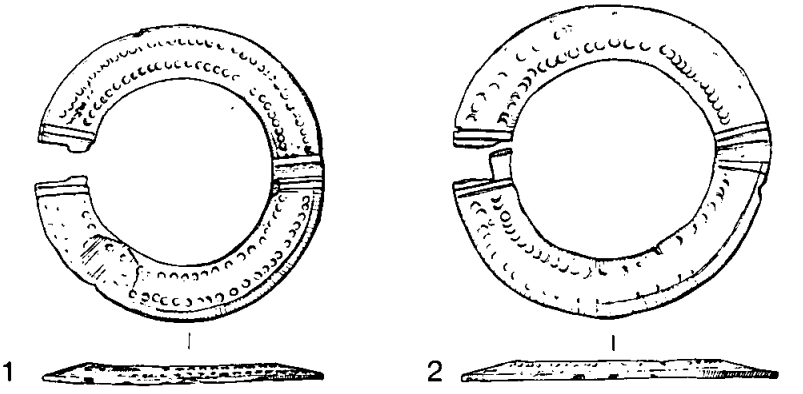
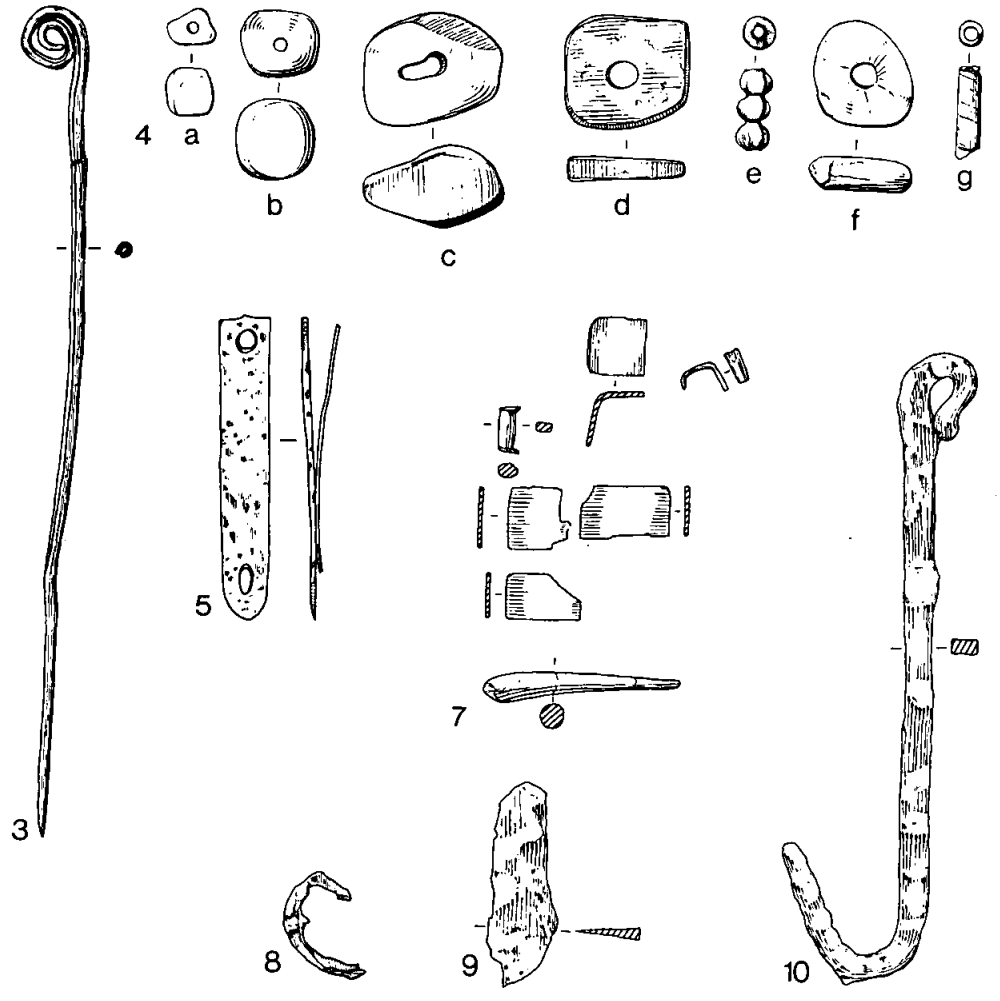


Fig 19



Grave 19

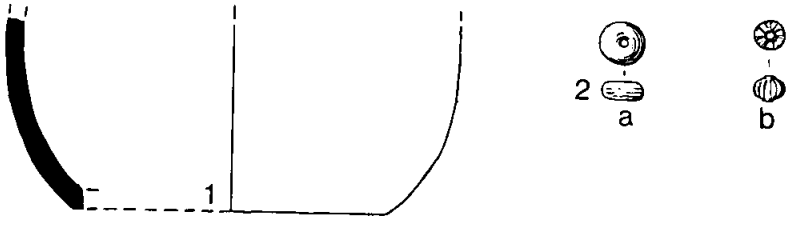
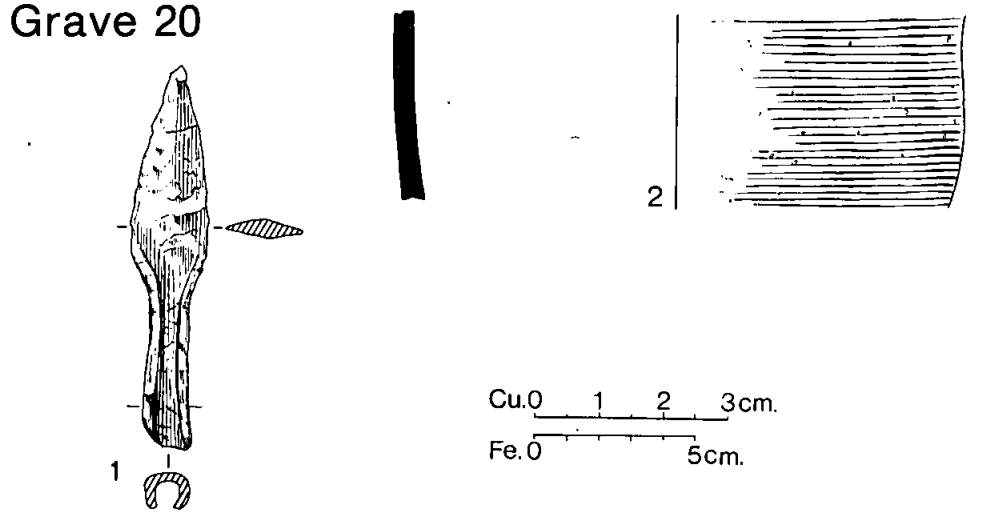
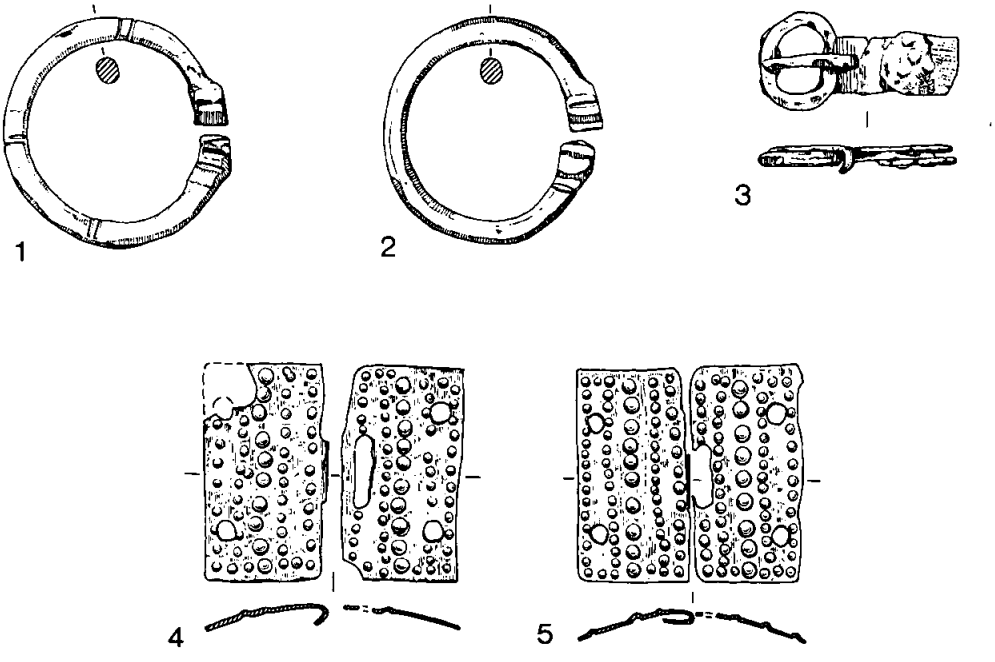


Fig 20





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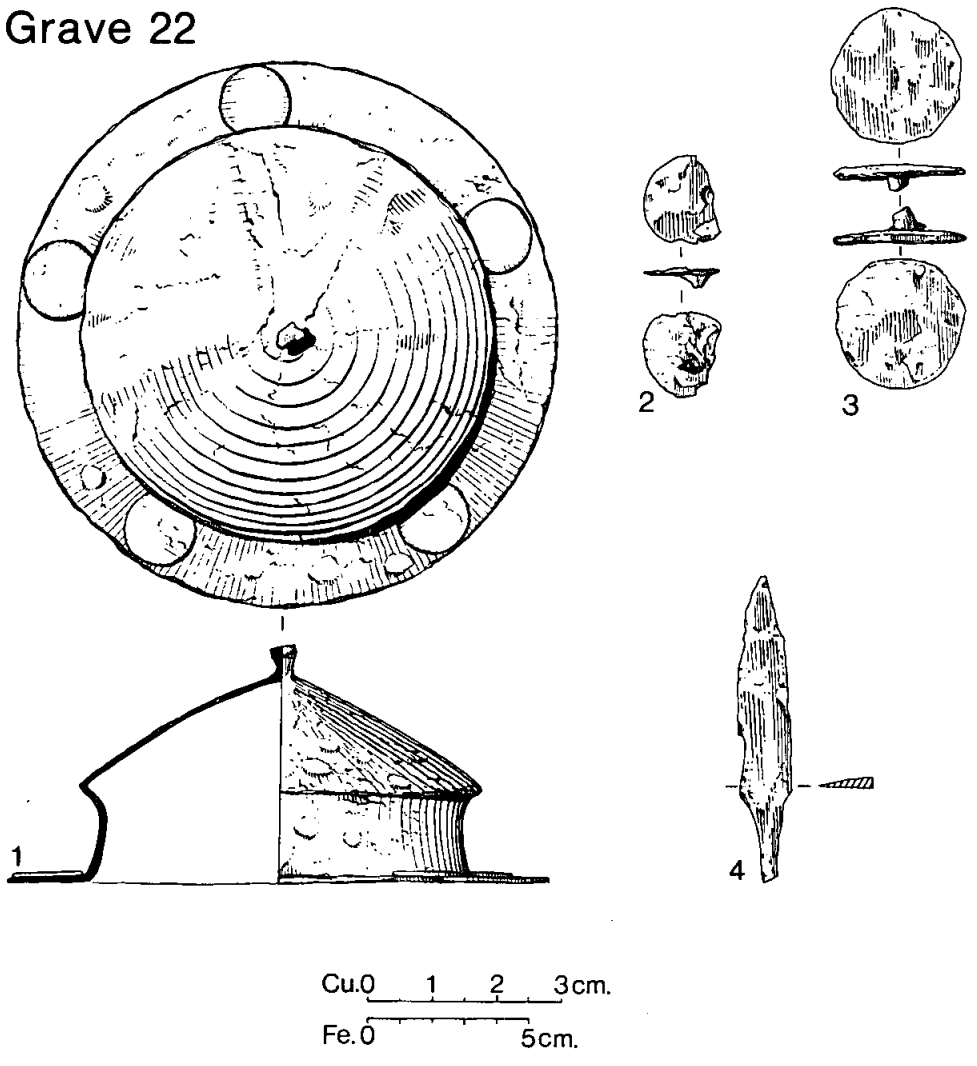

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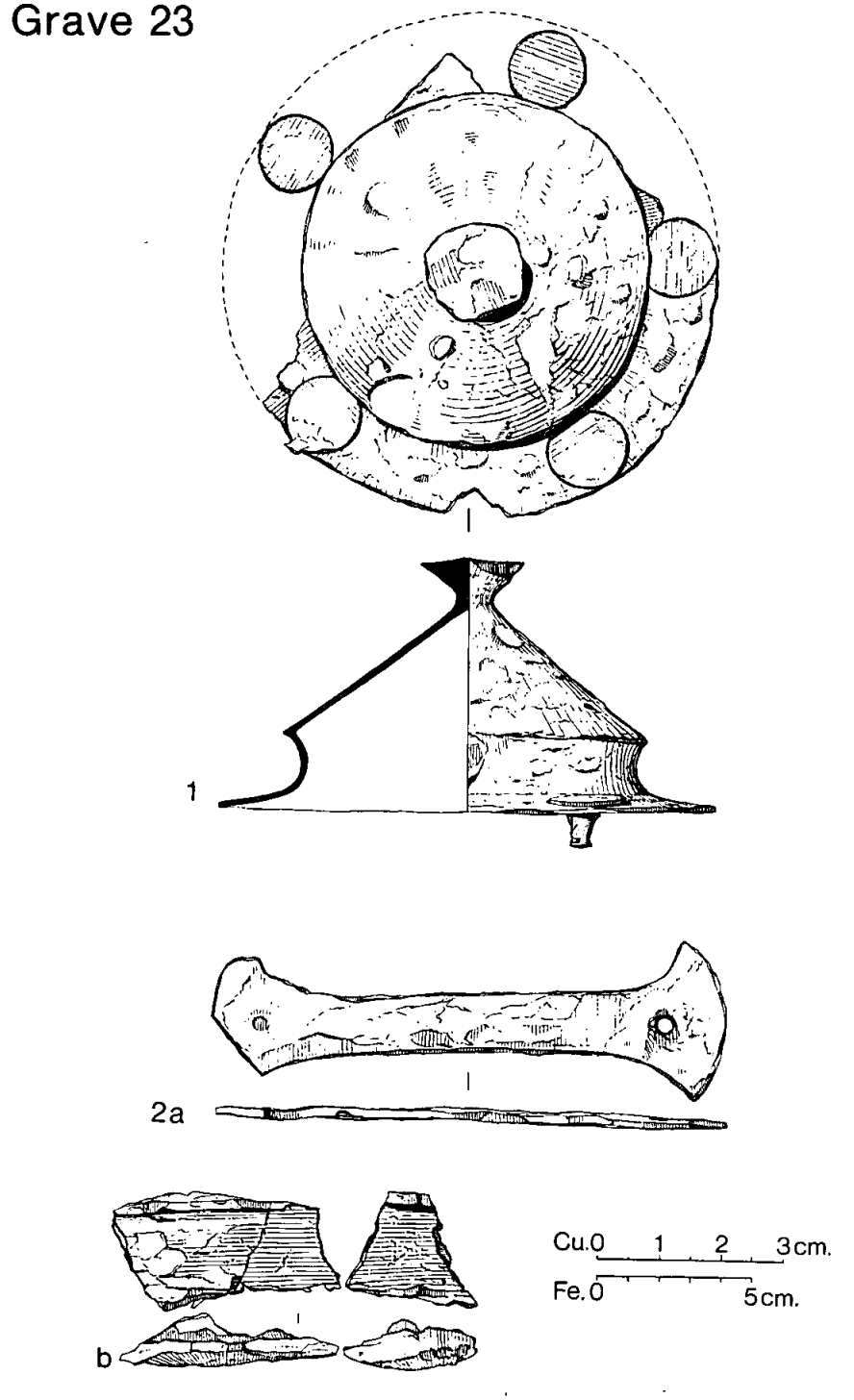

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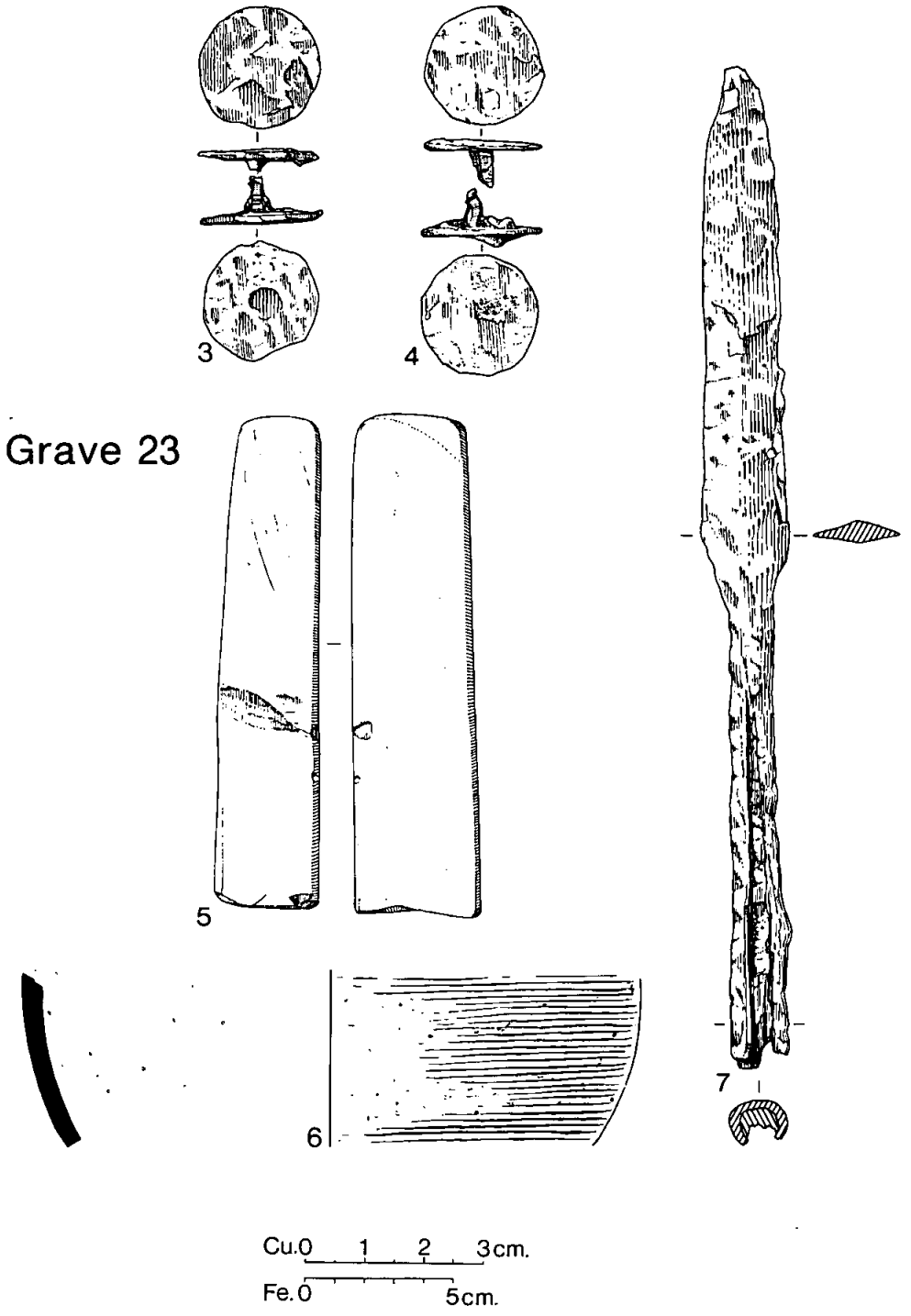
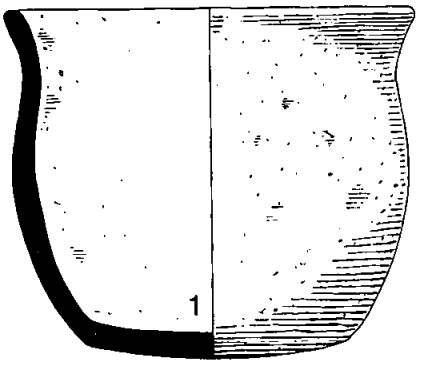


Fig 24

Grave 24



Grave 25

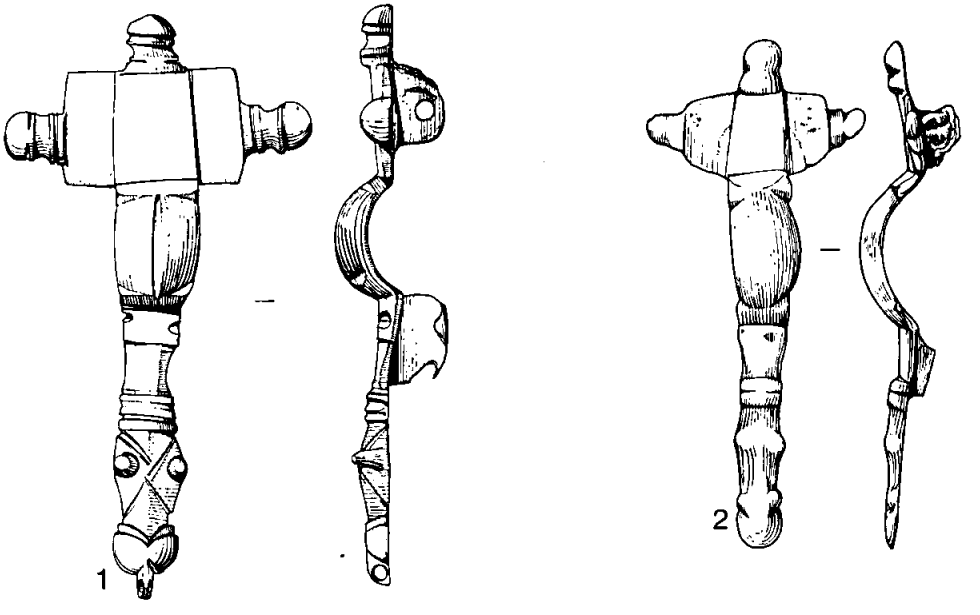
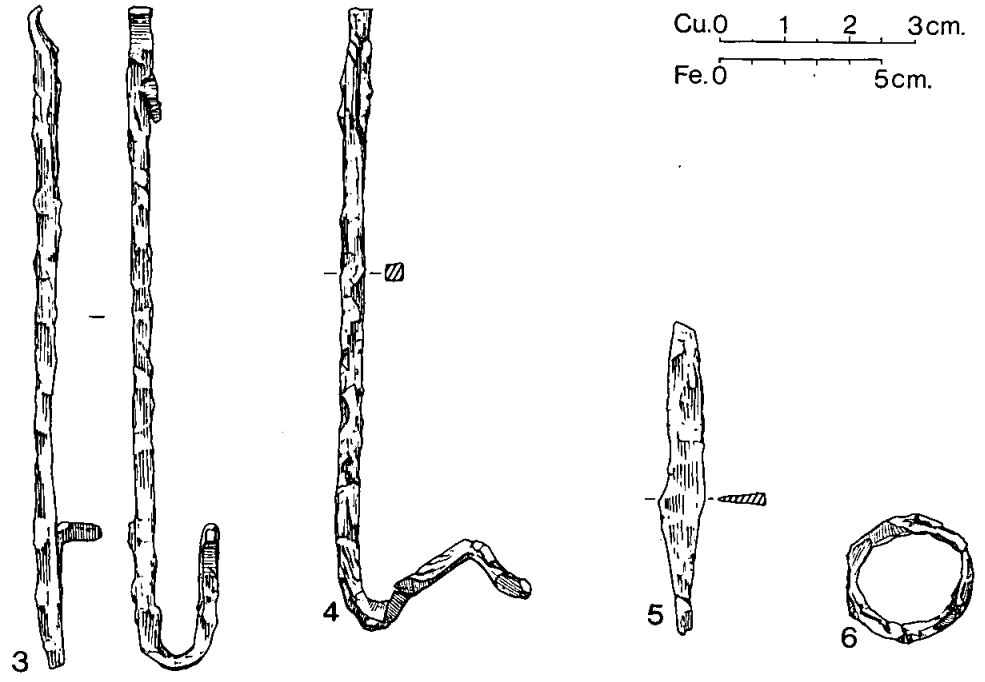
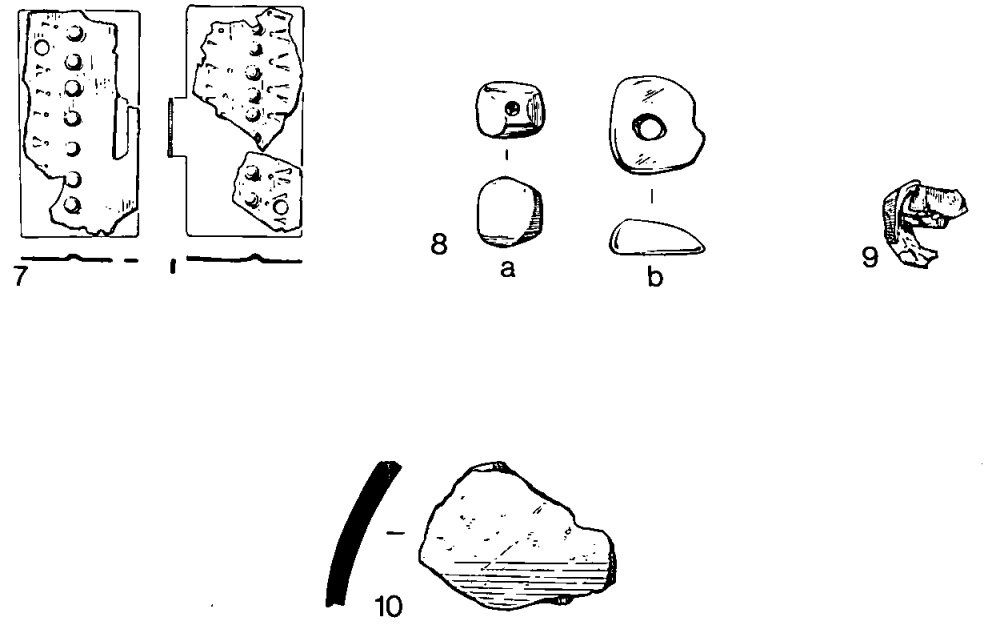


Fig 25



Grave 25



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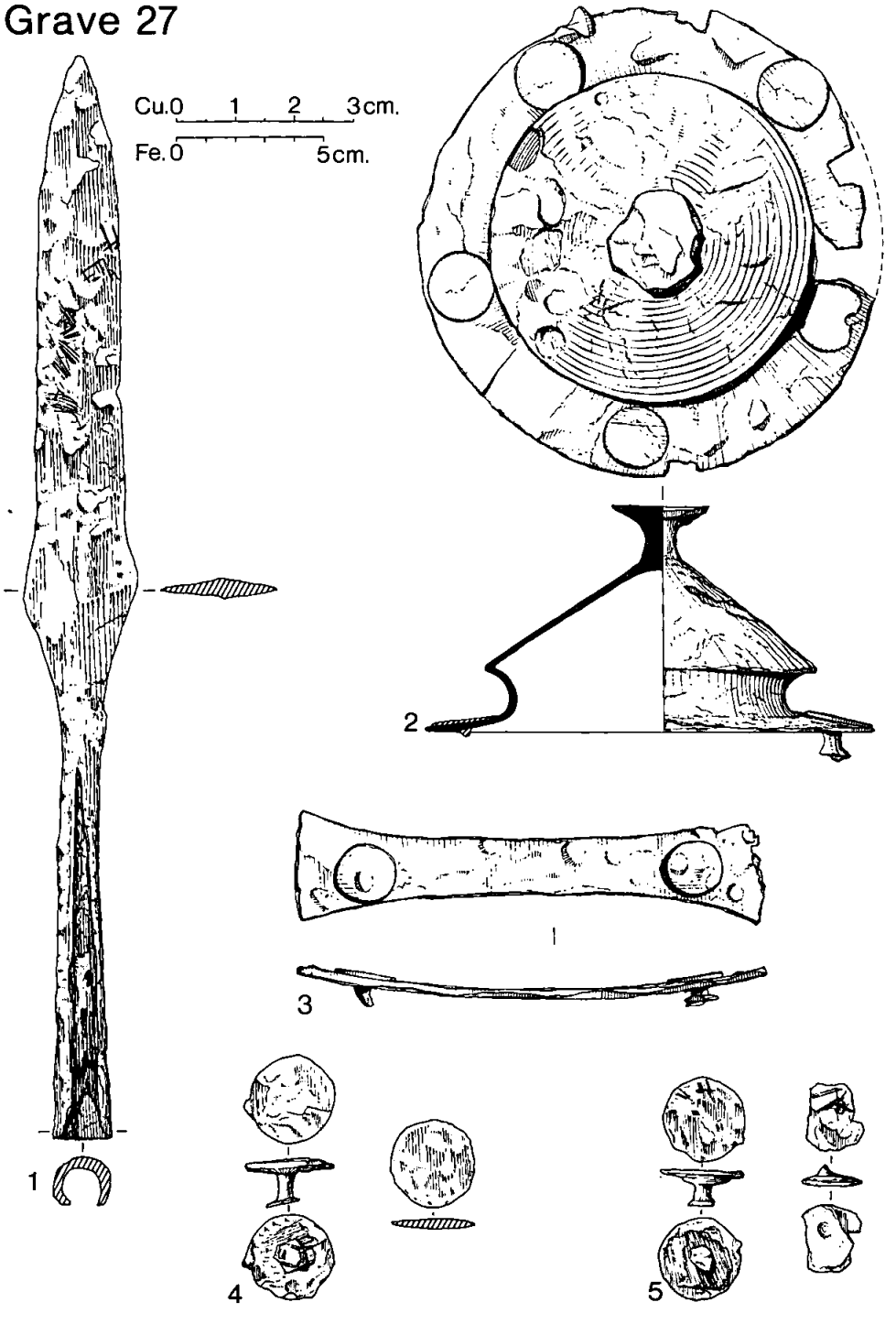
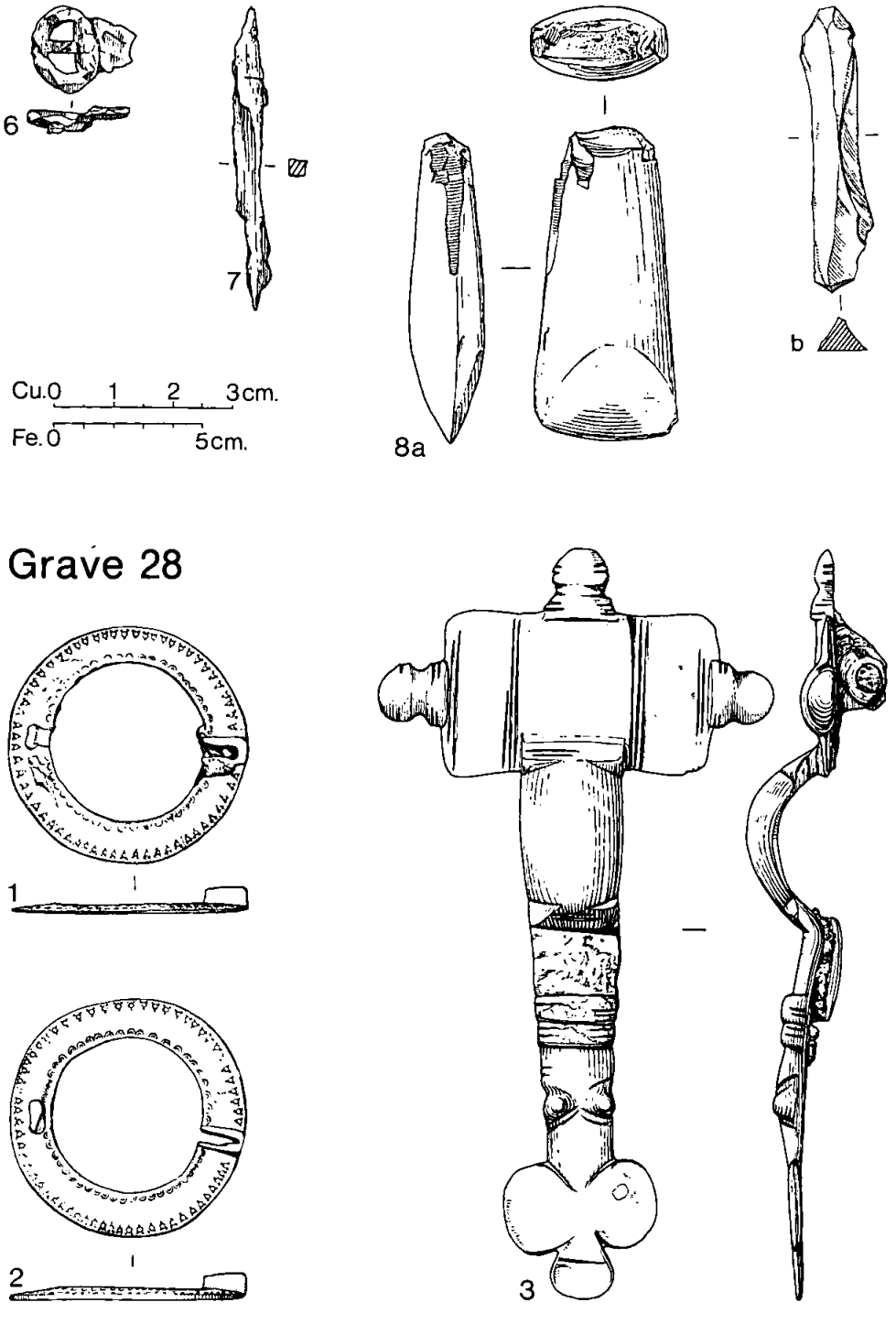


Fig 27



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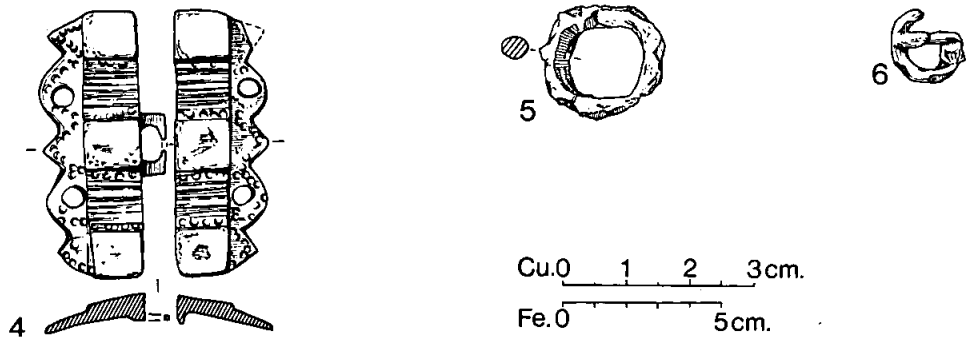
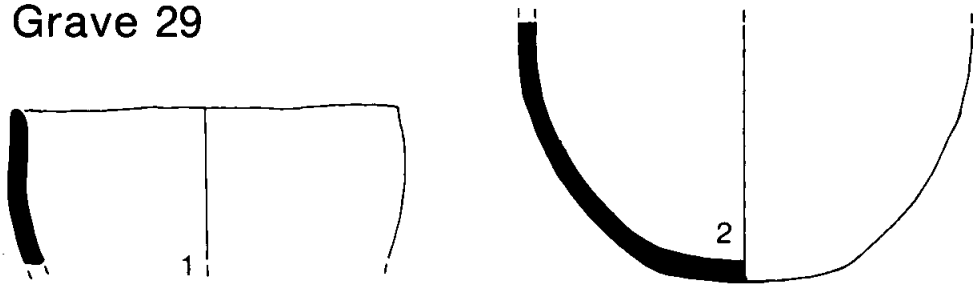


Grave 29



Grave 30

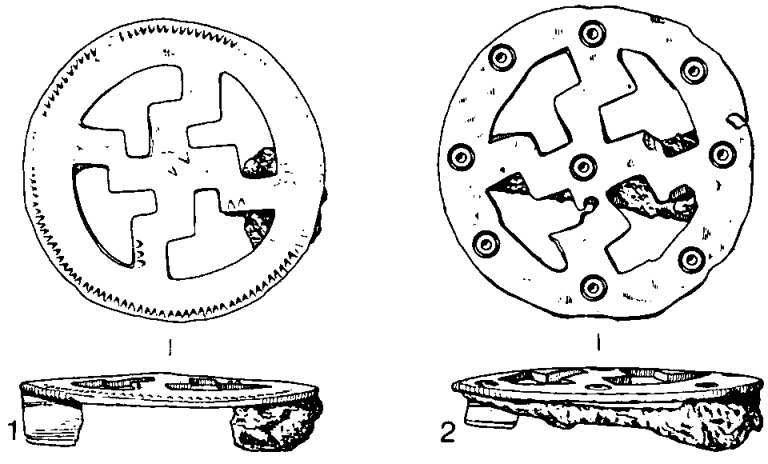


Fig 29

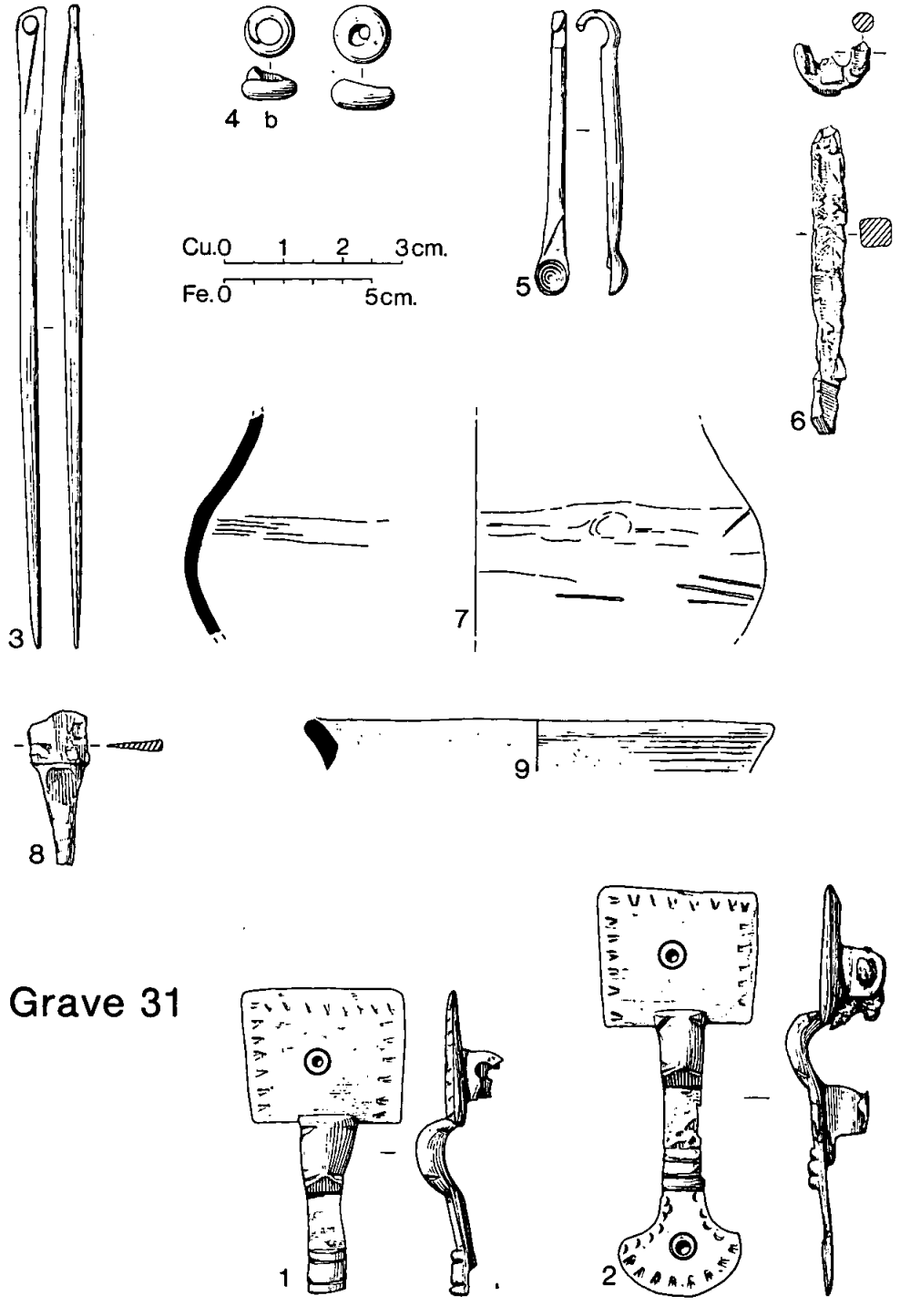


Fig 30

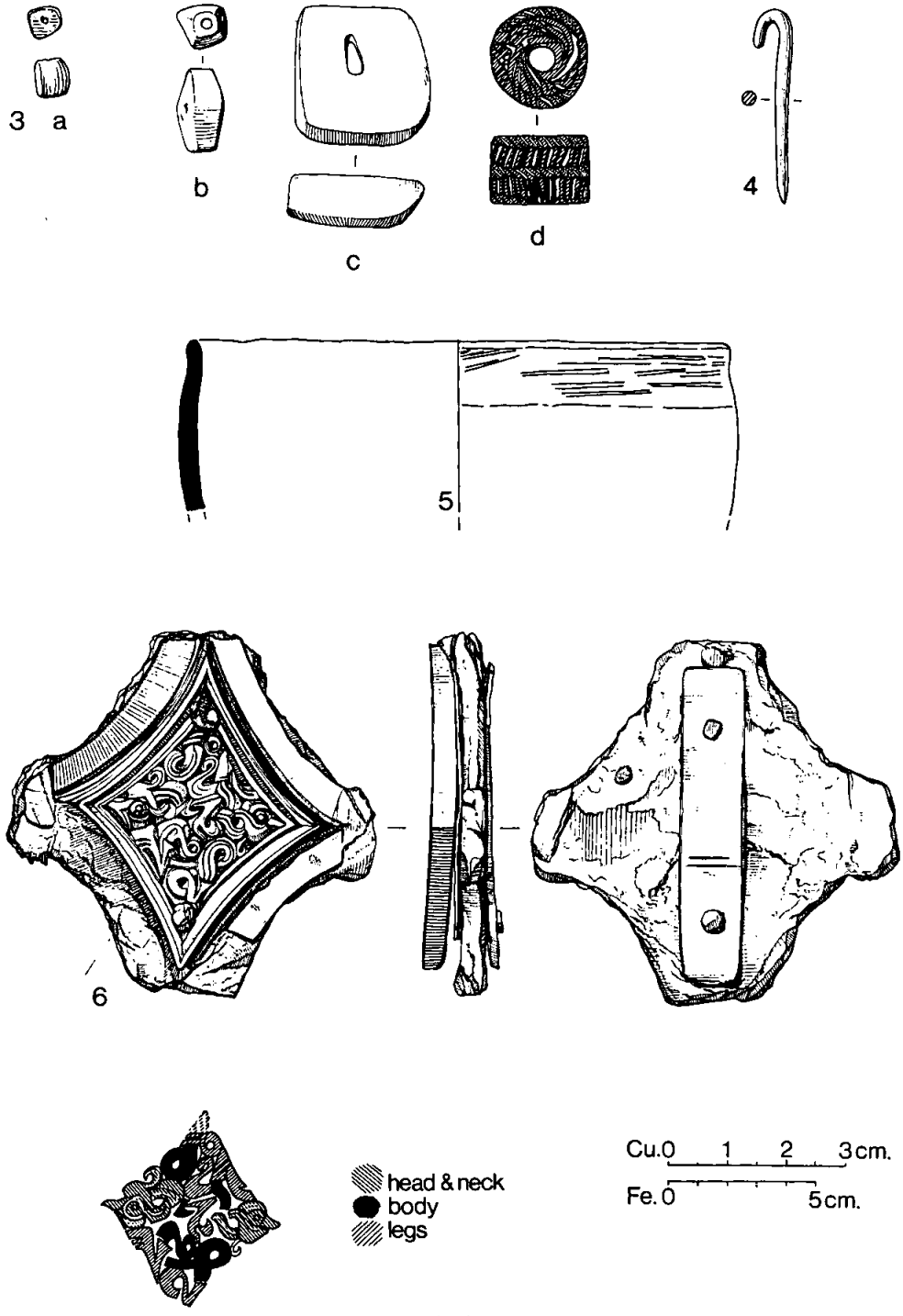


Fig 31

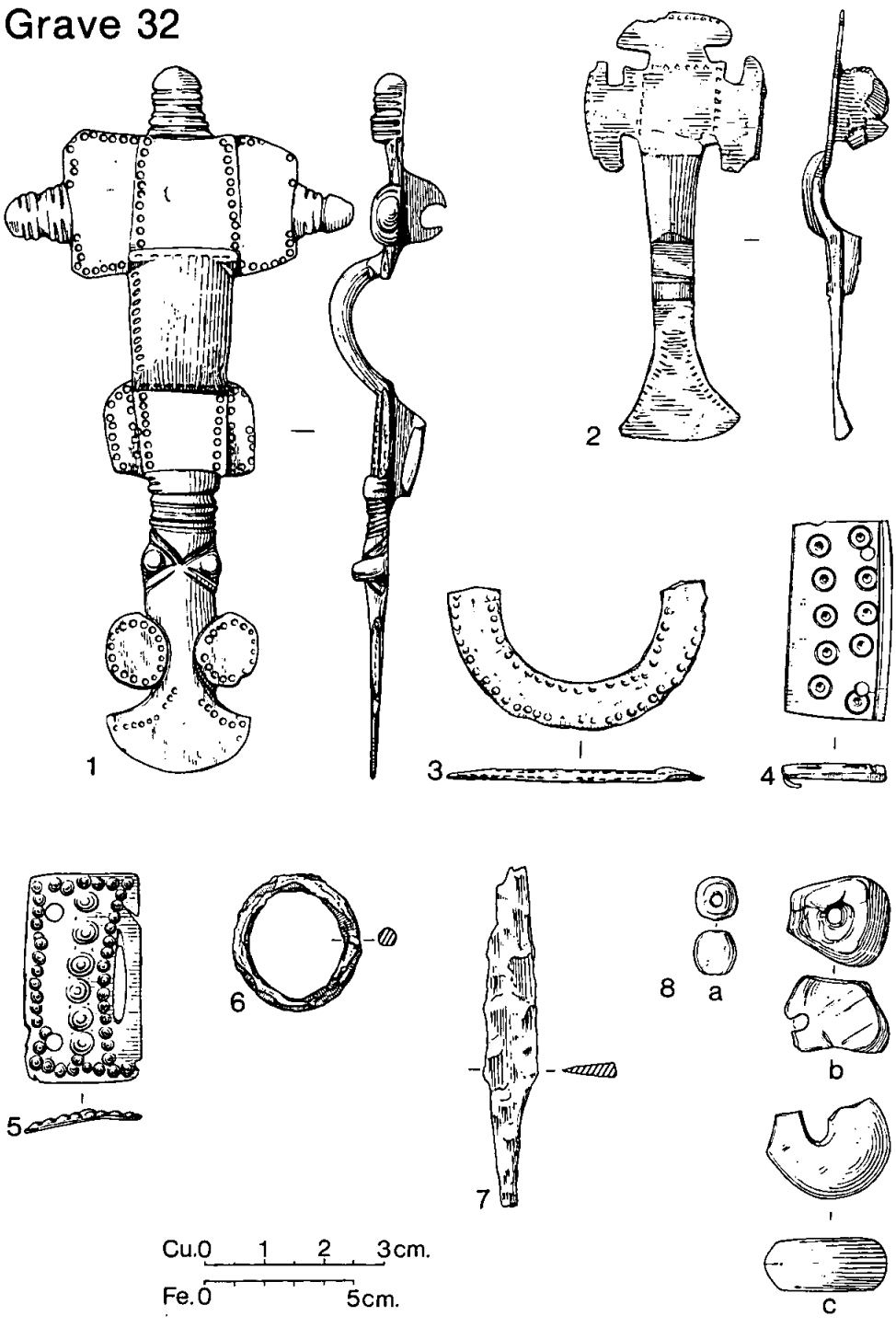
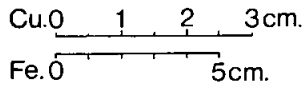


Fig 32

Grave 33



Grave 34

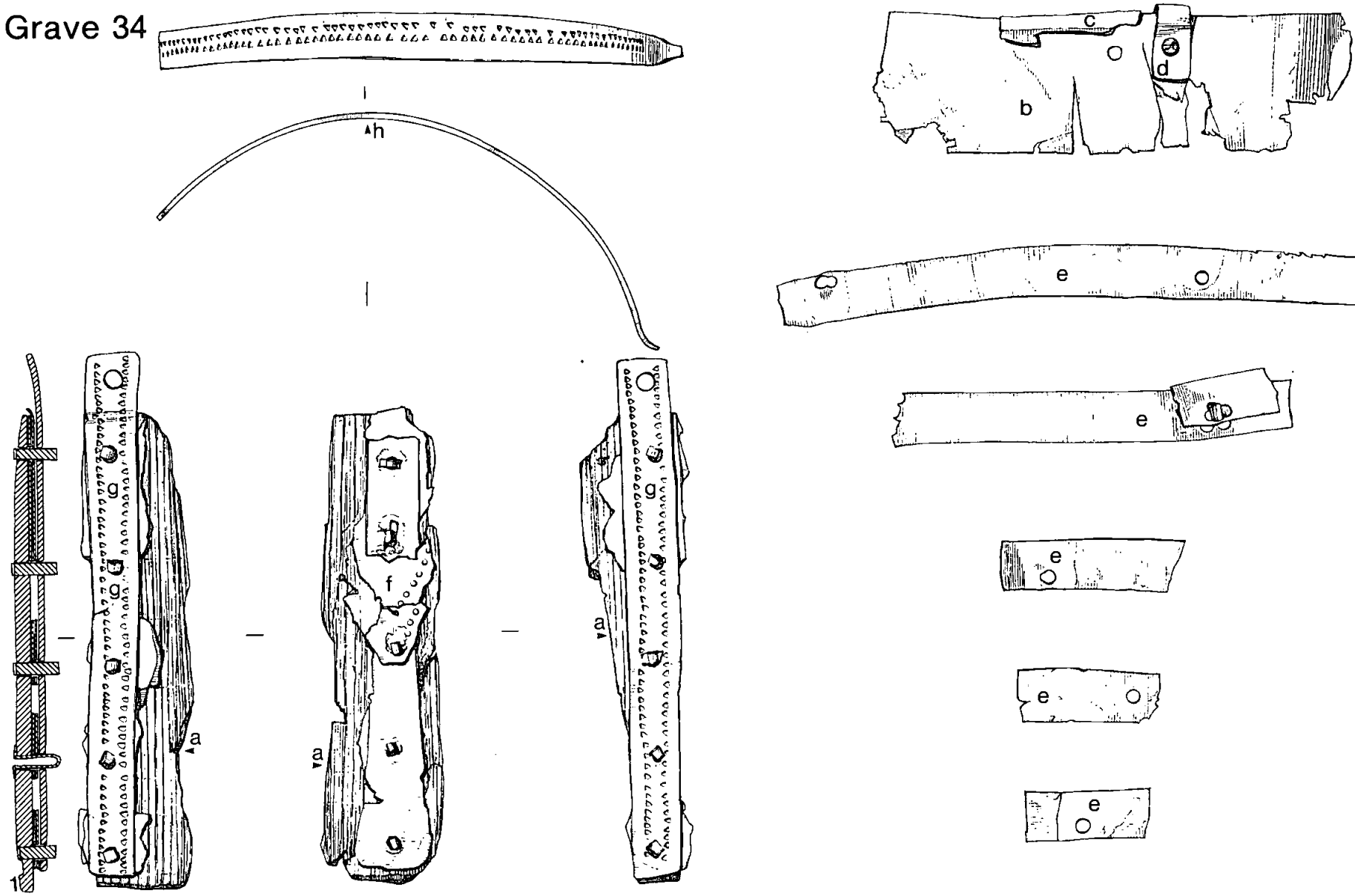
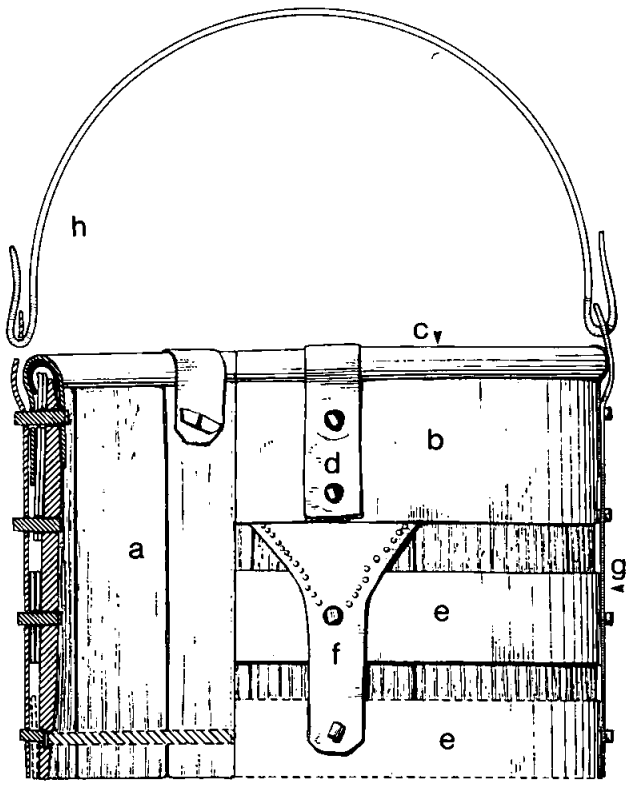


Fig 33

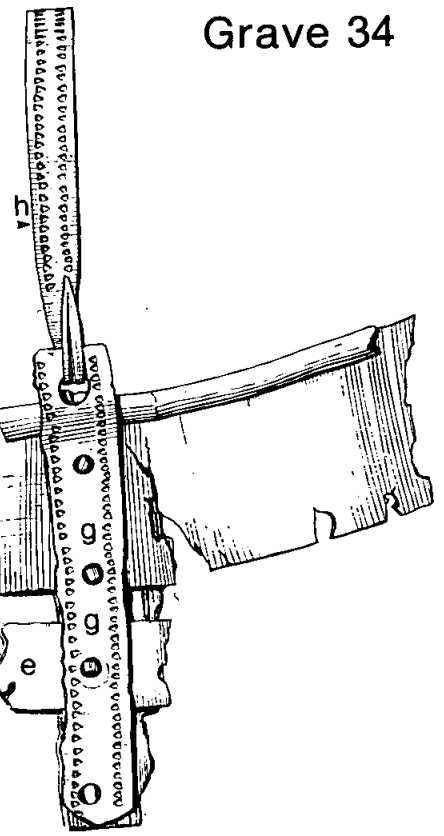


Reconstruction

Cu.0 1 2 3cm.

Fe.0 5cm.

Grave 34



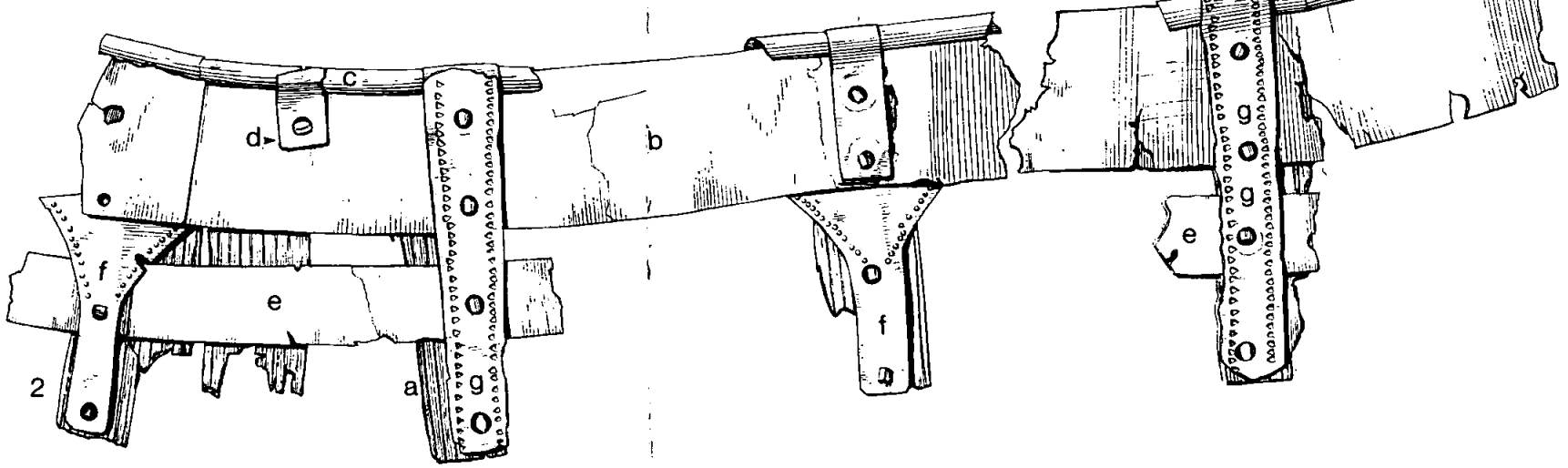
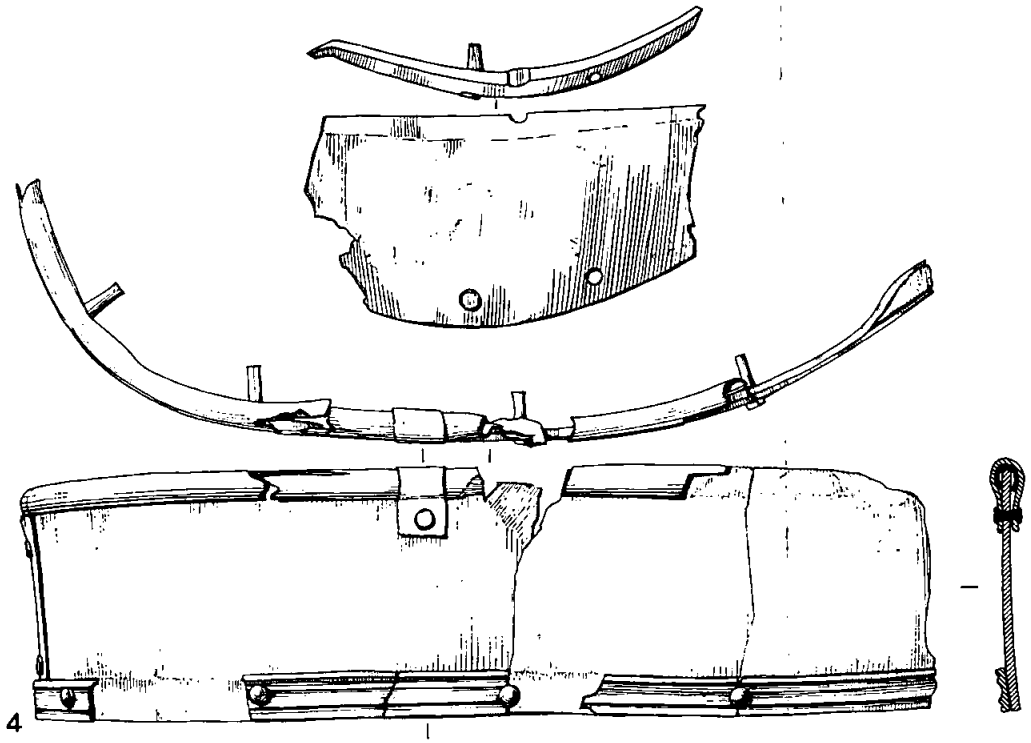
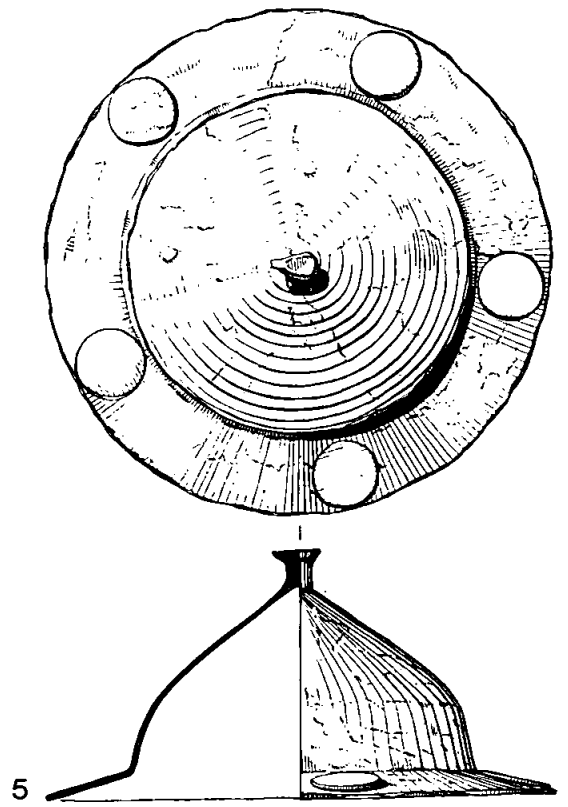
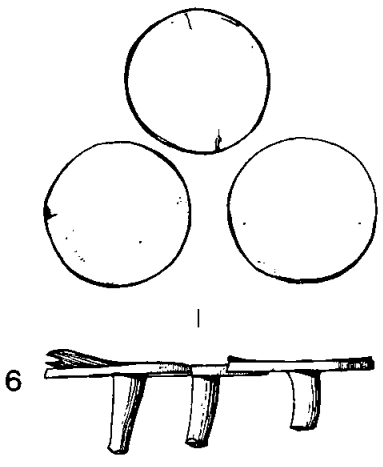


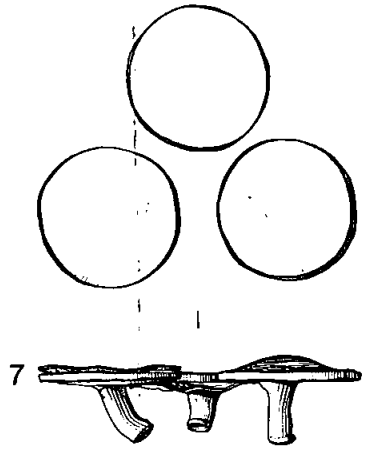
Fig 34

Grave 34









Cu.0 1 2 3cm.

Fe.0 5cm.

Fig 36

Cu.0 1 2 3cm.
Fe.0 5cm.

Grave 34

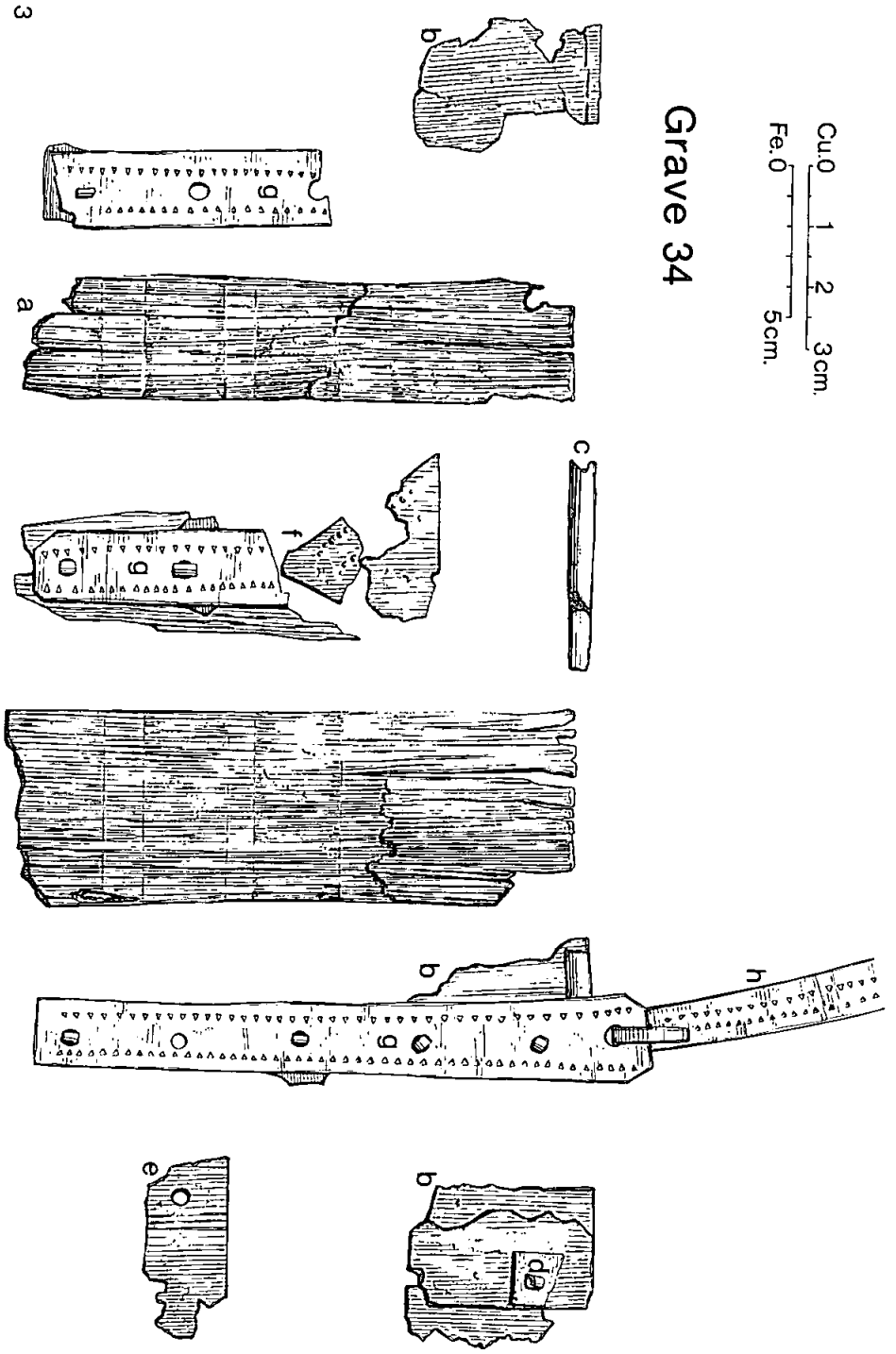
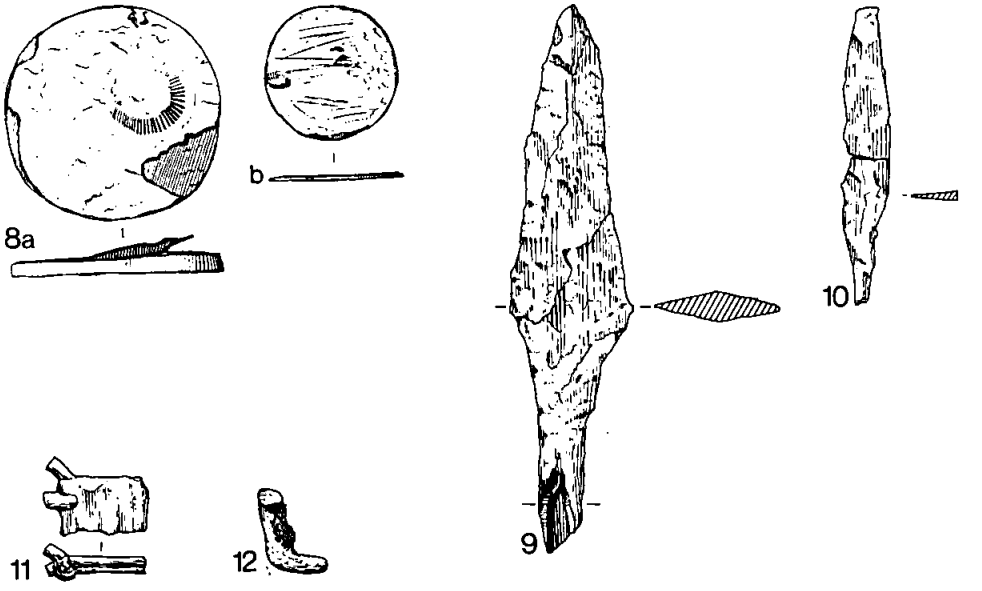
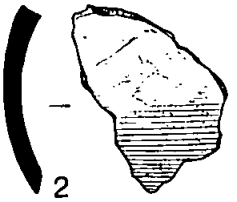


Fig 35

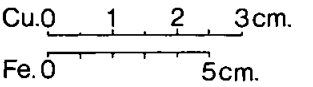
Grave 34 cont.



Grave 36



Grave 37



Grave 38

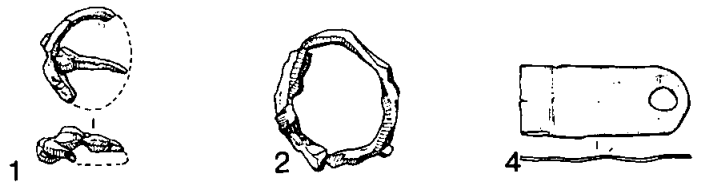


Fig 37

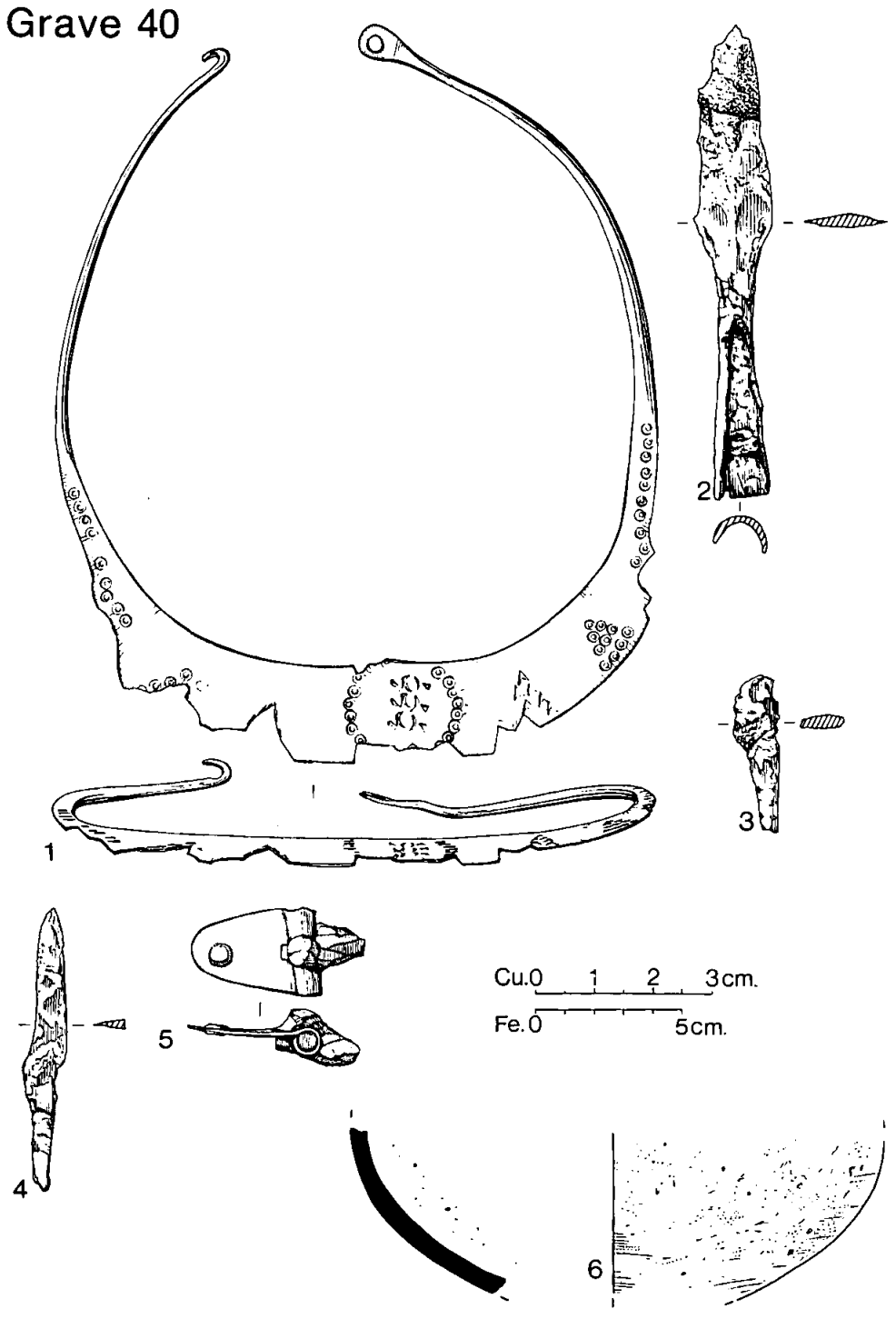
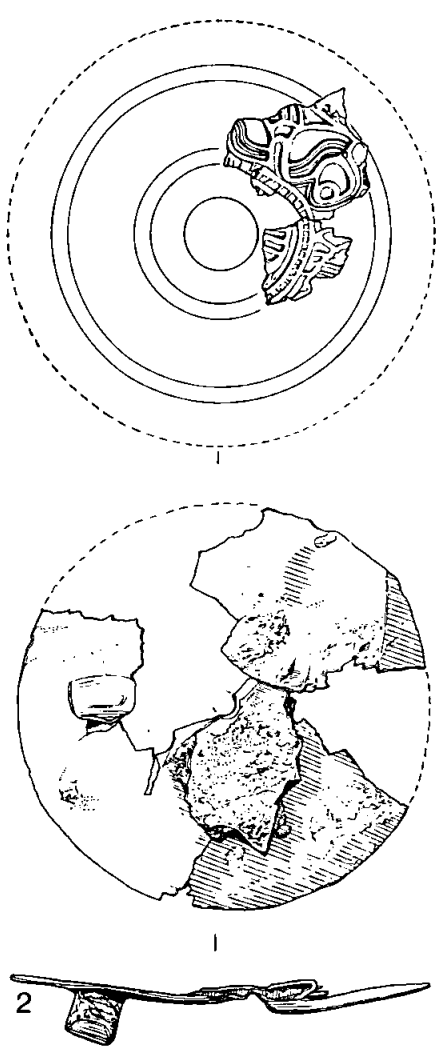


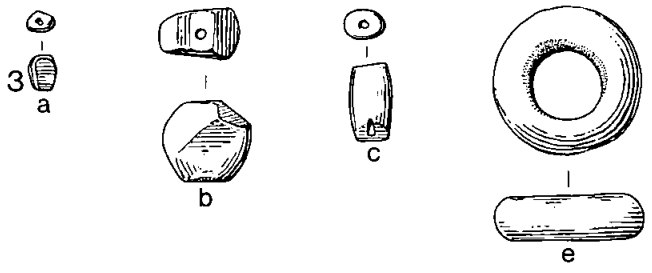
Fig 38

Grave 42



Cu.0 1 2 3cm.

Fe.0 5cm.



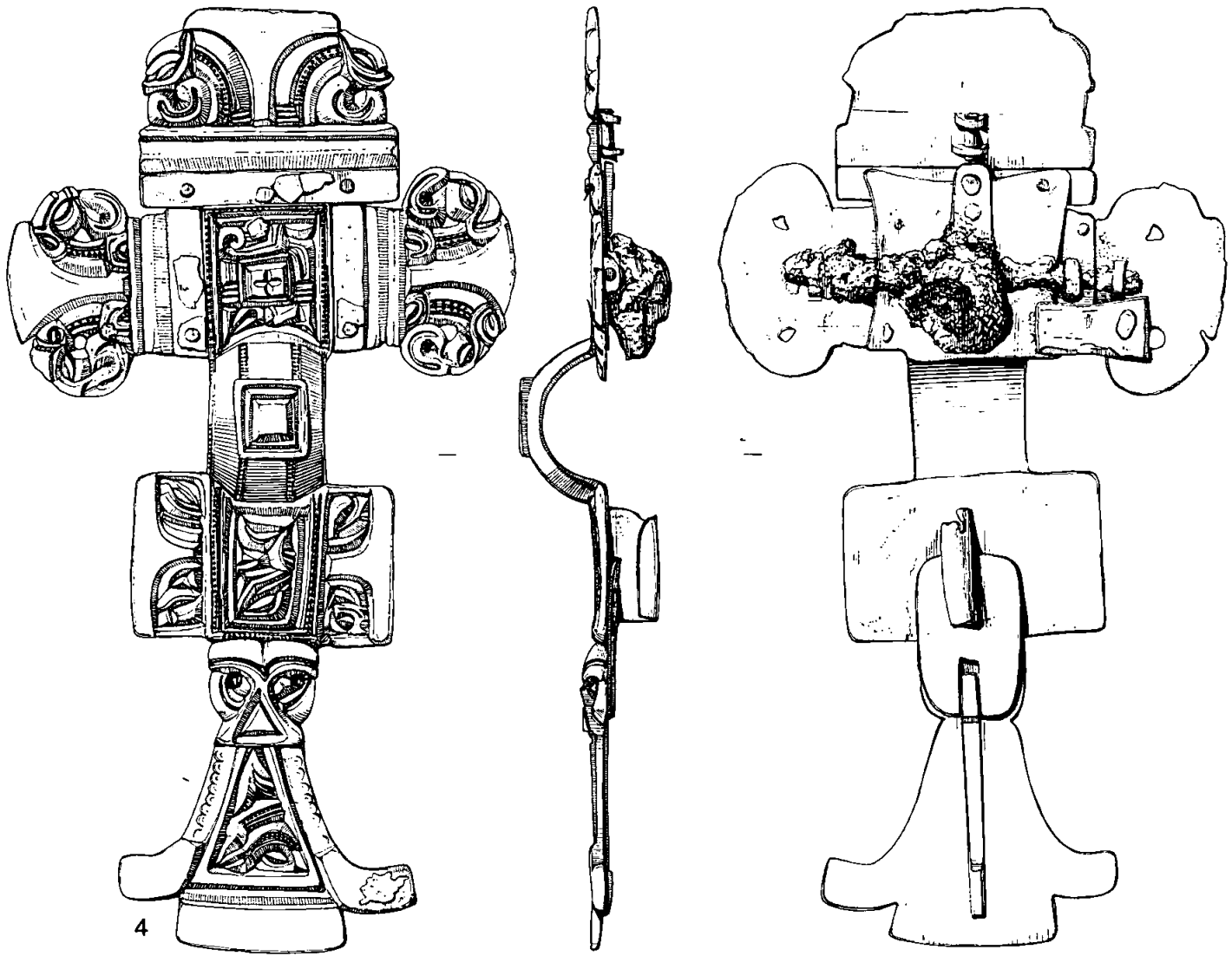
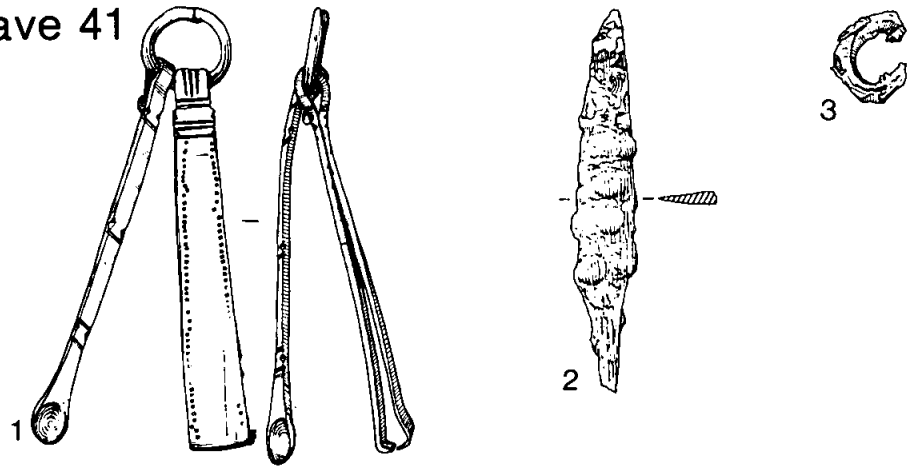
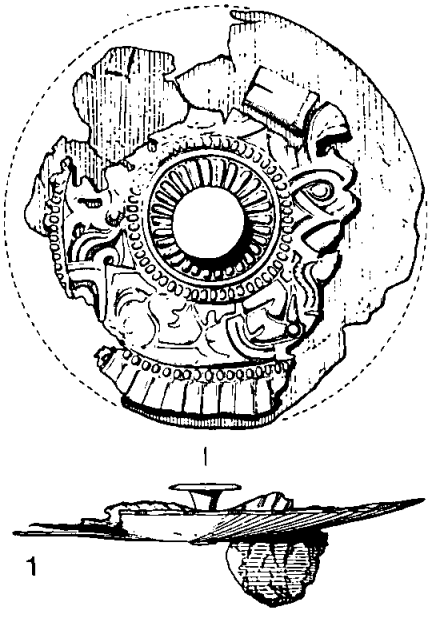


Fig 40

Grave 41



Grave 42



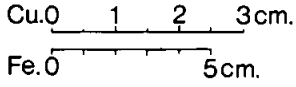
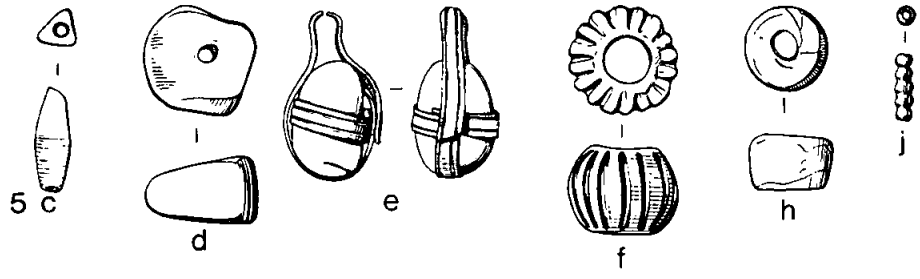
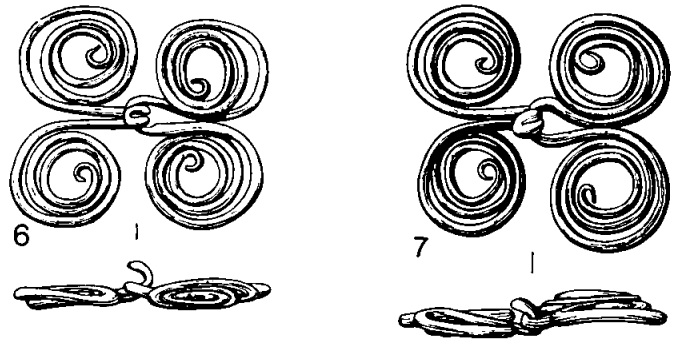


Fig 39





Grave 42

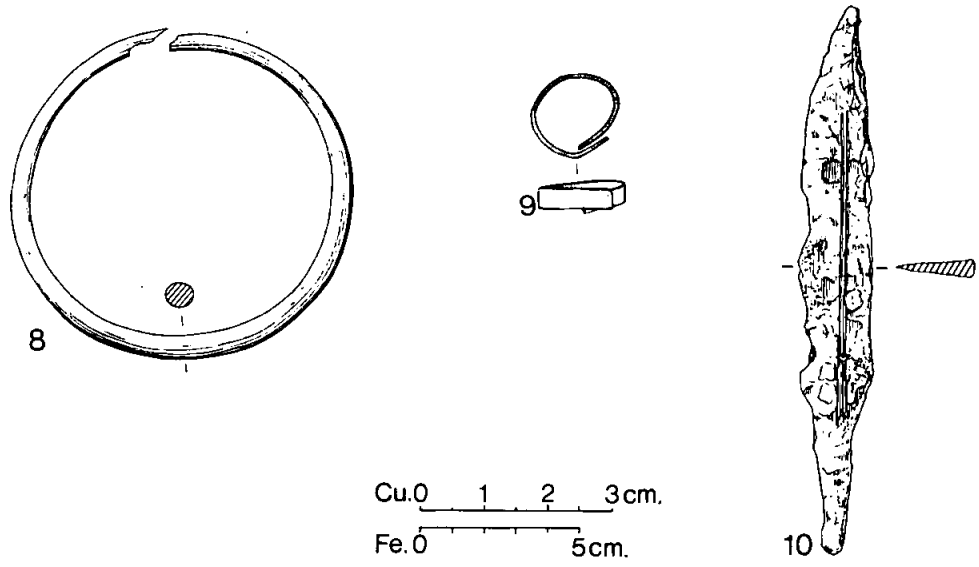
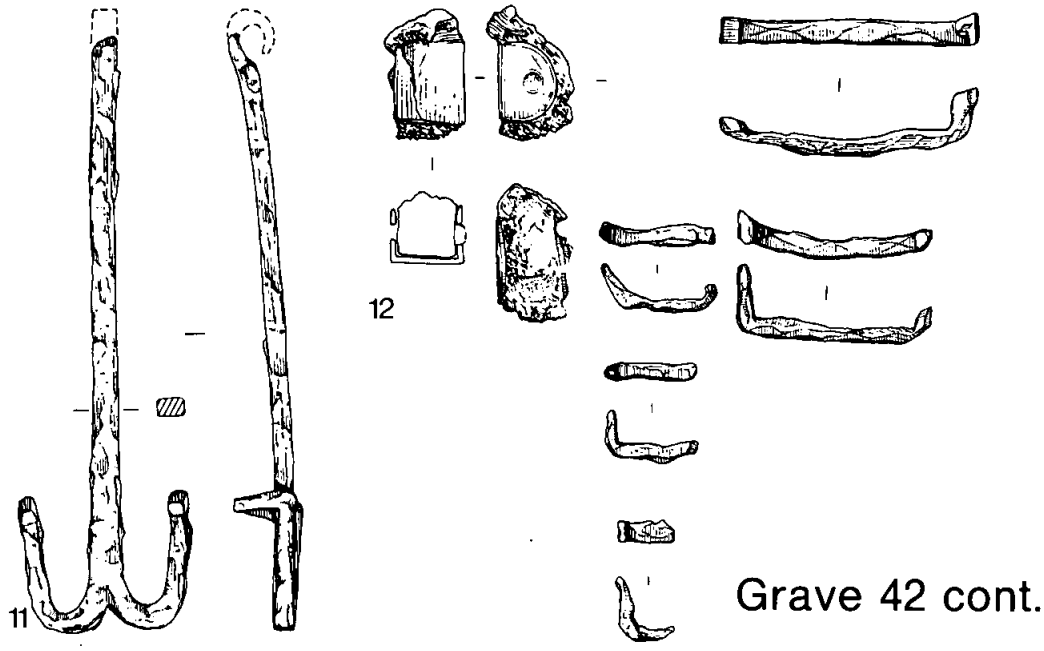
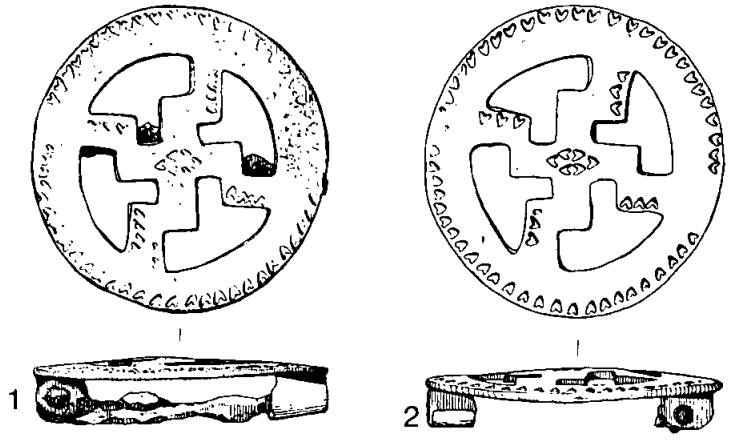


Fig 41



Grave 44



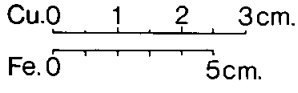
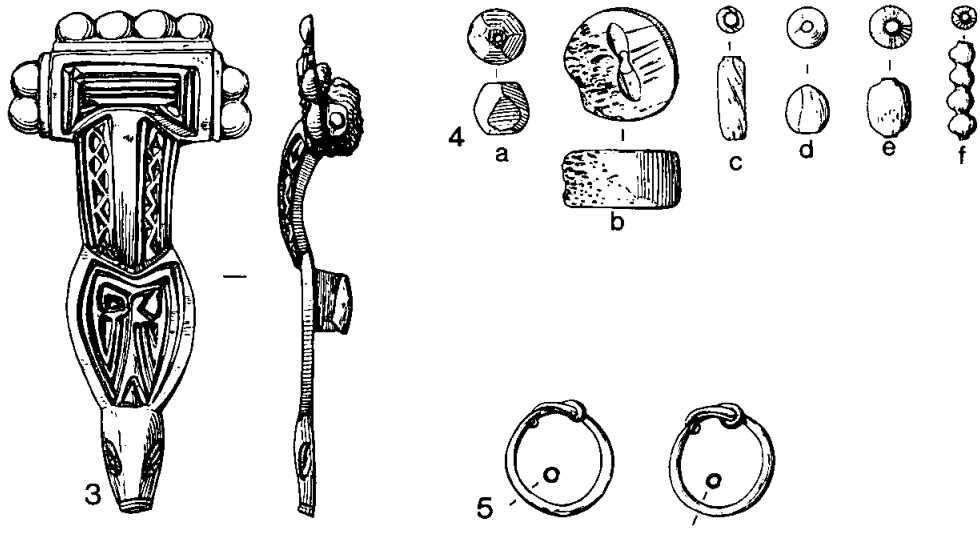


Fig 42



Grave 44 cont.

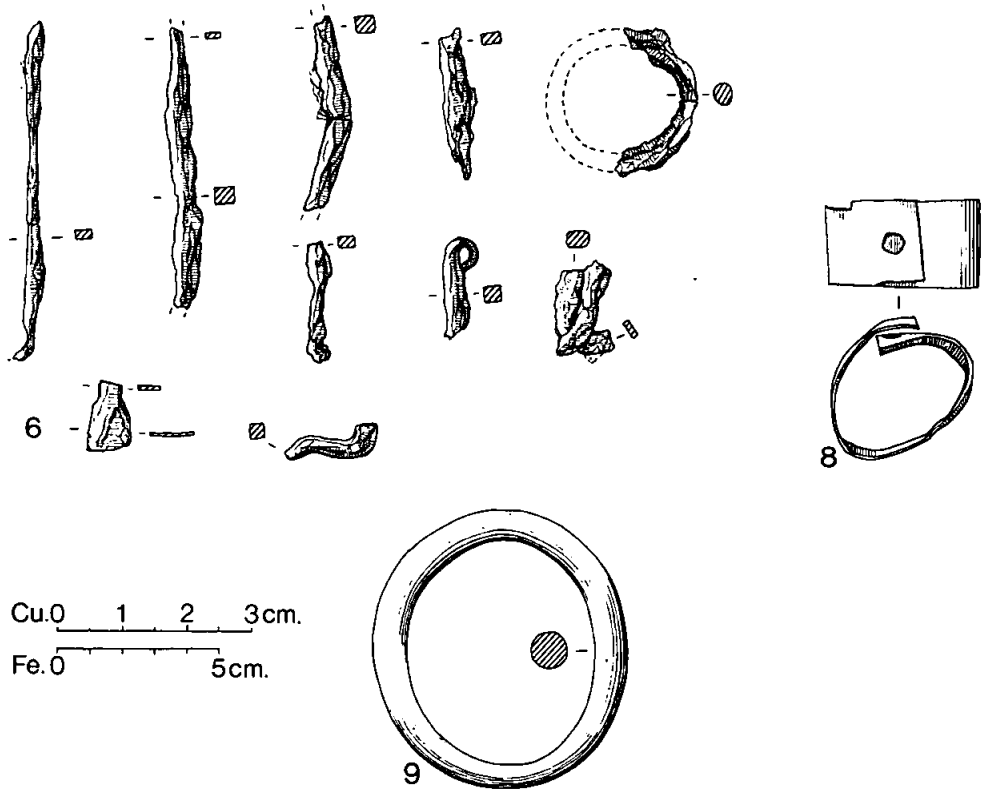


Fig 43

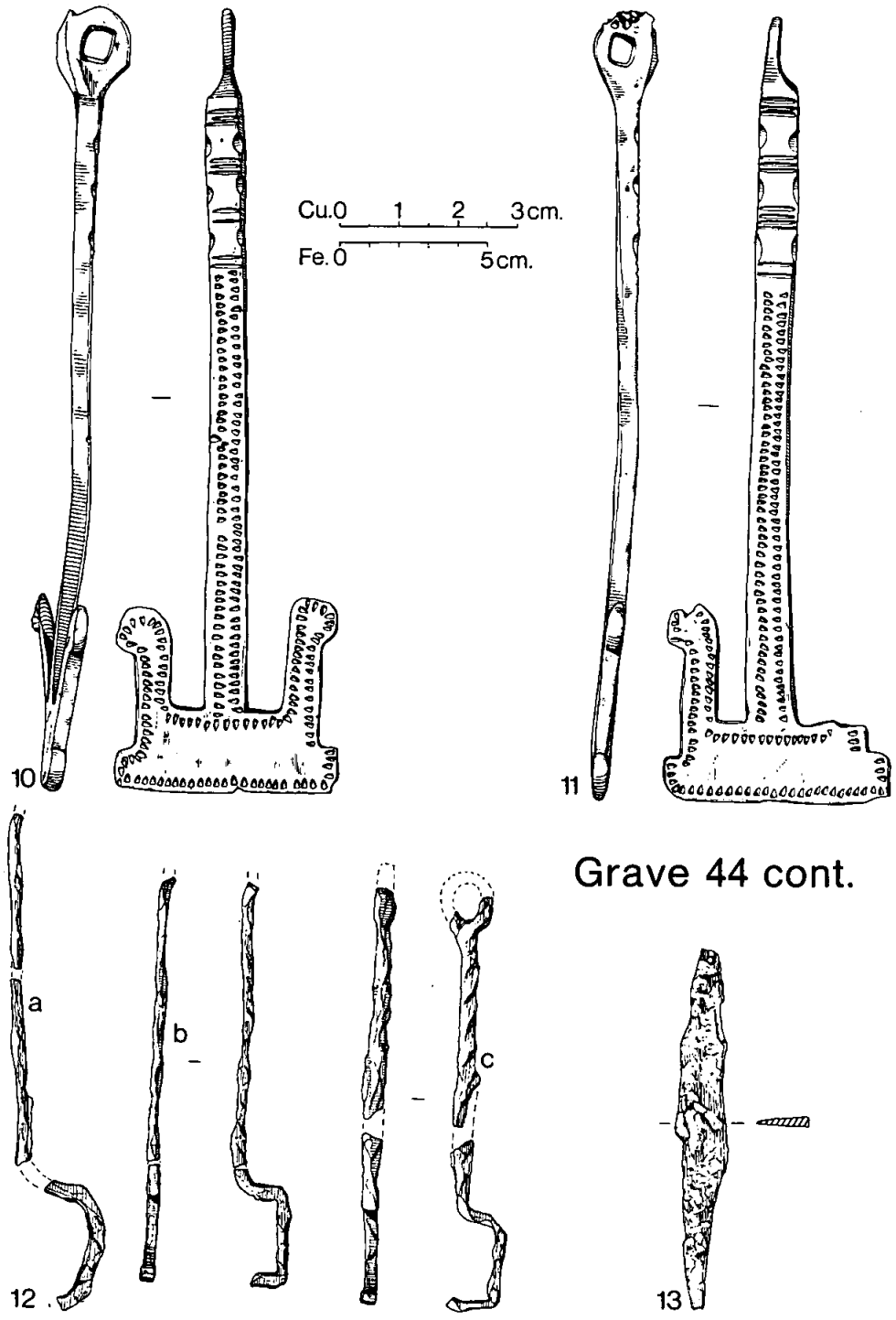


Fig 44

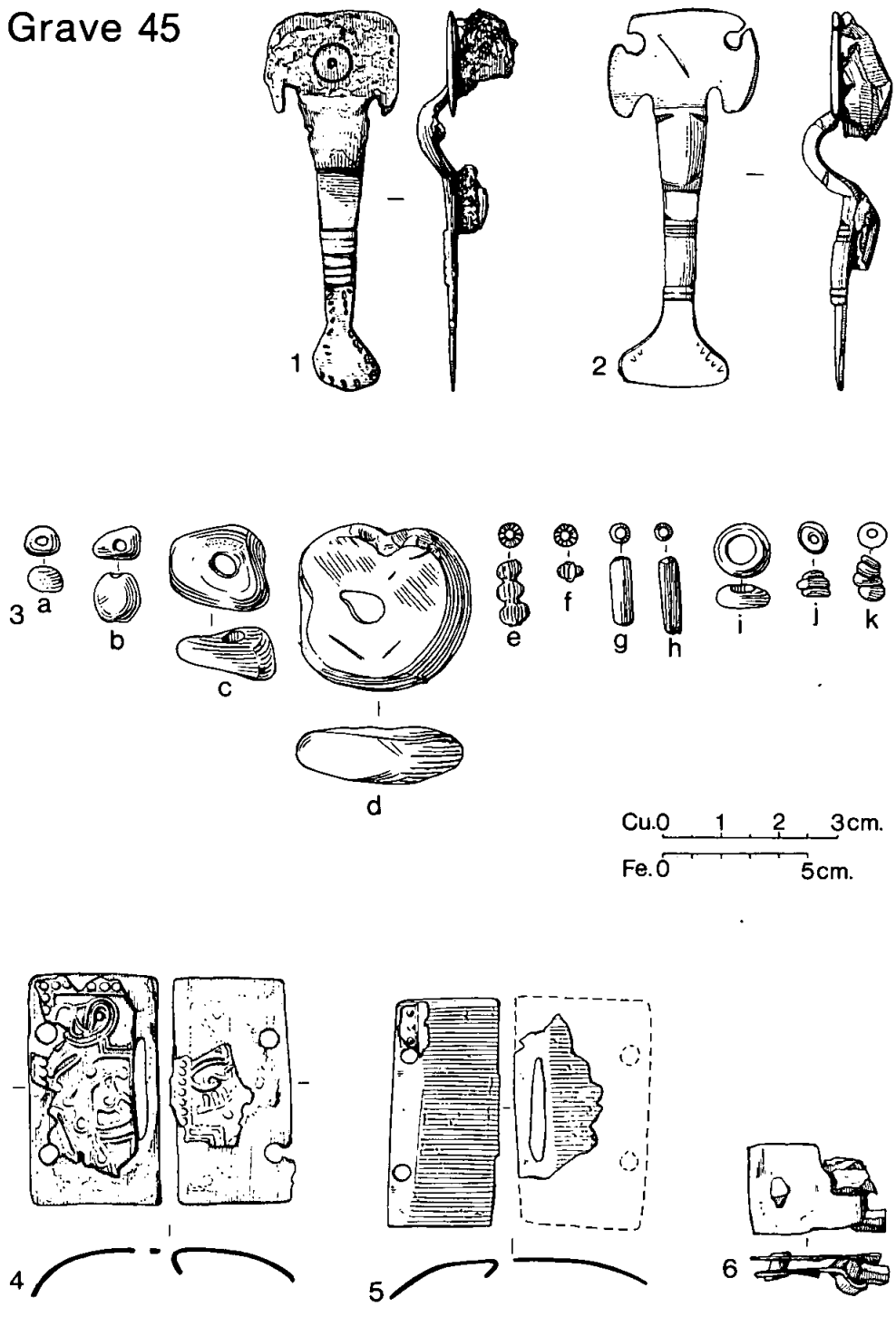
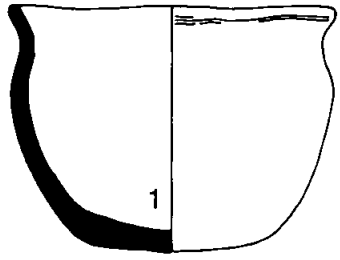
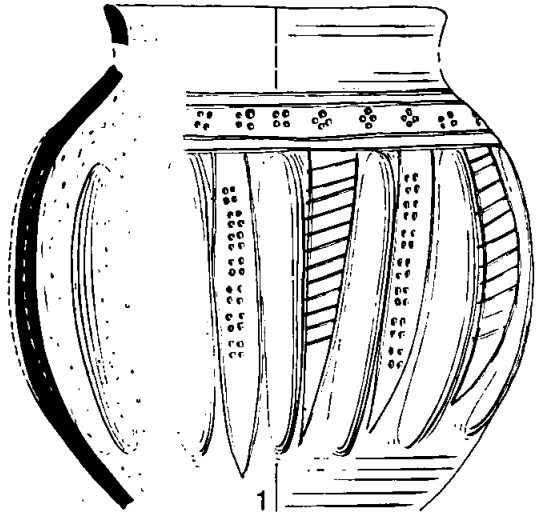


Fig 45

Grave 46



Grave 47



Cu.0 1 2 3cm.

Fe.0 5cm.

Fig 46

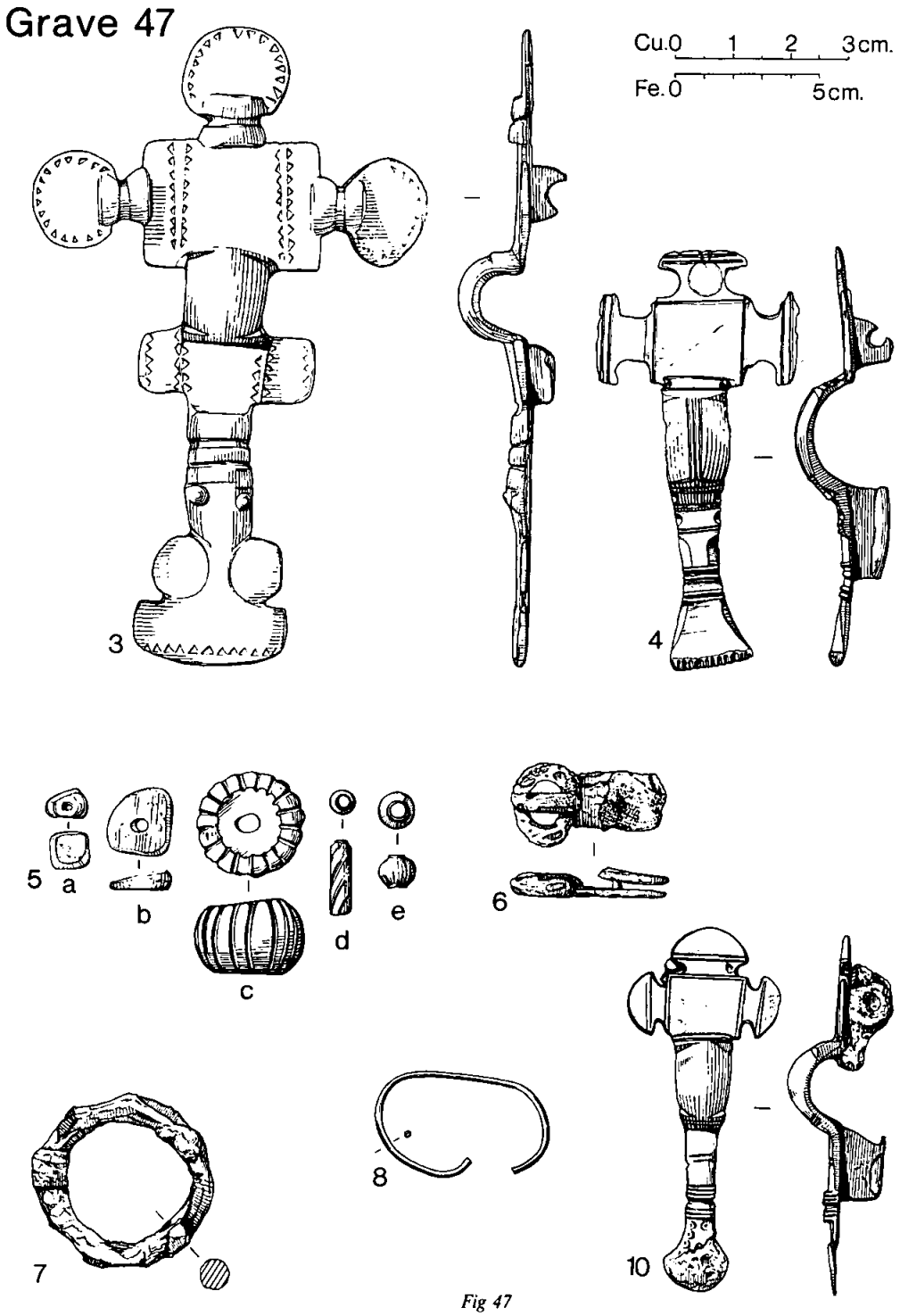
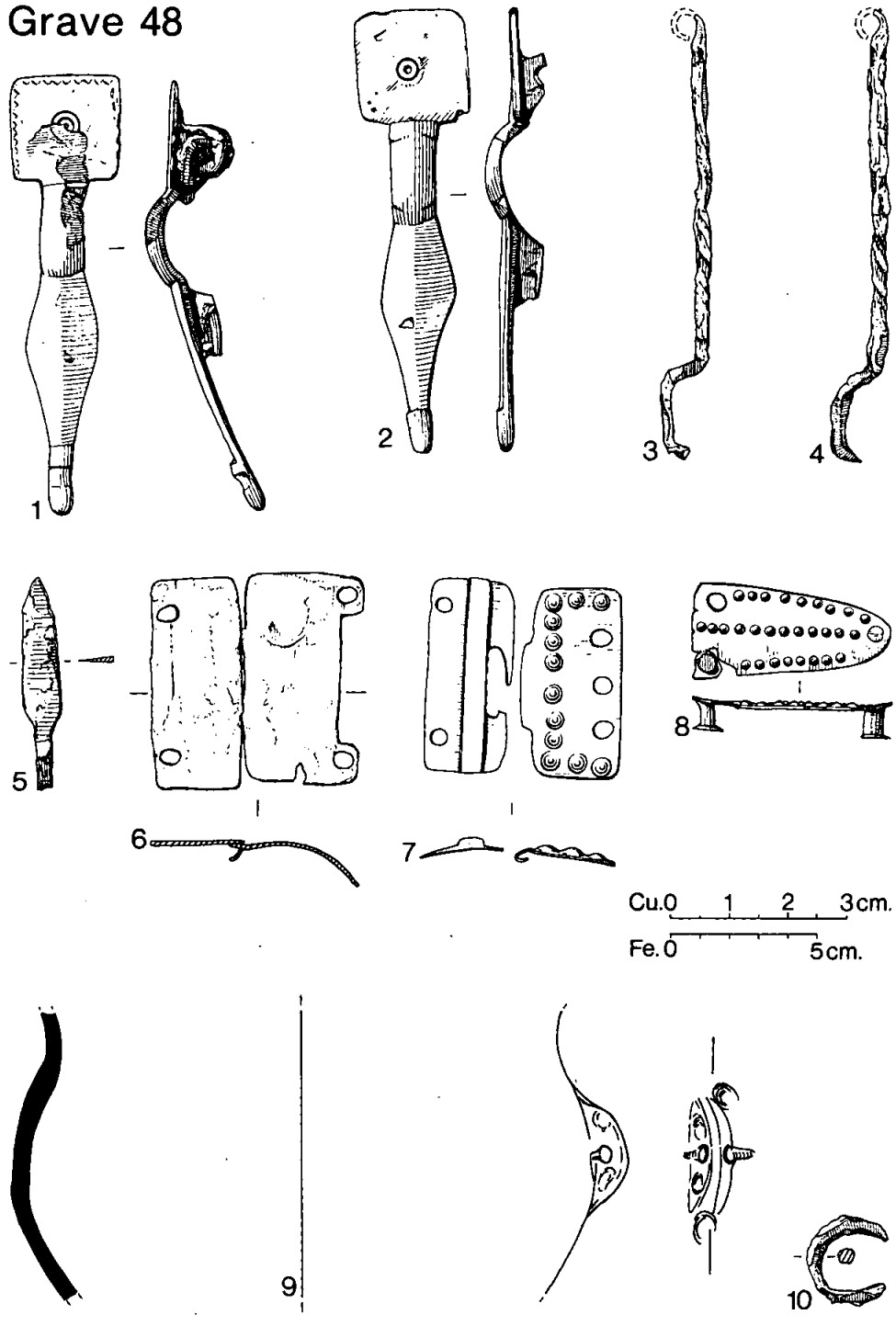


Fig 47



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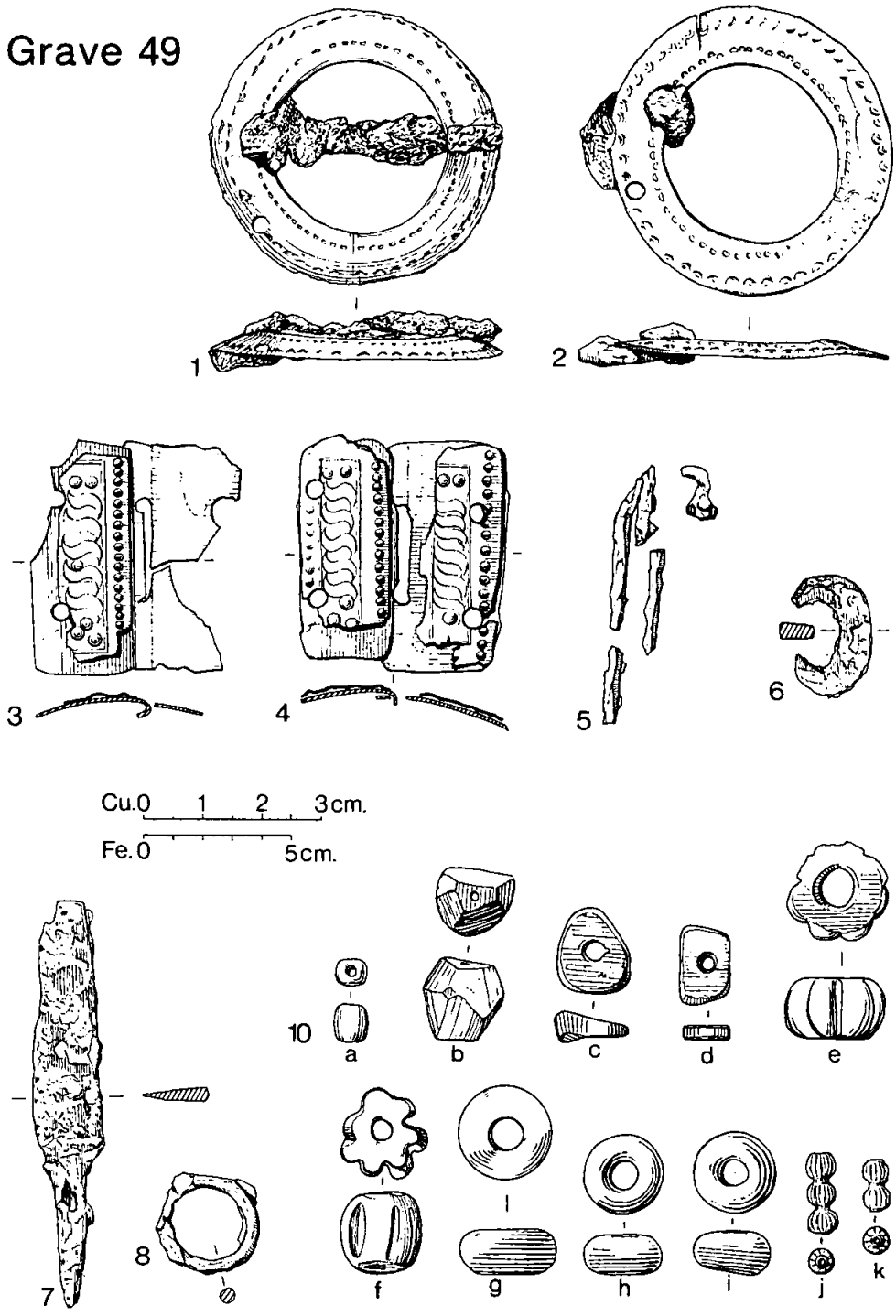


Fig 49

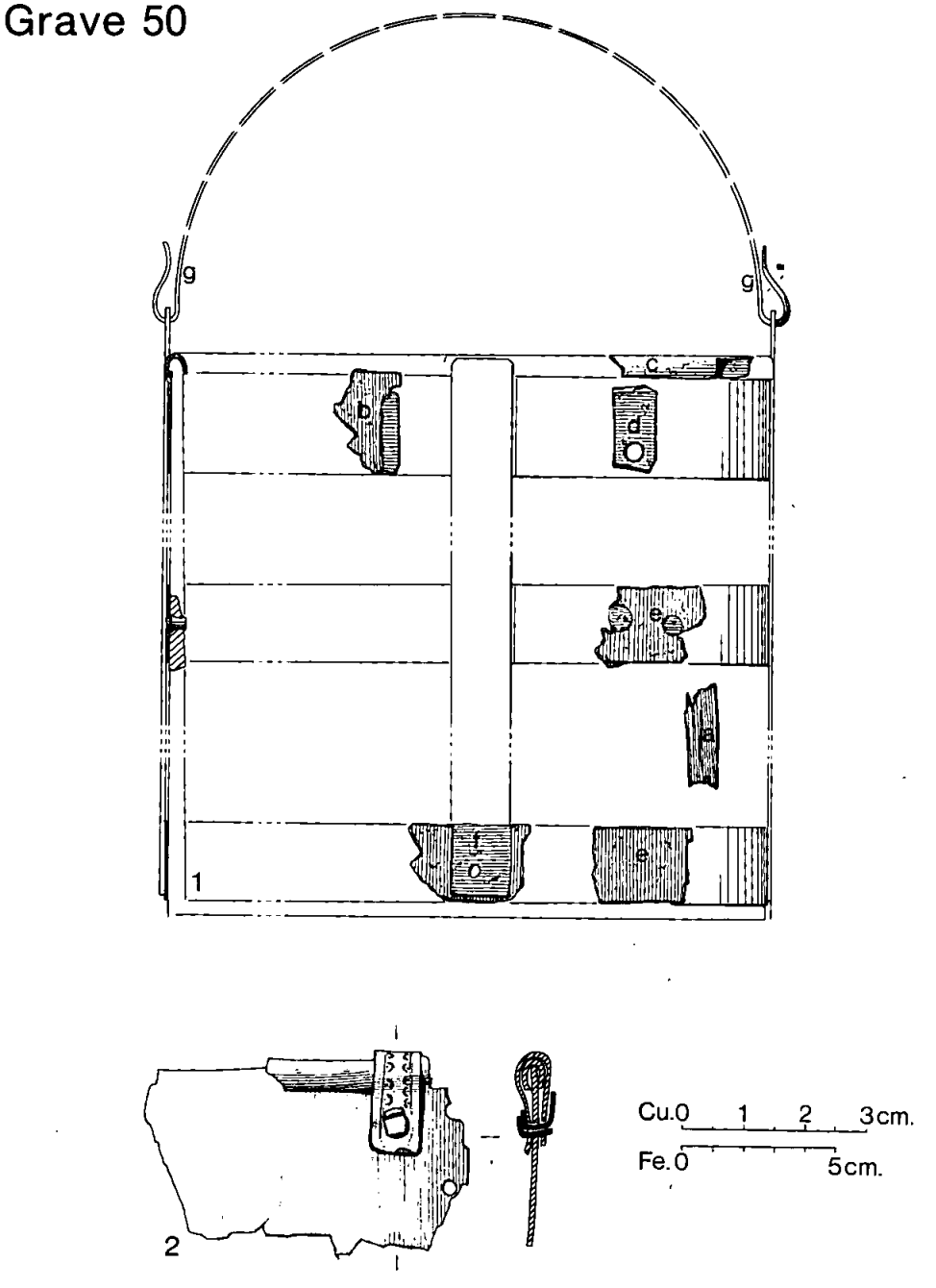


Fig 50

Grave 50

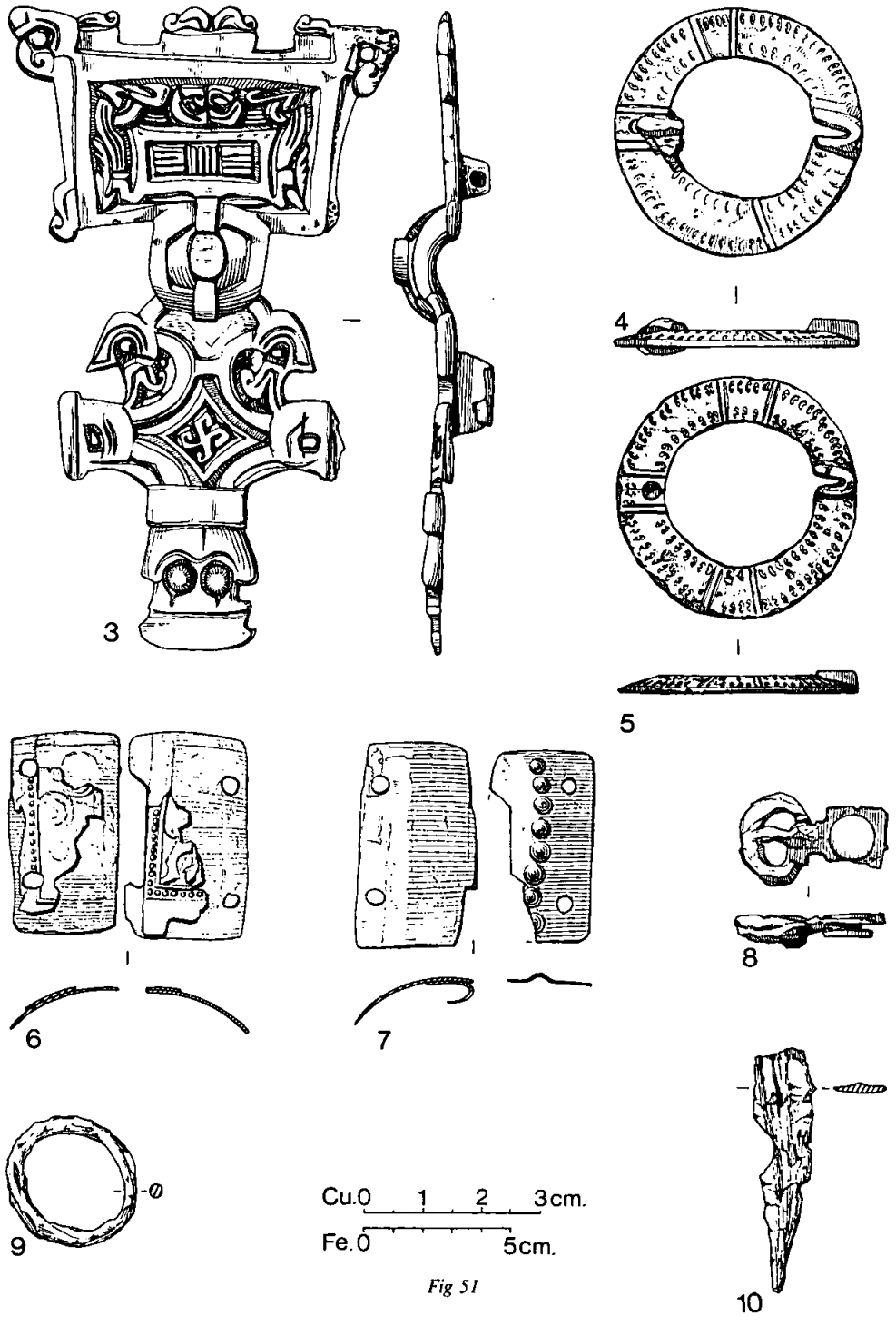
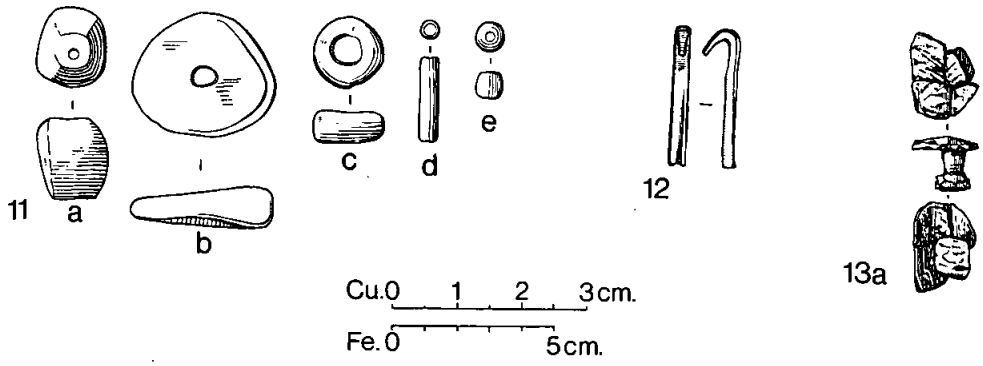


Fig 51

Grave 50 cont.



Grave 51

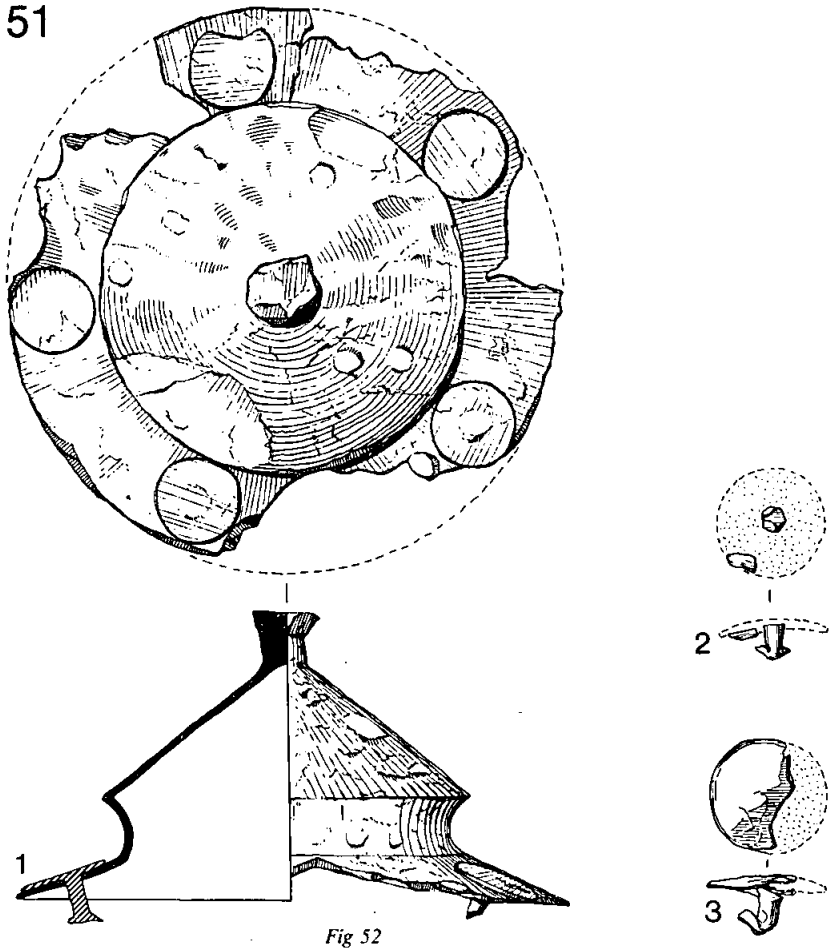
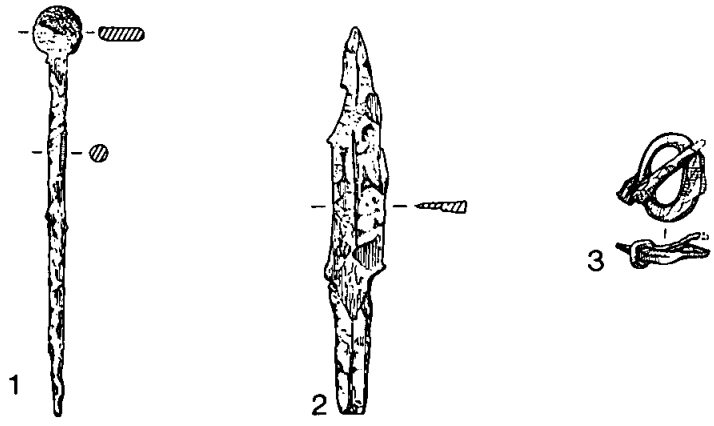
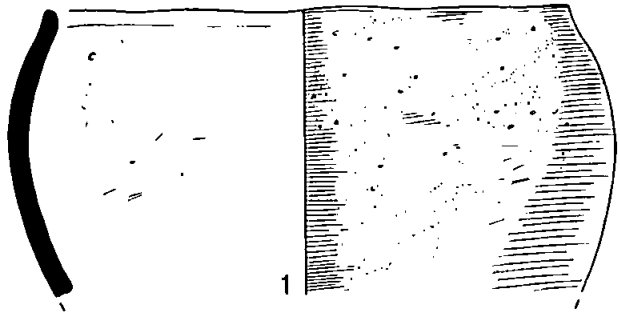


Fig 52

Grave 53



Grave 54



Grave 55

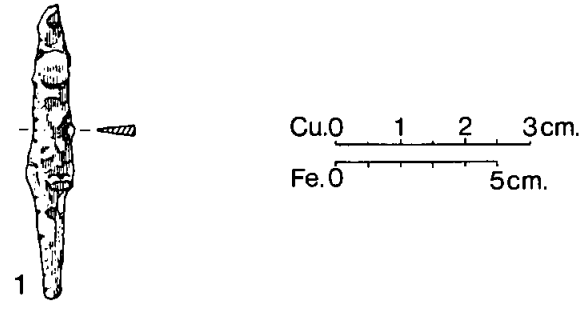
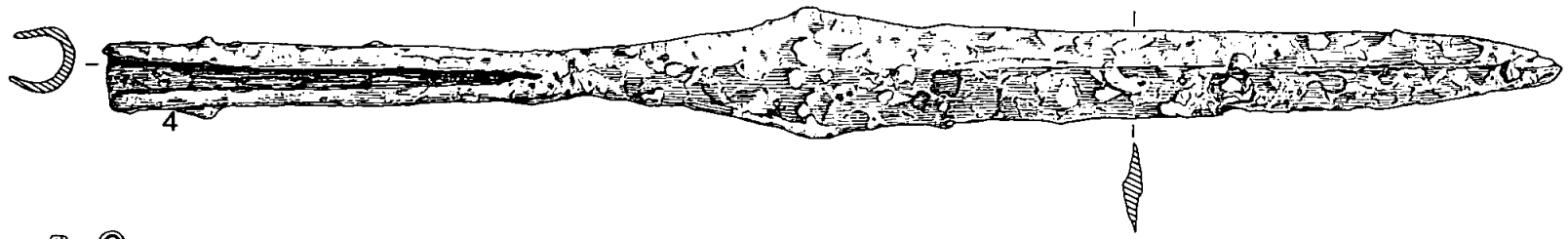
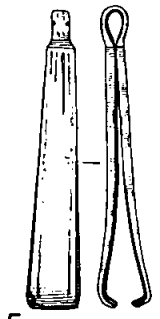
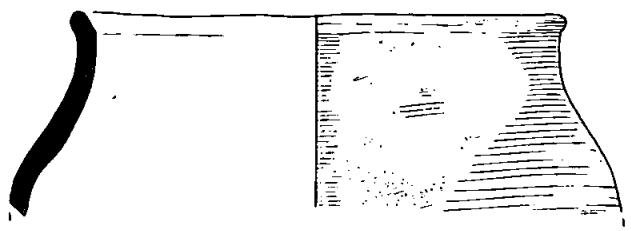
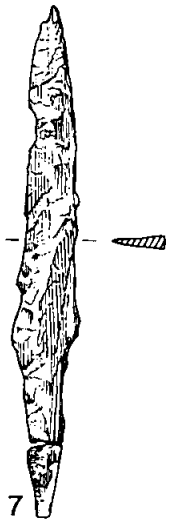


Fig 54

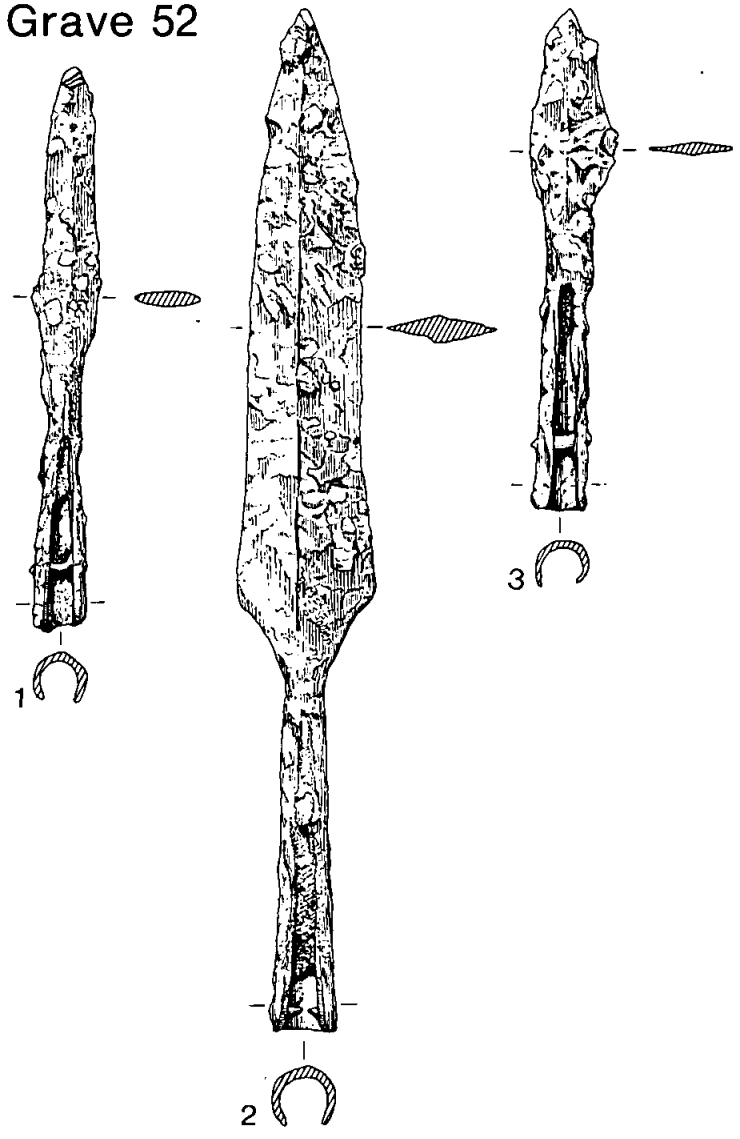








Grave 52



Cu.0 1 2 3cm.

Fe.0 5cm.

Fig 53

Grave 56

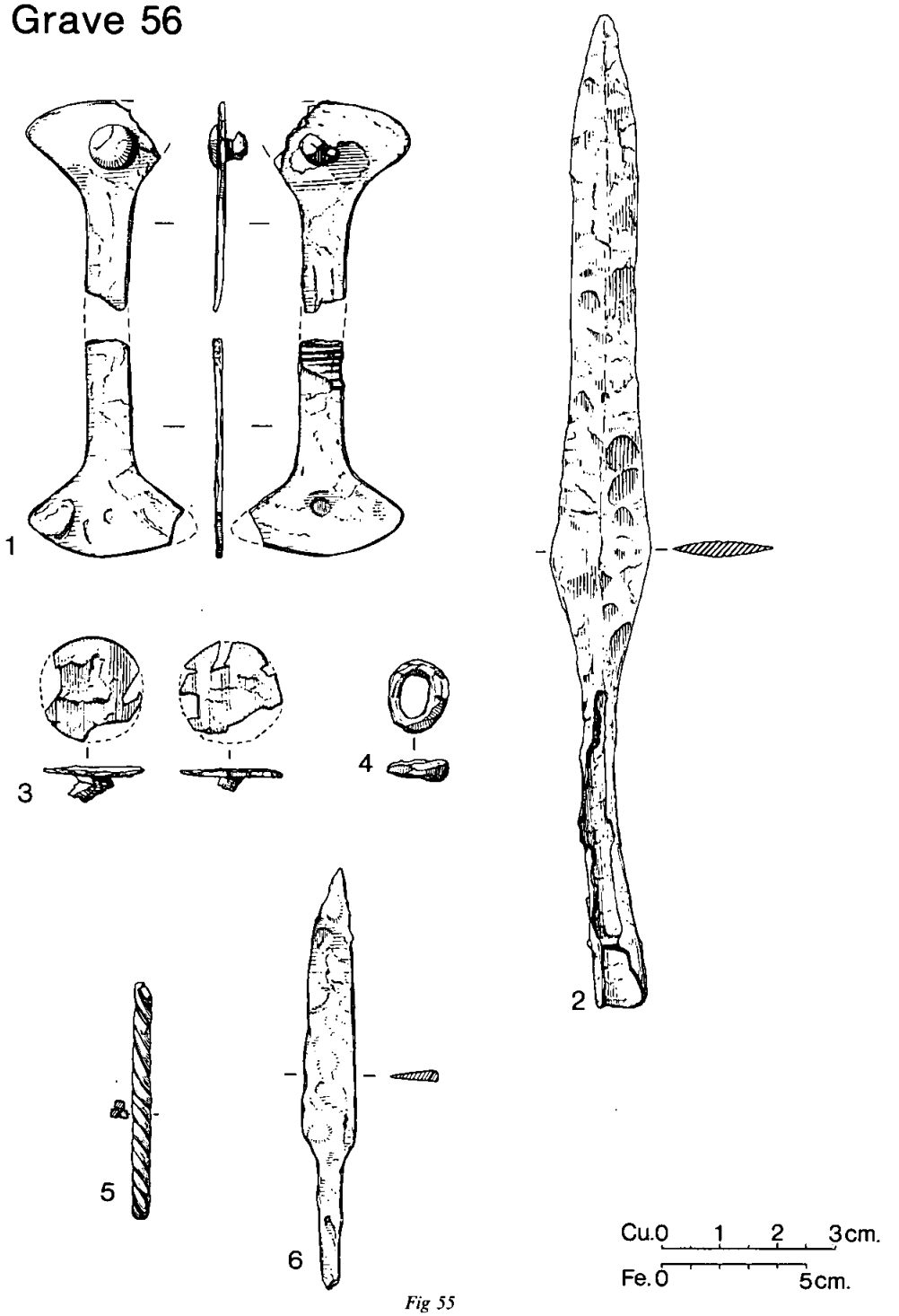
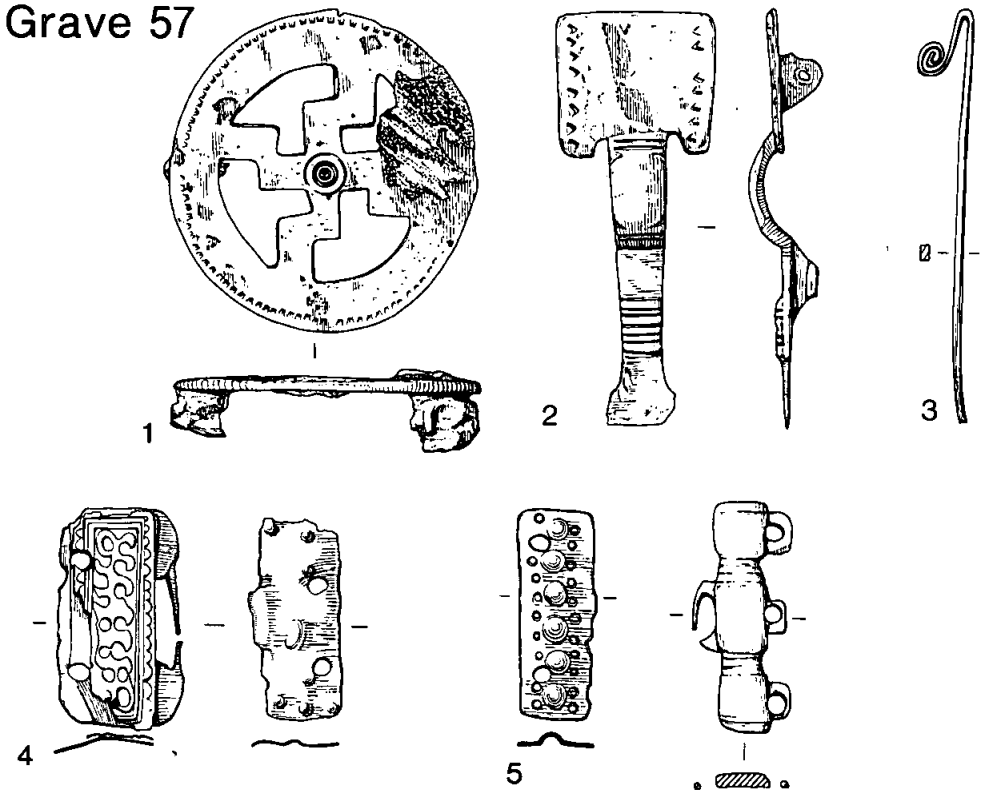


Fig 55



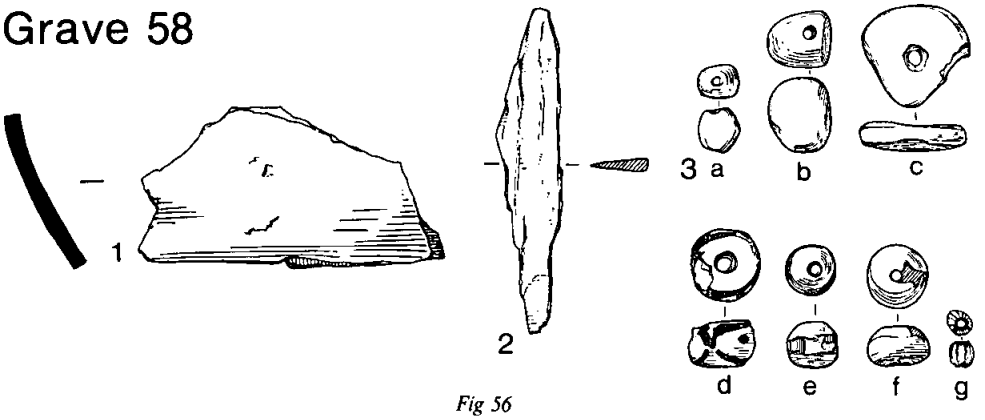
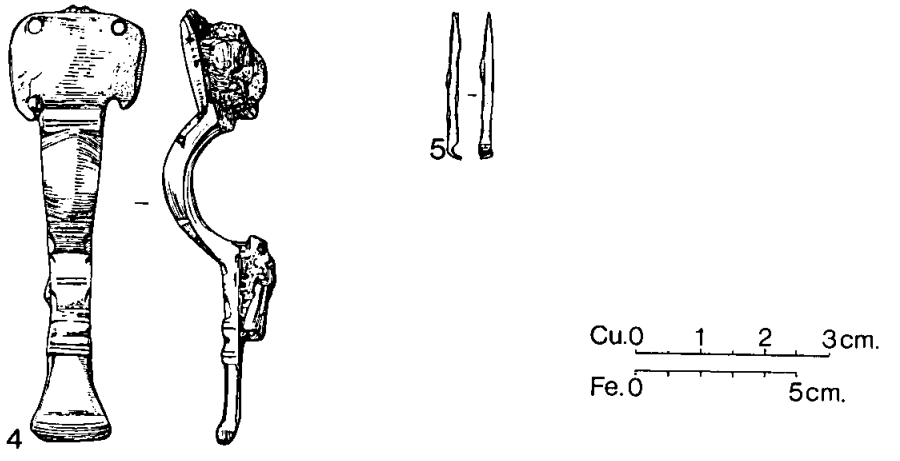
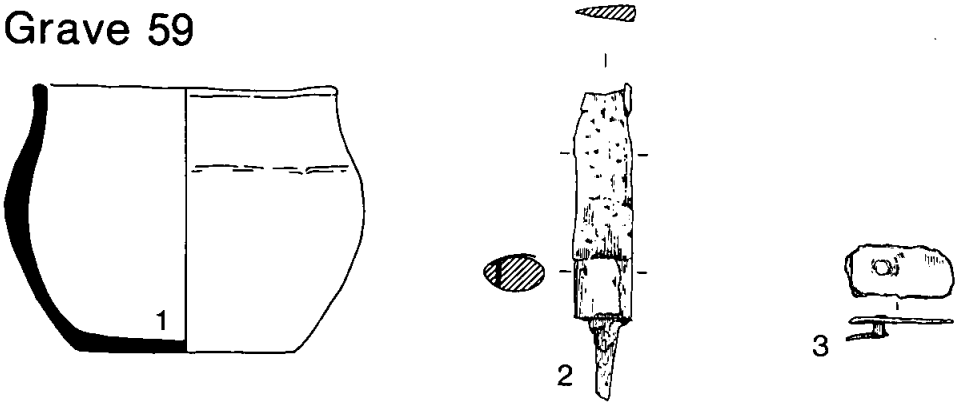


Fig 56



Grave 59



Grave 60

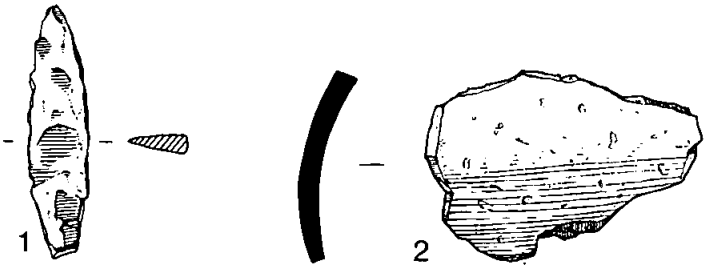
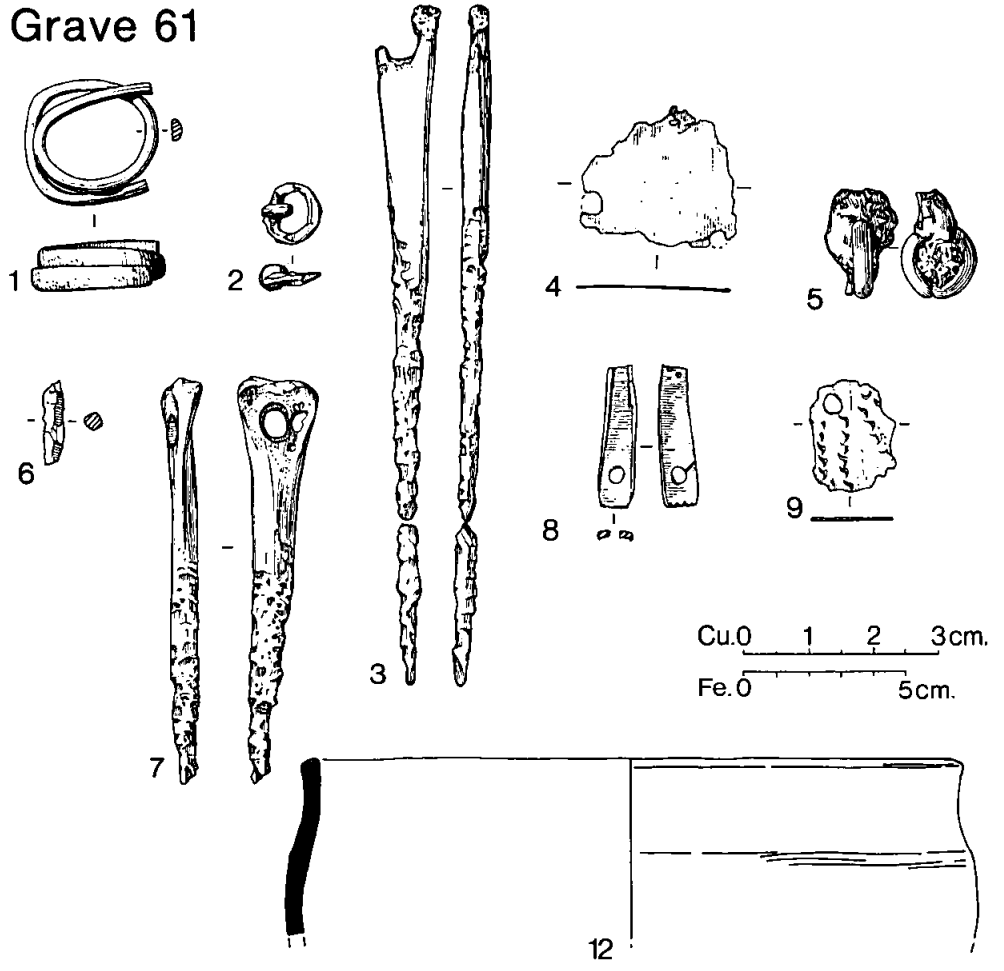


Fig 57



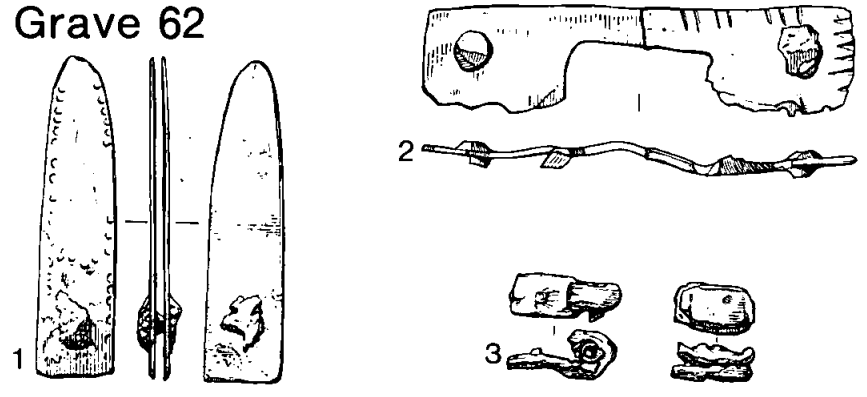
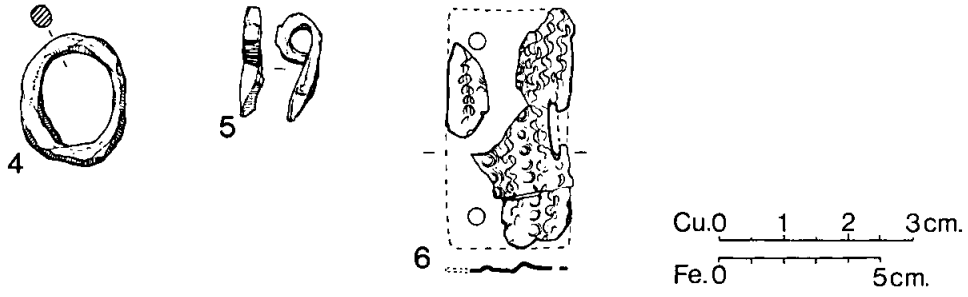


Fig 58



Grave 63

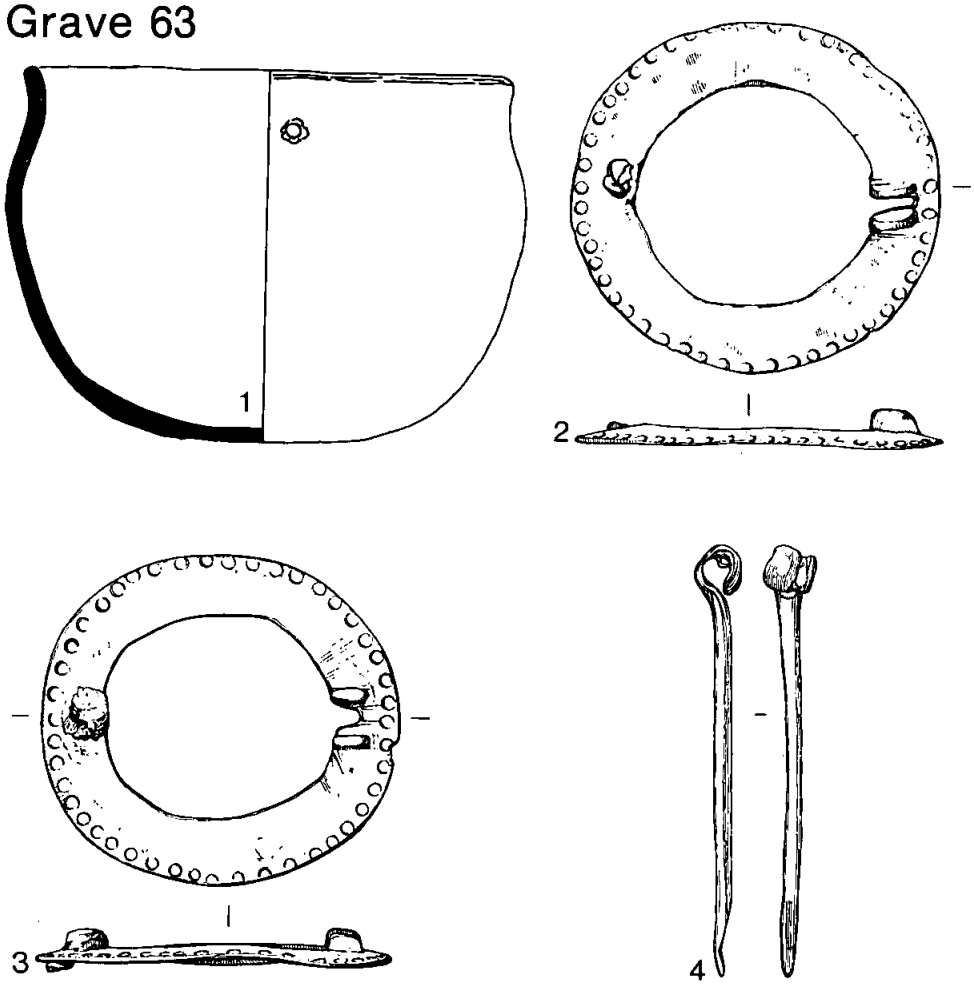


Fig 59

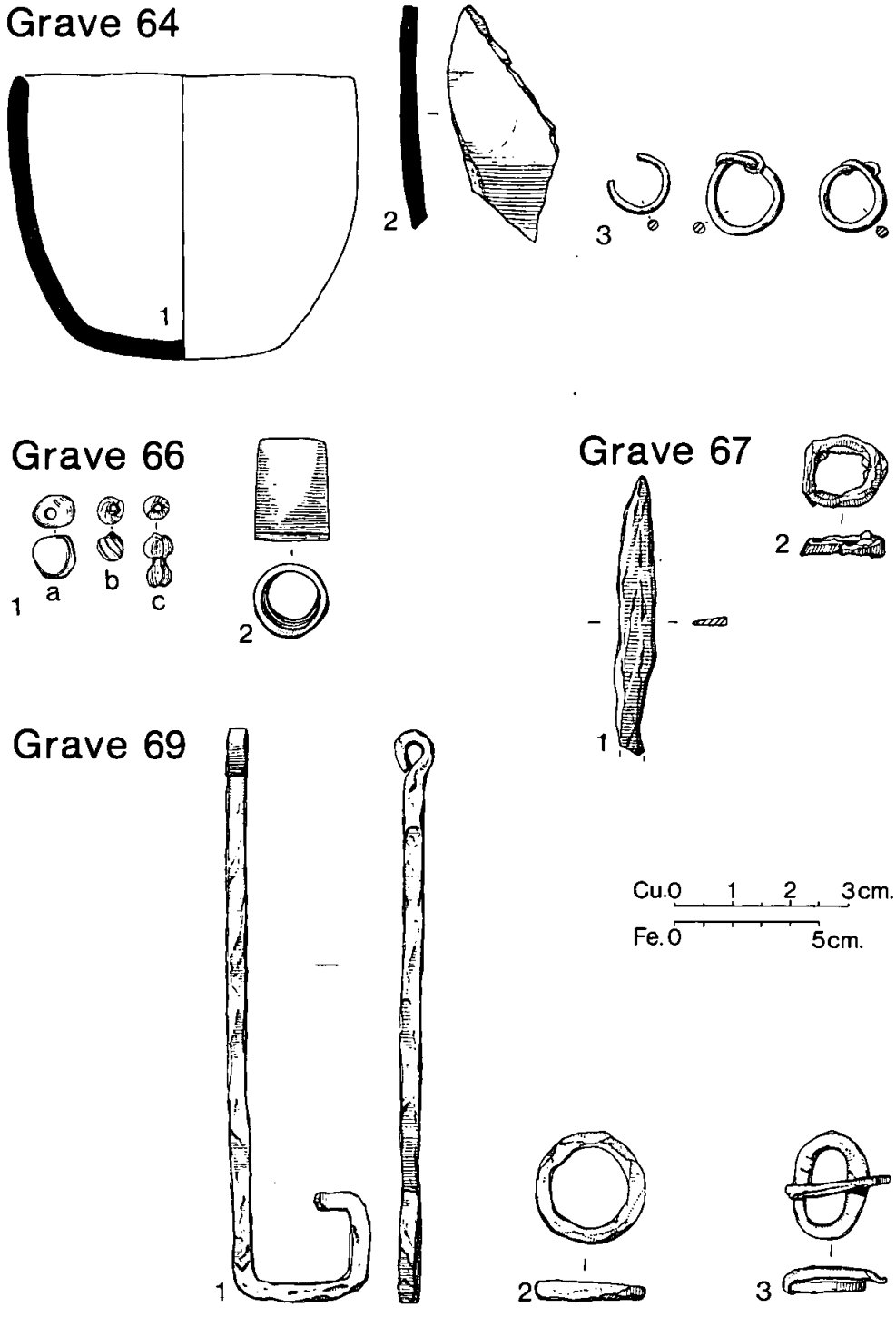
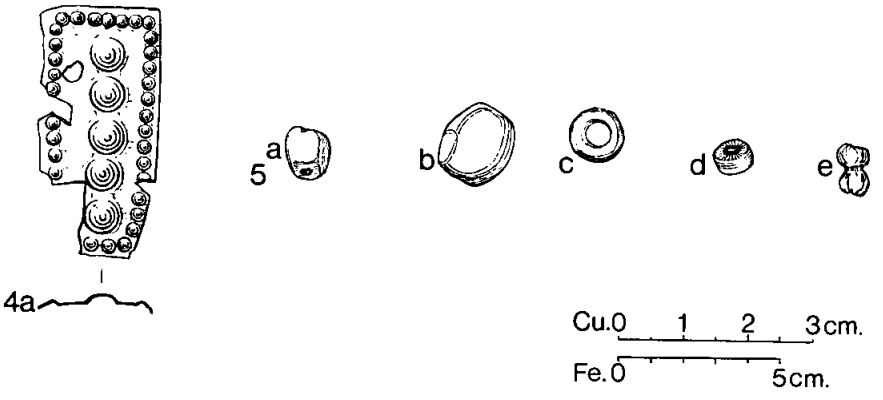
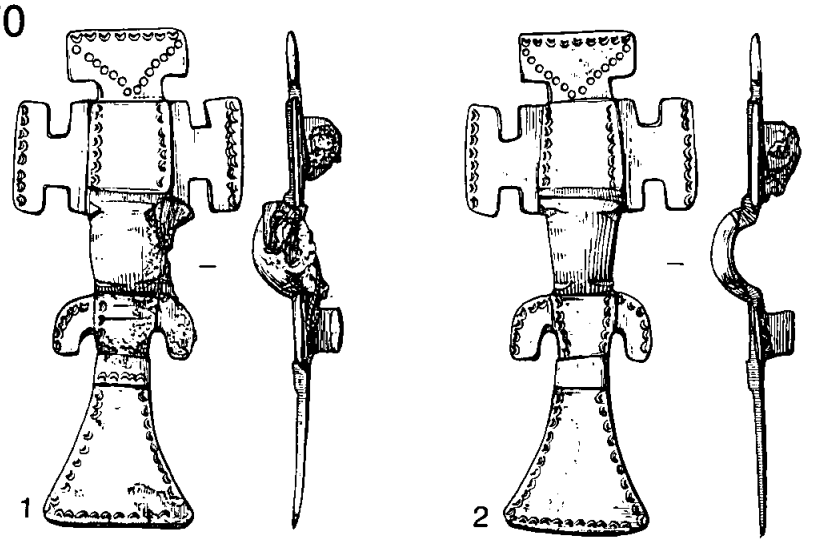

Grave 64
1
2
3
Grave 66
1
a
b
c
2
Grave 67
1
2
Grave 69
1
2
3
Cu.0 1 2 3cm.
Fe.0 5cm.

Fig 60



Grave 70



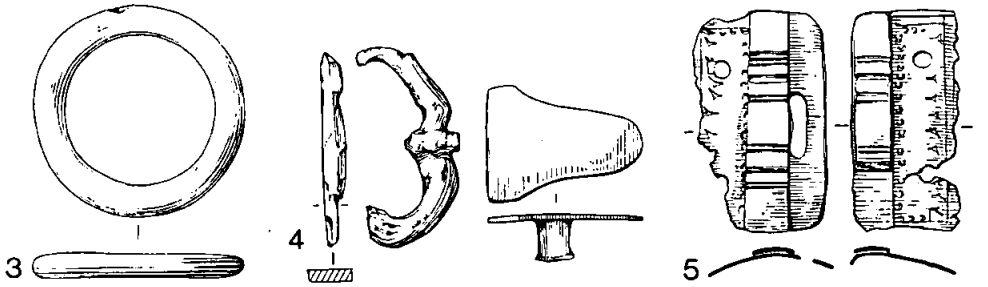


Fig 61

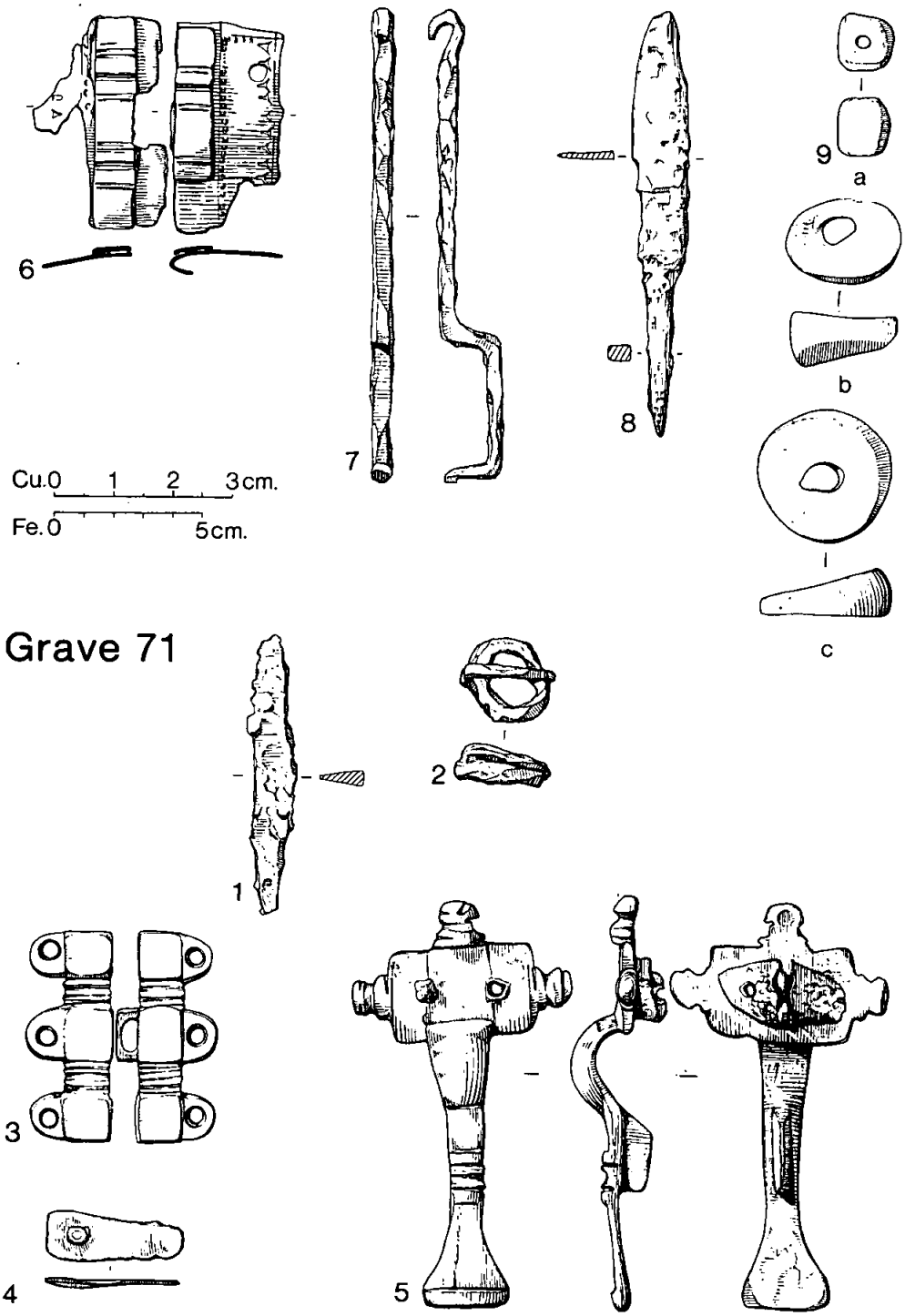
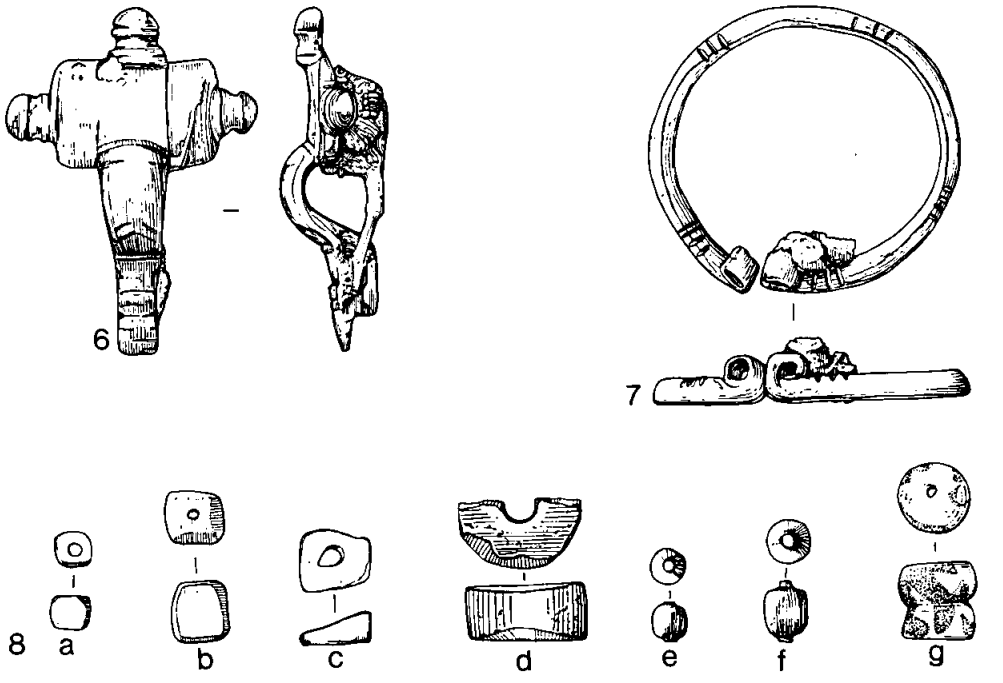
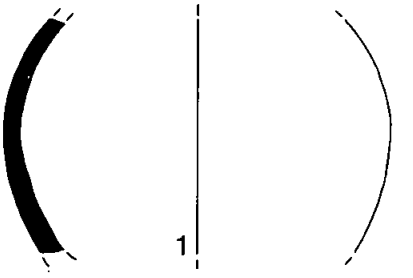


Fig 62



Grave 72



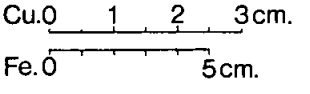


Fig 63

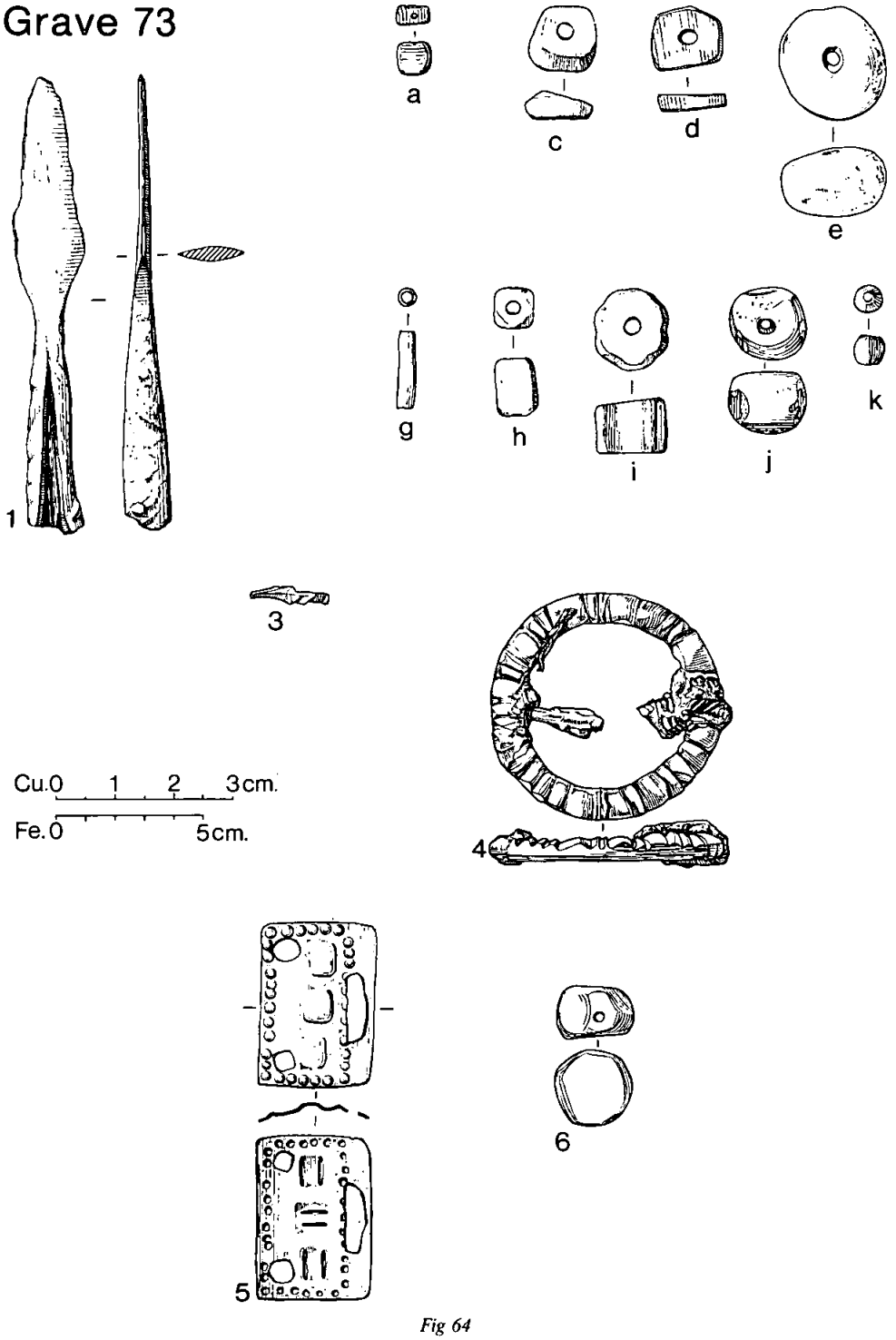
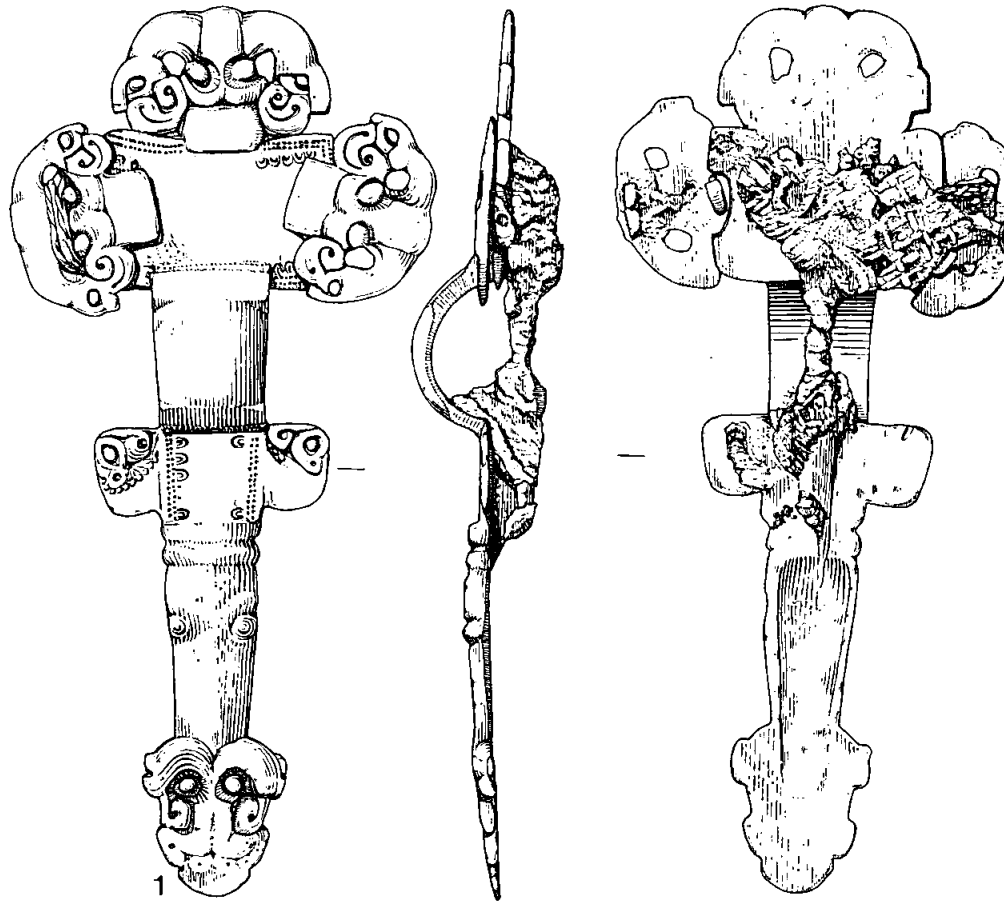
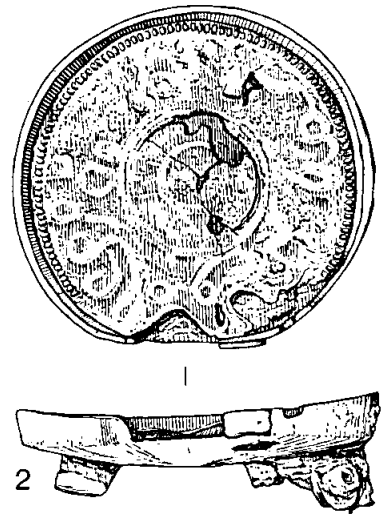
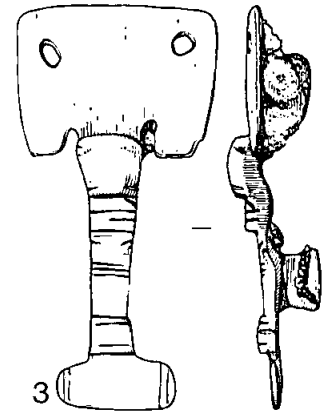


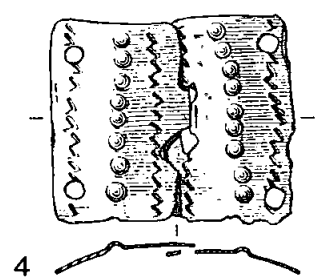
Fig 64

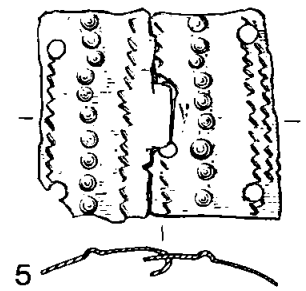
Grave 74

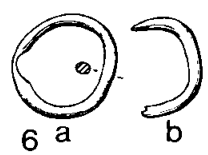


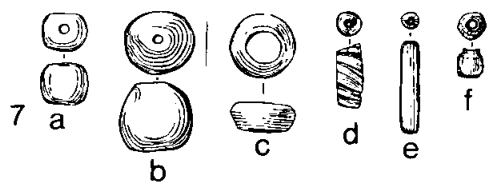


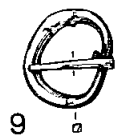


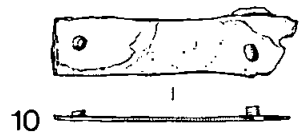












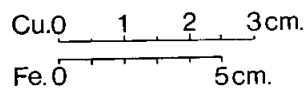
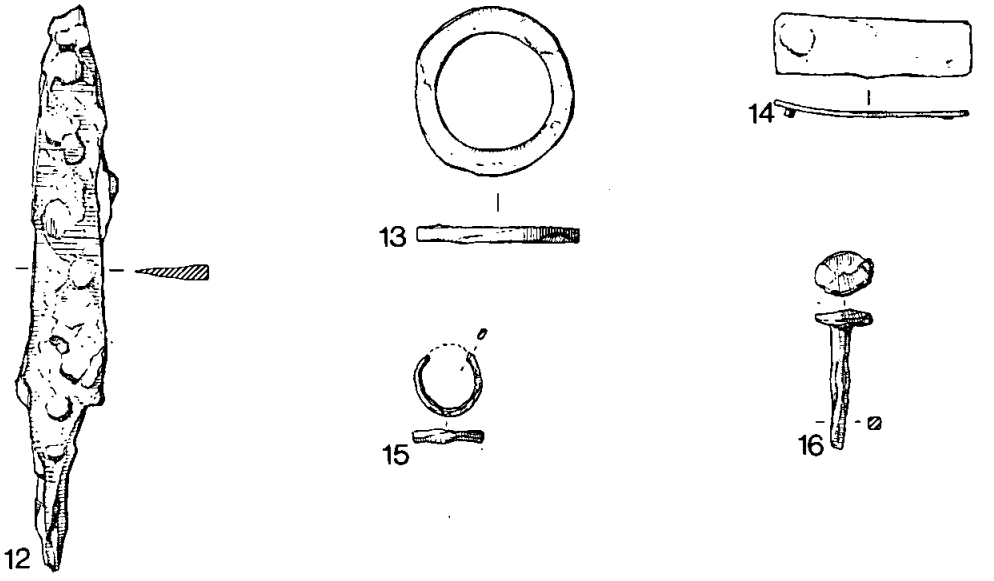


Fig 65



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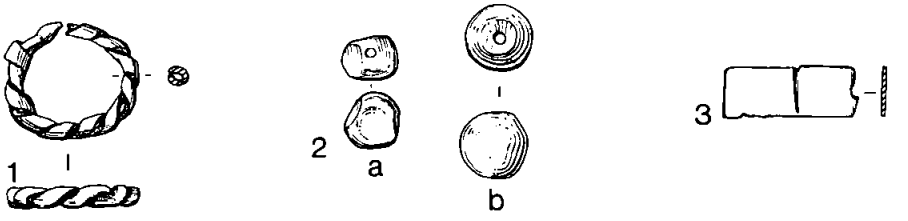


Grave 76

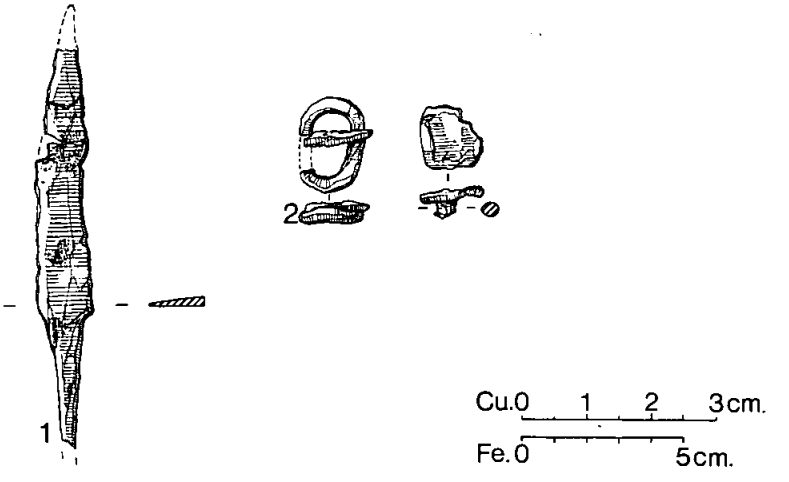
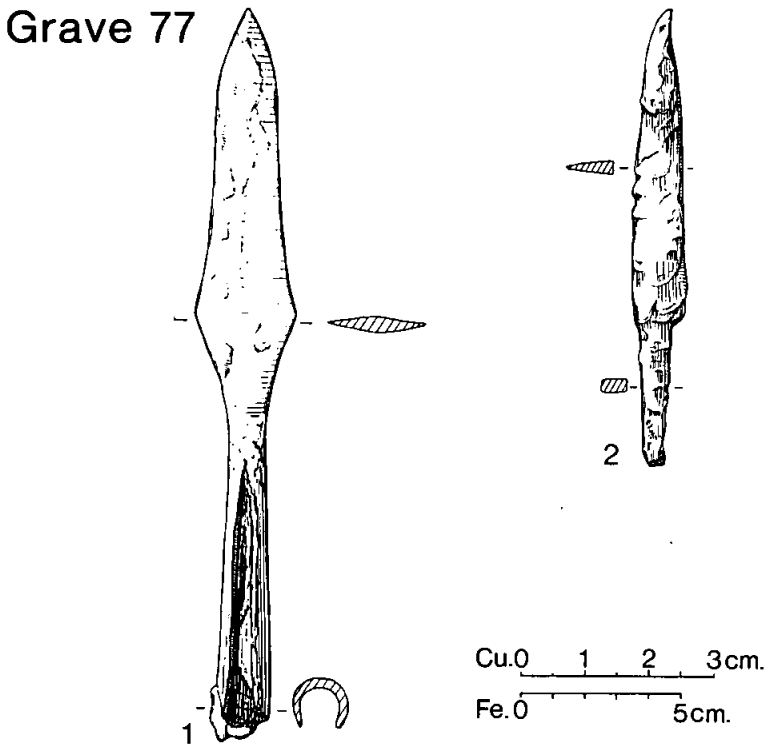


Fig 66



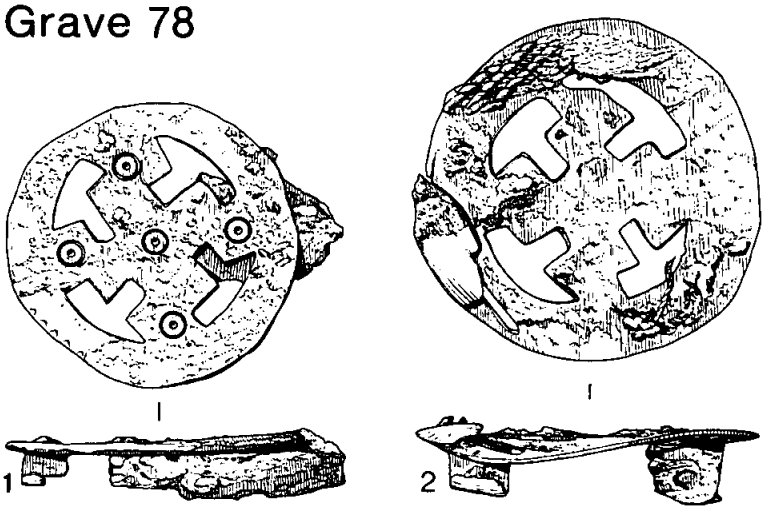


Fig 67

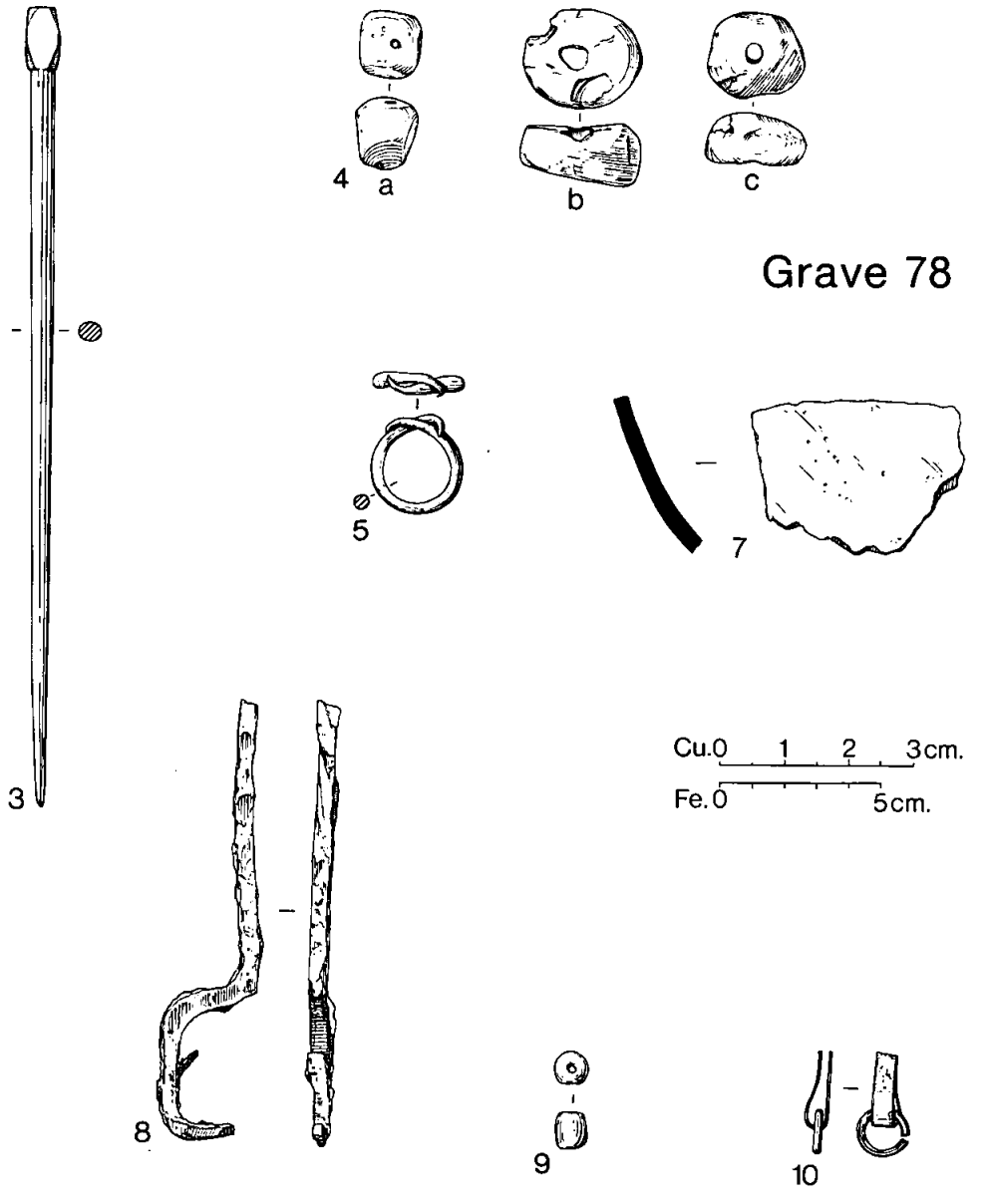


Fig 68

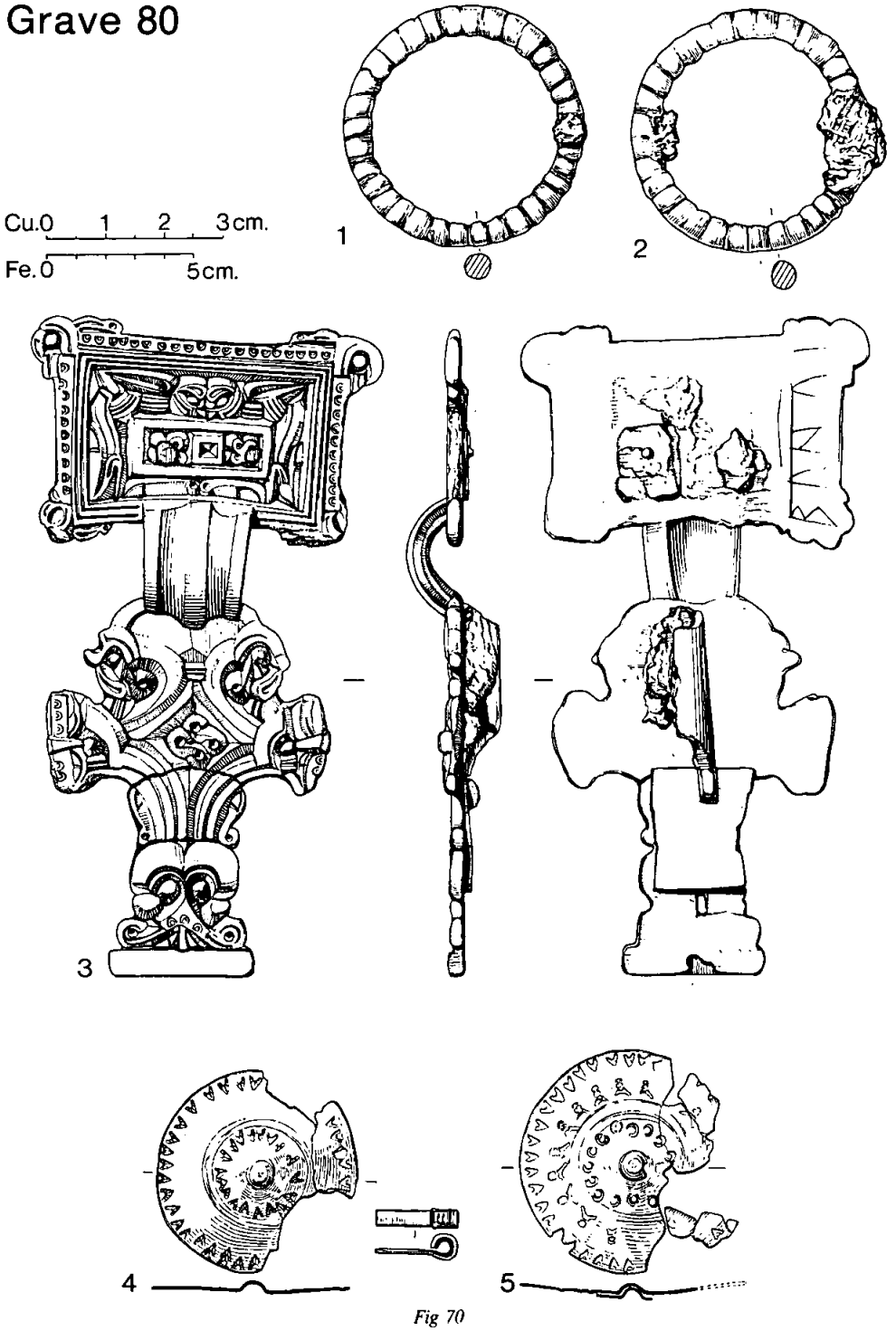
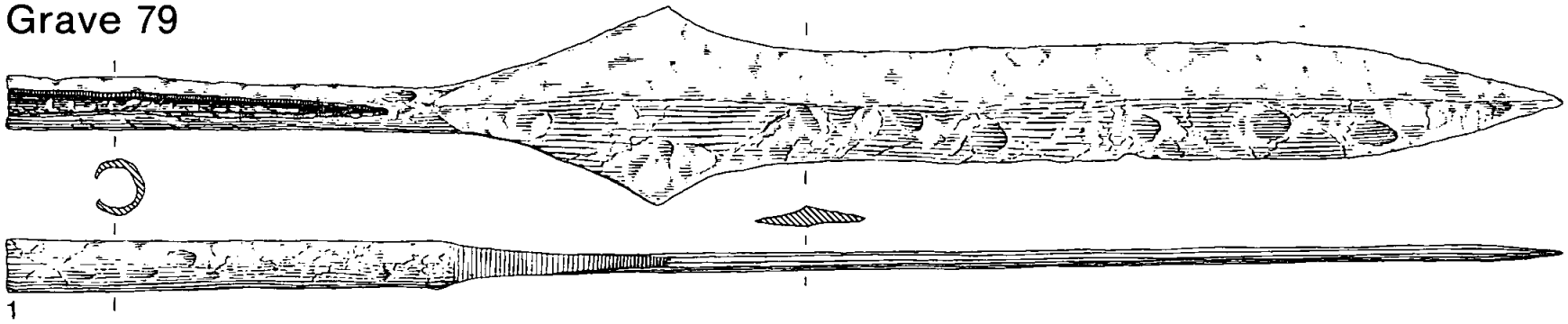
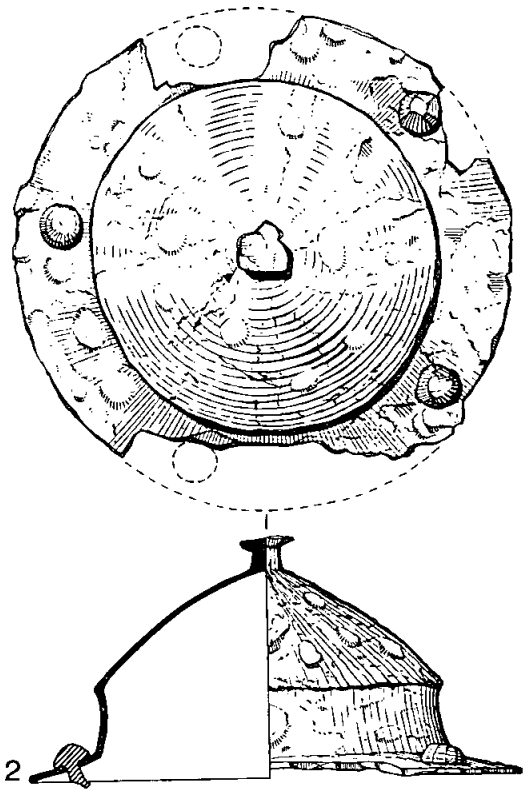
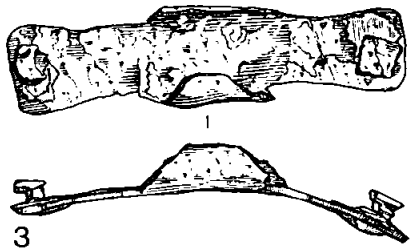


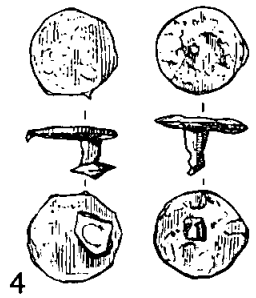
Fig 70

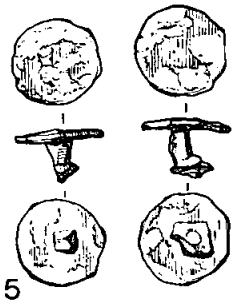
Grave 79

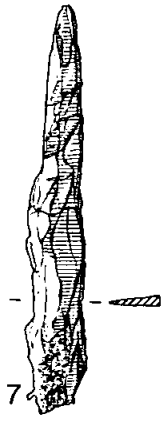






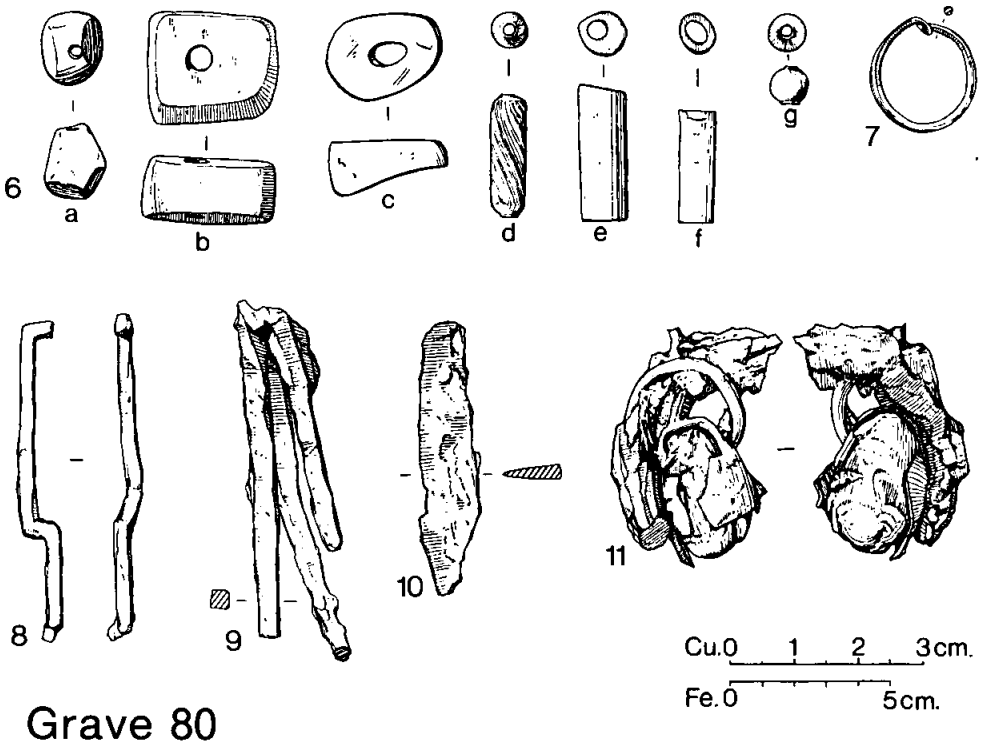




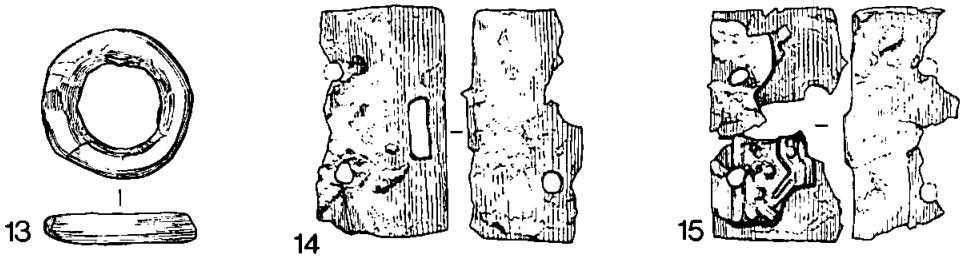


Cu.0 1 2 3cm.
Fe.0 5cm.

Fig 69



Grave 80



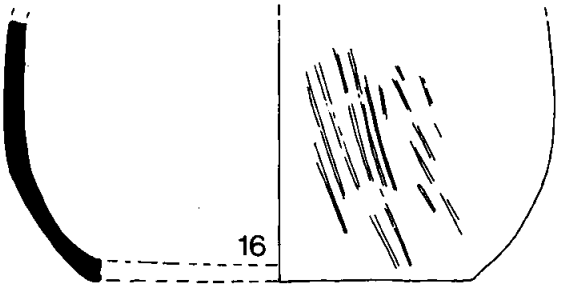
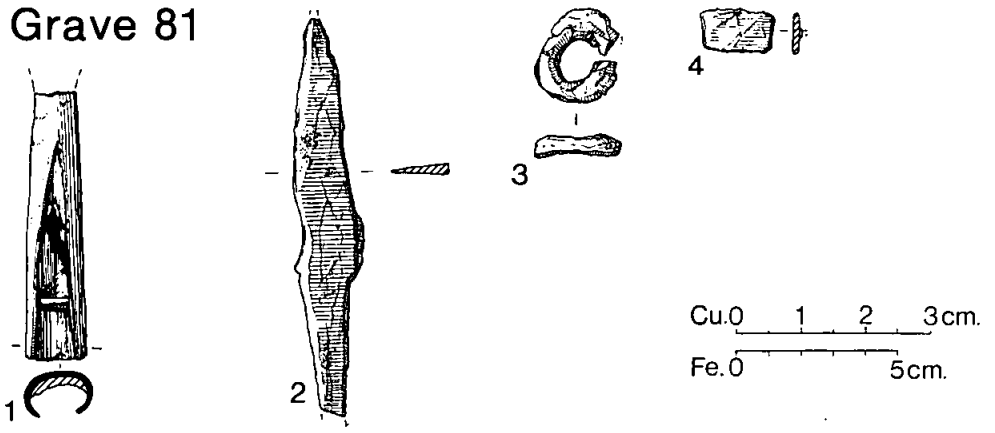


Fig 71



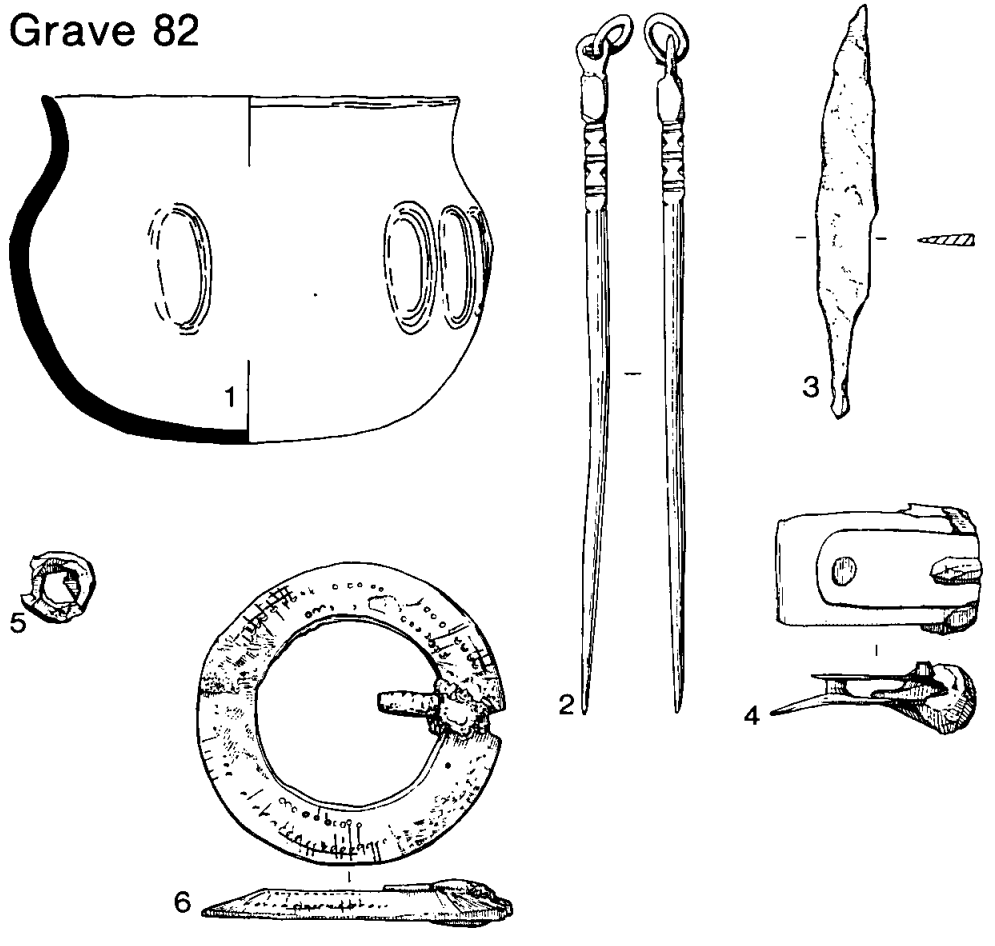
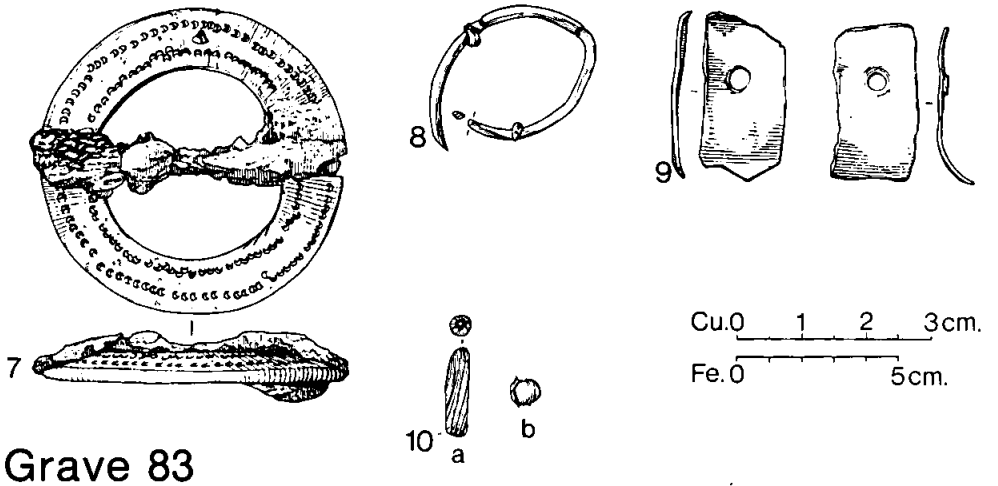


Fig 72



Grave 83

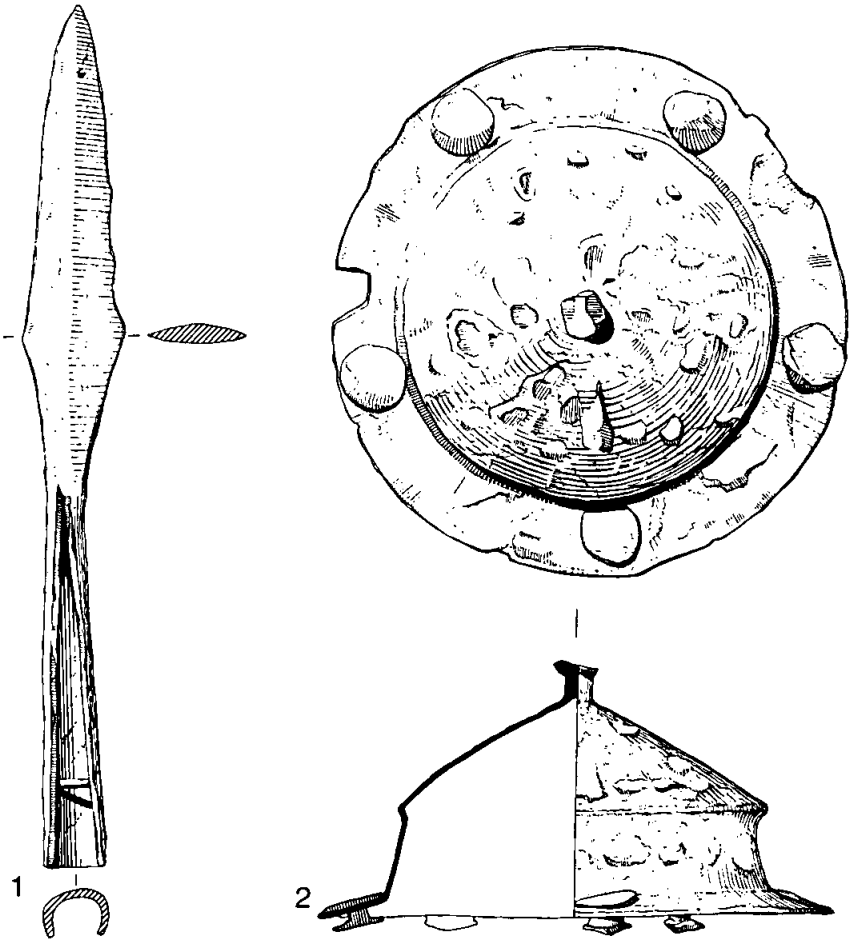
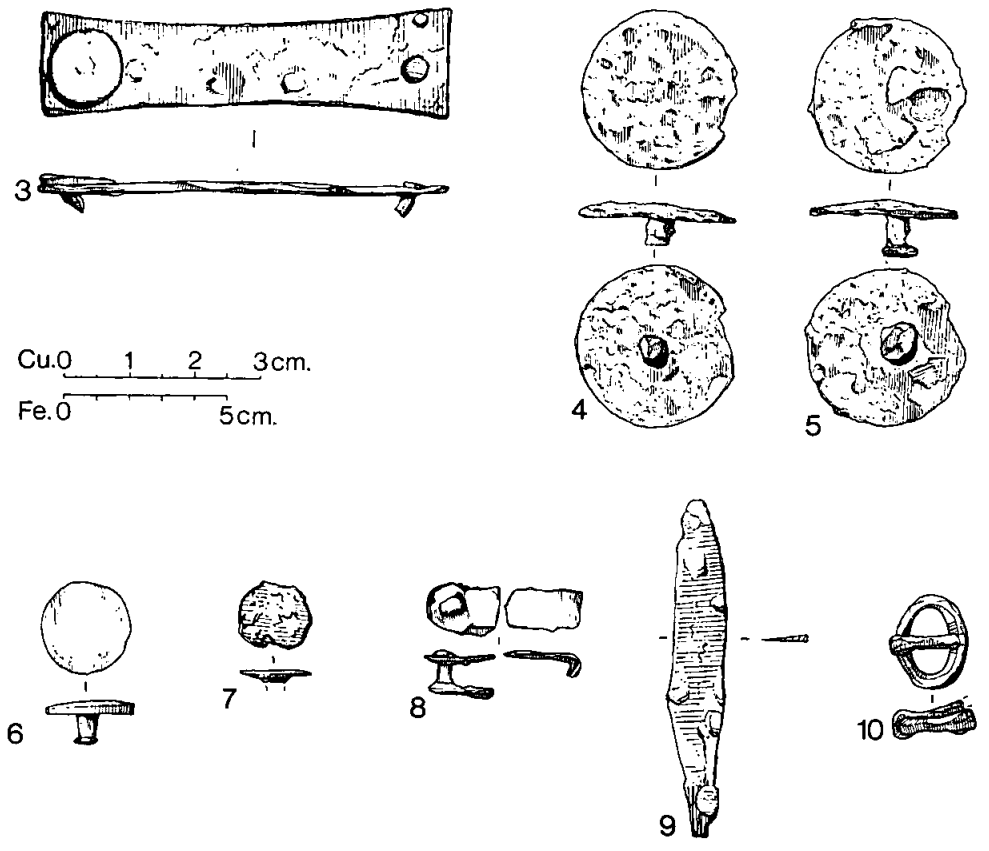


Fig 73



Grave 84

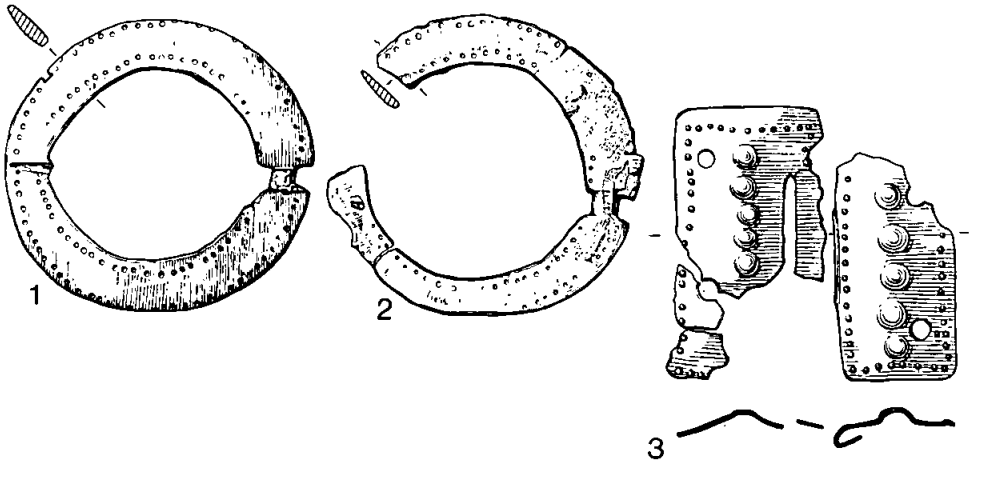
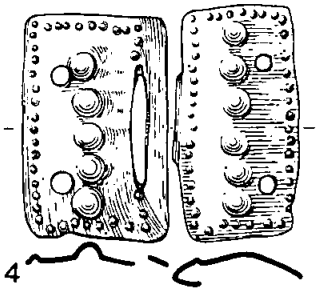
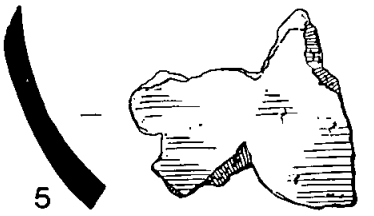
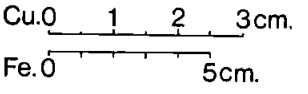
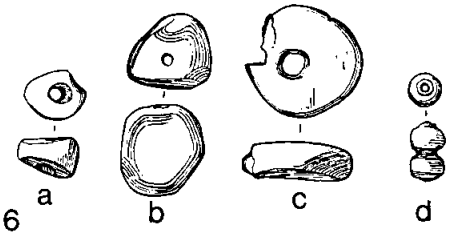


Fig 74









Grave 85

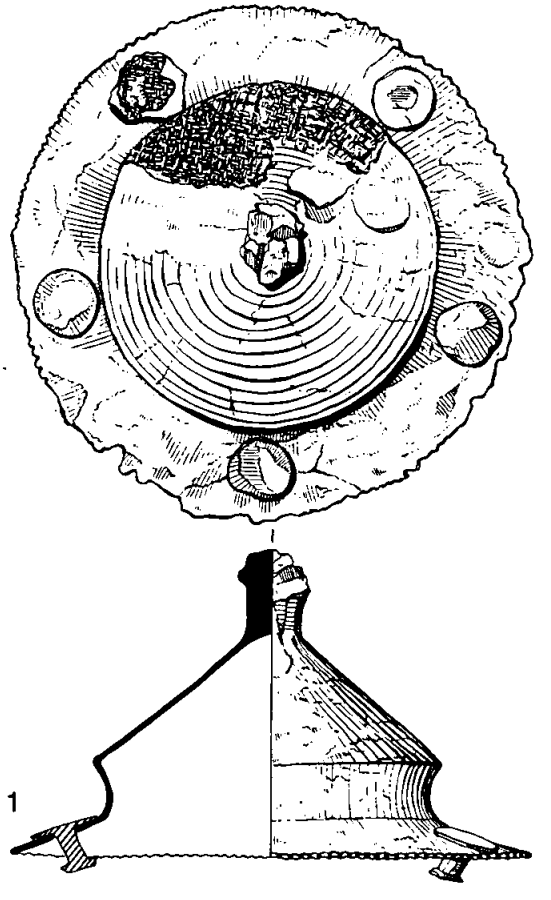


Fig 75

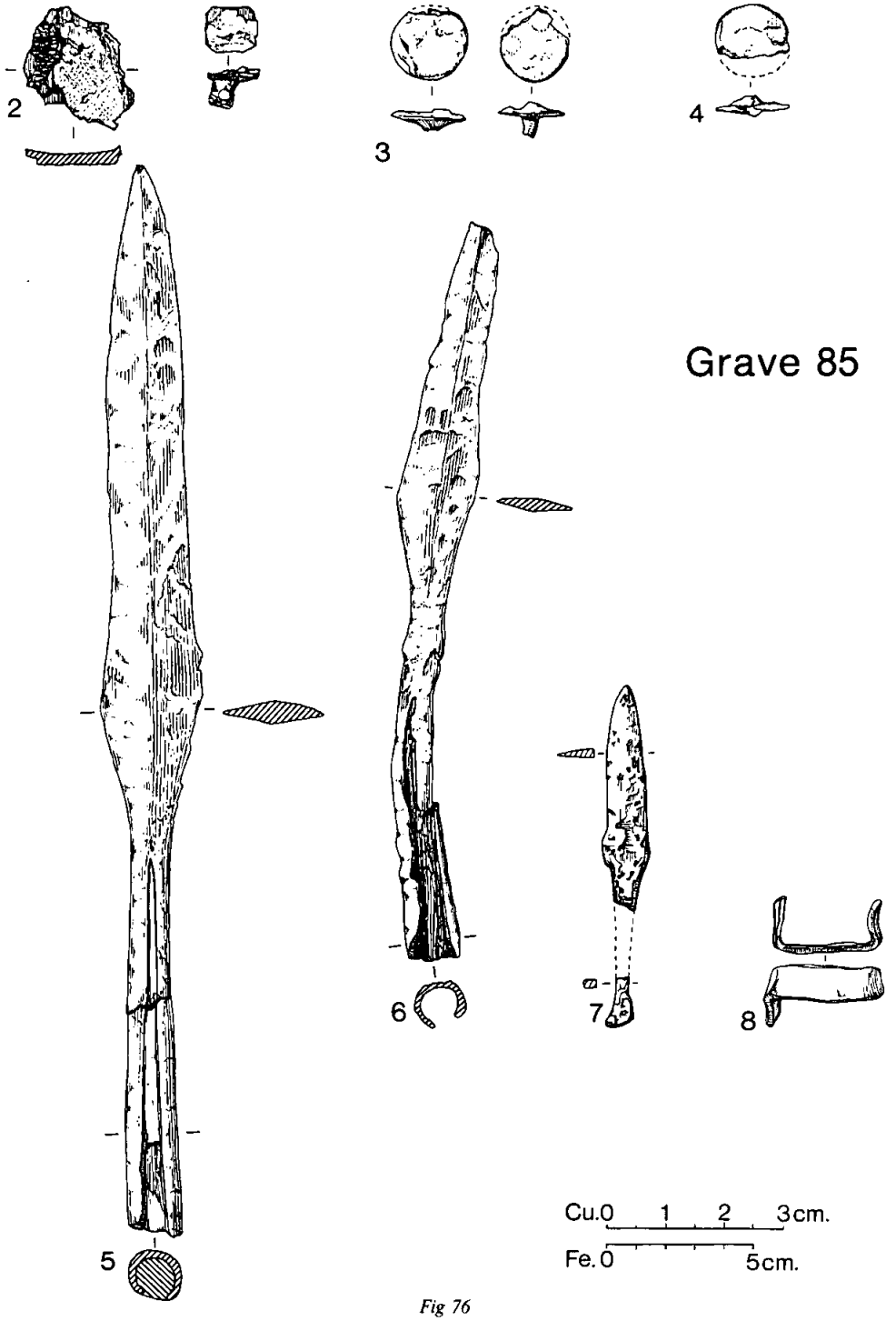


Fig 76

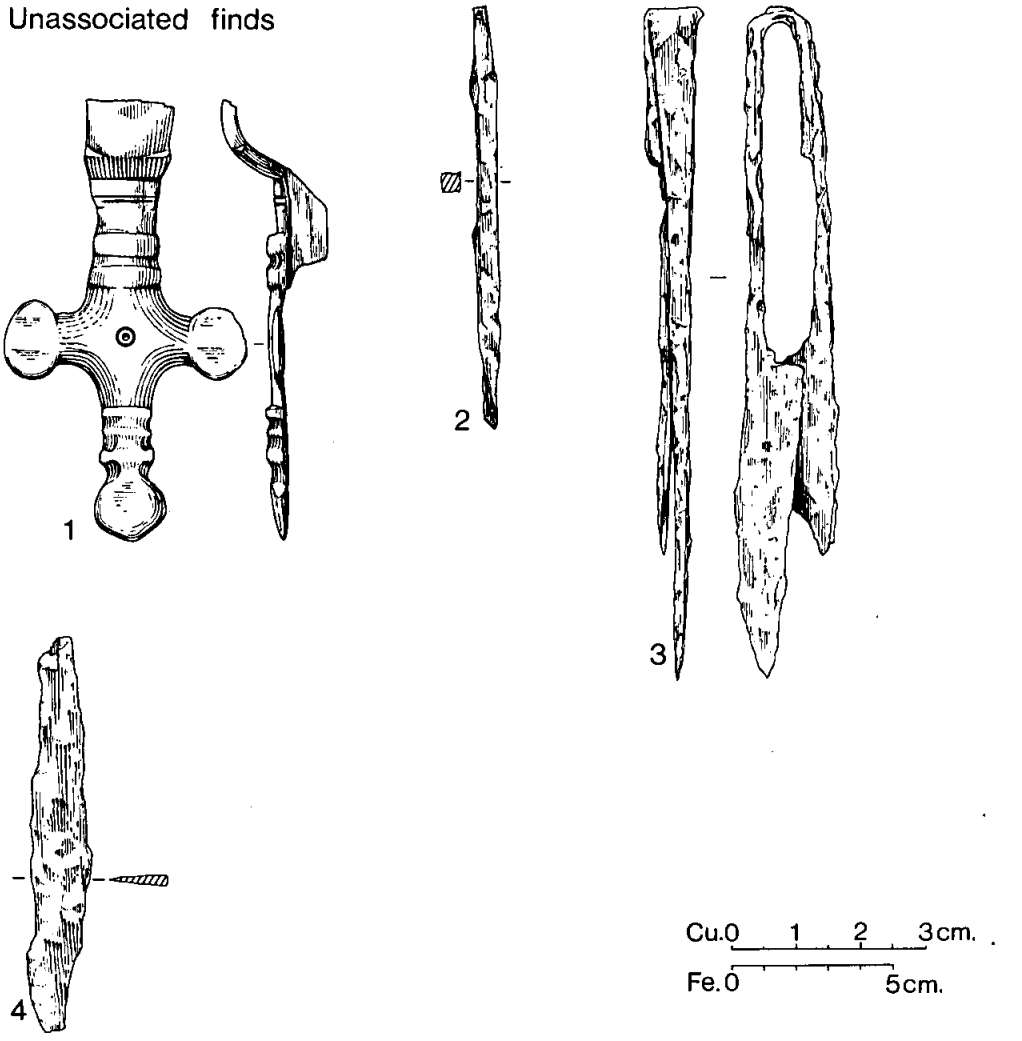


Fig 77

TABLE I OCCURRENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF GRAVE GOODS

			Knives	Spears	Shields	Buckles	Beads	Disc Brooches	Annular Brooches	Penannular Brooches	Swastika Brooches	Cruciform Brooches	Square-headed Brooches	Small-long Brooches	Wrist-clasps	Keys	Girdle-hangers	Tweezers	Ear-scoops	Fe pins	Cu pins	Bone pins	Fe rings	Cu rings	Bone rings	Bone Comb	Au Pendants	Strap-ends	Buckets	Bronze rims	Drinking-horn	Coins	Hone	Flints	Pottery	MISCELLANEOUS
	1	F					X					X			?																				
	2	F						X																											
	3	M	X	X		X																							X						Bronze Mount, ? from bucket.
	4	F					X							X		?							X												
	5	F	X			X	X		X						X						X		X	X					X					X	Beaver incisor; bronze plate fragment.
	6	F?																																X	
	7	?																																	
Triple Burial	8	F					X	X																											5 iron fragments.
	9	J																																	
	10	F					X		X										X									X			X			X	
Double Burial	11	J					X																												
	12	J				X									X																			X	
	13	M	X			X																												X	
	14	J					X																											X	Iron fragments.
	15	F	X					X							X																				
	16	M	X																															X	
Double Burial	17	F	X			X	X		X	X					X	X	X			X			X	X	X	X	X		X					X	Bronze ring bound object, ? brush; organic material.
	18	F	X			X	X		X						?					X							?							X	Iron hook.
	19	I					X																											X	
	20	M		X																														X	
	21	F				X				X					X																			X	
Double Burial	22	M	X		X																														
	23	M		X	X																											X		X	
	24	I				X																												X	
Double Burial	25	F	X			X						X			X	X						X												X	
	26	J																																	
	27	M	X	X	X																												X	X	Iron rod.
	28	F				X			X			X			X							X												

TABLE 1 *Continued*

			Knives	Spears	Shields	Buckles	Beads	Disc Brooches	Annular Brooches	Penannular Brooches	Swastika Brooches	Cruciform Brooches	Square-headed Brooches	Small-long Brooches	Wrist-clasps	Keys	Girdle-hangers	Tweezers	Ear-scoops	Fe pins	Cu pins	Bone pins	Fe rings	Cu rings	Bone rings	Bone Comb	Au Pendants	Strap-ends	Buckets	Bronze rims	Drinking-horn	Coins	Hone	Flints	Pottery	MISCELLANEOUS
	29	I?	X																															X	
	30	F	X					X				X					X			X		X													X	
	31	F					X							X							X														X	Iron and gilt-bronze, ? harness mount.
Double Burial	32	F	X				X		X			X								X															
	33	?																																	4 iron discs.
	34	M	X	X	X	X																							X	X					Iron rod.
	35	?																																	
	36	?																		?														X	
	37	J				X																												X	
	38	F					X		X																									X	Iron fragment; bronze strip.
	39	?																																	
	40	JI	X	X		X																												X	Silver necklet.
Double Burial	41	M	X			X												X	X															X	
	42	F	X				X				X			X	X								X												Iron objects, ? coffin fittings; bronze strip.
Double Burial	43	J																																	
	44	F	X				X				X		X			X	X						X								X				
	45	F				X	X							X	X																				
	46	I																																X	
	47	F					X					X		X									X	X										X	Organic remains.
	48	J	X				X							X	X	X							X				X							X	
	49	F	X			X	X		X						X	?																			Iron fragments.
Double Burial	50	F	X			X	X		X				X		X								X					X	X						Iron fragments.
	51	M	X	X	X	X												X																	X	
Triple Burial	52	M	X																																
	53	F	X			X														X														X	
	54	J																																X	
	55	F?	X																															X	
	56	M	X	X	X	X																													Bronze wire—3 strand cable.

TABLE 1 *Continued*

		Knives	Spears	Shields	Buckles	Beads	Disc Brooches	Annular Brooches	Penannular Brooches	Swastika Brooches	Cruciform Brooches	Square-headed Brooches	Small-long Brooches	Wrist-clasps	Keys	Girdle-hangers	Tweezers	Ear-scoops	Fe pins	Cu pins	Bone pins	Fe rings	Cu rings	Bone rings	Bone Comb	Au Pendants	Strap-ends	Buckets	Bronze rims	Drinking-horn	Coins	Hone	Flints	Pottery	MISCELLANEOUS
57	F									X			X	X					X			X												
58	F	X				X							X						X														X	
59	J?	X			?																												X	
60	F?	X																															X	
61	J?				X	X								X							X		X										X	Bronze sheet fragment; bronze strip; iron fragments.
62					X									X							X					X								Bronze strips.
63	F				X			X												X													X	
64	I?																					X											X	
65	I?																																	
66	?				X																													
67	I?			X																														
68	?																																	
69	F			X	X								X	X							X													
70	F	X				X							X	X	X							X												Bronze fragment, ? slag.
71	F	X			X	X			X				X	X										?										
72	I?																																X	
73	F		X			X		X						X								X												
74	F	X			X	X	X				X		X	X							X	X							X					Iron strip; iron nail; iron fragments.
75	J				X																	X												Bronze strip.
76	J	X			X																													
77	M	X	X																															
78	F					X			X					X					X														X	Gold ring, bronze disc.
79	M	X	X	X	X																													
80	F	X						X				X		X	X							X	X		X								X	Iron rod fragments, organic material ? wood.
81	M	X	X		X																													
82	F	X			X	X		X											X			X											X	Bronze strips.
83	M	X	X	X	X																													
84	F					X		X						X																			X	
85	M	X	X	X																														Bronze strip.
U/A			X		X						X																							Shears, iron rod.

OBJECTS COMMON TO BOTH SEXES

KNIVES

List of occurrences

Graves Male: 3, 13, 16, 22, 34, 40, 41, 53, 56, 67, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85.
Female: 5, 8, 15, 17, 18, 25, 30, 32, 42, 44, 48.
Juvenile: 49, 50, (51), 55, 58, 60, 70, 71, 74, 80, 82.
Indeterminate juveniles: 29, 59. Unassociated: No 4. 41 examples.

Four different varieties of knife are represented at Wakerley, conforming to common Anglo-Saxon types. Three of these (A, B, C) fall into the classification used by Böhner (1958, 214–15) which for the sake of uniformity has been adopted here. D, however, is a type not found in Böhner. Knives from graves 30, 40 and 44 are too fragmentary or corroded for positive identification.

Böhner A Straight back with sharply curved tip symmetrical with edge.
3, 15, 16, 18, 25, 29, 32, 40, 49, 50, 59

Böhner B Straight back and edge, forming upward curving tip.
8?, 13, 22, 34, 41, 42, 48, 55, 56, 70, 77, 79, 82
18, 51 and 76 are fragmentary but enough of the back remains for them to be classified as either *A* or *B*.

Böhner C Angled back and straight edge forming sharply pointed tip.
58, 67, 71, 74, 80, 83, 85

D Curved back and edge meeting at tip.
5, 17, 23, 52, 60, unassociated No 4.

Several of the graves with knives have reliable datable associations, but no definite conclusions can be sought from these associations—both early and late 6th-century contexts have been given for all types of knife. It would seem that usage, rather than any chronological developments in shape, determined the Wakerley knife shapes in general. For a brief discussion of knife types see Evison (1963–4, 29). The grooved knife from grave 42 (FIG 41), however, is open to further discussion. By comparison with a large straight-backed knife, also grooved, from Portsdown, Hants (grave 3), it is possible to see a development usually associated with later, ie Christian period, knives and seaxes. Grooves, whether plain or inlaid, are unusual in the pagan period, and the Portsdown knife was given a possible 7th-century date (Evison 1967, 15–16). The Wakerley knife could well be the latest in the series. It was associated with a patched and worn florid cruciform brooch (see below, pp 149–50), indicating a very late 6th-century burial, so that an even later deposition, while perhaps unlikely, should not be ruled out. (The Portsdown knife was forged from two pieces of metal welded together to produce a steel cutting edge. X-rays of the Wakerley knife show a single forging.)

The remains of wooden handles were identified on several tangs, and the knife from grave 59 indicated the former presence of a wooden (?) sheath bound at the opening with a bronze strip. No differences in type were found to distinguish male from female graves—all occurred in both.

BUCKLES

List of occurrences

Graves 3, 5, 12, 13, 17 (2 exs), 18, 21, 25, 27, 28, 34, 37, 40 (attachment plate only), 41, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 61, 62, 63, (not extant), 67, 69, 71, 76, 79, 81, 82, 83, unassociated No 5.
34 examples.

Of these, 10 were male, 17 female, 5 juvenile and 1 unassociated. Most of the buckles were of the oval iron variety, and there was no distinction between buckles worn by men and women.

The finest Wakerley buckle is the tinned bronze example from the juvenile in grave 12 (FIG 13). It is complete and is of a quality met with in the richest Kentish cemeteries like Sarre and Bifrons.

Thirteen of the buckles were found together with remains of attachment plates—four of bronze, the rest iron. These were undecorated and consisted of thin metal plates bent over the buckle loop and riveted together.

Buckles are not particularly common in Midlands-cemeteries (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 354) and the number from Wakerley, compared with Market Overton or North Luffenham nearby, is comparatively high. The oval type is typically Saxon and has a wide distribution and date range. No independent dating has been attempted for this series since similar examples from Mitcham, Surrey (Baldwin Brown 1915, pl LXXV) and from Faversham, Kent (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 347), have been noted in late 5th- to 7th-century contexts.

STRAP ENDS

List of occurrences

Graves 10, 17, 18, 48, 62, 71, 75 (?), 82 (?). Eight examples, all (?) females.

Most strap-ends were accompanied by buckles and all were found near the hip or thighs, suggesting that they formed the ends of belts. Four of these bronze tags are of the two-plate type with only the outer plate showing any decorative design. In the case of grave 62, the design is stamped, while a grooved decoration appears on that from grave 17, nearer to the types illustrated by Baldwin Brown from Kent (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 358; pl LXXVI). The tag from grave 48 was fixed by rivets and has a single sheet with repoussé dot decoration. An undecorated example of the single sheet type comes from grave 71. The bronze strips from graves 75 and 82 have the rough dimensions of straps and fragments, but they are twisted out of shape and could have been binding strips.

Similar strap-ends come, for example, from Empingham II (grave 63), one plate edged with stamped circles (32mm × 15mm) (in Oakham Museum); and Nassington (graves 2 and 33), examples of the plain variety (Leeds 1944, 104 and 110). The comparative rarity of belt tags from Wakerley and other local sites is not unexpected and has been noted in other areas, for example Åberg (1926, 131) discussing Kentish material where as from Sarre) the occasional decorated tag can be dated stylistically. Their continued use throughout the 6th century and beyond precludes a more specific chronology.

MALE OBJECTS

SPEARHEADS

LIST OF OCCURRENCES

Graves 3, 20, 22, 27, 34, 40, 51, 52 (3 exs), 56, 73, 77, 79, 81 (socket only), 83, 85 (2 exs)

18 examples.

All spearhead classifications are based on M J Swanton's typology referred to as Swanton 1973 (Classification) and Swanton 1974 (Catalogue).

With the exception of grave 20(1), all the Wakerley spearheads are angular in form.

Grave 20(1) has a leaf-shaped blade, and is also the only spearhead without a split socket. This, Swanton's type *C1* has a wide-spread distribution (Swanton 1973, fig 10), whether with welded sockets or, as in this example, where the socket is crudely burred over near to the blade.

Grave 22(9) falls into Swanton group E3, ie a long, tapering blade with the angle near the socket junction. The group is widely distributed and became popular during the 6th century and beyond (Swanton 1973, fig 28).

Type E1, ie small, straight-sided sharply pointed blades taking up half or more of the total length—grave 52(1). Although an early type in the main, 6th-century contexts do exist and the spear is found distributed across the midland counties (Swanton 1973, 19, fig 24).

Type F1, ie with obtuse blade angle on a long socket producing an overall length varying from 18–25 cm (Swanton 1973, 91, fig 31)—graves 3(3) and 34(9), 40(2), 52(3), 73(1). Although 52(3) was badly corroded, one edge of the blade is quite definitely concave and Swanton's classification is further confirmed by the length of socket, which is complete, and the lozenge-shaped blade.

The commonest single type of spearhead from Wakerley is Swanton's type H2—graves 27(1), 34(8), 56(2), 77(1), 83(1), 85(5 and 6), ie with slender, concave blade, long in proportion to the socket, with a sharply defined tip. A widespread distribution shows concentrations across the Midlands and into East Anglia, with the maximum popularity in the late 5th and 6th centuries, declining in numbers after the mid-point of the century (Swanton 1973), 107–09, fig 40).

The spearheads from graves 51(4), 52(2), and 79(1) are distinctly stepped and fall into Swanton's type L, ie an angular blade with a slight concavity, corresponding in length to type H2. Although no very early or very late contexts are known, dating and distribution follow the H series (Swanton 1973, 137, fig 54). The two other spearheads also recovered from grave 52, discussed above, emphasise that burial could not have taken place after *c* 550. 51(4) and 79(1)—the largest found in the cemetery—were both associated with low, flat carinated shield bosses; 51 a straight cone; 79 with curved one. Both bodies, however, could have been deposited within a short time of each other, and a mid-century date is quite feasible.

One important inference can be made from the material discussed above, namely that no spearhead from Wakerley can with certainty be dated much beyond the mid-point of the 6th century.

The spearhead in grave 73(1) is likely to have been an intrusion from a male burial.

Length of Spears

Heinrich Härke has kindly contributed the following calculations, inferred from the distances measured between spearhead socket and the foot of the grave. Results from these figures will obviously be approximate and open to the same vagueness as the assessment of shield diameters (see below).

Grave	*Type*	*Maximum length of shaft*
3		1.6m
20		1.78m
27		1.02m
34		1.45m*
51		1.15m
52	C/E1	1.29m
	L	0.84m
	F1	0.79m
56		0.79m
73(?)		1.02m*
77		1.24m*
79		1.40m*
83		1.30m*

* assuming displacement

Shaft lengths of between 1.40m and 1.80m are normal and one can assume that the shorter spears were broken when deposited in the grave. Almost all the spear burials were of younger men aged between 17 and 25 (4 examples), with one older man buried (doubtfully) with spear socket only. In contrast, most of the shield burials were of men aged 25–35 (6 examples compared to 3 aged below 25 of which one was disturbed). These statistics are insufficient for definite conclusions to be drawn, but the possibility remains that shields were the privilege of older men.

SHIELDS

List of occurrences

Graves 22, 23, 27, 33, 51, 56, 79, 83, 85 (33, 56—evidence from shield discs and grip only).

8 bosses, 10 shields in total.

The bosses all belong to low cone varieties, defined by Prof Evison (1963, 40; fig 1). The earlier 6th-century type with an emphasised carination and straight-sided cone comes from graves 23, 27, 51 and 85. These could possibly be the oldest in the cemetery since they have wide flanges and the widest diameters in the series, and where the boss points are well enough preserved, they terminate in disc-headed buttons. Where the grips of the four bosses survive (ie grave 23 and 27) they are of the earlier form with expanded terminals (ibid). (An extra piece of iron from grave 23 has curved edges suggesting that it fitted over the grip to add thickness) The type occurs locally at Thorpe Malsor, Northants (Kettering Museum accession no 43/8; now in Northampton Museum) and at Glaston, Rutland (grave 7) (Leeds and Barber 1950, 187).

Low, flat bosses with convex domes, carinations and wide flanges were found in graves 22, 79 and 83. Dateable contexts for these graves are insufficiently precise to make distinctions in date between bosses with straight or curved

domes alone, and the double grave 22–23 contained one of each type. A boss with convex dome came from the North Luffenham cemetery (Crowther-Beynon 1904, 90; pls I and II). The boss from grave 34 had a less emphasised carination but was too fragmentary for further analysis, except that the flange was not appreciably narrower than the others and there may well be no difference in date. The grips from 79 and 83 also showed expanded terminals.

The most unusual boss of all came from grave 85 and it has a serrated flange (FIG 75 and PLS 4 and 5). There is very little doubt about this, since the serrations are not only evenly spaced but faint file marks can be discerned at points along the edge. Such an embellishment is very rare in England, although Viking examples are known. A boss of this type from Willoughby, Notts (information kindly supplied by Mr F Gardiner) appears to have similar, if less well-marked, serrations. The boss came from grave 117, Broughton Lodge, Willoughby, and was very fragmentary, so much so that it was not possible to say whether the cone was straight-sided or curved. The nicking on one flange fragment does seem to be regularly spaced, although this may be a coincidence. John Yonge Akerman (1860, 341) describing the finds from grave 45 Long Wittenham in 1859, wrote: 'Man. Head to the west. An umbo above the right knee; the edge of the umbo serrated. The point of the boss appeared to have been tinned as were two detached studs. A buckle and knife complete the grave furniture.' No Roman precedents are recorded and it must be assumed that the filing was a spontaneous attempt at embellishment on the part of the smith.

A single spatulate-ended grip and disc-headed rivets attest the former presence of a shield in grave 56. This type of rivet was also seen on the bosses from graves 22, 23, 27, 34, 51, 83 and 85, while 79 had dome-headed rivets which, together with its curved grip, hint at a slightly later date (Evison 1963, 39). Where they survive, the lengths of rivet shanks from all bosses suggest an average shield thickness of just over 10mm, with those from graves 22 and 34 at 15mm and 19mm respectively. The slender testimony of one rivet shank—that from grave 27—where wood fibres appear to run in two directions, suggests that this particular shield was laminated, ie constructed like modern plywood. Heinrich Härke's note in *Medieval Archaeol*, 25 (1981), 141, 'Anglo-Saxon Laminated Shields at Petersfinger—A Myth,' has however thrown doubt on the question of lamination in Anglo-Saxon contexts. He suggests that when wood fragments such as those found at Petersfinger, Wilts (grave 20) (Leeds and Shortt 1953) are seen with grains running in different directions, this is due to extra pieces of wood being placed around the grip rivets to compensate for the curve of the shield. This is a plausible suggestion, but the ability of Anglo-Saxon carpenters to produce thin wood sections is still easily demonstrated from the same fragments. Lamination is but one further step in skilful carpentry.

The rivets from grave 34, both on the flange and from the shield, were tinned or silvered. Similar rivets are noted from Cottesmore, Rutland (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 199) and elsewhere, especially in Kent. The larger rivets from the grave had been fixed in triangular groups around the boss and were evidently decorative, since they were not associated with any other object apart from the shield. Additional large rivets also came from graves 22, 23, 51, 56, 79, 83 and 85. These were all too wide to have fitted on to a boss flange and had apparently been attached in pairs forming a line with the boss. Although these could have formed part of the fixture for leather straps, as on the Sutton Hoo shield, there is no further evidence to support this, and the suggestion in Leeds and Shortt that they were 'probably ornamental' seems to be correct (Leeds and Shortt 1953, 37–40; cf Kennett 1974, figs 1 and 2). (But see Werner (1962, 161) for the suggestion of rank markings. He also shows a distribution map: *ibid*, Taf 68.1). Neither the plated rivets nor the positioning of the larger iron rivets are confined to the East Midlands or to any narrow dating sequence.

The Size of the Shields

No metal identifiable as binding strips for shields was found in the graves and shield sizes cannot be calculated as has been done at Sutton Hoo and elsewhere. A rough estimate is however possible, based on the position of groups of decorative discs around the boss. This gives a minimum diameter, and the maximum diameter can then be measured from the centre of the boss to the edge of the grave.

Grave 22 180mm/190mm, minimum diameter = 366mm
nearest distance, = 342mm
maximum diameter = 684mm.

23 162mm/180mm, minimum diameter = 324mm
nearest distance throughout = 360mm
maximum diameter = 720mm.

27 2 × 144mm/126mm = 252mm minimum
nearest distance = 288mm
maximum diameter = 576mm.

34 198mm/108mm = 216mm minimum
nearest distance = 288mm
maximum diameter = 576mm.

51 2 × 162mm/180mm = 324mm minimum
nearest distance = 360mm
maximum diameter = 720mm.

79 (on edge).

83 2 × 162mm/144mm/180mm = 288mm
minimum
nearest distance = 252mm
maximum diameter = 504mm.

85 144mm/108mm = 216mm minimum
nearest distance = 282mm
maximum diameter = 576mm.

Average Diameters

Grave 22 522mm
23 522mm
27 414mm
34 396mm
51 522mm
83 396mm
85 396mm

Shield Grips by Heinrich Härke

The grips on four of the Wakerley shields have been categorised according to the typology outlined in Härke (1981, 141). He infers the construction of wooden handles placed on to the iron grips:

Gr 23 Handle type C1?
Gr 27 Handle type C1
Gr 79 Handle type C2
Gr 85 Handle type C1 variant

As part of his further research into Anglo-Saxon shields Härke has calculated the average thickness of the Wakerley shields, taken from the length of the shanks on flange rivets and board studs; viz. between 5–7mm, being fairly typical of early Saxon shields. The longer shanks of the board studs may be explained by the presence of a leather covering.

SHEARS

Unassociated: 3

The only pair of shears came from the disturbed area of grave 23 (FIG 24). It is of the normal Anglo-Saxon type, ie forged from a single strip of iron and curved so that the blades can be brought together for cutting. Saxon shears are usually some 200mm long although miniature examples are common in cremation burials (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, 391, pl. LXXXVII:3:6:7:8). Although they occur widely throughout the pagan period they are not found in large numbers in any particular cemetery in the East Midlands. One fragmentary pair, for instance, came from the Glaston site (in Oakham Museum—OS 67), while another pair (length 7½", 189mm) came from the north cemetery (No 1), Market Overton (Crowther Beynon 1909–10, 165). Meaney (1964, 216) lists one from Luton II, Dallow Road. It is difficult to suggest the significance of an object which appears so haphazardly.

WORKED STONE

List of occurrences

Graves 23, 27

Two graves produced worked stone used as tools. The *hone* (grave 23—male, FIG 24) was plain and had obviously been used. It resembles hones found in later Saxon urban contexts, such as Thetford (in Norwich Castle Museum) or Hamwih (Southampton) (in Southampton Museum).

Hones do occur from time to time in Saxon graves. They were obviously produced as such and transported over considerable distances into non-sandstone areas. Meaney (1964, 242) quotes a hone from Guildown, Guildford, Surrey; see also Evison (1975, 70) for a general discussion.

Polished flint hand-axe and chipping

(grave 27—male, FIG 28).

The hand-axe is finely polished, although the blunt end is quite badly chipped. It can be paralleled from many sites in Britain. There is no evidence that the Anglo-Saxons worked flint; it must therefore be inferred that the axe came from a nearby Neolithic site and that, from its position in the grave, it was for some reason put in with the body and the other grave goods.

Likewise the flint chipping, which appears to have been produced from a worked article, was almost certainly not produced by the Saxon community, but came from a prehistoric site. Worked flints do occur occasionally elsewhere but again not in sufficient quantity to suggest contemporaneous manufacture. Inhumation 6, The Paddocks, Swaffham, produced a worked flint—the only one from the graves available for excavation, in a 6th-century cemetery (Hills and Wade-Martins 1976).

FEMALE OBJECTS

DISC AND APPLIED SAUCER BROOCHES

List of occurrences

Graves 8, 42 (pair) and 74.
4 examples. All females.

Grave 8 contains the back-plate of an applied disc brooch; this grave is poorly equipped and only a vague mid-6th century date can be given to the burial from 10(1), a bronze annular brooch.

Although in poor condition, the pair of applied brooches (grave 42, FIGS 39 and 40) fall into a recognisable type, ie with stud surrounded by a spoked centre-piece zone of apparently Style I animals, and outer zone of rays. A late 6th-century date for the brooch, as suggested by Åberg for the type as a whole, (Åberg 1926, 20–3; figs 13–15 and 25) is confirmed by the associated type V, florid cruciform (see below, pp 149–50) both items from a fairly rich grave. Applied brooches are a Saxon type, developed in England, with an easterly distribution (Leeds 1945, 72–6; fig 40). A similar brooch to that from grave 42, without a stud, is illustrated by Baldwin Brown from Duston, Northants, in Northampton Museum (Baldwin Brown 1915 Vol III, pl XLVII : 2). Studded examples are displayed in Oakham Museum from Market Overton (*VCH Rutland*, frontispiece 6); and from Nassington, Northants (grave 5) comes a pair, diameter 64mm, very similar to the Wakerley set (Leeds 1944, 105; pl XXIII : a).

The single brooch from grave 74 (FIG 65) has a saucer-shaped base plate, unlike the flat plates from grave 42. A non-studded type, the central zone, outer zoomorphic zone and beaded edge are very reminiscent of the Duston brooch quoted above. Like the grave 42 brooches, this one is associated with a florid cruciform, giving a late 6th-century horizon (see pp 149–50). Indeed, the objects in both graves were considerably worn and patched before burial, and both are among the very latest in the cemetery.

OPENWORK SWASTIKA BROOCHES

List of occurrrences

Graves 30 (pair), 44 (pair), 57 and 78 (pair).
7 examples. Females.

Disc-shaped brooches with a central openwork swastika motif were found in poorly equipped graves. They were worn at each shoulder, although only grave 44 provided a matching set. There was only one brooch in grave 57 and a small-long brooch on the corresponding right shoulder.

The appearance of this small set of brooches confirms the statement made by E T Leeds in 1945 that this series—he total 39 on his distribution map—is a short-lived type with a preponderant occurrence in the East Midlands concentrated along the headwaters of the Witham and Welland (Leeds 1945, 52–3; fig 31).

The best dateable association for those from Wakerley comes from grave 44—an imported square-headed brooch of Thuringian type dated by Dr Vierk to the first half of the 6th century rather than the second (see page 152). As goods from the other graves do not provide reliable dating

comparisons, further associations must be sought from cemeteries other than Wakerley. From grave 9 Glaston, Rutland comes a swastika brooch (diameter 46mm) and a cruciform brooch of Åberg Group IVa, with lappets (Leeds and Barber 1950, pl XXVIa), a little later in date than the group IVb example found with a pair of swastika brooches in grave 116 at Little Wilbraham, Cambs (Leeds 1945, 52). Leeds dates this 'moderately early example' *c*550–600) and quotes a further association with a Group IVa brooch from Kettering, Northants (Leeds and Barber 1950, 189). Allowing for a possible time-lag for the imported brooch from Wakerley grave 44, a dating sequence for the type would be from a little before *c*550 coming to an end before 600.

ANNULAR BROOCHES

List of occurrences

Graves 2, 5, 10, 15, 17, 18, 28, 32 (single), 38, 49, 50 (unmatched pair), 63, 73, 80, 82, 84.

31 examples. Females.

All brooches were found at the shoulders or in disturbed contexts where this placing could safely be assumed. The pair from grave 38 was of iron, the rest bronze.

This type of brooch is widespread but is most common in Anglian areas (Leeds 1945, 46–9; fig 29; Appendix 106). The two square-headed brooches of Leeds type A3 give a pre–mid-century deposition for Wakerley graves 50 and 80, while a Group III cruciform brooch from grave 28 and a Group IV example from grave 32 could not have been produced much, if at all, after that time.

Local examples come from Empingham II, Rutland (in Leicester Museum); Market Overton, Rutland (Crowther-Beynon 1911, 186); Desborough, Northants (in the British Museum) and North Luffenham, Rutland (Crowther-Beynon 1904, 152).

The cast bronze ring with knobbed decoration from grave 17 (item 15, FIG 17) could perhaps be considered at this point as it has the appearance of an annular brooch. However, no trace of a pin was observed and a more likely possibility, given that the ring was found in the waist area, is that it formed the attachment for girdle hangers and keys (Baldwin-Brown 1915, IV, pl LXXXVIII:2). Similar knobbed or beaded rings have come from Market Overton (diameter 57mm), in Oakham Museum.

PENANNULAR BROOCHES

List of occurrences

Graves 17, 21 (pair), 71

4 examples. Females.

This is a non-Anglo-Saxon brooch type. 17(10) and 71(7) were both found in the waist or upper thigh area, which suggests use as a belt fastening, while the pair from grave 21 had been laid at each shoulder in the normal placing for Anglo-Saxon women. The single penannular from grave 17 (FIG 16) is flat in section, decorated very simply with nicks cut into the metal, and has crude burred-over terminals, while the others are round in section and 71(7) is hollow—an unusual feature (FIG 63). Other examples of these debased penannular brooches in Anglo-Saxon contexts are listed by Elizabeth Fowler (1963, Appendix 6, 146) with parallels from Bidford-on-Avon, Warks and Sleaford, Lincs (*ibid*, fig 6 : 3 and 8). The pair of brooches is round in section and has knobbed, grooved ends seen also on a brooch from Quarrington, Lincs (*ibid*, Appendix 6). Almost entirely found in Anglian contexts (Leeds 1945, 44; distribution map, fig 28), these brooches occur both early and late and it is sometimes difficult to identify Roman or post-Roman heirlooms from those of Anglo-Saxon manufacture. None of the Wakerley brooches is particularly worn and a near-contemporary production seems likely.

Penannular brooches came from local cemeteries at Empingham II, Rutland, (grave 89) in Oakham Museum, Duston, Northants (Meaney 1964, 189), of Fowler type C (Fowler 1963, Appendix 6), and Nassington, Northants (Leeds 1944, 106–12; pl XXIII C). In a settlement so overwhelmingly Anglian in culture, these Celtic style objects should be considered simply as intrusive elements. Their contexts suggest that they were being produced, or at any rate worn, by Anglian women, together with jewellery of poor quality but Anglian style. Any British influence upon the community could only have been indirect—perhaps due to intermarriage, with a gap of several generations from the pre-settlement period.

CRUCIFORM BROOCHES

The classification of the Wakerley cruciform brooches is based on N Åberg's typology (Åberg 1926, 28–61).

List of types represented

II — graves 1 (3 examples) and 25 (2 examples)
III — grave 28
IV — grave 32
V — graves 42 and 74. (Further divided into Leeds florid types Vj and Vf).

9 examples. Females.

The women in these graves tended to wear the plainer cruciforms foot uppermost, whereas both florid examples were worn head uppermost on the chest, serving as a tunic fastening perhaps, rather than (as in grave 25) part of a necklace.

Group II brooches (ie with half-round knobs, animal head with half-round nostrils and without lappets). At the latest, these objects could not have been produced after the half century, and were probably made *c*520–40 since they are not the most degenerate in the series. The type is also found at Islip, Northants (Leeds 1941, 234), Rothley Temple and Saxby, Leics (in Leicester Museum), Sleaford, Lincs (in the British Museum) and North Luffenham, Rutland (Crowther-Beynon 1904, pl V : 15). 25(1) is unique amongst the Wakerley brooches in that the foot lobes end in a pierced projection. Although rare, this feature occurs on brooches from other Anglian sites, eg Mildenhall, Suffolk (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 267–8; pl XLI : 7).

Group III brooches (ie with half-round knobs, animal heads with scroll-shaped nostrils and no lappets). These appear at roughly the same time as the brooches of Group II but survived a little longer. The Wakerley example belongs to the developed stage—the nostrils are flattened and exaggerated, while the tongue shows signs of the later shovel-shaped excrescences which mark the end of the series. A date not much beyond the mid-6th century appears reasonable in this case. Similar brooches were

found near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk (Åberg 1926, fig 66 : 8), Lakenheath, Suffolk (in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge), with a fragmentary example from Rothwell, Northants (also in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge).

The Group IV brooches (ie as group III, with lappets below the bow). 32(1) is one of a widespread series, a debased copy in fact, of a fine brooch from Londesborough, Yorks (Åberg 1926, fig 76). In date it is the latest so far discussed from Wakerley. The lappet type developed before 550, and this brooch is a somewhat debased form of that development. Other instances are recorded from Glaston (grave 2) (Leeds and Barber 1950, 185; pl XXVI), Islip, with a replaced foot from a group II brooch, (Leeds 1941, pl I) and Brixworth, Northants (Åberg 1926, tab 1). See also Kennett (1947b, 20–37). 47(3) is now missing.

Group V. Latest in the cruciform series are the two florid brooches, of which the Leeds Vj (Leeds and Pocock 1971, 20 and 33; pl III D and E) brooch 42(4) is the more interesting. The Wakerley brooch is the only complete example of the type to have emerged so far, and it is now possible to complete Leeds' tentative description:

> *Headplate with large knobs showing created eagle heads with tinned or silvered transverse strips behind the masks, similar to type V(i) but without barred decoration:* 'zoomorphically decorated panels above and below bow; large rectangular lappets with pair of eyes and nose in 'basso-relievo'; animal head with triangular nose; large triangular appendage, panel filled with zoomorphic design ... flanked by misunderstood upturned eagle heads' (Leeds and Pocock 1971, 20).

From Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts, Brixworth, Northants and Saltburn, Yorks come crudely cast or fragmentary examples, but the example without knobs from Baginton, Warks (*ibid,* pl III E) is remarkably close to the Wakerley find. Leeds misjudged the size of the knobs, which surely must once have been identical on the Baginton brooch, but his assumption that the foot appendages were bungled is emphasised at Wakerley where most undecorated projections survive. The ragged edges of the knobs suggests that they were originally one with the headplate, but the rivet holes and covering strips may be original so that separate castings are a distinct possibility. Certainly the headplate edges are well finished off. Equally the animal face mask fits badly with the panel above and the terminal below. Indeed. were it not for the almost exact, if incomplete, parallel from Baginton it could be inferred that the brooch was put together from scraps. The workmanship is, however, consistently good.

The hastily repaired brooch from grave 74 (FIG 65) was more obviously old when buried. It is a simplified, although not necessarily a debased, version of the only brooch in this category identified by Leeds (type Vf), coming from West Stow, Suffolk (*ibid,* 18, pl II E). The latter is in good condition and has retained its knobs unbroken, showing that they were cast in one with the headplate. Obvious restoration to the Wakerley piece is seen in the fact that the knobs have been riveted over the original stamped decoration. It is likely that the Wakerley brooch ante-dates the West Stow piece, since the knobs of the latter have fused into an elaborate trefoil design, unlike Wakerley, where each is separate from the other.

Neither of the Wakerley florid types is particularly late in its respective series, and a late 6th-century manufacture is possible. The deposition of grave 74, however, could well have taken place several years after this.

SMALL-LONG BROOCHES

These brooches have been sub-divided into the types described by E T Leeds (1945, 8–44).

Cross potent: grave 4 (pair), 47, 70 (pair), 71 (pair).

Cross pattee derivatives: graves 45, 57, 58, 74.

Square-headed: graves 31 (pair), 48 (pair).

Trefoil: graves 45, 47.

16 examples, all found on or near the shoulders of women.

The more elaborate brooches from graves 70, 71 have been distingushed from the foregoing cruciform types by their smaller size—some 70 or 80mm in length.

Cross potent brooches are usually crudely made and the Wakerley examples are no exception (Leeds 1945, 14; fig 9). Grave 4(2) (FIG 10), with crescent-shaped foot and stepped angle between the arms, is probably the latest in the sub-group (Leeds 1945, fig 8d), while 71(5) (FIG 62) may well be the earliest. It is really a miniature cruciform with half-round knobs showing no sign of any flattening. Compare with an example from Kempston, Beds (Åberg 1926, fig 95). In fact, Leeds ignored this type of cruciform with non-zoomorphic foot, and Åberg included them amongst the long brooches with triangular or shovel-shaped feet. The object was worn and patched when buried. 70(1) (FIG 61) has lappets and a well-defined panel on the headplate, it is an elaborate version of Leeds' (1945, 16; fig 8) and of a brooch from Islip, Northants (formerly in Kettering Museum, now in Northampton Museum). Other cross potent types similar to the Wakerley group come, for example, from Glaston (grave 8) (Leeds and Barber 1950, 187; fig XXVI : b) and North Luffenham, Rutland (in Northampton Museum).

Cross-Pattee: all the Wakerley brooches are similar to Leeds' derivative 'e', ie 'Square-topped headplate with basal notches' (Leeds 1945, 26; figs 15–17). 45(1) (FIG 45) and 57(2) (FIG 55) are without perforations, the others are perforated. All are crudely executed. A further perforated derivative comes from Glaston (in Oakham Museum—OS 75), and unperforated from North Luffenham, Rutland (Crowther-Beynon 1904, pl IV) and Brixworth, Northants (in Northampton Museum). Only one plain square head emerged, although the type is quite common (Leeds 1945, 26; fig 19).

Square-headed small-longs with lozenge foot, 48 (1 and 2) (FIG 48), fall comparatively early in the series, since they retain hints of the moulded foot finials of the earliest continental examples (Leeds 1945, figs 3:b; 23:a; 24). A damaged but similar piece to 48 (1 and 2) is published by Leeds from the Glaston cemetery, also in Rutland (Leeds and Barber 1950, pl XXVI:b).

Trefoil brooches, with spatulate feet are common and widespread, although the type from grave 47 (FIG 47) with a

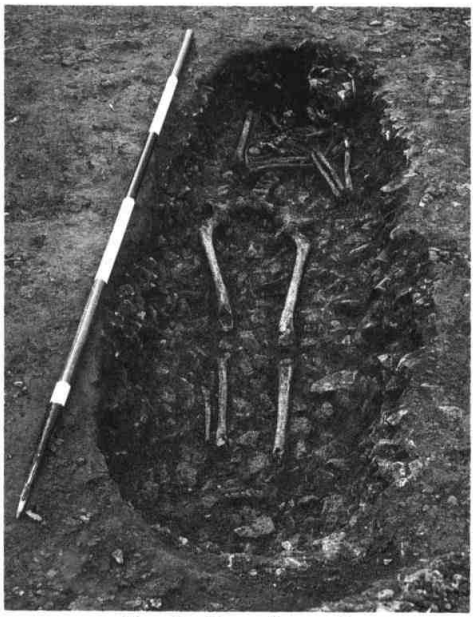


Plate 1 View of grave 4.

more crescent-shaped foot is somewhat restricted to the East Midlands and East Anglia (Leeds 1945, 8–10; figs 4 and 69). The lobes of the grave 45 brooch (FIG 45) have nearly joined and a later date can be suggested. This piece is clumsily made and, were it not for the distinctly rounded lobes, could be mistaken for a cross-pattee derivative type discussed above. A larger version of the trefoil from grave 47 was found at North Luffenham (in Oakham Museum—OS 105), (length 81mm) with similar dot and circle stamps on the foot. From the same site came a plain trefoil published by Crowther-Beynon (1904, pl V:22).

Although small-long brooches are more numerous than cruciforms in England, they mimic their basic typology distribution and dating horizons (Åberg 1926, 57). The latter are not clearly defined since the brooches developed both by copying the larger cruciforms and by internal typology. Wakerley dating can be more precisely defined from grave 44/45—an imported square-headed brooch with a pre–mid-century date, associated with a pair of worn brooches and one trefoil suggesting manufacture quite early in the 6th century. The Group V cruciform brooch from grave 74, on the other hand, tends towards a late 6th-century date, if not somewhat later, since both this and the small-long brooch had received considerable usage before burial. A mid-century period for grave 31/32 can be assumed from the Group IV cruciform discussed above. The dating evidence suggests that these widespread ornaments retained their popularity throughout the period covered by the cemetery.

Square-headed Brooches

List of occurrences
Graves 50 and 80.
2 examples. Females.

Both brooches fall into Leeds' class A^3, ie with undivided foot, the Haslingfield type (Leeds 1949, 4 and 16) and are similar in size. 80(3) (FIG 70) is of better quality and has a double whirligig motif in the inner headplate panel (PL 2), whle 50(3) (FIG 51) has a linear motif here, together with a button on the bow and curling lappets at the top of the headplate. Leeds quotes a brooch from Lakenheath, Suffolk as a good example of this divergent sub-group (Leeds 1949, 23 no 16). The Lakenheath brooch omits the face-mask immediately below the boss, but retains the headplate decoration of two animals meeting head-on at the mid-point of the plate. These animals show a distinct Kentish ancestry, with innovations in the beaked head and curled foreleg. The other elements—attenuated body, extended hind limb, and curling tail—are all motifs introduced from Kent. The headplate fragment from Nassington, Northants (Leeds 1949, no 28) is, for example, very similar to Wakerley 80(3), as is Linton Heath, grave 40, except for the lower lappets which rise from the corners but do not continue round them. This brooch also has a ribbed bow.

A brooch from Market Overton continues the scheme found on the Linton Heath example (Leeds 1949, no 23). The double 'S' motif found on the headplate and foot of Wakerley 80(3), and varied as a whirligig on the foot of 50(2), is substituted for a lozenge on the Leeds' type example from Lakenheath. Both Lakenheath 19 and Wakerley 80(3) have a square flanked by double 'S' motifs on the headplate, whereas the indistinct pattern on that of Overton 20 is more akin to the linear motif of Wakerley 50(2).

In quality of execution, use of a linear inner plate-panel and lappet embellishment above the plate, 50(2) seems to be a slightly later piece than 80(3). The lappets are repeated on a brooch from Little Wilbraham 6, Cambs, which Leeds quotes as an obviously late piece because of its irregular headplate border and exaggerated masks (Leeds 1949, 25, no 26). It is a fussy, degenerate piece, and Wakerley 50(2), compared to 80(3), is setting out on this downward path. The animals, however, have not yet lost their crispness and are better executed than Nassington 28 quoted above.

Both Wakerley brooches typify the developments in style which took place in the eastern Midlands during the first half of the 6th century. They are not sufficiently advanced for either brooch to have been produced much, if at all, after AD 550. Leeds' statement that these brooches did not belong to a wealthy community is strengthened by a mere two examples from Wakerley. This compares with the high number of seven from Market Overton (Leeds 1949, 119–21).

The fragment, unassociated No 1 (FIG 75), found in the disturbed area of grave 23, consisting of the foot and half the bow of a square-headed brooch, appears to belong to a type described by Åberg (1926, 70, figs 112, 115) characterised by large rounded terminals to the three parts of the foot and a distinct headplate, missing from this example. The lack of decoration on the foot—in particular the absence of downward biting animals and no provision on the terminals for silver plates—suggests that this is a crude copy or derivative of the main type. As these brooches occur mainly in Anglian areas, with an example from Market Overton, (*ibid*, fig 115) such copying would

not be difficult. The later brooches in the series are dated after the middle of the 6th century.

THE RUNIC INSCRIPTION (grave 80(3)) (PLS 2 and 3)

The inscription, lightly scratched on the back of this brooch—ie the letters 18, 2, 9, 2 in the runic alphabet—suggests 'Buhu' or, if the downstroke beyond the termination of the upper line be considered as a letter (No 11) rather than as a marginal line, the word 'Buhui' emerges.

Similar personal and place-name elements do occur in Anglo-Saxon and Germanic contexts, but these similarities should not be taken as conclusive evidence that the inscription is a name or even a proper word. Förstemann quotes 'Buho' from the *Codex Laurenshamensis Diplomaticus* (Förstemann 1900 (repr 1966), I, 342) and indeed both elements of the wood (if the 'h' is acceptable) suggest a Saxon place-name—'Bu', a hall; 'hu' or 'hjoo' a hilltop settlement.

As for the lettering, only the 'h' is uncommon. This has a single bar instead of the usual double bar (Page 1973, 37; Note 4). Only two examples of this letter have been positively identified in England—the other occurs on the roe deer astragalus from Caister-by-Norwich, Norfolk, (Page 1973, 19; fig 5). The single bar 'h' is a north and east German characteristic, and is widespread in Scandinavia. Any linguistic or even cultural conclusions to be drawn from this admittedly slight evidence, suggests affinities with the north of Europe rather than, for example, the Frisian or Frankish areas. In any event, the name provides us with a further instance of a non-Anglo-Saxon inscription, corroborating Professor Evison's suggestion that Anglo-Saxon runic names do not occur in pagan Anglo-Saxon contexts (Evison 1964, 243).

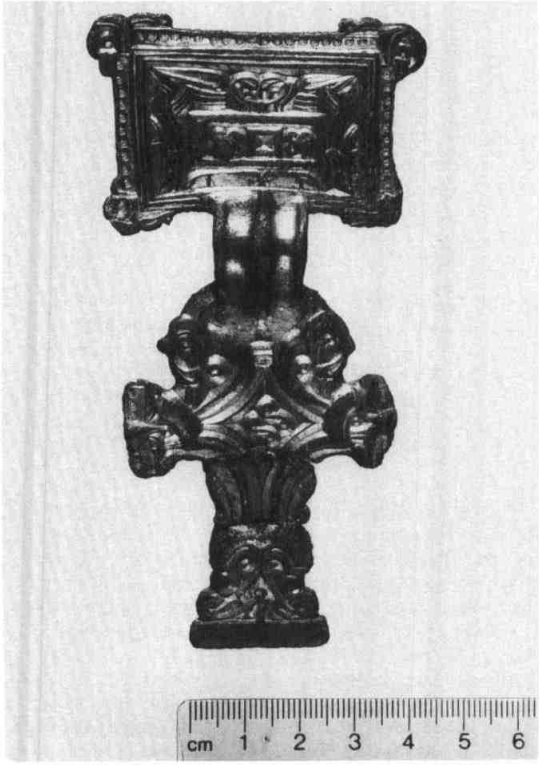


Plate 2 The square-headed brooch, grave 80(3).

THE IMPORTED BROOCH (FIG 43)

Grave 44. Female.

This square-headed brooch is a non-Anglo-Saxon type produced in the Thuringian province of the Frankish kingdom, ie in the southerly area between the rivers Elbe and Weser. No other recognisable imports have come from the cemetery and in all other respects the double grave contained native Anglo-Saxon equipment. In itself the brooch is not particularly worn, and it may be assumed that no great period of time elapsed between manufacture, importation, and deposition. The workmanship is slipshod, especially the foot panel, where the jeweller seems completely to have misunderstood the original design. Although the brooch is a developed example of its type, it is not the latest in the series, and the Thuringian evidence collected by Dr B Schmidt suggests a date slightly before *c* AD 550. (This information was kindly passed on by Dr Hayo Vierk of the University of Münster, West Germany, in whose forthcoming thesis the Wakerley brooch is to appear.) A typology and the continental parallels to the grave 44 brooch have been published on a regional basis by Herbert Kühn (1965 (Rhineland), Taf 30 and 94; 1974 (S Germany), Taf 1 and 132).

SILVER PENDANTS

List of occurrences

Graves 17 (2) 42 80 (pair).

5 examples. Female.

The object from grave 42 (5e) (FIG 41) is part of a bead necklace worn as a pendant. Both the silver frame and the pebble are worthy of comment. The former is very like the frames encasing larger, shaped pieces of quartz crystal found in Kentish graves, and associated with the so far inexplicable holed spoons, eg Bifrons (Jessup 1950, pl XXXIII). Crystal was held in esteem by the pagan Saxons and was invested with magical properties. Similar frames forming cages to contain beads of glass or paste in both gold or silver, occur in Roman contexts eg Church Street, York (MacGregor 1976, 10–11; fig 8:73).

A pair of scutiform pendants from grave 80 (FIG 70) and the single one from grave 17 (FIG 15) have a central raised dot and are embellished with stamping. All were found in the shoulder area. Where the evidence has survived, 80(4 and 5), the means of attachment was by a separately applied hooked strip of silver or bronze. From Chamberlain's Barn, Leighton Buzzard comes a complete example (Hyslop 1963, fig 13b). Other disc pendants may be seen from cemeteries at Irby, Lincs (*Lincs Hist Archaeol* 2, 1967), Empingham II (grave 73), in Oakham Museum, with circular stamps cf Wakerley 17(4) (diameter 24mm), and Market Overton, Rutland, decorated with a raised central boss and star pattern (Crowther-Beynon 1909–10, 165).

Silver disc pendants of this type appear towards the end of the pagan period. They were placed, for example, into a

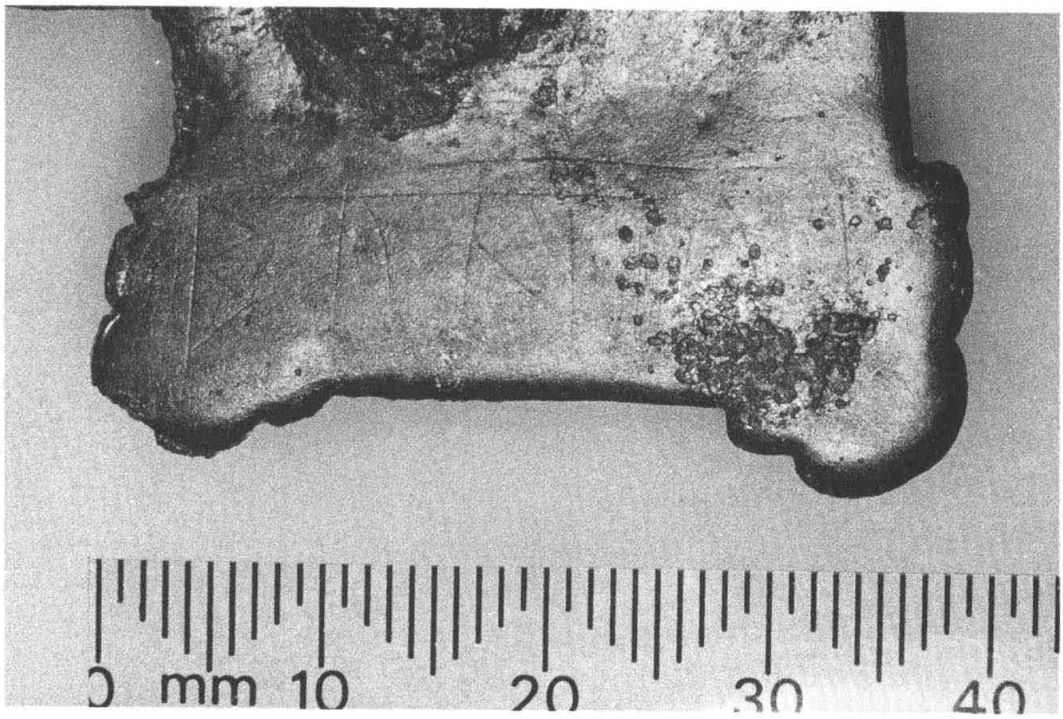


Plate 3 The runic inscription on the square-headed brooch, grave 80(3).

definite 7th-century context in the second Chamberlain's Barn cemetery, where grave 39 contained a pendant (diameter 30mm) with the soldered loop mentioned above, central raised boss and circular stamps (Hyslop 1963, 181–200; fig 13:b). From grave 57 came another (diameter 28mm) with central boss, and four more, imitating a Kentish composite brooch (Hyslop 1963, 187; fig 17:h). Wakerley contexts are clear from graves 42 (florid cruciform) and 80 (A3 square-headed brooch) suggesting the late 6th century. Since these objects were fairly worn when buried, a 7th-century date is possible, but not absolutely certain, for the pendant series. The second pendant from grave 17 (11) appears to have been cut down from a larger sheet of decorated silver since the pattern is off-centre and truncated. It is difficult to define the decorative scheme, but a spiral or swirl pattern is suggested. Such schemes survived into the late 6th century on saucer brooches (Åberg 1926, 161; figs 22 and 23) although what the disc originally came from is very difficult to state, apart from a larger plaque or disc brooch.

COINS

Graves 10; 44; 74. Female. Each grave contained one Roman coin.

10(6) was minted by the usurper Allectus, AD 293–6 (Mattingly and Sydenham 1933, V pt II, 446–8; Catalogue 569, nos 124, 127 etc; see also Webb 1906, 127). The mint is considered to be *Camulodunum*. The coin is a *quinarius* of a common type. In fact those with either *Laetitia* or *Providentia* on the reverse form the majority of coins found from this period of usurpation. The galley types rarely exceed 19mm diameter; 1g weight. It is not common to find coins of this date in such good condition in a Saxon context, and it may be assumed that the coin had been found locally within a reasonable period of its deposition in the grave.

44(7) obverse suggests a denarius minted by Caracalla, AD 201–10. Group 1 AD 201–06 (Mattingly and Sydenham 1936, IV pt I, pl XII:7; see also Seaby 1954, 175 No 151bc).

74(18) was struck by Constantine (AD 308–37) or his successors to commemorate the establishment of Constantinople (Seaby 1954, 109, nos 3132, 3134 etc).

BEADS

List of occurrences

Graves 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 19, 24, 25, 30, 31, 32, 38, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 58, 61, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80, 82, 84.

35 assemblages. Female.

With the exception of the disturbed burials, all the beads came from the shoulder and chest area, indicating that they were arranged in the Anglo-Saxon fashion, ie hung, not round the neck, but between two brooches. In grave 45 the way the beads were grouped suggests that here they were worn in several short strands fairly high up on the chest.

Most Wakerley beads were of amber, roughly-shaped (ie roughly spherical or squared), wedge-shaped, or flat squared. They measure on average about 10mm long.

Amber cut in this way is common among assemblages discovered in the East Midlands and instances are recorded, for example, from Glaston, Market Overton and North Luffenham, Rutland; Beeby, Saxby and Twyford, Leics (Meaney 1964); and Irby, Lincs (*Lincs Hist Archaeol* 2, 1967, 41 note). Baltic amber was imported throughout the pagan period. For other possible sources see Tite (1972, 358–60) and Lethbridge (1931, 75) who suggests sources on the east coast of England.

Among the other types of bead from the cemetery are some of particular interest. The magnesium carbonate bead, 71(8d), is unusual. Magnesium carbonate is found in mineral form as magnesite. It is found as a replacement deposit in dolomite and limestone (Read 1974, 296–7). (Information kindly supplied by Paul Wilthew of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission Laboratory). A similar bead was found in a 6th-century burial at Dover, grave 14(3c) (Evison, forthcoming). The bead is most likely to have been made from a deposit in the local limstone.

The hemispherical shell bead with a central perforation (grave 17) is an unusual shape for a bead and it may be that this was not the use for which it was originally made. Its shape is similar to the setting for the central garnet in Kentish disc brooches (Kendrick 1953, 429–52; Avent 1975, 15–16). Bruce Mitford (1956, 310–11) observed that the central setting for the garnet in St Cuthbert's Cross was of shell, probably imported from the Indian Ocean. It may be that the shell bead from Wakerley was such a setting, re-used (I am indebted to Prof Evison, Birkbeck College, London for this suggestion, and for kindly supplying references for the two Dover beads). A similar bead was found at Dover, grave 75(1c) (Evison, forthcoming). A late 6th-century date for this object, if it is a central setting, would not be unreasonable (Avent 1975, 56–65) and accords with the date in the last quarter of the 6th century that other objects in the grave, in particular the scutiform pendant, 17(5), suggest.

The well made, jet, melon bead, grave 47(5c), is most likely to be a Roman survival. Jet beads are known from Roman contexts, for example Silchester (Boon 1974, fig 16:12; Lawson 1975, fig 1:1,3) and *Verulamium* (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, fig 47:67–71). Jet is very rare in Saxon contexts: Meaney (1964) cites occurrences at Castle Bytham and Tetford Hill, Leics, and a cylindrical jet bead with a ribbed design came from Holywell Row, Cambs (Lethbridge 1931, fig 12:8).

The melon bead, grave 49(10f), now crushed, is of colourless glass decolourised by antimony, a Roman technique. This information has kindly been supplied by Paul Wilthew, who is currently subjecting the glass beads from Wakerley to x-ray florescence analysis aimed at identifying colourants, decolourants and opacifiers. The results of this work will be published in a forthcoming report. The melon bead from grave 49 must, therefore also be a Roman survival.

Beads of polished rock crystal are comparatively rare; they have a widespread distribution in 5th- and 6th-century Anglo-Saxon graves and examples of facetted crystal beads, similar to grave 4(1c), are found locally at Market Overton and Glen Parva, Leics (Baldwin Brown 1915 IV, 405). From Islip, Northants comes a polished crystal disc bead (in Northampton Museum) similar to Wakerley 73(2e). The unpolished quartzite pebble encased in a silver frame is discussed elsewhere (see page 152).

All the glass beads from Wakerley are types popular throughout Anglo-Saxon England and are notoriously difficult to date (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, 438; Guido 1973, 3–4). The monochrome beads are all of forms commonly found in 6th-century contexts locally; for example at Duston, Northants (in Northampton Museum), Glaston, Rutland (Leeds and Barber 1950, 185–9), at Holywell Row (Lethbridge 1931 1–45) and Little Wilbraham, Cambs (Neville 1852, 18–21), and at Chamberlain's Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Beds (Hyslop 1963, 162–200). Colourless globular beads are equally widespread and those having the appearance of a gold lining, of which Wakerley has two examples, 19(2b) and 44(4e), have been the subject of a study by Boon (1977, 193–207). The multicoloured beads are not numerous, the reticella bead, 31(3d), is a common Anglo-Saxon type, as are the blue and white trellis and dot bead and the rust-red opaque beads with yellow inlay. The annular light yellow translucent bead, with an inner skin of opaque yellow, grave 43(3e), is interesting as it appears that the maker was aiming at the effect of a gold lining; the result is very pleasing. None of the examples of multicoloured beads from Wakerley are inconsistent with the 6th-century date-range accorded to the cemetery as a whole.

WRIST CLASPS

List of occurrences

Graves 1, 5, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 32, 42, 45, 48, 49, 50, 57, 61, 62, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 80, 84.

25 examples. Females.

Four types of decorated clasp for the wrist are represented, in addition to plain rectangular hookplates and catchplates (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, pl LXXVIII : I). For a recent survey of Anglo-Saxon wrist clasps see Hines 1984, 35–109.

1. Rectangular plates, slightly curved, decorated with either repoussé punch work or stamps (17, 21, 25, 32, 48, 50, 57, 61, 62, 69, 73, 74, 84).
2. Rectangular curved plates as above with no decoration, but with attached repoussé plates of thin bronze, sometimes gilt. The manufacture of these is similar to applied brooches, and the term 'applied' will be used here (57, 45, 49, 50, 57, 80).
3. Cast strips of bronze forming a ribbed, or panelled, design (28, 48, 70, 71).
4. Hook-and-eye wire clasps (42).

Twelve examples of *Type 1* are recorded, making this the commonest group as well as the simplest to produce. The decoration consists simply of dots, or occasionally squares, worked from behind; or of lines of 'V' or 'U' stamps, etc, often arranged haphazardly. With grave 74 both techniques were used on the same clasp. A better produced one from grave 17 has an openwork dot-and-circle motif, and the plates are heavier than the rest. Type 1 is widespread (Leeds 1945, 53) and examples with repoussé work come from Islip, Northants (formerly in Kettering Museum, Acc no 74 B12, now in Northampton Museum), Empingham II, Nassington and Holdenby, Northants (Leeds 1944, pl XXIX; and 1945, 53), while stamped plates come from

North Luffenham and from the Glaston cemetery, both in Rutland (Leeds and Barber 1950, 186–8).

The best context for the Wakerley group is the Group V cruciform brooch from grave 74 which indicates a rather later date in the 6th century, as does the Group IV brooch in grave 32, and the swastika brooch from grave 57. A mid-century date is possible for a group II brooch in grave 25.

Five definite and two possible examples of *Type 2* clasps are recorded. Unfortunately the decorative appliqués are too fragmentary for the overall design to be made out. It is possible to see an eye-and-eyebrow motif on the catch-plate from grave 50, but the hookplate seems to show a spiral design, too curvilinear even for late Style I. The decoration on the hookplate, grave 80, is more angular, hinting at a zig-zag pattern interspersed with punched dots. Clearest of all is the hookplate from grave 57. Local parallels for these clasps are uncommon, but there is a well-preserved example from Islip, Northants (in Northampton Museum); a complete catchplate and appliqué survive with a motif of three whirligigs within a beaded border. It seems likely that the Wakerley clasp is a cruder copy of this design. A later 6th-century date is suggested by the associated swastika brooch mentioned above. The 'Style I' scheme from grave 50 is associated with a square-headed brooch of Leeds type A3, as is the clasp from grave 80, giving an earlier 6th-century date.

Type 3 (cast clasps) come from four graves. Grave 28(4) has stamped decoration similar to one illustrated by Baldwin Brown from Londesborough, Yorks (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, pl LXXVIII : 4). The Wakerley clasp came from a grave with a developed cruciform brooch of Åberg Group III *c* 550. The examples from graves 57 and 71 have simple lugs, while the set from grave 70 has the cast strips attached to stamped bronze sheets. Leeds quotes similar examples from Holdenby, Northants and Soham, Cambs (Leeds 1945, 53–7), while two further instances in Oakham Museum come from North Luffenham and Empingham II.

Type 4 Grave 42 produced a set of hook-and-eye clasps in silver wire, of a type which also occurs at Sleaford, Lincs, Beeby and Twyford, Leics (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 363; pl LXXVI:5). This type is not rare and examples in bronze are known, as is an embellished type with decorated discs within the wire spiral from Market Overton (Crowther-Beynon 1911–12, 186). In grave 42 was an applied brooch of the later 6th century.

With the exception of applied clasps, the types represented at Wakerley appear throughout the 6th century, although the internal evidence gives them a deposition later in that century.

BRONZE RINGS

List of occurrences

Graves 5, 10, 25 (frag), 42, 44, 47, 61, 64, 70, 74, 78, 80, and 82.

13 examples. Females.

Two main types of bronze ring were recovered—a larger size with a diameter 30mm or over (graves 44, 70 and 80) which were probably used as buckles or belt attachments, and a smaller wire ring either twisted or joined by a slip-knot, measuring between 1 and 20mm across. The wire ring from grave 47 is flattened along one side and its original function cannot now be determined. From grave 42 was a broken ring which had probably been filed for use as a slip ring.

These smaller rings are the correct size to have been worn on the finger, but although slip-knot finger rings were worn in Roman and Saxon times, they were also produced for a variety of other purposes (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, 455; pl CVIII : 2) and, with the exception of 61(1), locations in the Wakerley graves preclude their use in this way. They were found on or near the shoulders and upper chest, with the set of three rings from grave 64 placed in a line across the body in this area. Such rings may, therefore, have formed part of a necklace, akin to the later silver rings excavated, for example, at Chamberlain's Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Beds (Hyslop 1963, 161). The wear on the ring from grave 74 would seem to support this theory since this could only have been caused by a hard object such as another ring. On the other hand, the rings from graves 44 and 80 were embedded in textile remains (see the specialist report by Miss E Crowfoot, pp 168–72), suggesting perhaps that the rings were attached to cloth to form a neckline that could be pulled up with a thread or thong passing through the rings.

61(1), which was coiled, was found in a position where it could have been a finger ring. The twisted ring from grave 75 appears to be decorative rather than functional and a similar usage is suggested. Another twisted strand ring comes from Woodston, Northants, now in Peterborough Museum. Indeed, rings of this size occur widely—for example from North Luffenham and Market Overton, Rutland, both in Oakham Museum, Nassington, graves 1, 13 and 23 (Leeds 1944, 106–9) and Duston, Northants, together with Twyford, Leics (Meaney 1964). Dateable contexts suggest their popularity from the earlier 6th century onwards. Good Wakerley associations (square-headed brooches, graves 44 and 80; cruciform brooches, grave 70; cruciform brooch, Åberg Group V, grave 74) suggest a mid- to late 6th-century occurrence.

GIRDLE HANGERS

List of occurrences

Graves 17 (pair and 44 (pair)).

Females.

Two pairs of girdle hangers were found, both females in double graves. They came from the left thigh area. They differ in shape, 17(16 and 17) (FIG 18) being closed with two round lateral projections, while 44(10 and 11) (FIG 44) have an open 'T' shape with a different stamped motif. It is difficult to imagine a functional use for either set. Rings occur on a pair similar to 17(16 and 17) from Searby, Lincs (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, 398) from which toilet sets, etc, could have been suspended, but the Wakerley pair show no signs of these. Another Searby pair which retains its connecting link is illustrated by Baldwin Brown and dated by him to the late 5th century (*ibid* pl XC: 2). His comment that these objects are 'a curious and indeed enigmatical adjunct to the costume' is apt.

The Wakerley contexts are not sufficiently precise for any serious chronological comparisons to be made between the two sets of hangers. Grave 44 contained an imported

square-headed brooch, dated pre *c*550 by Vierck (see above, page 152). The object was in good condition and could not have been very old when buried. A mid-century date is suggested by the swastika brooches, discussed elsewhere. None of the objects from grave 17 suggest a particularly early date, the silver pendant seems to indicate a definite post-550 deposition (see above, pp 152–3). It is perhaps possible to see grave 17 as slightly later than grave 44, but it is doubtful whether as much as a generation separates the two.

KEYS

List of occurrences

Grave 8, 17, 18, 25, 30, 42, 44, 48, 49(?), 69, 70, 78, 80.
Females

All keys, with the exception of a possible set in grave 44, were located between the pelvis and thighs, indicating their original attachment to a belt round the waist. Three types of key emerged from the site—those with a 'U' shaped ward with the outer terminal bent at right angles; a double 'U' shape with similar terminal; and a squared 'U', often with an out-turned terminal. Several of the key stems were twisted and while in some cases this could have been the result of misuse, the evenness of the spirals on other stems suggests a decorative effect produced during manufacture. Two pairs were found together and in two other cases, both double graves, remains of more than two were identified. The pair from grave 25 was probably attached to an iron ring, and remains of rings survived from grave 17, where a 'U' shaped and a square ward occurred together.

Dating was possible from six graves—30 and 78 contained swastika brooches of the mid- to later 6th-century; the florid cruciform brooch from grave 42 suggests a later 6th-century date (Leeds and Pocock 1971), while the imported square-headed brooch from grave 44 was deposited during the first half of the century. Cruciform brooches of Åberg Group IV from grave 70 have rectangular knobs suggesting a late development, after *c*550—somewhat later than the square-headed brooch of Leeds type A3 found in grave 80. There is thus a range in time of at least a generation for the burial of identical key types and any typological development must be ruled out.

Similar iron keys came from Nassington (Leeds 1944, 105–12). This evidence confirms the groupings of several keys attached to a ring. Three iron keys came from the Market Overton site, as noted briefly by Crowther-Beynon (Crowther-Beynon and Leeds 1911, 481).

Both keys and girdle hangers have a mainly Anglian distribution and are rarely found south of the Thames (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 394).

TOILET SETS

List of occurrences

Tweezers	Graves 41 and 51. Males.
Earscoops	Graves 30. Female. 41. Male.
Pins or toothpicks	Graves 30 and 82. Female.

The tweezers came from the waist area and were presumably suspended from a belt. Both had inturned tips and were derived from a common Roman type, eg Jewry Wall, Leicester (Kenyon 1948, 257, fig 86). Similar tweezers from Saxon contexts occur widely throughout the pagan period (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, pl LXXXV: 1). Those at Wakerley (swastika brooch grave 30; square-headed brooch Leeds Type A3 grave 50–51) indicate a possible date range from a little before 550 to the end of the century. A toilet set, associated with a penannular brooch came from grave 89, Empingham II (in Oakham Museum), and two other Rutland sites have left parts of sets: Glaston grave 7 (pin), grave 10 (tweezers) (Leeds 1950, 187); while at Nassington, Northants, grave 3—also male—contained tweezers; graves 11 and 13, both female, 'prickers' or picks (*ibid*, 105).

PINS

List of occurrences

Bronze—graves 5, 17, 18, 30, 78, 82
Iron—graves 10, 54, 57, 58(?).
10 examples. Female, or juvenile (grave 54).

The pins were used as dress fastenings and were found, with the exception of 78(3), on or near the shoulder. 78(3) could have slipped from the shoulder, since the body was twisted to the right where the pin was found. All the bronze pins were decorative, and those of iron, where enough had survived for observation, were also decorated. Four types of pin head can be identified: knobbed, disc-shaped, spiralled, squared-and-faceted. The pin from grave 58 is questionable. It is apparently hooked, although this might be a broken pin head, and in any case could have been worn in the hair as it was found under the skull. 30(3) is undecorated and has a hole or eye more suggestive of a needle than a pin, but its position suggests the latter use. A similar pin comes from the cemetery at Marston St Lawrence, Northants (Roach Smith 1849, 334; pl XII: 7, 11).

Coil-headed pins occur in bronze and iron. An example in the latter metal is described from Nassington, Northants grave 22—a male (Leeds 1944, 107; pl XXX). A simpler type of disc-shaped pin occurs at Empingham II, Rutland, in Oakham Museum. Faceted or polyhedral types with suspension rings were found at Brixworth (in Northampton Museum) and Nassington grave 15 (female), both Northants (Leeds 1944, 106). Knobbed pins are widespread and come not only from Anglo-Saxon but also Celtic and Roman sites. In fact, Roman prototypes are traceable for all the pin types discussed above.

THE NECKLET (grave 40) (FIG 38)

This silver object, from the grave of a juvenile—possibly a boy—is an unusual, but not unique, find: Baldwin Brown (1915, IV, 424; pl CI: 1) could not quote a parallel to a necklet from Market Overton. It is obviously derived from the lunulae, usually of gold, produced during the early Bronze Age. Examples of these often beautifully tooled necklets come from Ireland, Wales and Cornwall, with a copper example from Oxfordshire. Lunulae appear to have died out during the *floreat* of the Wessex Culture (see Taylor 1968, 259–65). Three silver examples from the East Midlands can be assigned to the Saxon period by virtue of their stamped decoration. The Market Overton piece has gilded triangular-shaped stamps repeating the criss-cross pattern found on the gold foil backing composite disc brooches, while the Wakerley necklet has 'V' stamps used on swastika brooches etc. Neither stamp is associated with

the lunulae described above, and the dot-and-circle stamps, which complete the schemes on both necklets, are also well known in Saxon contexts. The third piece came from the haphazardly excavated cemetery at Emscote, near Warwick (Chatwin 1925, 269–72; pl XXX: 2; 271, fig 1). It measures 115mm across, which compares well with 100mm (Wakerley) and *c*115mm (Market Overton). Decoration consists of four different punches—'U's and 'V's of various types, with a central motif formed from three sets of two concentric 'U's running down each side of a set of vertical lines. Another necklet from the Cornjum terp, Friesland (Waterbolk and Glassbergen 1955, Taf XXVI: 2), diameter 162mm, has dot-and-circle together with 'V' stamps as decoration. Here, two sets of dots arranged in triangles, longest sides facing, are placed vertically to form the central motif. Like the Emscote piece, the necklet is edged with tooled lines, and is fastened with a hook and eye—the eye having been beaten out of silver. Chatwin in his Emscote report (Chatwin 1925, 270) quotes a similarly fastened plain necklet from the tomb of Theoderic (d.451). Only the Market Overton example has a different fastening namely a hook and slip-knot. The latter is more often used with simple wire necklaces threaded with beads, such as the famous one from Desborough, Northants (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, pl CII). A slightly different necklet, described as copper alloy, came from the Bergh Apton cemetery, Norfolk (Green and Rogerson 1978, 35; fig 91). This has holes probably to hold decorative studs and is fastened in two places.

Although the three English silver examples come from fairly clear 6th-century contexts, and bear typical Saxon decorative tooling, the continental examples show that earlier occurrences are likely and could come to light in England.

VESSELS (EXCLUDING POTTERY)

BUCKETS

List of occurrences

Graves 3 (female), 34 (3 examples, male), 50 (female).

5 examples.

These objects were found in various positions round the body and, in the case of grave 34(2), over the body at the waist. They were not reserved for either sex but graves 34 and 50 were richly equipped suggesting, possibly, that these objects were associated with men and women of some standing in the community. Although buckets are widely distributed in the Anglo-Saxon period they are not very numerous, which lends weight to the suggestion that they had some value. For an up-to-date discussion and catalogue of Anglo-Saxon wooden vessels see the work of Carole Morris (1984).

The Wakerley buckets are of the usual Saxon bound-stave type, is constructed like a 'dry' barrel and not bound under tension like a modern beer-barrel. The wooden staves are probably of yew.

The triangular stamp decoration on the bucket handles in grave 34 (FIG 33) can be paralled on the handle of a bucket from North Luffenham, Rutland (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, pl CXIII: 1). The Luffenham bucket (grave 1) was found at the head (Crowther-Beynon 1904, 87) as in Wakerley grave 3, and buckets in general appear to have been placed either at the head or the feet.

A bucket from Twyford, Leics (Leicester Museum reserve collection 14. 1871) has an upper band some 50mm wide. The 'U'-shaped rim binding common to all the Wakerley examples is found on a bucket from Empingham II, Rutland (grave 3) in Oakham Museum, height 103mm, diameter approximately 115mm, similar dimensions to those of the Wakerley buckets whose sizes can be determined.

The 'Y'-shaped pieces of bronze decorated with repoussé dots found on the buckets from graves 3 and 34 are almost certainly debased forms of the 'van-dyke' pendants which were decorative features on many Anglo-Saxon bronze bound vessels. A bucket from Baginton, Warks (in Coventry Museum) has identical 'Y'-shaped pendants and indeed, in construction and decoration, is so similar to the Wakerley buckets that it must have come from the same workshop if not from the hands of the same craftsman.

The cast-bronze animal head, grave 3(2) (FIG 10) was found with the bucket in this grave. It is considerably more robust than any of the other bronze fittings but the possibility remains that it was attached as a decorative feature to the bucket. It would not have had any functional use since the attachment rivets fit the mount very tightly, leaving no room for further strips or a handle, an arrangement found for example on a bucket from Twyford/Borough Hill, Leics (Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, pl CXIII: 3). The mount has the appearance of a truncated foot of a cruciform brooch of Åberg Group III (Åberg 1926, 39–42), the lateral nicks, bands of grooves, eyes and snout suggesting a rough similarity to brooches produced before the mid-point of the 6th-century.

Stronger dating comes from grave 50, with a square headed brooch of Leeds type A3 dated before *c*550 (see above, pp 151–2). Buckets therefore appear to have been deposited with members of one generation from this settlement. In size they tie in with the average dimensions of local samples, some 100–130mm in height and diameter.

BRONZE VESSEL RIMS by Lindsay Badenoch

List of occurrences

Graves 5, 34 and 50

3 examples. 2 females, 1 male.

The fragment of 'U'-shaped bronze found in grave 5 may have been the rim of a wooden vessel.

The two rim fragments from graves 34 and 50 were of cast bronze, considerably more solid than the bucket fragments with which they were found in these graves. The rims probably fitted small lathe-turned wooden bottles or cups. The most notable examples of such vessels come from the Sutton Hoo and Taplow chieftain burials. Taplow contained four wooden vessels with elaborate silver-gilt rims (Taplow is not fully published, but see *VCH Buckinghamshire:* 1, 199–204). Sutton Hoo (Bruce-Mitford 1983, 3i, 347–95) produced lathe-turned maplewood bottles and smaller burwood cups with silver-gilt rims. The Wakerley rims are similar in construction to the rims of the maplewood bottles but smaller (approximately 60mm in diameter) and far less elaborate, there is no evidence for the decorated panels or pendant triangles.

Bronze vessel rims occur relatively frequently in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and have a widespread distribution (se Morris 1984). Narrow rim-clips and rivets are a common feature on wooden vessels. A simple bronze vessel rim was found at Nassington (Leeds 1944, 107) and at Rainham in Essex a bronze rim, 50mm in diameter and held in place by narrow clips, was found with the wood from a miniature stave bucket still attached (Evison 1955, 169, fig 4 and pl LXIIb). Alton, Hants (Evison 1963, fig 20) produced two simple rims, while from Silbertswold, Kent, came two small wooden cups having bronze bound rims, the bronze rims were held in place by fluted clips (Fausset 1856, 113–14).

On internal evidence the square headed brooch of Leeds type A3 in grave 50 suggests a deposition in about the mid-6th century.

THE DRINKING HORN by Lindsay Badenoch

Grave 17, 1 example. Female.

The conical tip of a horn was found in the area of the head in grave 17. The horn is stained with bronze and is pierced laterally with rivet holes that cross at right-angles; an iron dowel is still in position in one of these holes. In the same area was found the fragmentary remains of a bronze vessel rim; this is of flimsy construction, less robust than the bucket fragments found elsewhere in the cemetery. The rim tapers slightly inwards and since it was found in proximity to the horn fragment there is a strong possibility that it formed the rim of a drinking horn. The horn tip was left unopened which precludes the possibility of a 'blast-horn' although these are recorded in the Christian period (Graham-Campbell 1973, 50–1).

Two strips of decorated bronze are attached by rivets to the rim and hang downwards. They are not of uniform width, and hint at a tapered effect. This is by no means certain as the pieces are badly preserved, however they could be the remains of the triangular appliqués or 'van-dykes' such as occur on the rims of drinking horns. Best known of these are the mounts from Taplow and Sutton Hoo (Bruce-Mitford 1979, 56, fig 42). Less elaborate examples come from Broomfield, Essex (*VCH Essex*: i, 322) and Little Chester, Derbys (*Medieval Archaeology*, 17, (1973), 138). The Little Chester cemetery is of 6th-century date.

The diameter of the rim is *c*135mm which makes the vessel larger than the largest one from Taplow (102mm) but smaller than the two large horns from Sutton Hoo.

The rivet holes at the horn's tip suggest that here was fixed some kind of attachment, possibly a ring for suspension. No evidence for a corresponding ring on the mount has survived. A ring is fixed to the mount from Strood, Kent which may be from a horn (Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 115 and pl XI).

A fragment of bronze tube whose position in the grave was not recorded could possibly belong to the drinking horn. It has a diameter of 44mm tapering to 38mm. If it had been cast in two vertical halves it could have been fixed to the horn, either as decoration or a mend, somewhere towards the tip.

Drinking horns do not occur often and to find one in a female grave is most unusual; however it is known from the literature of the period that it was one of the duties of the lady of the household to pour drink for the visitors in the hall, and so to find a horn in a female grave, particularly one as well furnished as grave 17, is quite appropriate.

OBJECTS OF BONE

COMB

Grave 17. Female. (FIG 17)

Only one example was found—a fragmentary double-edged comb of composite type from the female in grave 17. It had been found by the hip, over what could have been the remains of a bag. The function of the *bone ring*, which probably served as the opening for this bag, has already been discussed. One is illustrated by Leeds from Nassington, Northants (Leeds 1944, pl XXX: 31). Meaney (1964, 38 and 61) quotes ivory rings from Limbury/Leagrave, Beds and Barrington B, Cambs.

Composite double-edged combs tend to occur after the appearance of the single-edged triangular or 'Barred' combs in the 5th-century, although both single and double types are found together during the course of the following century. They are widespread in cemeteries and with the chance of good preservation from settlement sites such as West Stow, Suffolk give numerous examples for study. Here, several undecorated combs of the Wakerley type are known (West 1969, 14–15; fig 10: 5, 6). Local cemeteries tend to produce only one or two examples as with the one fragmentary comb from Nassington (grave 17) (Leeds 1944, 107), the complete, decorated one from a cremation burial at Marston Hill, Northants (Roach Smith 1849, 336; pl XII: 1) and those from Brixworth and Islip in Northampton Museum and from Stapleford Park, Saxby, at Leicester Museum. These can all be ascribed to the later 6th century.

PINS

Two bone pins came from the female juvenile in grave 61. They had been placed on each shoulder near to the jaw. Both had probably been cut from the radius or fibula of a small mammal and each was holed at the wider ends. Such simple objects are found throughout the Saxon period, in both cemeteries and settlements, such as Shakenoak, Oxon (Brodribb *et al* 1972, III, 129; fig 64). Bronze staining on the pins suggests proximity to that metal—perhaps in the shape of rings.

The beaver tooth (grave 5) is a reminder that this animal (*castor fiber*) was then more widespread throughout western Europe than it has been in the modern period. Incisors were more commonly used in necklaces, eg Glen Parva, Leics (in Leicester Museum—47. 1880), than as makeshift pins, or were sufficiently highly prized to be mounted in gold, as from Wigber Low, Derbys (British Museum Guide 1923, 89). Meaney (1964, 62) lists a beaver tooth mounted in bronze from Burwell, Cambs, and another from Castle Bytham, Leics (*ibid*, 153).

THE IRON AND GILT BRONZE MOUNT
(grave 31) (FIG 31)

As it has survived, the mount is almost certainly incomplete and it is not possible to say how far the four iron arms originally extended, because of corrosion. If these had been elongated, a small harness mount, similar in function to

those found at Faversham, Kent (in the British Museum: Roach Smith 1858, pl III) is a likely explanation for the piece. Instances of harness mounts being re-used occur, for example, at Ipswich (Layard 1907, 349; fig 14) and Wallingford, Berks (Leeds 1938, 93). Whatever its original purpose, the mount had been modified by the addition of a bronze strip. It came from the waist area with possible traces of leather adhering to one tip, strongly suggesting re-use as a belt ornament.

In shape and size the cast bronze plaque has the appearance of the inner, undivided foot panel from a square-headed brooch. The plaque, however, seems to be entire and it is unlikely it was cut from a complete brooch. On the other hand, the piece could easily have been cast from a mould taken from a composite die (I am grateful to Dr Hayo Vierck of the University of Münster, for this suggestion), or indeed it would not have been difficult to have taken a clay pressing from one part of a completed brooch die even if this (as seems more likely) had been carved as a single item. The decorative motif, for example, is seen on a damaged brooch from Bifrons, Kent, grave 63, of Leeds type A1, ie with two 'couchant' animals diagonally opposed. This is an early brooch (Leeds 1949, 7–10; illus no 2) (for motifs, see Åberg 1926, fig 124: 1 and 2) but the Style I decoration on the Wakerley mount is more assured and a date of production further on in the 6th century can be claimed for the piece. It is difficult to see hints of an early Style II design on the mount as Dr Vierck has suggested to me, but I think he is right to note an antecedent connection, for example, on the foot of an early square-headed brooch from Tveitane, Vestfold, Norway (Bakka 1958, 46–8, fig 41). Leeds considered this brooch type to be Kentish and it is not impossible that just such a piece could have been taken from Kent, or that it had been made by a craftsman schooled in the Kentish tradition. Certainly the Style I decoration is more reminiscent of Kent than the East Midlands.

THE BRONZE-RING BOUND OBJECT
by Lindsay Badenoch

Grave 17. Female. (FIG 16)

Seven rings formed from flat strips of bronze were found together to the left of the head. They vary in size from 11mm to 23mm. The three latest rings fasten on the hook-and-eye principle and the very largest tapers slightly. The object was probably made from re-used pieces of bronze (I am grateful to Carole Morris for this suggestion, and for useful discussions about this object). The quality and thickness of the bronze in each ring varies, the traces of decoration do not match and on ring (a) the stamps are on the inner surface.

Traces of wood were found in the smallest ring which, on analysis, proved to be either alder, holly or birch. The evidence seems to point to a tapering wooden staff of uncertain length, the whole, or just one end of which, was bound by these rings for decoration or reinforcement.

The question remains however as to why the larger rings were designed in the hook-and-eye princple: why not simply nail the bronze directly onto the wood? An alternative possibility is that the rings were used, not to bind one stick, but a bundle of twigs, forming thereby the handle of a small besom. In order to get a bushy effect at the working end of the brush, twigs of varying lengths could have been laid together round one central twig. The smaller rings, graduating in size, would have been jammed down over the lower part of the handle, while the three largest rings were clasped round the full thickness of the bundle and the hooks pulled tight through the eyes before being bent over, cincing the brush together. The slight tapering of the topmost ring would assist the spreading out of the brush head.

Birch twigs are traditional material for besoms and it would of course be impossible to nail a ring to a bundle of twigs.

Finally, it is not impossible, considering that even the smallest twigs encased in such narrow rings would make a fairly insubstantial brush, that the material of the brush (if brush it was) was horsehair. The horsehair could have been bound to a twig and then encased in the rings on the principal outlined above, making a fairly large daubing brush, or even a Kenyatta-style fly-whisk.

No comparable object has been identified in an Anglo-Saxon context.

THE STAMPS USED ON THE METALWORK

About 20 different stamps appear to have been used to decorate metalwork from the site. It is not possible to be positive about the final number or the types of stamp because of badly stamped or worn pieces which are now indecipherable. The cruciform brooch 43(3), for example, could have either a two concentric ring motif or a double 'U'. Even so, it is possible to say with some confidence that the same stamp was used on different pieces. For instance, a triangular stamp appears on the buckets from graves 3 and 34, and also on the annular brooches from grave 5 and the girdle hangers from grave 44. A thickened 'V' stamp was used on the silver necklet (grave 40), the silver disc pendants (grave 80), the swastika brooches from grave 44 and the girdle hangers from grave 17. Thus the stamps were not confined to one metal nor to one type of object.

Unfortunately no metalworkers' stamps have survived from the Anglo-Saxon period, although Roman examples are known occasionally, eg *Londinium* (Wheeler 1930, pl XXXIII: 1). They would have been small objects, presumably of hardened iron, and even if placed in a grave (which for tools is unusual) would have corroded beyond recognition. Most likely these tools were passed from one generation of metalworkers to another until they wore out and were discarded. How long such stamps could be used can only be guessed at. Tools used for striking—coin dies for instance—have a fairly short life because of the rough usage to which they are put. That being so, the duplicated stamp designs at Wakerley could have been executed within a short space of time. This should not, however, be taken to mean that the objects themselves were made contemporneously. Decoration of this kind could have been added at any time after the piece was first produced.

On a more positive note, the use of the same punch on different items suggests that the stamping was done locally. It is unlikely that one workshop could produce such a variety of objects of different quality, in both bronze and silver, but quite easy for a local shop to stamp material brought in from outside.

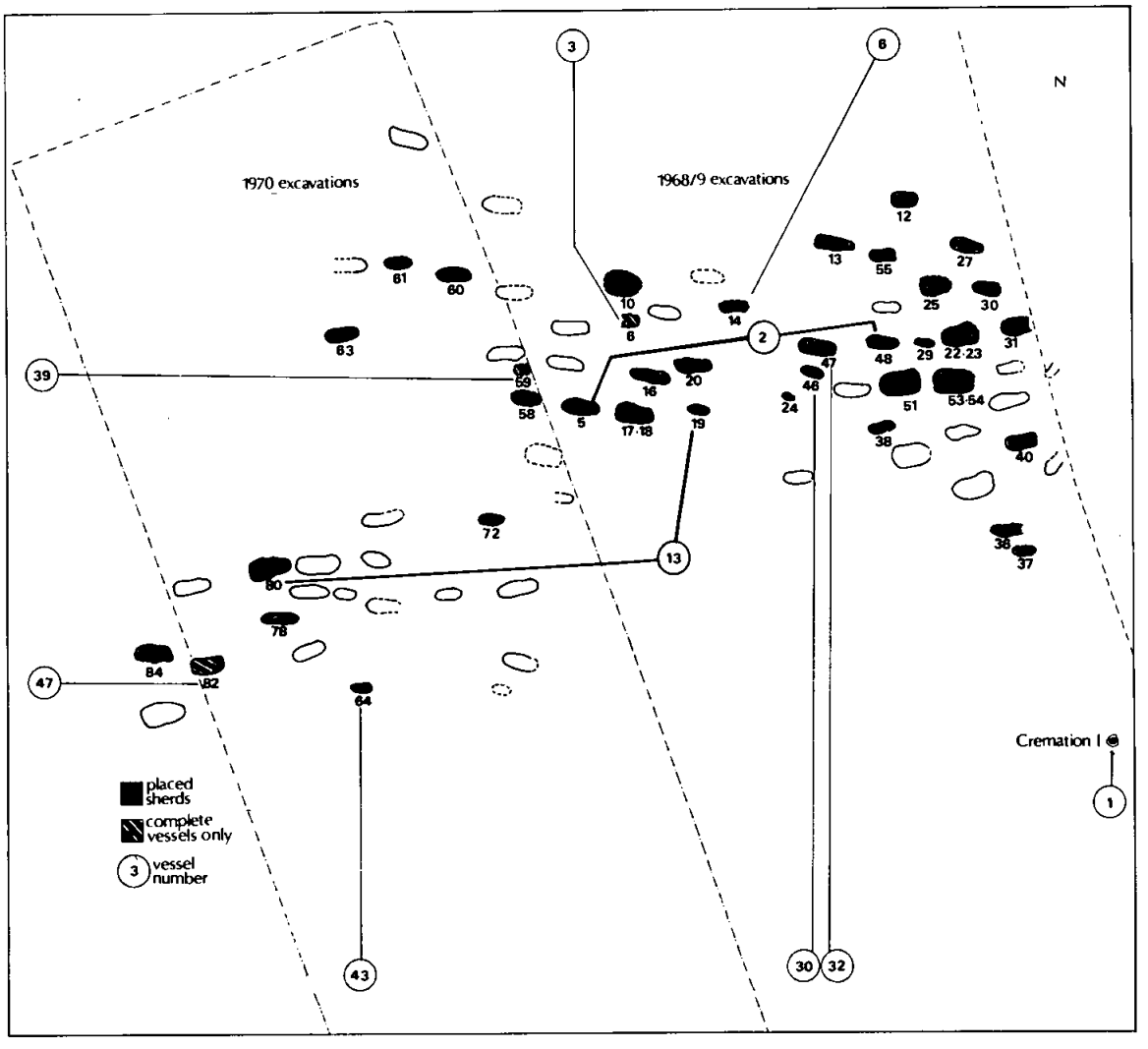


Fig 78 Distribution of the pottery within the cemetery: the *vessel-numbers* for complete pots and sherds of vessels from more than one grave are shown.

THE ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY by Terry Pearson

INTRODUCTION

This report describes only those vessels and sherds that were deliberately placed with burials as grave goods. The pottery assemblage is important for the interpretation of the cemetery and for placing the site within a local and regional context. Fifty deposits of pottery sherds and vessels were recovered from 41 inhumations and the single cremation, these sherds representing a total of 48 vessels of which 8 were complete at the time of burial. In two cases sherds of the same vessel were from different graves. Only two vessels were decorated, a stamped long-bossed vessel from the grave of a female (vessel 32: Grave 47 (1)) and a plain bossed bowl associated with the grave of a child (vessel 47; Grave 82 (1)). In 42 instances sherds placed within the grave indicated that their presence was an intentional part of the burial practice rather than an accidental incorporation of domestic rubbish within the grave-earth. It is suggested that pots may have been deliberately broken to provide sherds for grave goods and that a relationship may be inferred where sherds from the same vessel had been placed with different individuals.

The composition of the pottery assemblage in terms of the fabrics, forms and traditions of manufacture places it within a regional, East Midlands context. The overall proportions of the different types reflect the components of a pottery group from the fill of a sunken-featured building

at Stoke Doyle Road, Oundle (Foard and Pearson 1985, 10–11; Pearson forthcoming), confirming that the assemblage describes the domestic pottery in use during the later 5th- and early 6th-centuries.

The initial intention of working on the pottery from the Wakerley cemetery was to establish a description and characterisation for use in the analysis of other material from the region. The early loss of part of the assemblage, in common with the fate of many early excavations of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Hirst 1980, 240), was partially overcome by the thoroughness of the excavator's recording. Thus a record and brief description of the pottery survived

TABLE 2 LIST OF VESSELS

Vessel Number	Pottery Type	Grave Number	Cat. Number	Complete Vessel	Placed Sherds	Sherds Present	Sherds Lost
1	WAK001	Cremat.	1	Complete		46	
2	WAK014	5	13		1	4	
		48	9		1	7	
3	SANDY	6	1	Complete		1	Lost
4	WAK005	10	7		1	3	
5	CHALKY	12	3			1	Lost
6	WAK001	13	3		1	8	
7	WAK011	13	4		1	1	
8	WAK016	14	3a	Complete		45	
9	WAK004	14	3b		3	7	
10	CHALKY	16	2			9	Lost
11	SANDY	17	25			8	Lost
12	SANDY	18	16			4	Lost
13	WAK005	19	1		1	2	
		80	16		1	8	
14	WAK005	20	2		2–3	10	
15	WAK009	22	5		2–3	19	
16	WAK015	23	6		1	2	
17	GRITTY	24	1		SHERD	1	Lost
18	WAK005	25	10		1	1	
19	WAK010	27	9		1	10	
20	WAK001	29	1		1	48	
21	WAK001	29	2		1	30	
22	WAK004	30	7		1	9	
23	WAK012	30	9		1	8	
24	WAK003	31	5		1	8	
25	WAK002	36	2		4	4	
26	SANDY	37	2			3	Lost
27	CHALKY	38	6			1	Lost
28	CHALKY	40	6		SHERD	1	Lost
29	SHELL	40	7		SHERD	1	Lost
30	WAK005	46	1	Complete		50	
31	WAK002	46	2		2–3	13	
32	WAK017	47	1	Complete		78	
33	SANDY	47	2			13	Lost
34	------	51	6			1	Lost
35	------	53	4		SHERD	1	Lost
36	------	54	1		SHERD	1	Lost
37	------	55	2			1	Lost
38	WAK005	58	1		26	26	
39	WAK004	59	1	Complete		51	
40	WAK001	60	2		2	12	
41	WAK008	61	12		1	13	
42	WAK004	63	1		1	13	
43	WAK006	64	1	Complete		1	
44	WAK002	64	2		1	1	
45	WAK007	72	1		1	2	
46	WAK004	78	7		1	2	
47	WAK001	82	1	Compledte	1	27	
48	WAK006	84	5		1	11	

although in some cases the actual material could not be located. This record consisted of precise drawings of the individual graves showing the position of the pottery, accompanied by notes briefly describing the fabrics in addition to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory records and drawings of the individual vessels. As the work progressed it became clear that the pottery contributed to the understanding of the cemetery and afforded the only opportunity within Northamptonshire to assess the potential of the ceramics from this type of context. The attempt has therefore been made to describe the complete assemblage including the lost material.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The pottery was sorted into broad petrological groups which were then examined under high magnification to identify the resident grit-suites. Each type was described following a consistent format for ease of cross-reference (for the full fabric descriptions see microfiche F9–14). The missing sherds have been included in the tables and discussion based on the details recorded at the time of the excavation. It has been assumed that where the missing sherds comprised a single deposit they represented an individual vessel. This assumption is based on the analysis of the surviving pottery and should be taken into account in any future reassessment.

QUANTIFICATION

Sherds of the same fabric type from different graves were checked and compared, demonstrating that in two instances sherds from the same vessel came from different graves (vessel nos 2 and 13). Additionally, the proportion of the individual vessel represented by the sherds was also recorded. For ease of reference each identifiable separate vessel has been given a number (Table 2). Breaks that had occurred prior to the burial of the sherds had weathered differently from those of more recent origin. The examination and reconstruction of the fitting sherds has shown the number which were originally placed in the grave and subsequently broken (Table 2, 'Placed Sherds' and 'Sherds Present').

ANALYSIS OF THE FABRICS

The 580 sherds available for study were divided into 17 pottery-types (microfiche F11–14). These have been broadly summarised into six petrological groups (Table 3). The original classifications have been used for the missing pottery (Table 4).

The groups represented in the assemblage reflect the variety seen from Anglo-Saxon domestic sites in the Nene Valley (Foard and Pearson 1985, 10–12). The pottery types from Wakerley have been found in other contexts, most notably from the fill of a sunken featured building at Stoke Doyle Road, Oundle. The pottery-group from this structure was dominated by a local type of oolitic limestone-tempered pottery, which the presence of wasters indicates was produced on the site (Pearson forthcoming). The 'Oundle-type' is thought to date from the 5th to early 6th centuries and discontinued with the establishment of the 'Anglian' tradition in the first half of the 6th century. The significance of the pottery from the Wakerley cemetery is that it can be largely fitted into a regional pattern of coarse domestic ceramics, on which the local production and distribution of pottery existed alongside a wider trade in regional imports during the later 5th and early 6th centuries.

TABLE 3 BROAD PETROLOGICAL GROUPS

Petrological Group	Pottery Type	Sherds Present	Vessel Numbers	No of Vessels
1. *Romano-British*	WAK011	1	7	
	WAK012	8	23	2
2. *Oolitic-tempered*	WAK001	171	1, 6, 47, 20, 21, 40	
	WAK008	13	41	7
3. *Sandstone-tempered*	WAK002	18	25, 31, 44	
	WAK003	8	24	
	WAK005	100	4, 13, 14, 18, 30, 38	
	WAK017	78	32	11
4. *Granite-tempered*	WAK007	2	45	1
5. *Quartz-tempered*	WAK004	82	9, 22, 39, 42, 46	
	WAK010	10	19	
	WAK013			
	WAK014	11	2	
	WAK015	2	16	8
6. *Ironstone-tempered*	WAK009	19	15	
	WAK006	12	43, 48	
	WAK016	45	8	4
TOTAL	Sherds = 580		Vessels = 33	

TABLE 4 BROAD FABRIC GROUPS OF MISSING SHERDS AND VESSELS RECORDED AT THE TIME OF EXCAVATION

Fabric Group	Fabric	Sherds Recorded	Vessel Numbers	No of Vessels
'Sandy fabric'	SANDY	29	3, 11, 12, 26, 33	5
'Shell-tempered'	SHELL	1	29	1
'Chalky fabric'	CHALKY	12	5, 10, 27, 28	4
'Gritty fabric'	GRITTY	1	17	1
'Unrecorded fabric'	UNKNOWN	4	34, 35, 36, 37	4
Total Missing	Sherds = 47		Vessels = 15	

1. Romano-British Pottery

Types WAK011 and WAK012 are both Romano-British (grey ware and ?Oxford colour coated ware respectively). It is probable that these sherds were placed intentionally in the graves rather than being accidentally introduced. Domestic Anglo-Saxon assemblages often include Romano-British sherds and other objects (eg, West 1985, 82, 122), which in some cases show evidence of having been re-used.

2. Oolitic-tempered

Wakerley fabrics WAK001 and WAK008 can be paralleled by the dominant pottery type from Stoke Doyle Road, Oundle. The 'chalky fabric' recorded for sherds which are now missing probably refers to the same group of material (Table 4). Evidence for the production of this type within the region is suggested by the availability of the oolitic clays and the discovery of 'wasters' from the Oundle group (Foard and Pearson 1985, 10–11). A further indication comes from the distribution of the type which at present seems to be based on Oundle but occupying an elongated north to south zone along the River Nene.

3. Sandstone-tempered

The variety in the four sandstone-tempered fabrics suggests different sources of production and they can be paralleled with material from a wider region, at Raunds (Foard and Pearson 1985, 11) and Brigstock (unpublished).

4. Granite-tempered

Type WAK007 shows that some pottery was arriving at Wakerley from a distance. This type probably originated from the region of Mountsorrel, Leics which is the nearest granite source. The type was identified at Peterborough (Walker 1978) and has been found on other sites in the Nene Valley. The analysis of the Anglo-Saxon pottery from Raunds suggests the possibility of extensive trade in local types extending from south Lincolnshire to south Northamptonshire during the later 6th and early 7th centuries (Foard and Pearson 1985, 10–11). The significance of the material from Wakerley is that it suggests that this trade was established at an earlier date.

5. Quartz-tempered

Five fabrics were primarily tempered with quartz. The variety indicates several sources similar to the sandstone tempered group and types can be paralleled at Raunds (Pearson forthcoming (b)), Brigstock, Peterborough and Nassington (Leeds and Atkinson 1944). A wide range of quartz is available in Northamptonshire and adjacent counties, the predominant distribution of the quartz-tempered pottery is along the River Nene, and some varieties are thought to have been produced from the alluvial clays.

6. Ironstone-tempered

The ironstone-tempered fabrics from Wakerley can be paralleled with material from Brigstock while only a small amount has been found in assemblages from more southerly sites along the River Nene (eg, Raunds).

The composition of the Wakerley assemblage reflects differences in the quantities and proportions of vessels deposited in the graves. The average number of sherds representing each vessel was calculated for each petrological group and is shown in Table 5 (the quantities do not include missing sherds). During analysis it was noted that a greater proportion of vessels was present for type WAK001

TABLE 5 COMPOSITION OF THE WAKERLEY ASSEMBLAGE

GROUP	DESCRIPTION	Average: Sherds to a Single Vessel	SHERDS		VESSELS	
			No	%	No	Whole
1	Romano-British	4.5	9	1.5	2	
2	Oolitic-tempered	26.3	184	31.7	7	2
3	Sandstone-tempered	18.5	204	35.2	11	2
4	Granite-tempered	2.0	2	0.3	1	
5	Quartz-tempered	13.1	105	18.1	8	1
6	Ironstone-tempered	19.0	76	13.1	4	2

than for other types. This is reflected in the high average sherd score (33.1 sherds to the individual vessel) and in view of the evidence for this being a local type is thought to signify a scarcity/availability value. Although the average sherd score could be biased towards the friability of the pottery-type, this does not appear to have been the case at Wakerley where selected sherds of the local pottery type (WAK001) were larger than sherds chosen from different types. Analysis of the sherd breaks determined the number of sherds originally deposited in the graves (Table 2, col 6) and when taken in association with the average sherd score (Table 5, col 3) indicates that the selection criteria for all sherds except vessel 38 was probably similar.

THE POTTERY FORMS

Six classes of form could be identified in the assemblage. Table 6 comprises all the identifiable forms including those of the missing sherds which were drawn before they were mislaid. The forms reflect the pottery in use on habitation sites (for example, at Raunds). The large number of small bowls seems to be a feature of early (5th- to early 6th-century) assemblages and are proportionally less well represented in later 6th- and early 7th-century assemblages in Northamptonshire.

Table 7 shows the occurrence of the various vessel forms from burials of different age/sex. The deviation in the total scores for male, female, and child burials suggests that there was bias in the use of pottery as a part of the grave goods. There was 65% probability of pottery being placed with a child burial, but only 45% and 38% chance of it being placed with female and male burials respectively. This imbalance is also reflected in the different forms of vessel deposited, together with their condition. The majority of complete vessels were associated with child burials (five) while only two were found with female and none with male burials. Of these, the highly decorated jar (vessel 32) was

TABLE 6 CLASSES OF VESSEL FORMS FROM WAKERLEY: NUMBER IN BRACKETS INDICATE SHERDS WHERE THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMS IS DOUBTFUL

FORM	Vessel Numbers	No of Vessels
Decorated Jars	32	1
Large Jars	1, (4, 6, 9), 10, (14, 18, 19, 22, 31, 40, 46, 48)	13
Special Vessels	2, 42	2
Decorated Bowls	47	1
Small Bowls	3, 8, 17, 20, 21, 25, 30, 39, 43, 44, 45	11
Large Bowls	13, 15, 16, (24), 28, 36, (38?), 41	8
Romano-British forms	7, 23	2
Unidentifiable forms	5, 11, 12, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37	10
	Total Vessels =	48

TABLE 7 THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POTTERY FORMS BY SEX/AGE

FORM	MALE		FEMALE		FEM/CH		CHILD		UNCER		TOTALS	
	ves	sh	ves	sh	ves	sh	ves	sh	ves	sh	ves	sh
Decorated Jars			1	78							1	78
Large Jars	4	37	6	38			2	20	1*	46	13	141
Special Vessels [Bowls]			1	13	1	11					2	24
Decorated Bowls							1	27			1	27
Small Bowls			1	1			9	229	1	4	11	234
Large Bowls	2	21	2	34	1	10	3	15			8	80
Romano-British forms	1	1	1	8							2	9
Unidentified forms	1	1	5	57			3	5	1	1	10	34
TOTALS	8	60	17	199	2	21	18	296	3	51	48	627
% [of sherds]	9.5		31.7		3.3		47.2		8.1			

Complete Vessels	0	2	0	5	1

Burials with Pottery	7	17		15	2	41
Total Burials	18	38		23	6	85

Note: The FEM/CH column lists sherds of the same vessel that were placed in two graves.
* indicates the cremation [vessel 1].

found with a female burial and the only other decorated vessel, a bowl with simple bosses (vessel 47), accompanied a child. Small bowls chiefly occurred with child burials while the more fragmentary large jars and large bowls tended to be associated with adult burials.

Decorated Jars

There was only one highly decorated jar in the assemblage: vessel 32 from the grave of a female (grave 47; FIG 46). The decorative scheme places it in the class of 'long-bossed' vessels defined by Myres (1977, 43-4). The form is jar-shaped without a pronounced biconical waist and with narrow long bosses, formed by pressing out the vessel wall, which extend from below the neck line to a point, low down, above the base. The slender spaces between the bosses are filled with roughly incised pendant triangles alternately furnished with stamp-impressions and incised hatched lines. Below the neck but above the bosses a horizontal panel, containing stamp-impressions, is depicted by double incised lines. The form of the vessel suggests that it belongs to the group with pedestal or footring bases. The fabric of this vessel was unique in the assemblage, suggesting that it was probably not made locally.

Large Jars

The large jars are fragmentary apart from vessel 1 (originally complete, but only its lower part now survives) which contained the only cremation in the cemetery. Two basic forms of large jar can be identified out of thirteen vessels, globular and biconical (Table 6). There is a degree of uncertain definition in the majority of the cases as there were insufficient sherds to place them in either category.

Special Vessels

Large sherds from two vessels (vessels 2 and 42) were recovered from three graves (graves 5, 48, and 63). Both vessels appear to have been used for a specific function in that they were large bowl forms capable of suspension and bore evidence of extensive internal burning. Vessel 2 (FIGS 12 and 48) comprised a well defined form with footring and pierced lugs applied to the widest point of the body (cf Myres 1977, 10, figs 74–6). Two large sherds of this vessel were deposited in different graves (graves 5 annd 48). The second vessel (vessel 42) comprised a plain bowl form with rounded base (FIG 59). A hole had been pierced through the body below the rim after the vessel had been fired. There were probably only two holes pierced opposite each other for suspension as only one was evident in the complete half of the vessel that had been deposited in grave 63. The type of burning on the interior of these vessels requires further analysis. Visual inspection shows it to consist of thick carbonised material containing vegetable structures. It is suggested that these vessels were used to contain burning material and should perhaps be referred to as 'fire-pots' to distinguish them from lamps or cooking pots.

It is possible that they may have functioned as censers containing smouldering grasses and herbs. Both vessels were equipped with lugs and holes for suspension which would permit them to be carried or hung while in use. At first sight the use of such vessels would not seem out of place in the cemetery context especially if some mortuary practice was followed, however, vessels with internal burning are found on domestic sites and it is equally probable that they were primarily used there.

Decorated Bowls

Only one decorated bowl was recovered from the cemetery (vessel 47; grave 82) in association with the child's burial. This vessel (FIG 72) was decorated with four groups of vertical short hollow-bosses, three with triple bosses and one with two bosses. The fabric was tempered with oolitic limestone (type WAK001) which places it in the locally produced group and, so far it is the only extant decorated example from this workshop. Stylistically the vessel belongs to the series of plain bossed forms defined by Myres (1977, 10–11), in particular to the bossed bowls (*ibid*, fig 85); in this case however, the pot should belong to the later 5th or early 6th century rather than later.

Small Bowls

This group was the most complete of all, with five of the eleven vessels identified being whole (vessels 3, 8, 30, 39 and 43). Of them, nine pots were placed with child burials (Table 7). The rounded form can be compared with vessels from neighbouring sites (eg, Nassington cemetery: Leeds and Atkinson 1944, 104 and fig 3, nos 44 and 35a). All the Saxon fabric groups are represented in this class, including the one granite-tempered vessel which is probably an import from the Mountsorrel region in Leicestershire.

TABLE 8 COMPLETE VESSELS

VESSEL No	GRAVE No	FORM	SEX/AGE	POSITION IN GRAVE
3	6	Small Bowl	Female	Feet
47	82	Decorated Bowl	Child	Feet
8	14	Small Bowl	Child	Pelvis
30	46	Small Bowl	Child	Pelvis
32	47	Decorated Jar	Female	Head
39	59	Small Bowl	Child	Head
43	64	Small Bowl	Child	Head
1	*	Large Plain Jar	Cremation 1	

Large Bowls

Eight large bowls were identified but all were fragmentary.

Unidentified Forms

Sherds from ten separate vessels identified and recorded at the time of excavation were lost subsequently. The surviving drawings and documentation are insufficient to identify the forms with confidence, but it is possible to suggest that they may be either large jars or large bowls.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POTTERY IN THE CEMETERY

The excavation covered the complete Pagan Saxon cemetery and is the only recent work within the county to record the burials and the contents of graves in any detail. It enables the pottery to be assessed in terms of the different types of deposit in the graves (eg, whether as complete vessels, sherds, or sherds from the same vessel in different graves) in relation to the different sex and broad age ranges of the individuals it accompanied. The full implications of

TABLE 9 PLACED SHERDS

VESSEL No	GRAVE No	FORM	SEX/AGE	POSITION IN GRAVE
25	36	Small Bowl	Unidentified	Feet
5	12	Unidentified	Unidentified	Feet
11	17	Unidentified	Female	Feet
38	58	Large Bowl?	Female	Feet
40	60	Large Jar	Female	Feet
42	63	Special Vessel	Female	Feet
14	20	Large Jar	Male	Feet
26	37	Unidentified	Child	Feet
41	61	Large Bowl	Child	Feet
36	54	Large Bowl	Child	Legs
18	25	Large Jar	Female	Pelvis
24	31	Large Bowl	Female	Pelvis
13	80	Large Bowl	Female	Pelvis
16	23	Large Bowl	Male	Pelvis
9	14	Large Jar	Child	Pelvis
31	46	Large Jar	Child	Pelvis
37	55	Unidentified	Child	Pelvis
2	5	Special Vessel	Female	Chest
22	30	Large Jar	Female	Chest
23	30	Romano-British	Female	Chest
27	38	Unidentified	Female	Chest
35	53	Unidentified	Female	Chest
46	78	Large Jar	Female	Chest
10	16	Large Jar	Male	Chest
19	27	Large Jar	Male	Chest
28	40	Large Bowl	Child	Chest
45	72	Small Bowl	Child	Chest
2	48	Special Vessel	Child	Right Arm
33	47	Unidentified	Female	Left Arm
48	84	Large Jar	Female	Left Arm
6	13	Large Jar	Male	Left Arm
7	13	Romano-British	Male	Left Arm
34	51	Unidentified	Male	Left Arm
4	10	Large Jar	Female	Head
15	22	Large Bowl	Male	Head
17	24	Small Bowl	Child	Head
29	40	Unidentified	Child	Head
44	64	Small Bowl	Child	Head
12	18	Unidentified	Female	Unknown
13	19	Large Bowl	Child	Unknown
20	29	Small Bowl	Child	Unknown
21	29	Small Bowl	Child	Unknown

this work will only be realised with the integrated analysis of all the finds and as yet this has not been attempted. It would seem, however, that the pottery from Wakerley is unusually sensitive in suggesting differences or variations in the burial practices employed. It is hoped that this study may suggest some guidelines for the analysis of pottery from similar contexts at other sites.

THE COMPLETE VESSELS

Eight complete vessels were recovered from the cemetery, of which five (vessels 8, 30, 39, 43 and 47) accompanied child burials and two (vessels 3 and 32) were with female burials apart from the cremation vessel (vessel 1). The vessels from child graves consisted of small bowls apart from vessel 47. The pots from female graves comprised a small bowl and a decorated jar (vessel 32). Table 8 lists the position of the vessels with graves.

Sherds Places in Graves

Excluding the complete vessels there were a further 42 deposits of pottery-sherds placed in graves. Inspection of the sherds enabled the extent of post-depositional breakage to be determined and from this a calculation of the number of sherds that were originally deposited. In most cases one or two large sherds were chosen originally to be placed in the grave indicating the deliberate nature of this process. The only instance where this was not followed was in the case of vessel 38 (grave 58) where 26 odd and non-joining sherds from the same pot were deposited. The number of sherds excavated and the number of sherds that were originally deposited are shown in Table 2, cols 6 and 7. Table 9 shows the position of the placed sherds in each grave. This suggests that there was no preference for placing the sherds in relation to any particular part of the body and in some cases sherds were variously placed within a single grave (eg, grave 40). The total of placed sherds and complete vessels (excluding the cremation Vessel 1) gives the following scores:

Upper Body	
Head	8
Chest	10
Left Arm	5
Right Arm	1
Total for Upper Body	24
Lower Body	
Pelvis	9
Legs	1
Feet	11
Total for Lower Body	21
Unknown Placings	4
Total Pottery Deposits	49

DISCUSSION

In two cases sherds from the same vessel were found in different graves: Vessel 2 from Grave 5 (Female) and Grave 48 (Child) and Vessel 13 from Grave 19 (Child) and Grave 80 (Female). This is important though it could have resulted from several processes such as the burial of individuals at the same time or the accidental collection of sherds, or at a more subtle level, it may indicate some social relationship between the individuals. The large size of the sherds involved would suggest that they were placed in the graves at more or less the same time, indicating some contemporaneity between the burials: this type of pottery breaks down rapidly once broken and one deposit should have comprised smaller sherds if it was significantly later. This is further emphasised by the distance between the graves concerned (FIG 78).

The use of sherds in graves was a practice in the burial of about half of the population represented in the Wakerley cemetery. The way in which sherds were selected for use in individual graves may have a bearing on the use of sherds from the same vessel in multiple graves and this avenue needs to be explored further. Apart from two decorated vessels, all the pottery would appear to be domestic and presumably derived from the occupation site, although its location is not known. The size of the sherds and the lack of wear, particularly on the edges, indicate that they derive from vessels that had not been long broken before they were entombed; in addition, in several cases more than one large sherd from the same vessel was used. This would seem to rule out the use of sherds from a general rubbish heap or midden and infers that vessels may have been deliberately broken to provide sherds for grave goods. The evidence from the condition of the pottery indicates that sherds were collected from freshly broken vessels and that the use of sherds from the same vessel in different graves is likely to have been contemporary. This would imply that there was some relationship between the individuals that shared sherds from the same vessel. As only two instances were detected, any conclusion cannot be statistically verified, but it may be significant that in both cases the sherds derived from the burials of women and children.

The placed sherds form an important component of the grave goods, but it is uncertain whether their use was common practice in the burial rituals of a wider area. The nearest comparable excavated cemetery at Nassington (Leeds and Atkinson 1944) makes no reference to the discovery of pottery sherds placed in graves (*ibid.* 125–6). Similarly, there is no evidence for sherds being recovered from graves at the Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery at Marston St Lawrence (Dryden 1849; 1885). In the wider region of East Anglia the practice is recorded at Bergh Apton (Green and Rogerson 1978) and at Swaffham, Norfolk (Hills and Wade Martins 1976, 27). At the latter site it is suggested that the deposition of the pottery was deliberate as it only occurred in the four male graves. An accidental derivation for this pottery is not altogether ruled out, however, as it is not unusual to find rubbish incorporated in graves The circumstances through which domestic rubbish could have been deposited in the cemetery area can only be maintained if the settlement site was adjacent or where the graveyard is situated on the site of earlier occupation (as at Woodston, Peterborough; information from M Howe, Peterborough Museum). In both cases a spread of refuse, including pottery, could have been exposed with the digging of the grave and later reincorporated in the backfilled grave-earth. At Wakerley there was no evidence for a spread of material from an adjacent settlement site over the cemetery. The record of 41 deposits of placed sherds from 38 graves out of a total

population of 85 burials suggests that the deliberate use of sherds as grave goods was a significant aspect of the burial ritual.

THE TEXTILES by Elisabeth Crowfoot

(Fibre identification, H M Appleyard, WIRA)

Textile evidence was present on many of the metal grave goods from the Wakerley cemetery, but preservation was variable and, in many cases where spinning direction could still be seen, weave was not clear. The fibres in much of the material had been mineralised during contact with the metal, and some still flexible were badly deteriorated.

A number of the weaving techniques identified from other Anglo-Saxon sites are represented here; there are fragments of over twenty certain twill weaves, including both four- and three-shed constructions, three tabby (plain) weaves, tablet-woven braids or borders, and one important weave of considerable interest with a reversible weft-float pattern on a tabby ground.

FIBRES AND SPINNING

Fibre identifications carried out by H M Appleyard, FTI, at the Wool Industries Research Association could only be tentative (see Appendix, p 172). Vegetable fibres, which when clearly identifiable in Anglo-Saxon contexts have so far always been flax, were found in six samples—two tablet-weaves, one twill, one fine tabby, and in threads used for tying. Animal fibre, likely to be sheep's wool, was identified in one twill.

So far in the study of Anglo-Saxon textiles flax is always Z-spun, while wool can be spun in either direction. At Wakerley spinning in tabby weaves is Z, while the twills are fairly evenly divided between the Z-spun and those with mixed spinning, Z one system, S the other—a rather higher proportion of mixed spinning than that recorded in other cemeteries.

WEAVES

In only two cases was selvedge preserved attached to a weave, but in textiles woven on the warp-weighted loom used by the Anglo-Saxons, and particularly in twills, the warp thread count is often noticeably higher than that of the weft; in the catalogue the denser count has therefore been placed first, except where there is clear contrary evidence.

FLOAT-PATTERENED WEAVE (FIG 8)

The mineralised weave with weft float pattern on the shield boss in grave 85 (PLS 4 and 5) is so far unique among fabrics found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The construction, with a tabby ground weave and a supplementary pattern weft moving over and under the ground in three-thread floats, produces a reversible fabric, pattern both sides. The other side could only be seen on a small broken-off fragment, but the weaving is rather loose, and the three yarns used can be clearly distinguished from each other; the warp is coarse but fairly evenly Z-spun, the ground weft also Z-spun but considerably finer, and the pattern weft coarse and very loosely S-spun, with a softer appearance than the other yarns. The two wefts would no doubt have been of different colours. It is possible that all the threads were of wool, though the appearance of the ground weft rather suggests flax. The pattern weft can be seen passing the whole way across the width preserved, and is not simply an occasional brocading. Though the main area preserved is only 90 × 50mm, patches and traces of the same weave survive all over the boss, and it seems likely that the coverlet or cloak, spread over the arms and possibly the whole contents of the grave, was patterned all over, rather than a tabby weave with a wide patterned border.

Comparative material near in date to this weave seems to be lacking. Float patterns on tabby grounds from two German sites, particularly a tiny fragment from Donzdorf with very similar yarns, are considered by Prof H-J Hundt as likely to have come from borders (Hundt 1966, 98 and 1972, 104, pl 76). Hand-laid float patterns on large hangings and coverlets from Egypt of the 5th–7th centuries produce large areas of pattern, but the passage of the threads varies (Kendrick 1921, 78–80; Lopes Cardozo and Zijderveld 1982, 37, 38). Dr Peter Collingwood, to whom a drawing of the weave was shown, points out that it is likely, from the way the weft floats are disposed, that the pattern weft was laid in some shed produced by the harness, and not just inserted by hand, as the float over two ends is typical of the edges of a pattern block produced by shafts (pers comm 4 Dec, 1973).

As far as can be seen, the weave construction is identical with a two-colour weave used for bedspreads among early 19th-century English settlers in Canada, known as 'Summer and Winter', the lighter side used uppermost in summer, the darker in winter. H B Burnham, discussing these weaves, suggested that their construction appeared to be descended from the weft-faced compound tabby, a two-faced weave with reversible patterns found in Coptic cemeteries in Egypt. In this two pattern wefts are used, one of which floats on the face, the other on the back of the weave, changing places as needed for the design. Burnham pointed out that 'if one of these continues to float on the face or reverse as required, while the second is used to produce a tabby ground, 'summer and winter' weave results' (Burnham and Burnham 1972, 264–5). The weft-face compound tabbies, found in contexts probably of the 4th–6th centuries in Egypt, are generally regarded as evidence of the earliest form of loom with treadles in the Mediterranean area (Kendrick 1921, 71–5; Wilson 1933, 13, 17–18). The Wakerley textile may provide another small piece of evidence regarding this early form of loom, though not of its use among the Anglo-Saxons at this period. It should certainly be regarded as an imported luxury fabric.

TWILL WEAVES (FIG 79, B–E)

Among the twill weaves, the majority are four-shed (2/2) constructions. In Anglo-Saxon twills mixed spinning, Z warp and S weft, often indicates a twill with broken diamond or chevron pattern (FIG 79, D, E); only one piece at Wakerley (grave 80.a, p) unmistakably shows a broken diamond, though too little to recover the pattern, but the lie of the diagonals in another (grave 34.a) indicates this must have been one of these weaves. The broken diamond twill, a construction very well suited to the warp-weighted loom,

appears throughout northern weaving, and in Anglo-Saxon finds as a good quality garment fabric in wool, and for furnishings, such as pillow covers, in flax (Crowfoot G M, 1951, 30–2; Crowfoot E, 1967, 39; 1969, 51; 1976, 32; 1978, 105; 1983, 418–24; 1985a, 52–3; Crowfoot E and Jones J, 1984, 18).

One fine regular weave is a three-shed (2/1) twill (FIG 79, B) in wool (grave 49.a) with a tubular selvedge; a second probable example, mineralised, was found in grave 58. The earliest known occurrence of this twill seems to be from Europe, a fragment of the Halstatt period described by Prof Hundt (Hundt 1964, 180ff.). Though it does not appear in Scandinavian archaeology before the Viking period, the number of Anglo-Saxon examples, in wool and flax, are of such varying style and quality that it is impossible to believe the weave was not being locally produced (Crowfoot G M, 1952, 190; 1953, 61; Crowfoot E, 1966, 29; 1978, 104–5; 1981, 98; 1983, 438–42; 1985a, 53; Crowfoot E and Jones J, 1984, 18). Some of the early finds of three-shed twills come from Roman Syrian sites of the first centuries AD (Hoffmann 1964, 251–3), and the earliest example in England is from a Roman hoard of the 1st century AD at Corbridge, Northumberland (Wild 1970, 50); it is possible that its production in England was a legacy from the Roman occupation.

TABBY WEAVES (FIG 79, A)

In the undyed ?flax tabby weave lying on the face of the squareheaded brooch from grave 80, the remains of a tubular selvedge (FIG 80, c, d) indicate that in this cloth the denser count must have been the weft, though the rather loose weave is pulled and distorted. The tubular selvedge (present here also probably on twills in graves 28 and 49) seems to have been a favourite in Anglo-Saxon weaving (Crowfoot E, 1978, 104, 106; 1981, 96–8; 1983, 473–4; 1985a, 52–3). Its virtues as a practical and hard-wearing edge seem to have outweighed the trouble its different shedding system requires, ensuring its continuing use from the Danish Bronze Age (Hald 1950, 155–6) throughout medieval times, and in north-eastern Europe until mechanisation in the 18th century.

TABLET WEAVES (FIG 80, a, b)

Recognisable but very fragmentary remains of tablet-woven borders or braids come from six graves. In grave 5, tiny scraps show six twists of the simplest 4-hole type, all lying in one direction, S (FIG 80, a.II), perhaps from a starting border. In grave 69 confused remains of a flax fragment in the sleeve-clasps probably come from a braid sewn as cuff to the sleeve, as at Mitchell's Hill and Mildenhall (Crowfoot G M, 1951, 26–8; 1952, 189–91), and on a strap-end from grave 74 a fragment of 4-hole tablet-weave with twists lying in chevrons, alternately Z and S (FIG 80, a.I) show that here the strap was a woven braid. Another braid of ?flax from grave 78 is in an interesting tablet-weave in which only two holes are threaded, to which the nearest English parallel is a 13th-century belt braid (Crowfoot G M 1954, 234–5).

COSTUME

Apart from a few details like these, very little can be said about the clothing from the Wakerley cemetery. What there

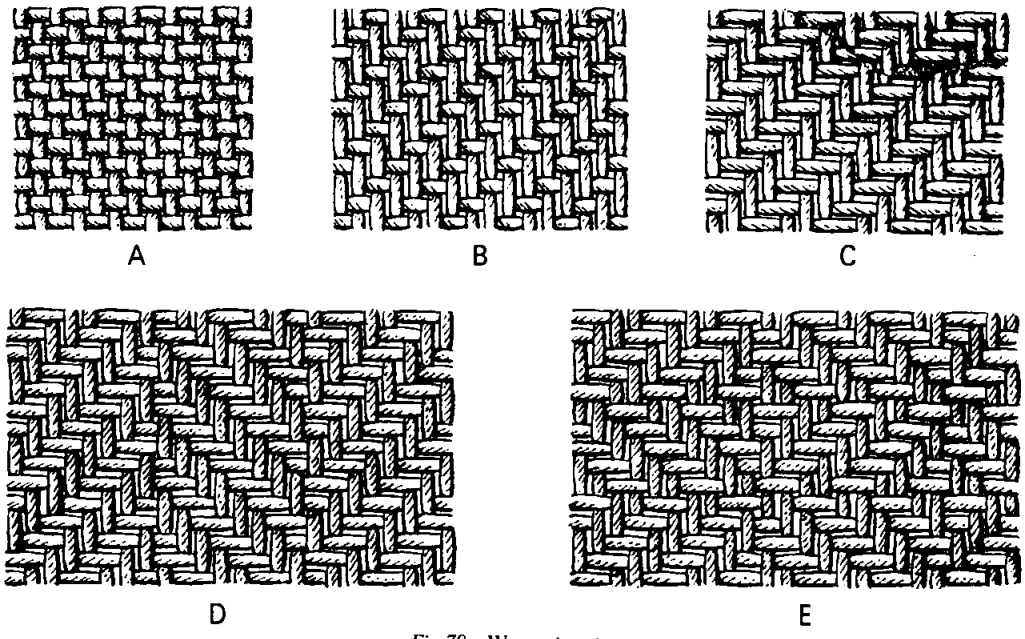


Fig 79 Weave types.
A. Tabby; B. 2/1 (3-shed) twill; C. 2/2 (4-shed) twill; D. 4-shed herring-bone (broken chevron) twill; E. 4-shed broken diamond twill.

TABLE 10. TEXTILE CATALOGUE

Note: Spinning direction of yarns indicated by letters Z and S, probable warp thread being placed first. Overall measurements in ems, weave counts in threads per 1 cm, except where otherwise stated.

Grave	*Number*	*Object*	*Position on object*	*Measurement*	*Fibre*	*Spin*	*Weave*	*Thread count*	*Comments*
4	(e) 681834	Iron rod	patch	1.4 × 0.5	mineralised	Z/Z	twill	(fine)	surface damaged
5	(b) 681751	Annular brooch	on pinhead	L. 9 mm	mineralised	Z/?	tablet, 4-hole	8–9 wefts, (on 9 mm)	—
			over tablet weave	—	mineralised	Z,Sply	—	—	bunch 4 threads,
	(e,f) 681761	detached	?from pin (b)	0.6 × 0.5	mineralised	Z/?Z	tablet, 4-hole	6 twists, (5 mm)	twists all S (FIG 80.a.II)
18	(b) 681943	Buckle	patch on back	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	threads
	(k) 681938	Iron hook	all over one side, patches other	—	mineralised	Z/S	twill	—	surface damaged
28	(a) 681924	Annular brooch	on ring	0.5 × 0.4	mineralised	Z/S	2/2 twill	9/6 (5 mm)	smaller scraps
			back, pin-point	—	mineralised	Z	?tablet	—	?broken edge, twists
			detached	1.0 × 0.6	impression	Z/?	?twill	5 on 5 mm	rust on earth
	(b) 681925	brooch	round pin	W. 2.5 mm	mineralised	Z	?tubular selvedge or round plait	4–5 (on 2.5 mm)	(see FIG 80.c.d)
30	(a)	Brooch	on pin	—	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	weave not clear
	(b) 681918	Swastika brooch	back	1.5 × 1.5	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	7/6 (5 mm)	—
	(f) 681974	Iron fragments	round pieces	4.5 × 2.0	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	est.11/10	coarser than (b)
33	(a) 681977	Shield boss	on iron	3.0 × 2.5	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	12/13	and smaller areas
34	(a) 681976	Spearhead	one side	3.0 × 1.0, 1.5 × 1.0	mineralised	Z/S	2/2 twill, broken diamond or chevron	12/9	reverses both systems
	(h)	Iron knife	on blade	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	threads on leather
	(j)	Iron key and buckle	outside	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	threads
			inside chape	—	mineralised	S	—	—	threads
44,45	(c) 690550	Brooch with animal head	pinhead	1.3 × 1.0	mineralised	Z/S	2/2 twill	12/?	only Z systems clear
	(g) 690551	Bronze coin	both sides	1.3 × 1.1	flax	Z/Z	2/2 twill	8/8 on 5 mm	parts surface worn
49	(a) 690570	Annular brooch	front, and on pin-head	1.3 × 1.0, 4.0 × 1.2	deteriorated	Z/Z	2/1 twill, tubular selvedge	8/9 on 5 mm, 13–14 warps	(FIG 79.B) even spin, soft folds, end
			detached	1.5 × 0.7	animal (wool)	Z/Z	(same weave)	8/8 on 5 mm	showing reverse sides; selvedge FIG 80.c.d.
56	(a)	Shield handle	centre	for L.2.0 cm	mineralised	Z,Sply	—	—	lashing round grip
		Discs from shield		—	?flax	Z/Z	—	(fine)	traces, deteriorated
57	(a)	Swastika brooch	front	2.0 × 1.5	vegetable, ?flax	Z/Z	—	16 one system	part replaced, surface deteriorated
			back, pinhead	—	mineralised	Z/?	?twill	—	threads in pairs; coarse fibres ?leather
	(b)	Small long brooch	front	2.0 × 0.8	mineralised	Z/S	2/2 twill	—	damaged
	(c)	Iron pin	—		mineralised	Z/S	—	—	threads
	(d)	Sleeve clasps	on all pieces	—	deteriorated	Z	—	—	traces textile
58	(d)	Small long brooch	pinhead and catchplate	2.5 × 2.0	mineralised	Z	—	—	too damaged for weave identification
			under, on metal	1.3 × 0.2	mineralised	Z/Z	twill ?2/1	est.15/12	fairly certain 2/1
	(e)	Iron object	—	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	threads
61	(e)	Bronze ring	on ring	1.1 × 1.2	mineralised	Z/S	?twill	—	similar weave on both
	(k)	Iron fragment							
	(f)	Iron fragment	—	0.8 × 0.7	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	est.10/10	damaged, and similar on buckle (b)
	(d,h,i)	Bronze plates, strip		—	traces	Z/Z	—	—	tiny scraps, fine
69	(a)	Iron key	on ring	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	coarse threads
	(b)	Iron ring	all over	—	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	surface deteriorated
	(c)	Iron buckle	top surface	—	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	—	coarse remains
	(d)	Sleeve clasps	underneath	1.2 × 0.8	flax	Z/Z.Sply	tablet, 4-hole	twists 5 5 mm wefts 8 per cm	twists 2S, 1Z, 1S, 1Z on 5 mm, confused by Z sewing ?to cuff edge; twists almost parallel to fastening, ?due to fold when sewn under
70	(a)	Trefoil brooch	front	0.8 × 0.5	mineralised	Z/Z	?tabby	est.16/14	under bone
			waist, round pin	L. 2.0 cm	vegetable	Z,Sply	?fringe	—	2 threads, part 3 others, no sign of wefts
			back	—	mineralised	Z/Z	—	—	deteriorated

	(i)	Trefoil brooch	back	—	mineralised	Z/Z	—	—	as on (a) pair
	(c)	Iron buckle	main piece	0.7 × 0.8	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	9/6 on 5 mm	traces other fragments
	(d)	Sleeve clasps	front	0.8 × .025	mineralised	Z/Z	twill	est.12–13/12	—
			detached	2.8 × 2.0	deteriorated	Z/Z	2/2 twill	—	impression of front
	(f)	Iron knife	—	—	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	small deteriorated lump
71	(a)	Iron knife	—	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	threads from weave
	(b)	Iron buckle	above pin	—	mineralised	Z/Z	—	—	deteriorated weave, some thick Z threads
	(e)	Cruciform brooch	near pin hinge	—	mineralised	Z/Z.Sply	tablet	—	tiny, one S twist
	(f)	Cruciform brooch	back	2.5 × 2.5	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	layers or folds, surface damaged
	(g)	Penannular brooch	inside edge	1.5 × 1.5	mineralised	Z/S	?twill	—	deteriorated surface
73	(c)	Annular brooch	front, across edge, from pin	L.2.0 cm	?flax	Z.sply	round plait	—	6-thread plait
			both sides pin	L.4.0 cm	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	surface damaged
74	(a)	Cruciform brooch,	back, pin and pin head	c.4.0 × 6.0	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	10/10	weave (1)
		detachable knobs	against catchplate	0.5 × 0.3	mineralised	Z/Z	tabby	est.10/10	weave (2) under (1)
			on knobs	—	vegetable, ?flax	Z: Z.Sply	—	—	threads, some ?plaited, fastening knobs on
	(b)	Round brooch	along pin	—	mineralised	Z/S	twill	—	weave (3) deteriorated
	(e)	Small long brooch	pinhead	1.8 × 2.0	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	c.14/12	weave (4)
					mineralised	Z.Sply	—	—	knot, coarse threads
	(e)	Small long brooch	pinhead, catchplate	3.0 × 2.0	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	16/12	weave (4)
	(d,r)	Sleeve clasps	inside	—	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	?weave (3), fine
	(g)	Strap end	one side	—	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	?weave (3), fine
			underside of stud	0.8 × 0.7	mineralised	Z/Z.Sply	tablet, 4-hole	—	4 twists clear, S.Z.S.Z, (FIG 80,a.l)
	(h)	Strap	one side	—	deteriorated	Z/Z	—	—	on leather strap
	(i)	Strap end	top surface beneath	3.0 × 1.5	deteriorated	Z/S	—	—	?(3), fine, and under stud leather from strap
	(ii)	Iron buckle, (j)	Iron fragment,	(l) Iron ring:	all fine	Z/S threads.	(k)	Iron knife, (o)	Nail: Z threads
78	(a) 706107	Swastika brooch	front	c.3.5 × 1.5	vegetable	Z/Z	tablet, 2-hole	12 twists/ 5 wefts	(FIG 80,b) inaccurate meeting, twill effect
			front, under tablet	—	deteriorated	Z/S	—	—	dark brown, scraps
			back, pinhead	1.2 × 1.0	mineralised	Z/S	2/2 twill	—	probably as above, but yarns replaced ?coarser
	(b)	Swastika brooch	front	1.2 × 1.0	mineralised	Z/S	?twill	—	scattered areas
			back, pinhead	—	mineralised	Z/?S	?tablet weave	—	possibly different pattern
	(c)	Bronze pin	all along	—	traces	Z/S	?twill	—	
	(e)	Bronze earring	round ring	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	thread tied round
	(h)	Iron key	along shaft	—	mineralised	Z/S	—	—	traces coarse weave
80	(b) 706113	Squarcheaded brooch	front, plate	2.5 × 3.5	vegetable, ?flax	Z/Z	tabby, tubular selvedge	13–14/18 ?12 wps,	weave (1) ?undyed; L.1.5; (FIG 80,c,d)
			back, over pin	c.4.0 × 6.5	animal, ?wool	Z/Z	2/2 twill	14/12	weave (2) parts replaced, clear in bead-marks
	(a,p)	Coiled annular brooches	pinhead (p) patches (a)	0.6 × 0.7	mineralised	Z/?	2/2 twill, broken diamond	—	weave (3), fine, one system only preserved
	(e)	Bronze wire ring	wound round	—	traces	Z	—	—	threads
	(f)	Iron key	—	—	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	—	probably weave (2)
	(g)	Iron bars	on all pieces	5.0 × 2.0	deteriorated	Z/S	twill	—	scattered; probably (3)
	(h)	Iron knife	on wood sheath	—	deteriorated	S	—	—	coarse threads, wound round
	(i)	Iron ring	all round	—	mineralised	Z/S	twill	—	deteriorated, ?(3)
	(l)	Bronze ring	over surface	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	fine weave, deteriorated
	(m)	Sleeve clasps	on back	—	mineralised	Sply, Zply	?tablet	—	probably twists, braid; Z sewing thread in hole
82	(f)	Annular brooch	front	1.5 × 1.0	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	7/7	loose weave, pulled
			all over pin	—	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	—	possibly finer, confused
	(j)	Annular brooch	back and front of pin	—	mineralised	Z/Z	2/2 twill	—	deteriorated; again ?two twills, one finer
	(c,e)	Iron knife; iron buckle	—	—	mineralised	Z	—	—	threads probably from the coarser twill
85	(a) 706156	Shield boss	all over surface	9.0 × 5.0	mineralised	Z/Z,S	pattern, 3-thread floats on tabby ground	8–9/10 (5 ground, 5 pattern wefts)	clear area and smaller patches and traces; (FIG 81); warp diam. 0.7–1 mm; ground weft 0.5–0.7, pattern weft 0.9–1.3 mm. Probably all-over pattern weave
(Unknown)	681901	Annular brooch	with pin	L.1.0 cm	vegetable, ?flax	Z	?round plait	—	fine threads in groups of 4–6; stained yellow

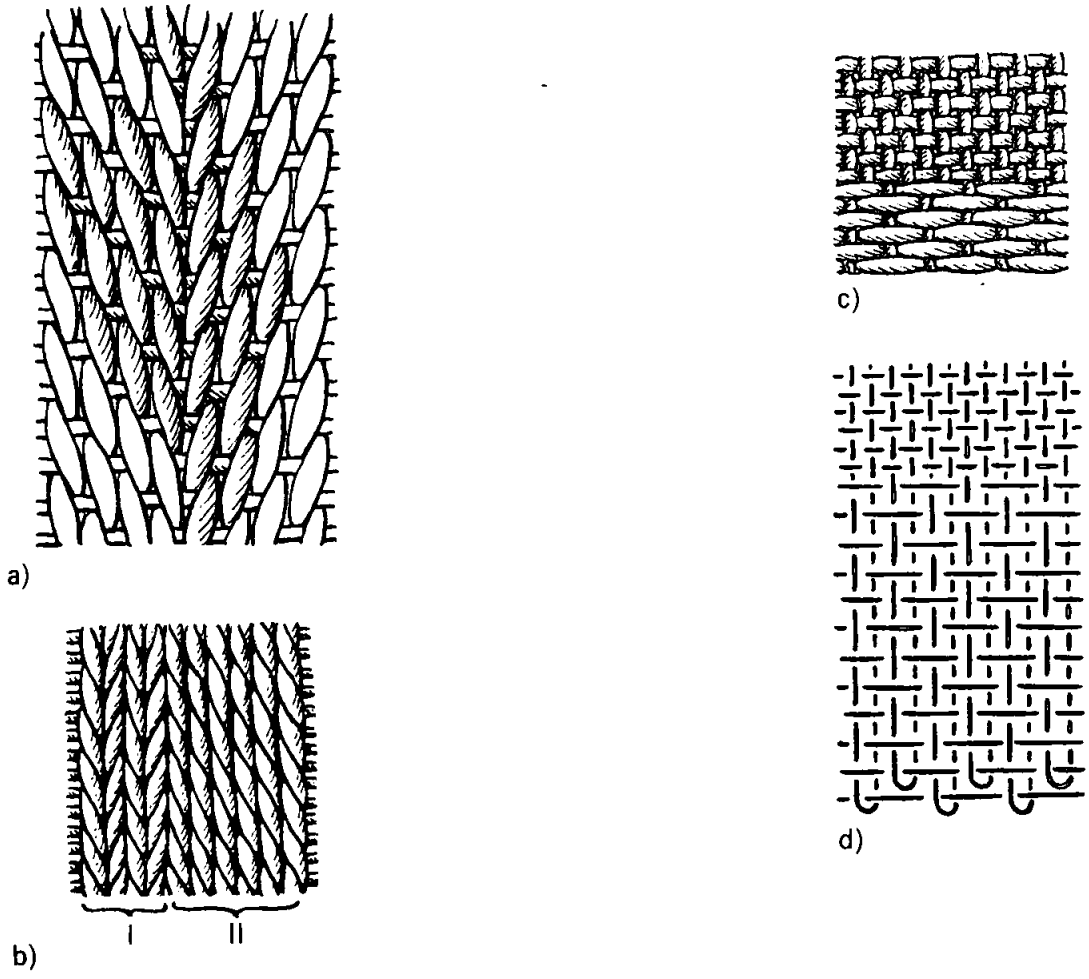


Fig 80 a. Tablet weave: 2-hole, meeting displaced. Grave 78. b. Tablet weaves: 4-hole. I. Grave 74, chevrons. II. Grave 5, all S. c, d. Tubular selvedge on tabby (grave 80) with diagram showing passage of wefts spread out.

is suggests that this was probably similar to the costume suggested by grave goods and textiles from Anglian cemeteries, best shown here in grave 74, where the Z/S twill (3) present in sleeve clasps and under the single round brooch could come from the long-sleeved undergarment of the Anglian woman's dress, the fine Z-spun twill (4) on the pair of small-long brooches the overdress, pinned on the shoulders, with the coarser twill (1) from a cloak pinned by the cruciform brooch, and the tabby weave (2) caught under its pin from a head-covering, veil or hood.

APPENDIX: FIBRE IDENTIFICATION
BY H M APPLEYARD, FTI
(WOOL INDUSTRIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION)

Grave 78(a) 706107. Two samples. These were apparently vegetable fibres; the fibres in one sample were very encrusted.

The other samples, ie graves 57(a) front, 69, 70, 74(a) and 80(b) front, are all of vegetable origin. It is impossible to be more definite about these samples, as most of them are very badly degraded.

Grave 80(b) back. Some of the remnants suggest that the sample is animal fibres; some pieces contain what appears to be a medulla.

Grave 57(a) back, and grave 70(d): unable to give any indication of their identity.

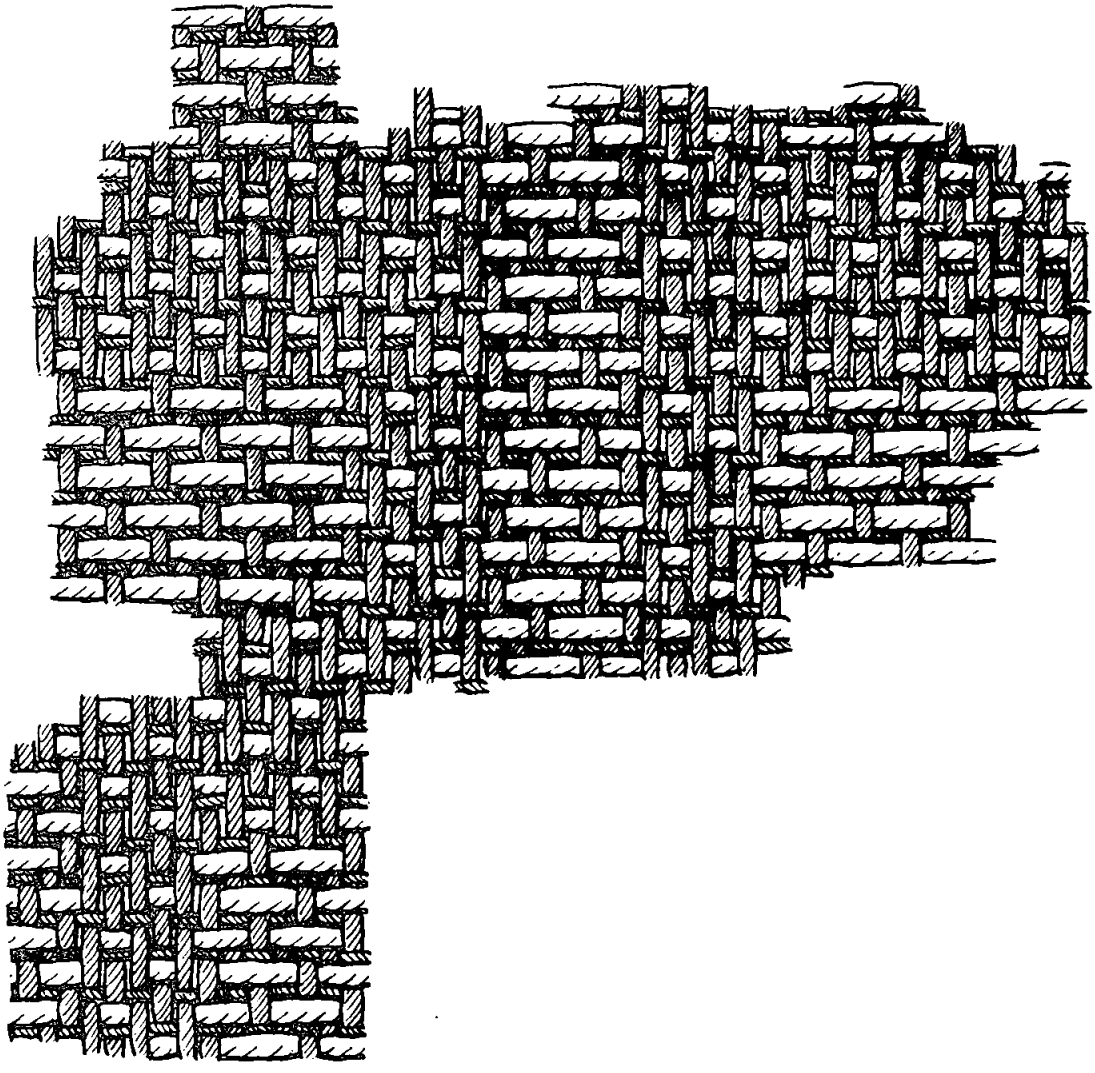


Fig 81 Grave 85. Tabby weave with reversible weft-float pattern.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL RANGE OF THE CEMETERY

Generally speaking, the orderly arrangement of graves in the Wakerley cemetery could suggest a narrow date-range with all burials made contemporaneously. There is no logical positioning of possible early or late graves as FIG 5 shows, and the relative chronologies assessed below could certainly be dovetailed together without undue archaeological distortion. The multiple graves—double, treble and perhaps even quadruple burials—indicate the possible simultaneous deaths of a group of people young and old. So it is by no means impossible that the Wakerley cemetery could be a plague graveyard. Skeletal evidence is silent on this point and no definite conclusion can be drawn.

It would be unwise, however, to ignore the variety of dates suggested by the grave furniture in favour of a possibility which cannot be proved. The variety, though not very great, is nevertheless sufficient to suggest the use of the cemetery by more than one generation.

Plate 4 The shield boss from grave 85, showing textiles remains and serrated edge.

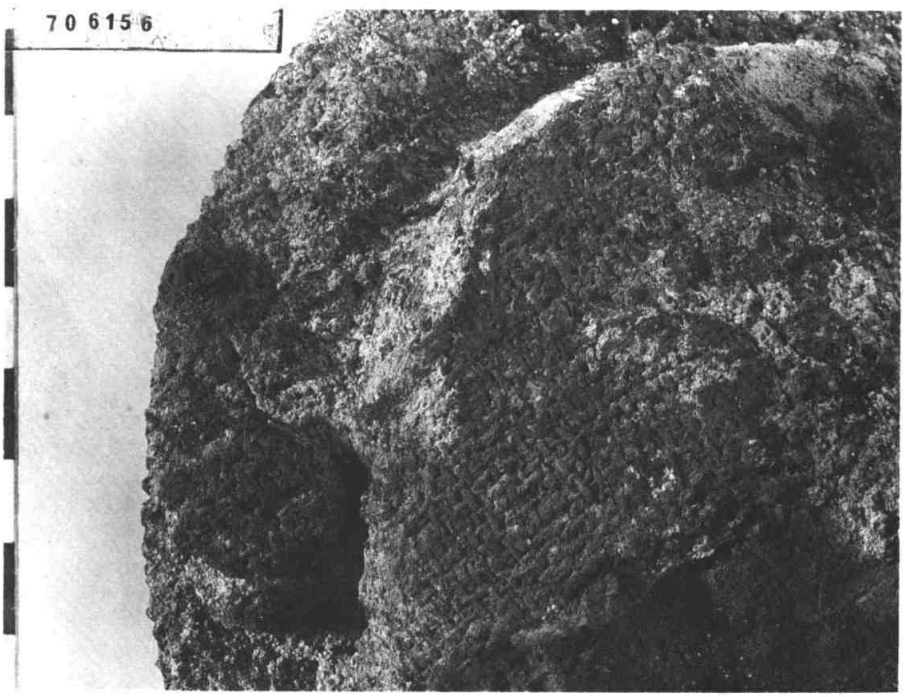


Plate 5 Close up of the textile remains on the shield boss from grave 85.

Taking the widest possible dating horizon, the earliest burials at Wakerley were almost certainly made towards the end of the first quarter of the 6th century and the latest continued until a little after AD 600. This is assuming that the earliest objects were not heirlooms—as with grave 40, which could be among the very first cut, and that some of the latest objects were considerably worn when buried.

Eleven graves can with some confidence be placed before 550: 1, 25, 27, 34, 40, 47, 48, 50, 51, 56 and 57. Graves 1, 25, 40 and possibly 47 appear to be the primary burials. As will be seen from the plan of the cemetery (FIG 4) these possible early graves are scattered at both the western and eastern ends without any obvious link since only grave 20 is in the central area. However, apart from a uniform orientation, the graves are irregularly laid out and it is not unreasonable to visualise isolated graves joined by others later on. The allocation of family plots may be the real explanation.

Graves 3, 20, 44, 52, 79, 83 and 85 are less certainly early. This is in spite of their containing pieces produced before the mid-century, since there were other items such as spears or shield bosses which could as well be placed after 550 as before. The second and third of these graves are, in any case, multiple. While there was no evidence from the excavation that they had been re-cut for a second body, differences in age between the bodies at the time of death may provide an explanation for any chronological discrepancies between items from the same grave—apart from the general difficulty in dating many Anglo-Saxon object types to within fifty years, let alone twenty-five.

It is possible to be rather more definite about graves 22/23, 28, 30, 57 and 78 and to suggest for these a deposition after 550 but before the last quarter of that century. As with the earlier burials and the indeterminate ones centring round the mid-century, they were scattered over the entire field. Shield bosses, swastika, cruciform and small-long brooches provide the evidence for this group, and if the rather uncertain dating of the last named be accepted on its own, 70 and 71 can be added to the group.

The last group of graves (17, 42, 74 and 80) belong to the final quarter of the century. Objects with a post-550 date tend to be worn or mended, while the same graves contained such items as silver pendants which appear towards the turn of the next century. 42 and 74 could be the latest graves of all, with the possibility of a 7th-century deposition. 80(3)—a square headed brooch—was probably of an heirloom since it could well have been produced before 550. None of these late graves was found at the edges of the cemetery and continue the Wakerley tradition of haphazard distribution.

Graves 2, 4, 5, 8, 15, 38, 47, 49, 58, 63, 82 and 84 contained only annular brooches and developed small-long brooches for dating purposes, and only a vague mid- to late 6th-century horizon can be suggested for them. The remaining graves have no dateable material and the best that can be said of them is that there is no evidence to show either 5th- or 7th-century deposition.

Seventh-Century Burials

In 1974 Mr Jackson discovered six more identifiable Anglo-Saxon graves, including two double burials, located 200m to the north-east of the main cemetery (FIG 3. cf Jackson and Ambrose 1978, fig 12). Five of the graves were aligned with the rest, ie west-east, with a single grave at the western edge of the group on a north-south alignment. The proximity of these new graves to the other 85, and their equally haphazard distribution, make it almost certain that they form an appendix to the original cemetery. Other burials in the area did not contain any objects, but they could have been Saxon. The most easterly of the double graves had a posthole at the head. Neither of the double graves appears to have been re-cut to accommodate the second body and in both cases the bodies were placed side by side, hands touching, without signs of later disturbance.

The scarcity of objects and the beaded wire-ring necklace both suggest a late date for this group. Necklaces of this type came, for example, from Chamberlain's Barn, Bedfordshire (Hyslop 1963, 161) and are generally considered to belong to the 7th century, eg a necklace from Harrold, Beds (Eagles and Evison 1970, 17). It will be recalled that neither

this type of necklace nor a weaving pin came from the rest of the cemetery.

Mr Jackson's later discoveries now provide more definite evidence that the cemetery was still in use some time after 600, making a plague cemetery less of a possibility. The Iron Age Roman industrial settlements suggest that the Wakerley district was well established, and the Saxon migrants were probably still able to see the remains of this earlier activity. Therefore for two, or quite possibly three, generations the villagers used their burial ground on the hill, away from the village itself. Continued occupation beyond the pagan period seems likely, but the general absence of grave goods in Christian burials precludes archaeological proof of this.

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CONTENTS ON MICROFICHE

This article has been publishyed with the aid of a grant from the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wakerly, Northamptonshire

[inserted explanatory note for digital copy]

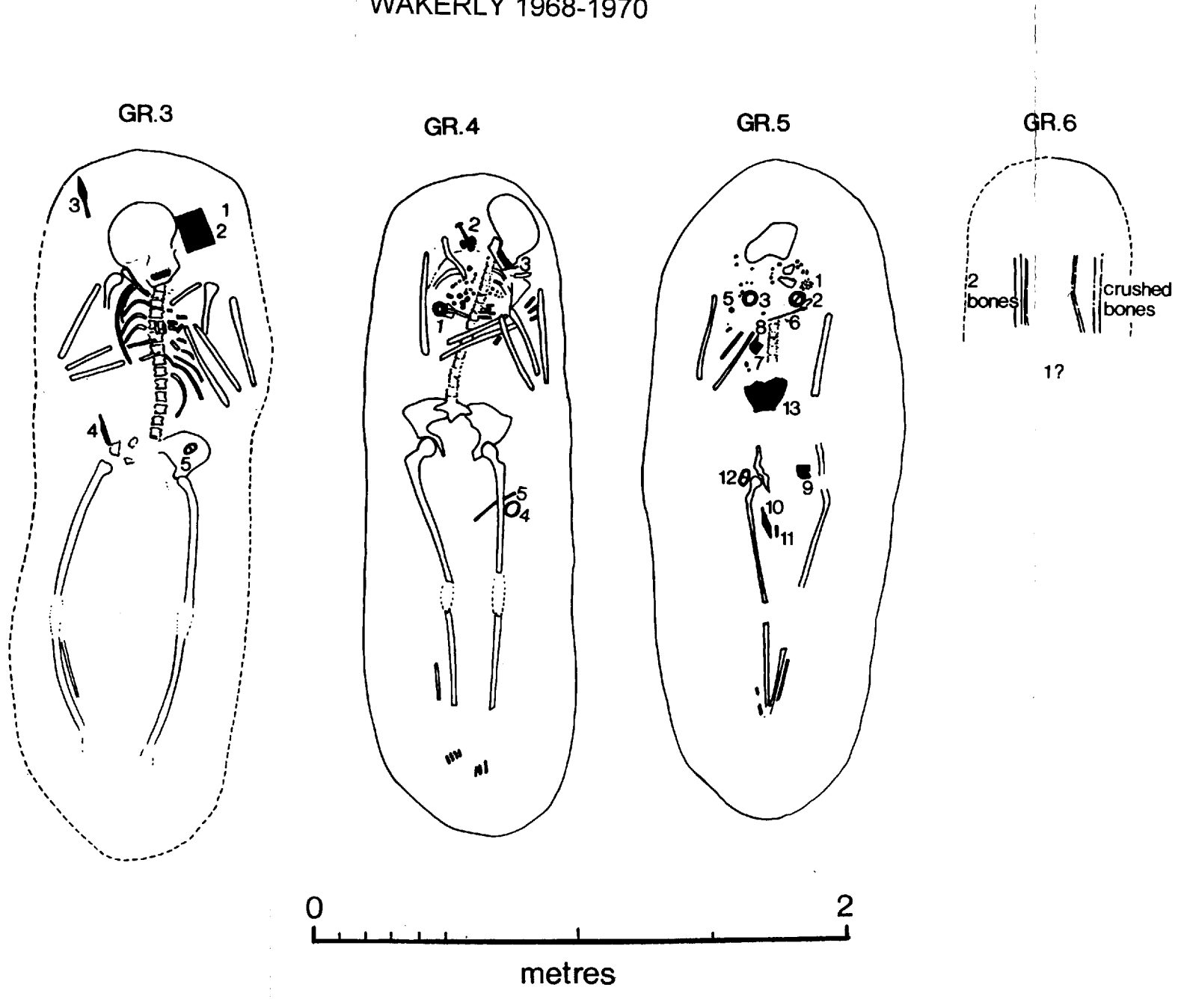
The burial plans

The plans of the individual graves were illustrated at a scale of approximately 1:20 on both sides of a single large format sheet, which was folded and inserted in a pocket at the back of the volume.

The following section provides these drawings on a series of A4 sheets.

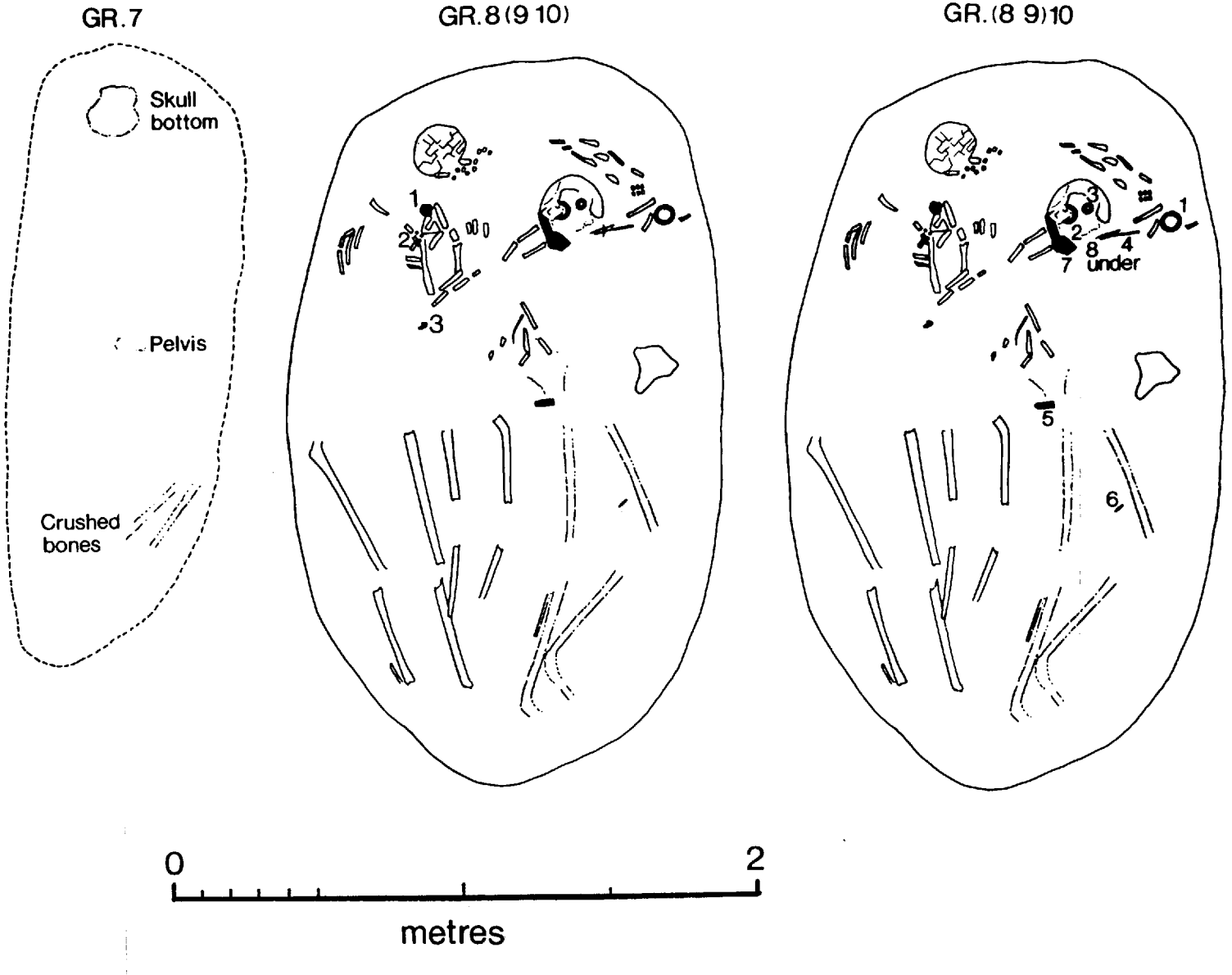
The microfiche

A full catalogue of the burials and finds was provided on microfiche, and is reproduced here in full.


WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.3
GR.4
GR.5
GR.6
2 bones
crushed bones
1?
0
2
metres

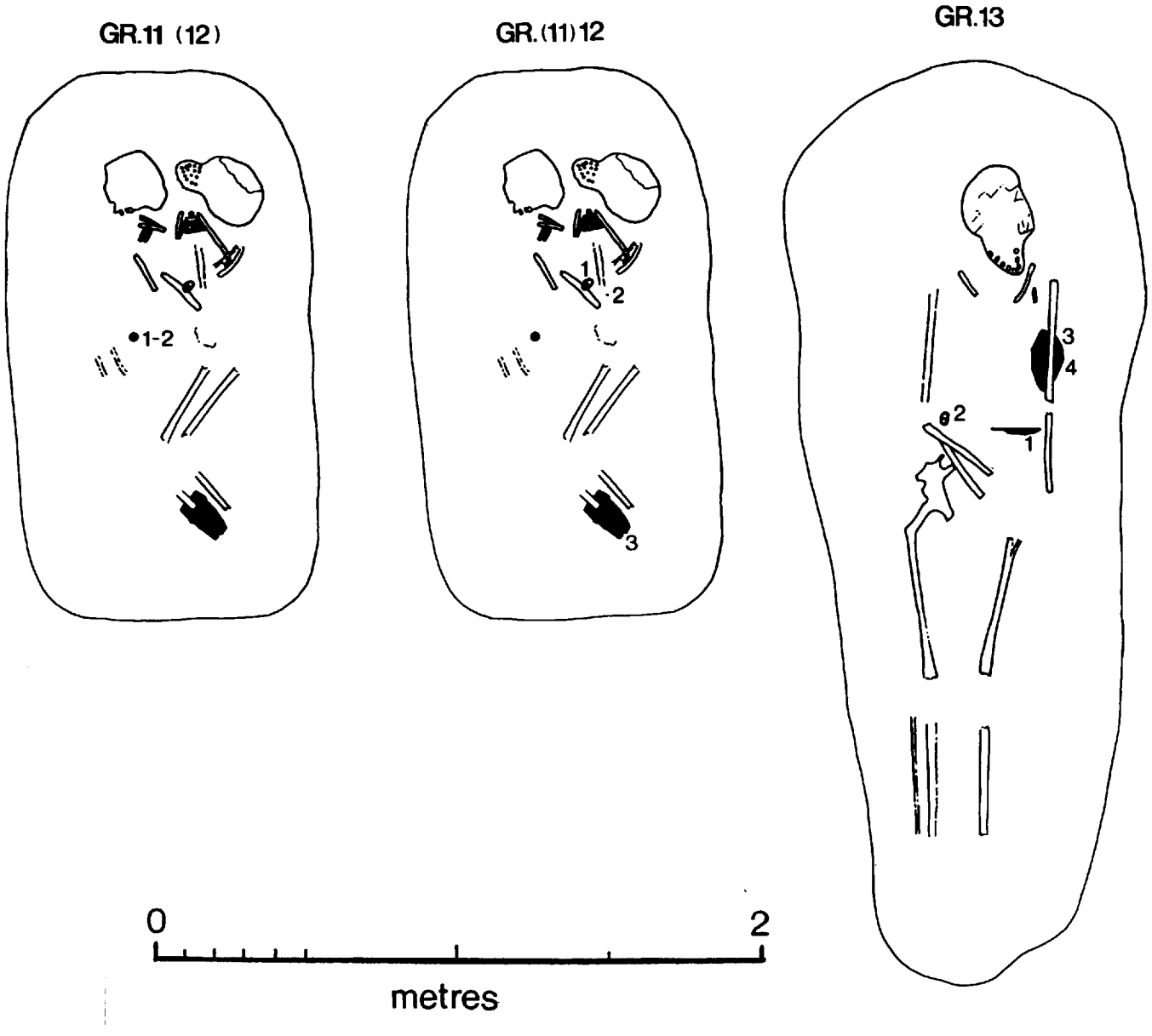
WAKERLY 1968-1970

WAKERLEY 1968-



1970

WAKERLY 1968-1970



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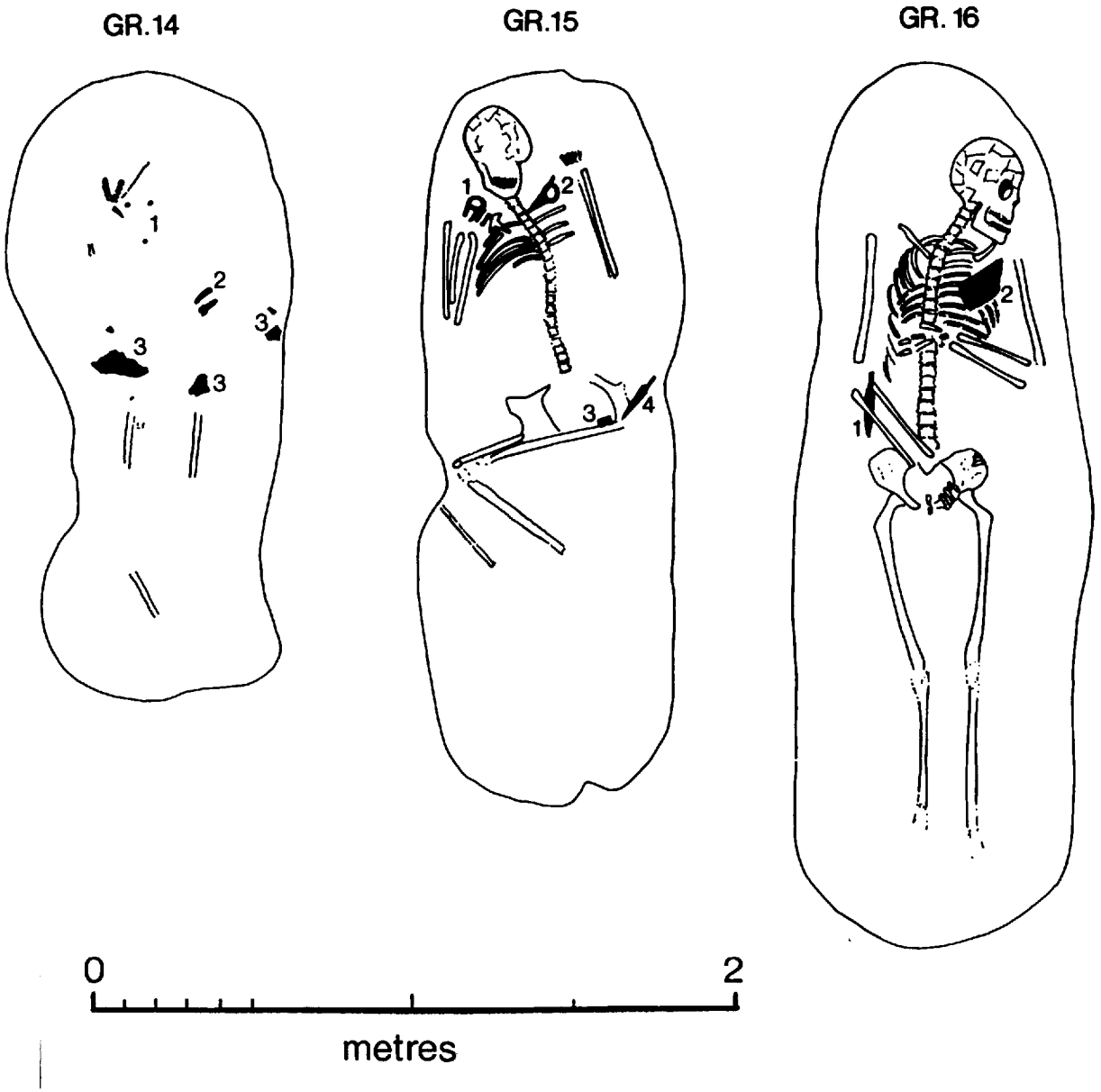
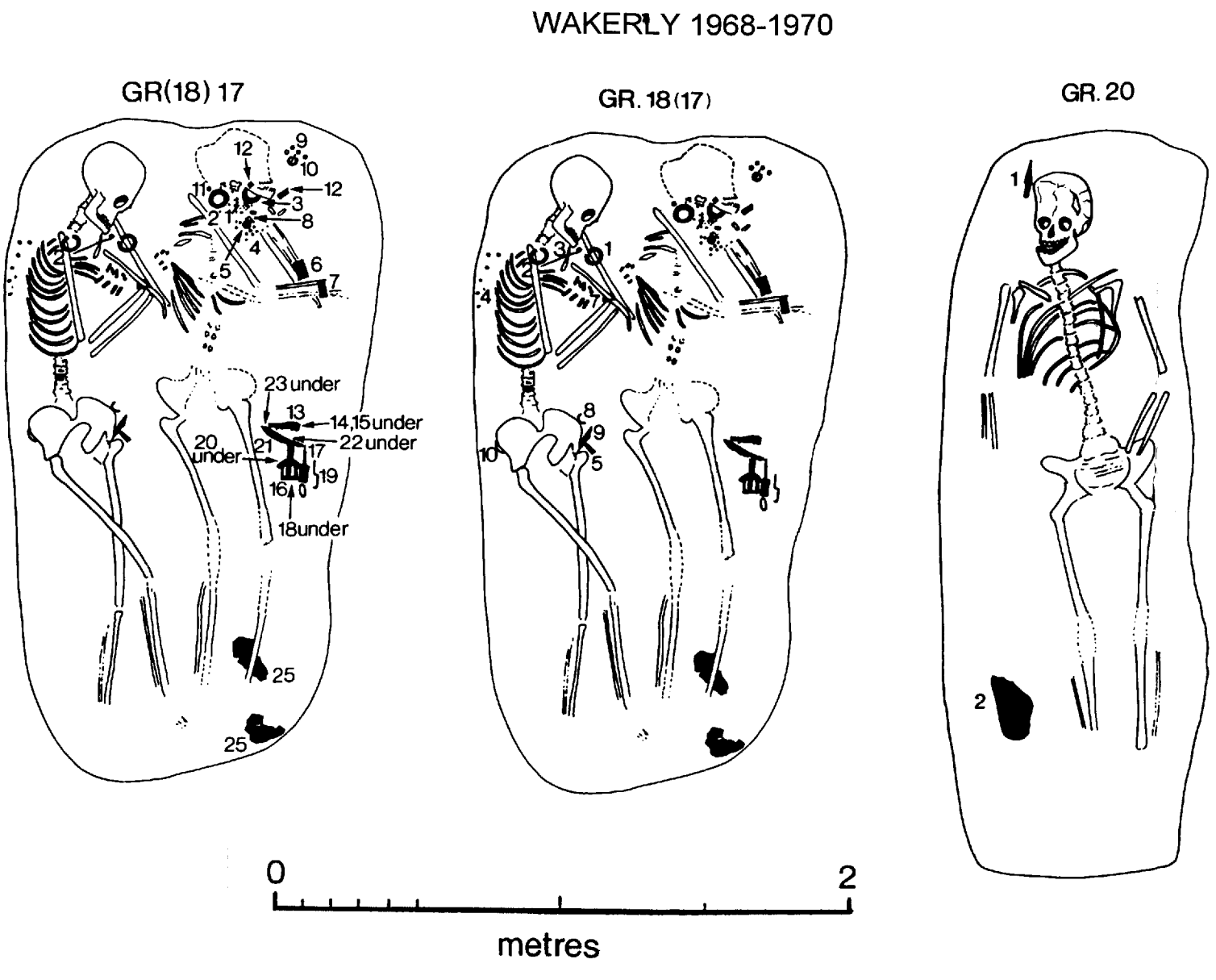
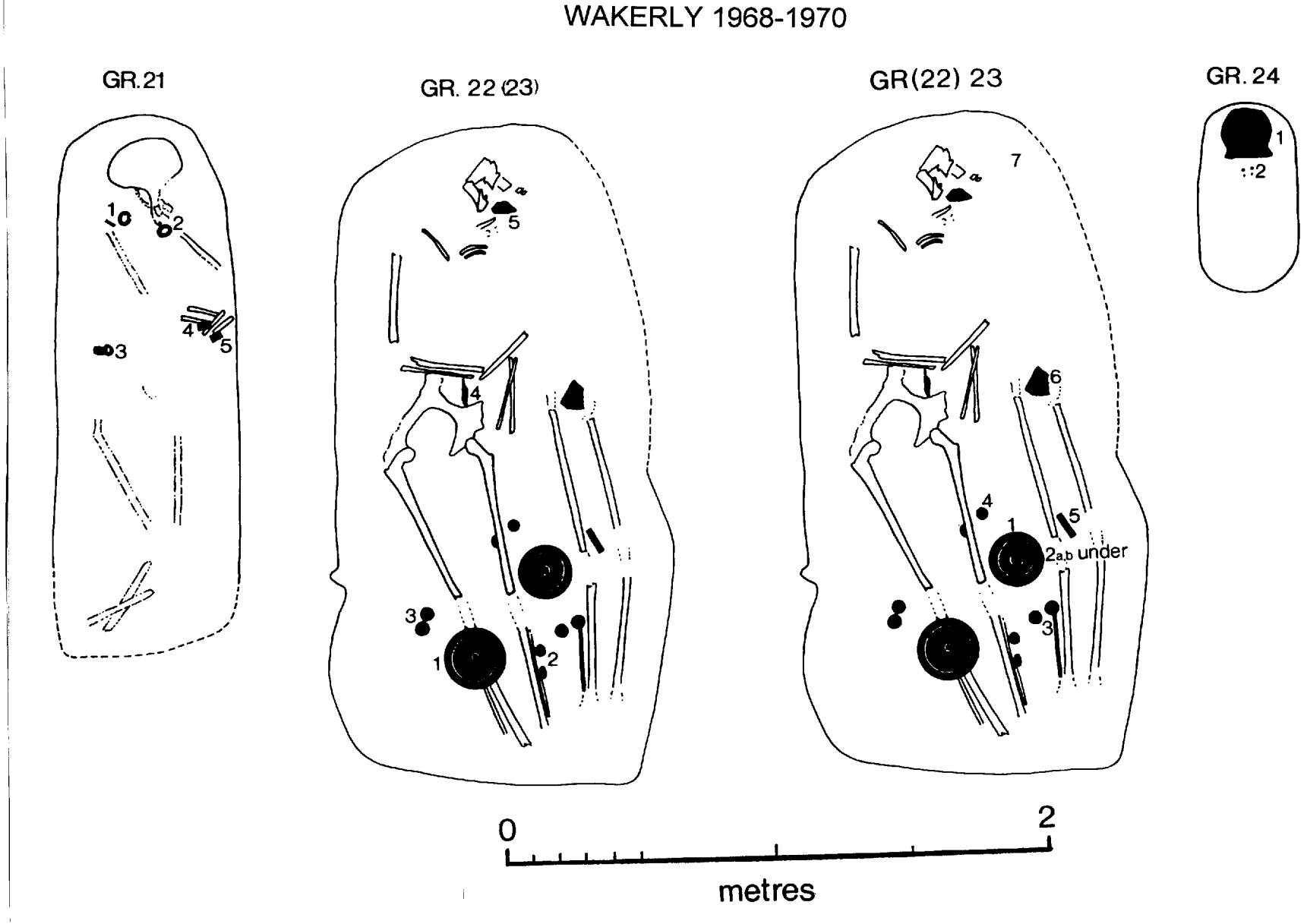
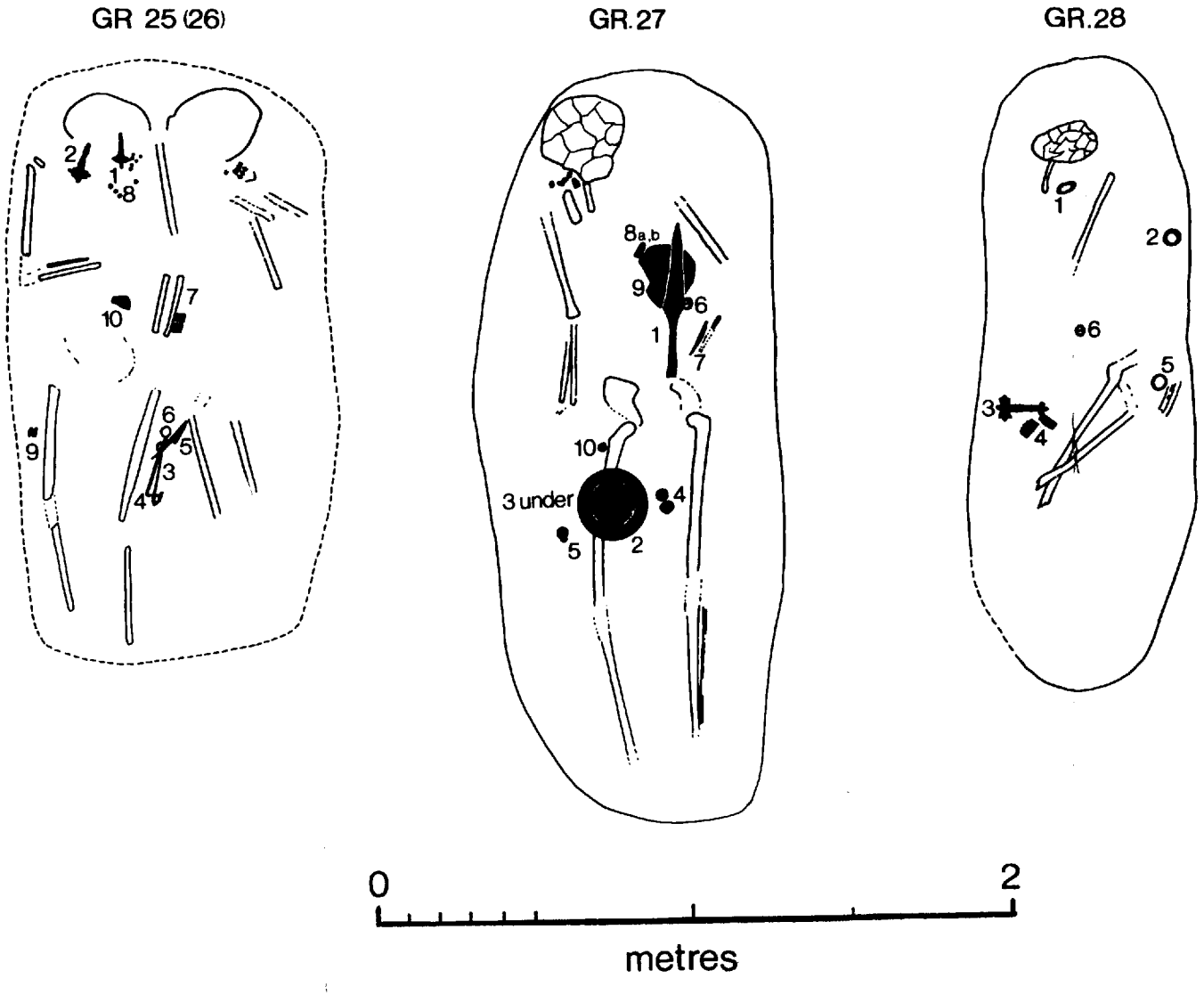
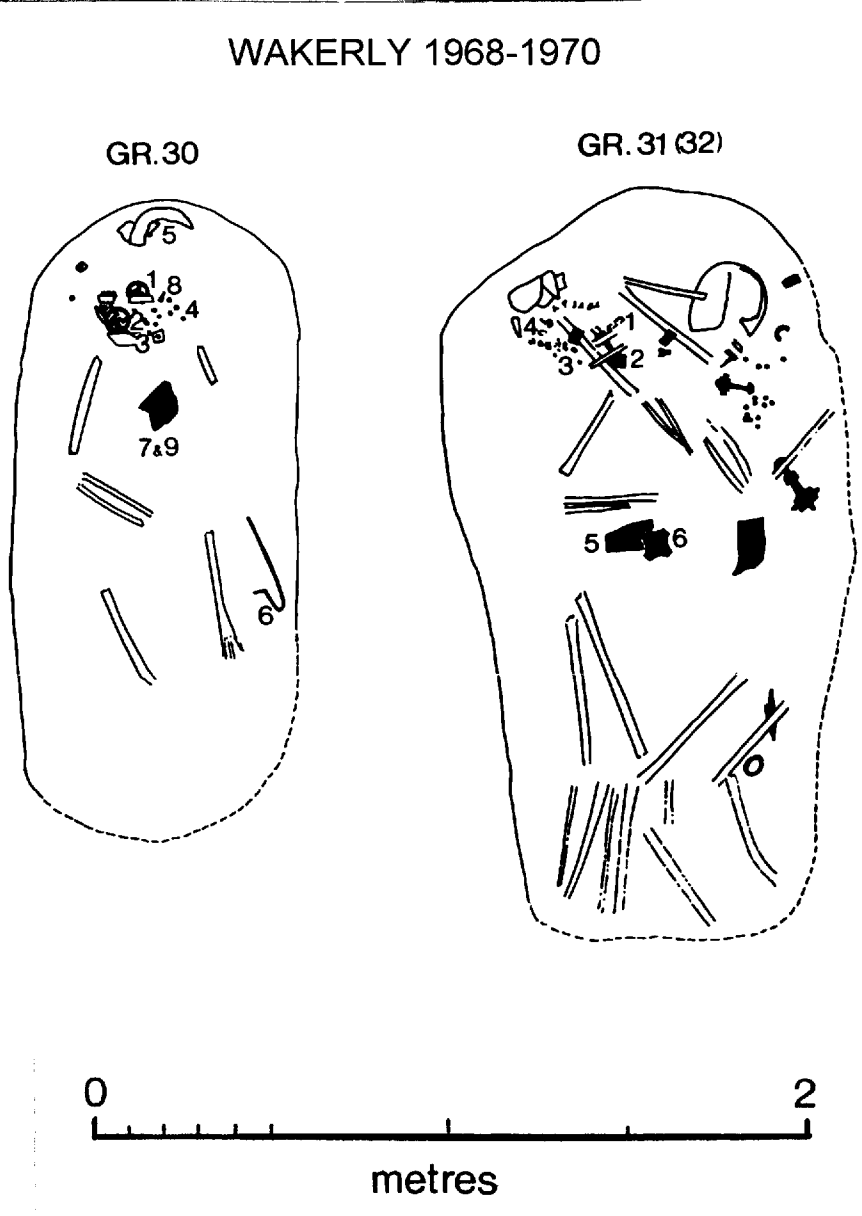


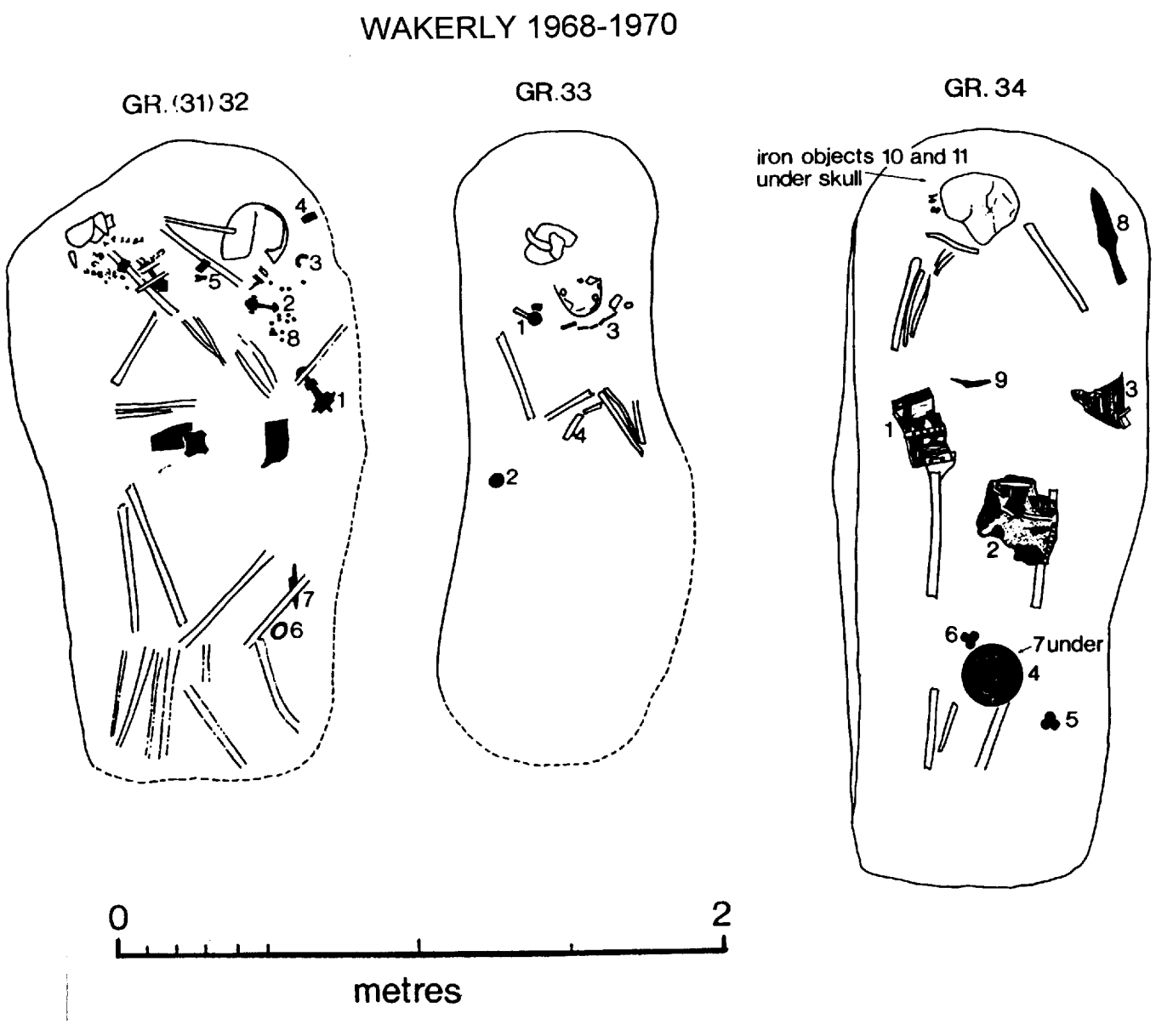

WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR(18) 17
GR. 18(17)
GR. 20
12
9
10
11
12
3
2
1
8
4
5
6
7
23 under
13
14,15 under
20 under
21
22 under
17
19
16
18 under
25
25
3
1
4
8
9
10
5
1
2
0
2
metres

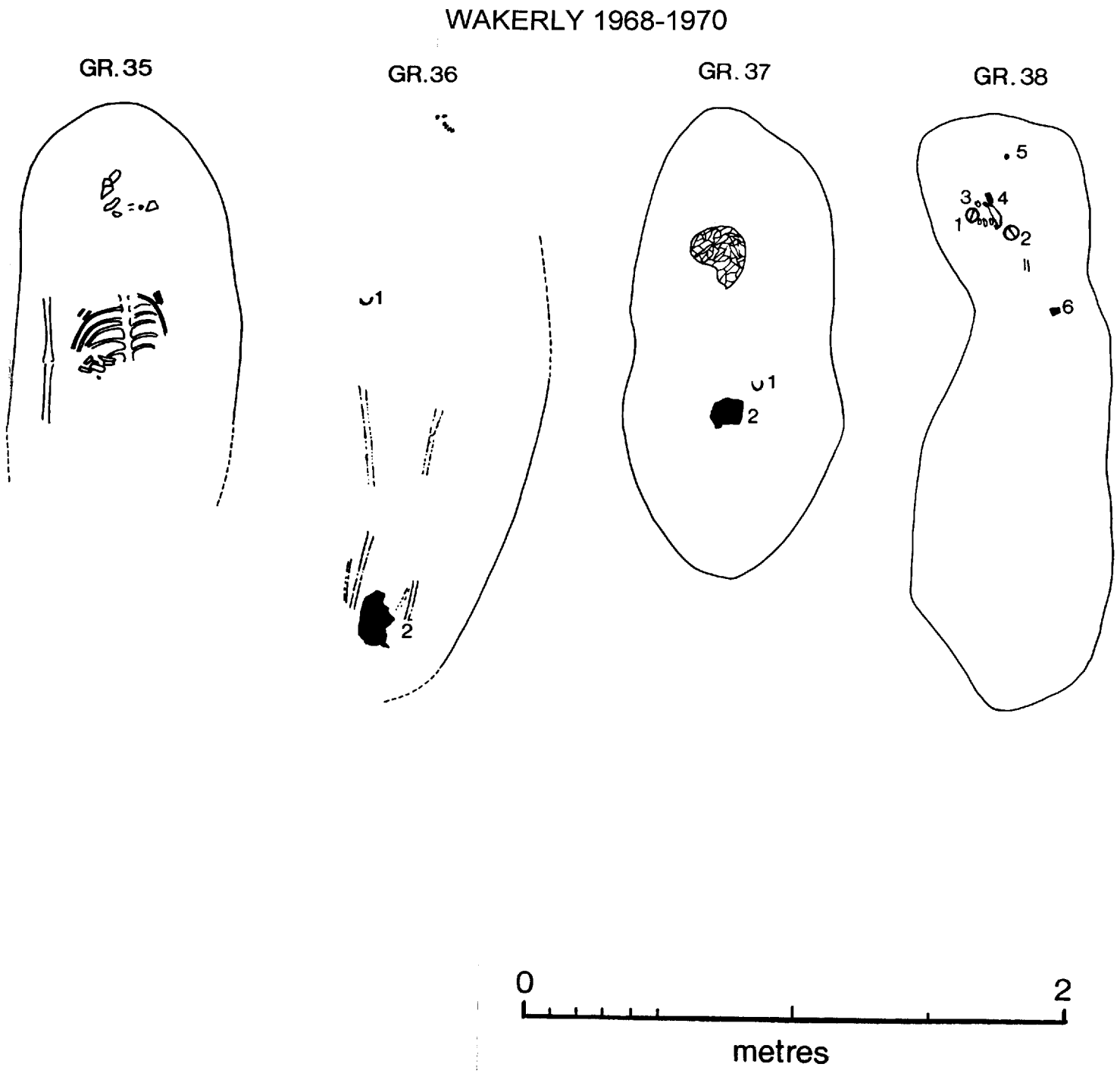

WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.21
GR. 22 (23)
GR(22) 23
GR. 24
1
2
3
4
5
a
6
7
2a,b under
0
2
metres

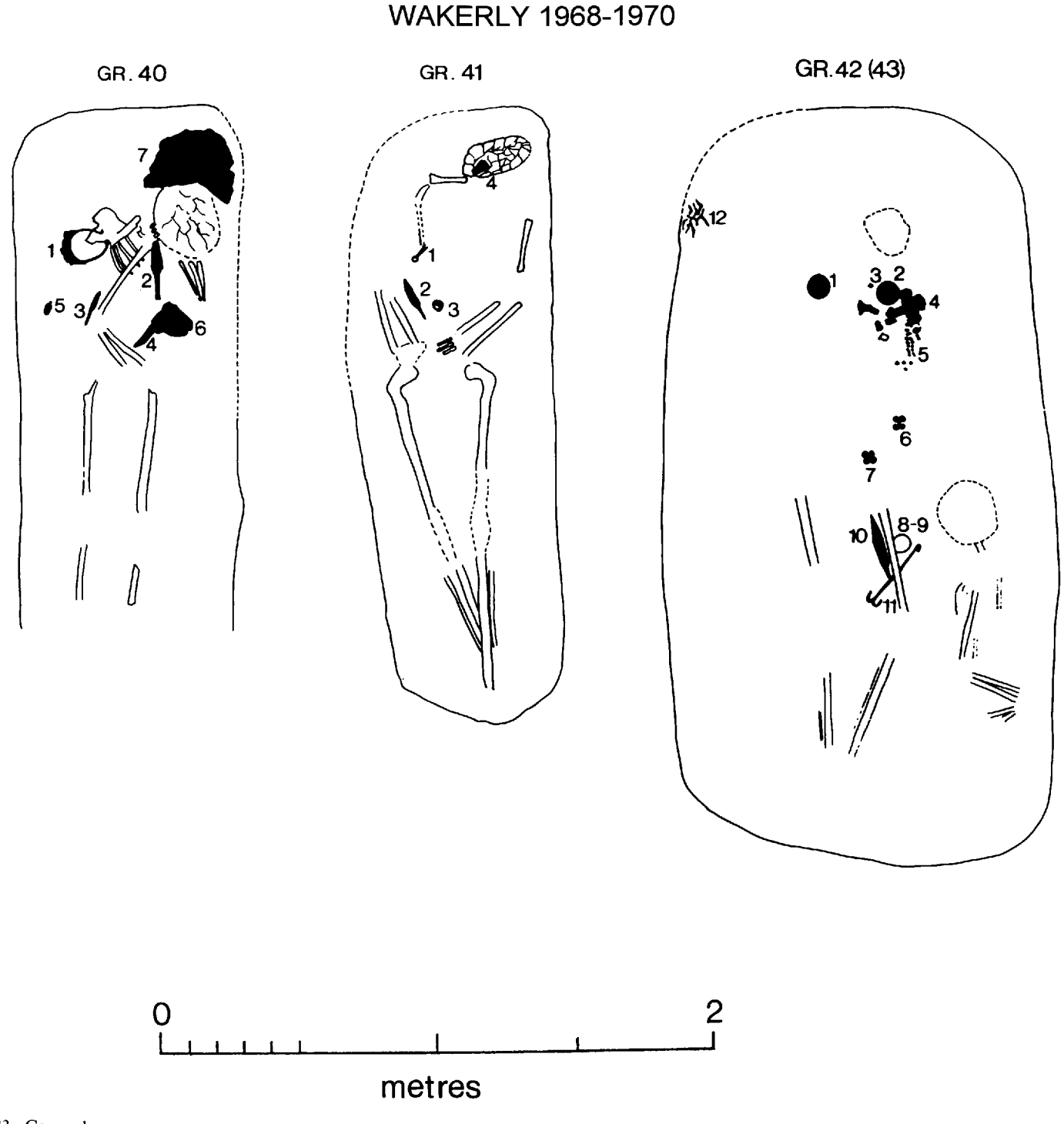
WAKERLY 1968-1970



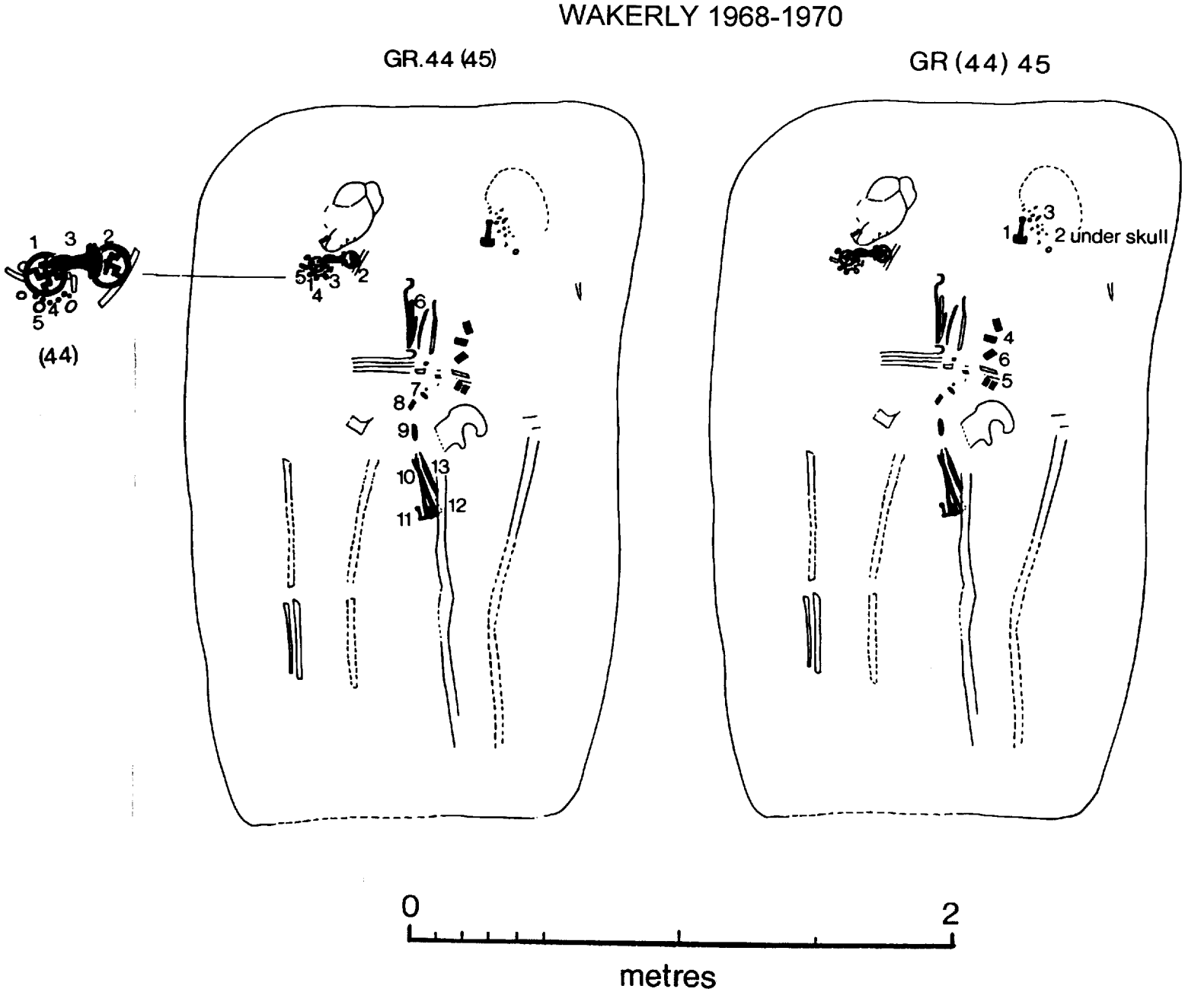

WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.30
GR.31 (32)
5
1
8
4
3
7&9
6
4
1
3
2
5
6
0
2
metres


WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.(31) 32
GR.33
GR. 34
iron objects 10 and 11
under skull
7 under
0
2
metres

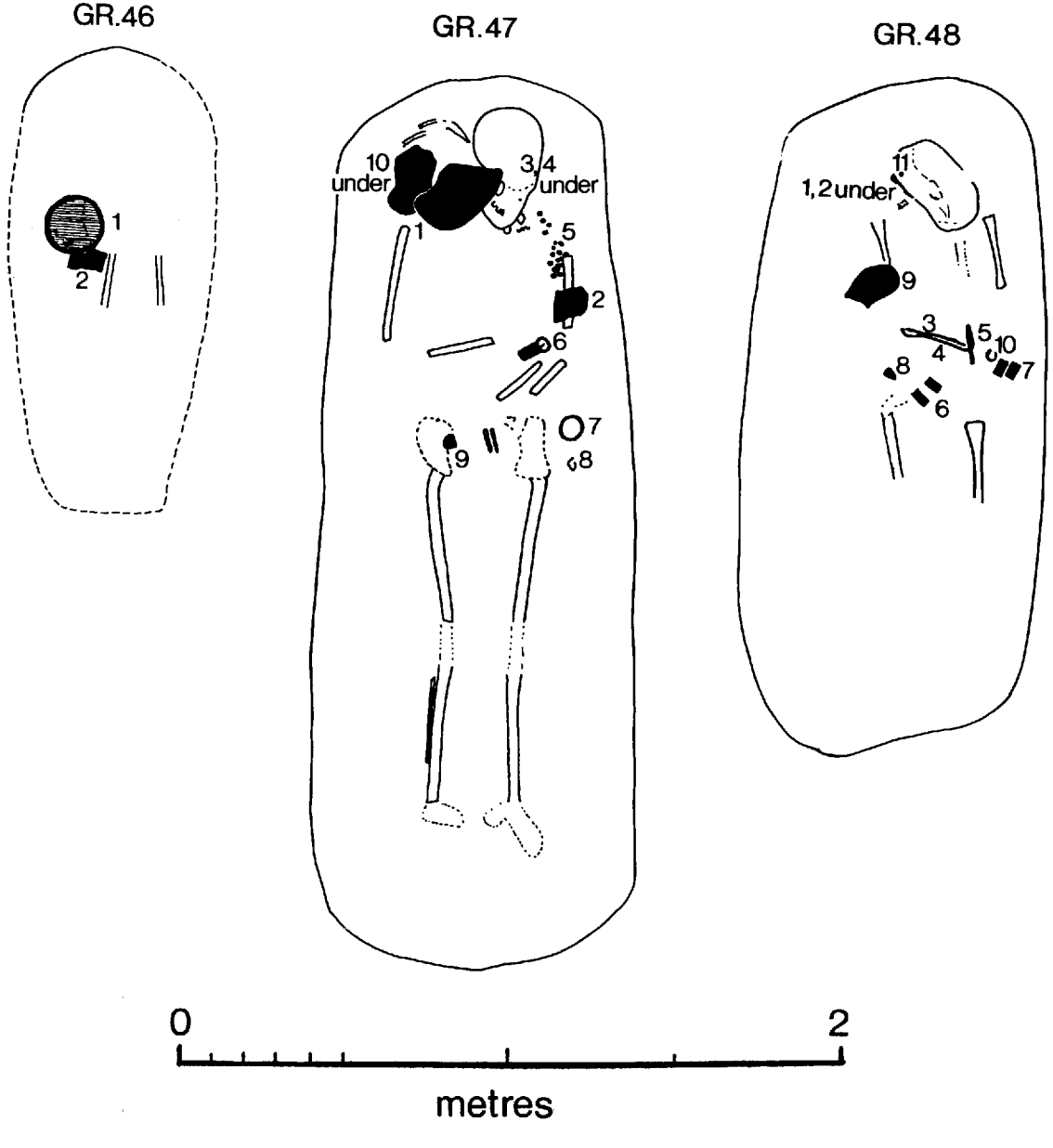

WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.35
GR.36
GR.37
GR.38
1
2
1
2
1
2
3
4
5
6
0
2
metres



g 82 Grave plans.

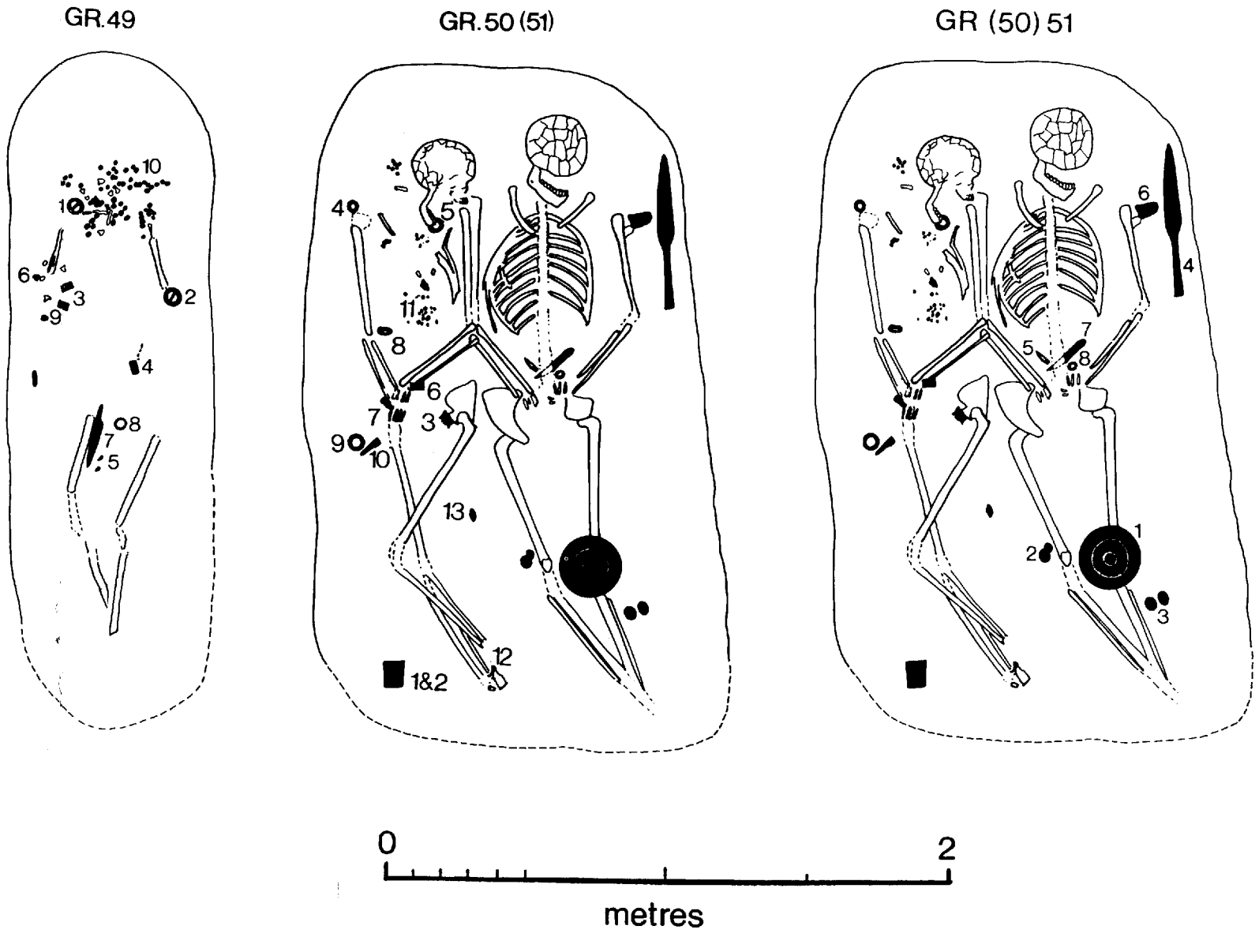

WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.44 (45)
GR (44) 45
1 3 2
5 4
(44)
5 3 2
4
6
7
8
9
10 13
11 12
1 3
2 under skull
4
6
5
0
2
metres

WAKERLY 1968-1970



WAKERLY 1968-1970

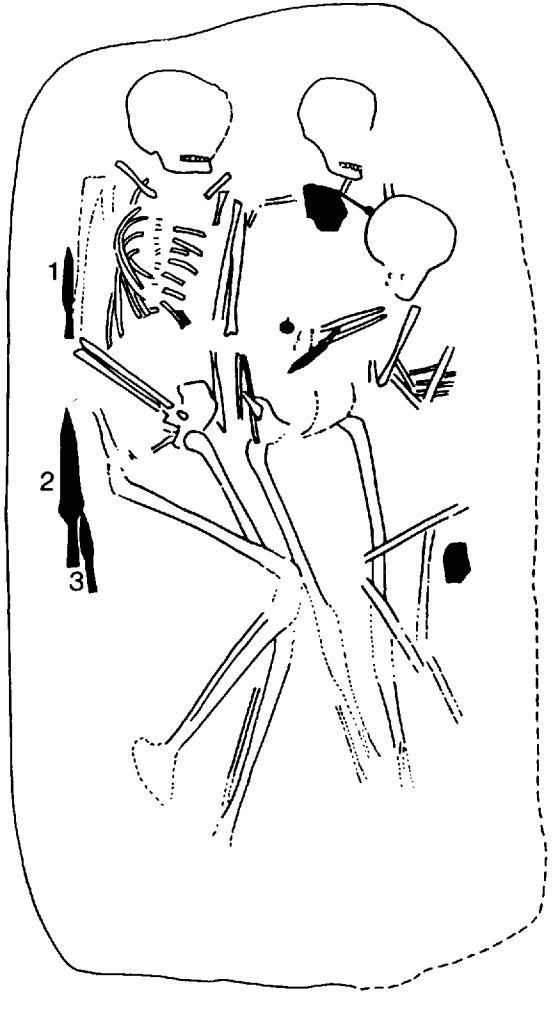
WAKERLE



Y 1968-1970

WAKERLY 1968-1970

GR.52.3 4)



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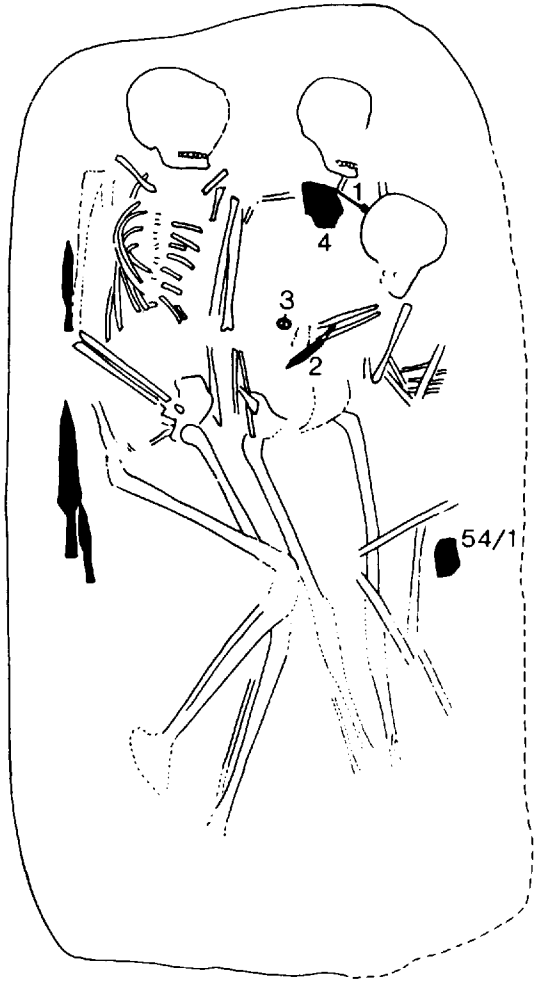
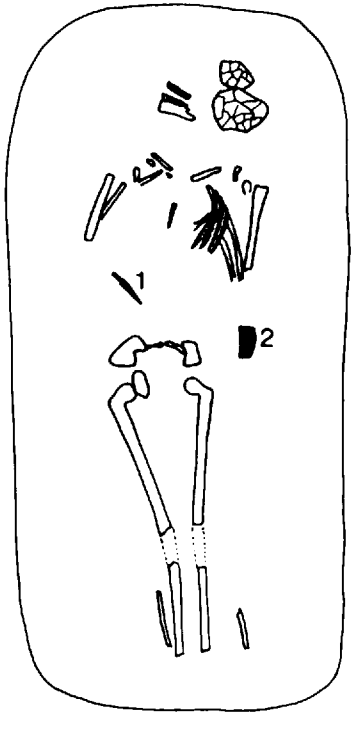
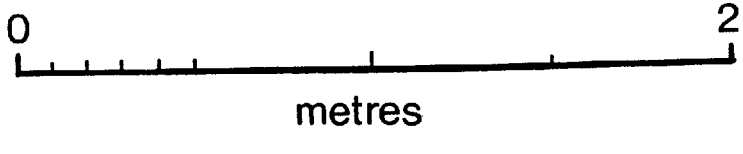


GR.55





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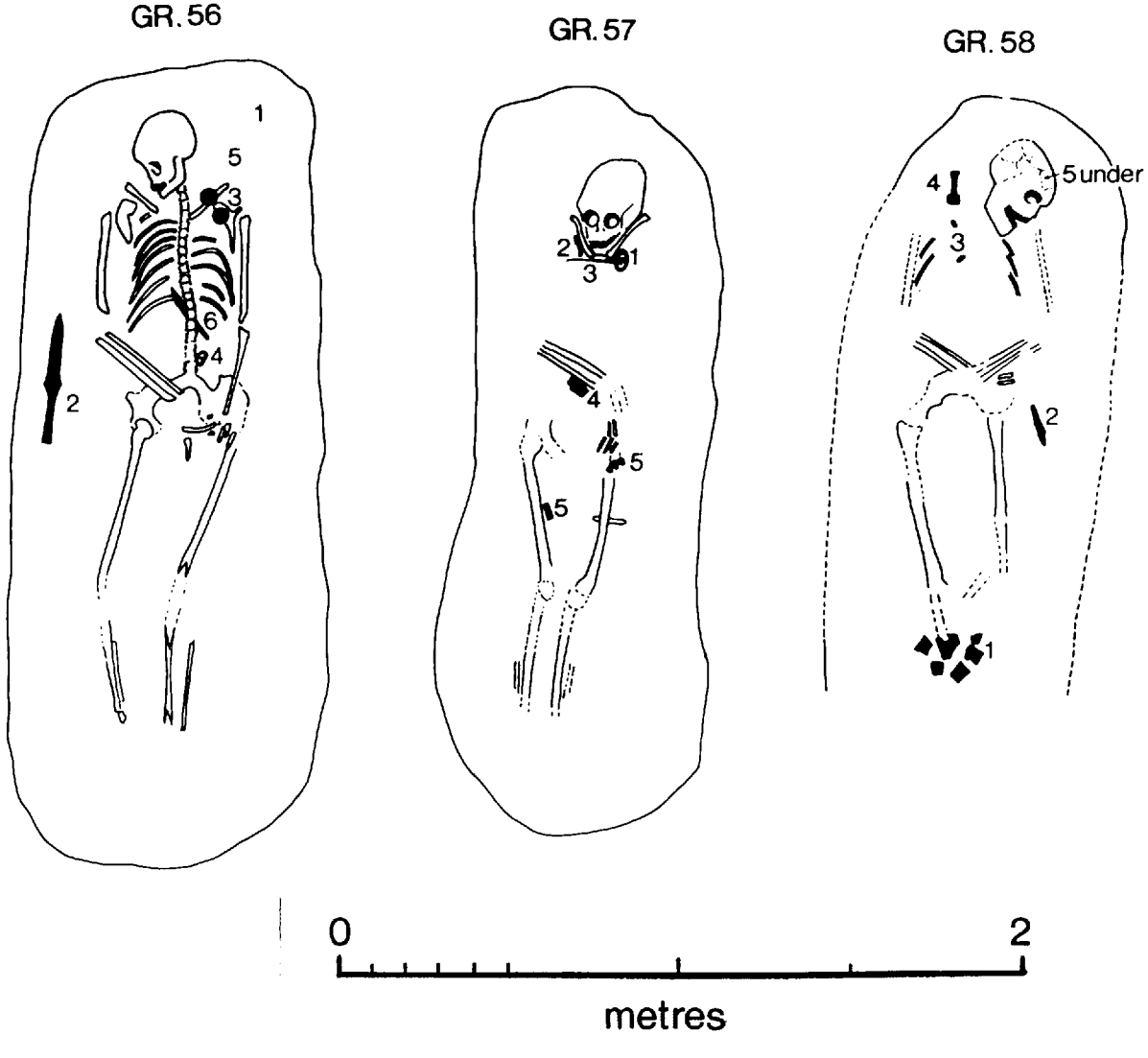
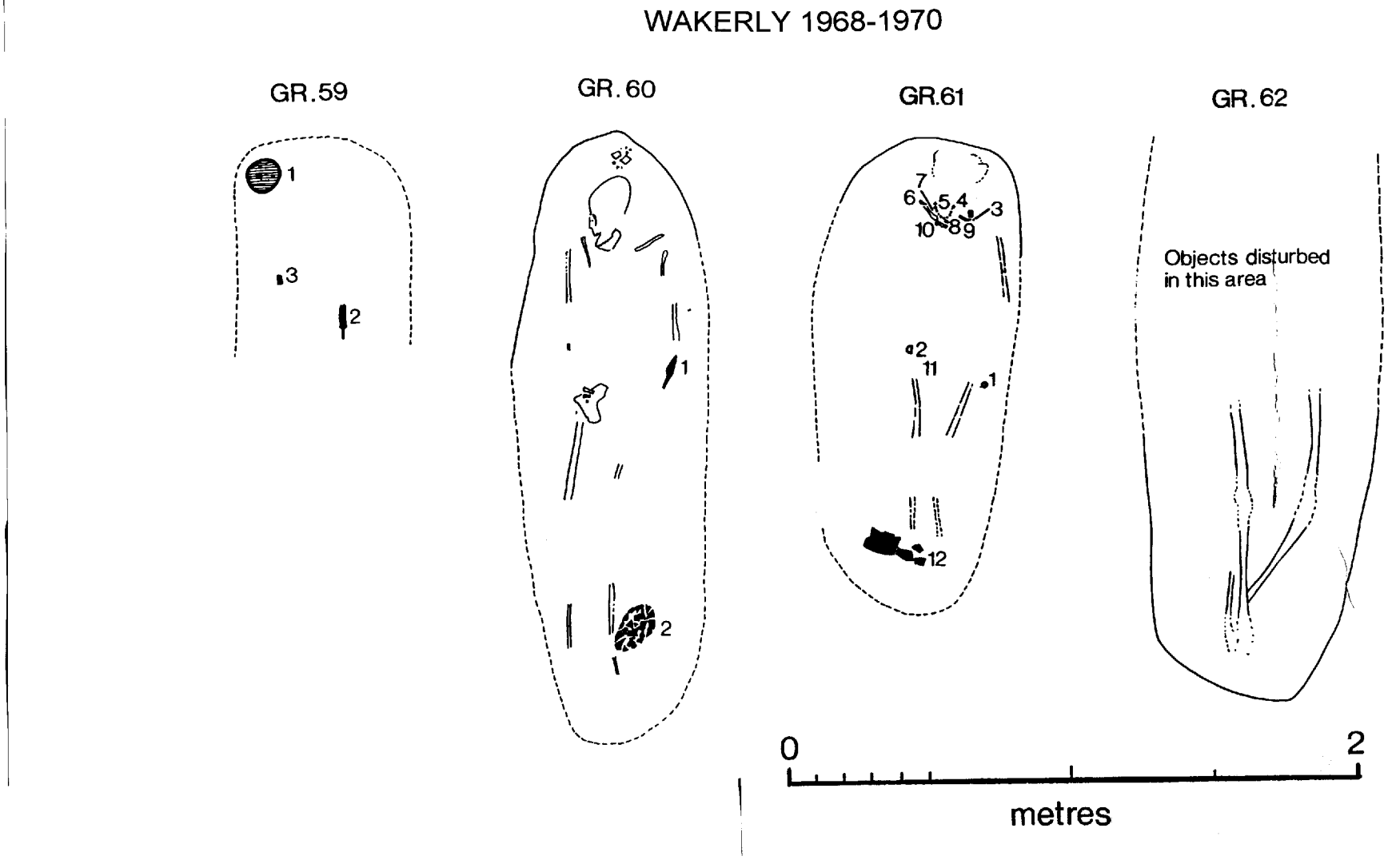
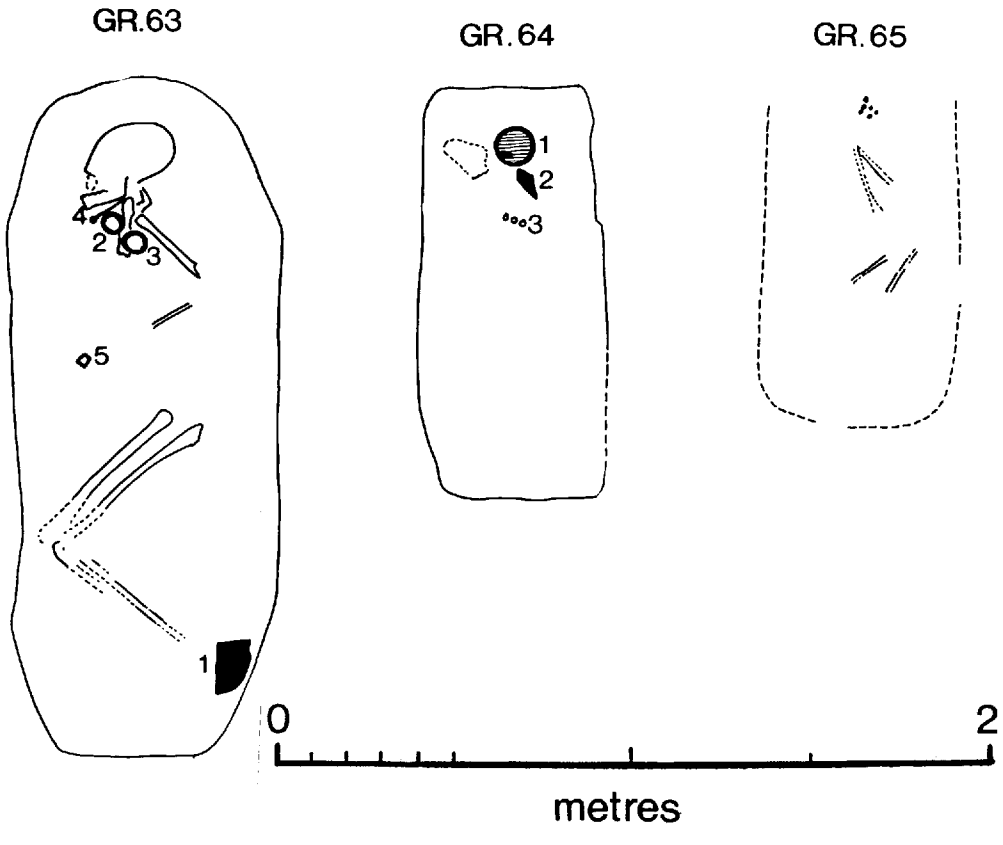
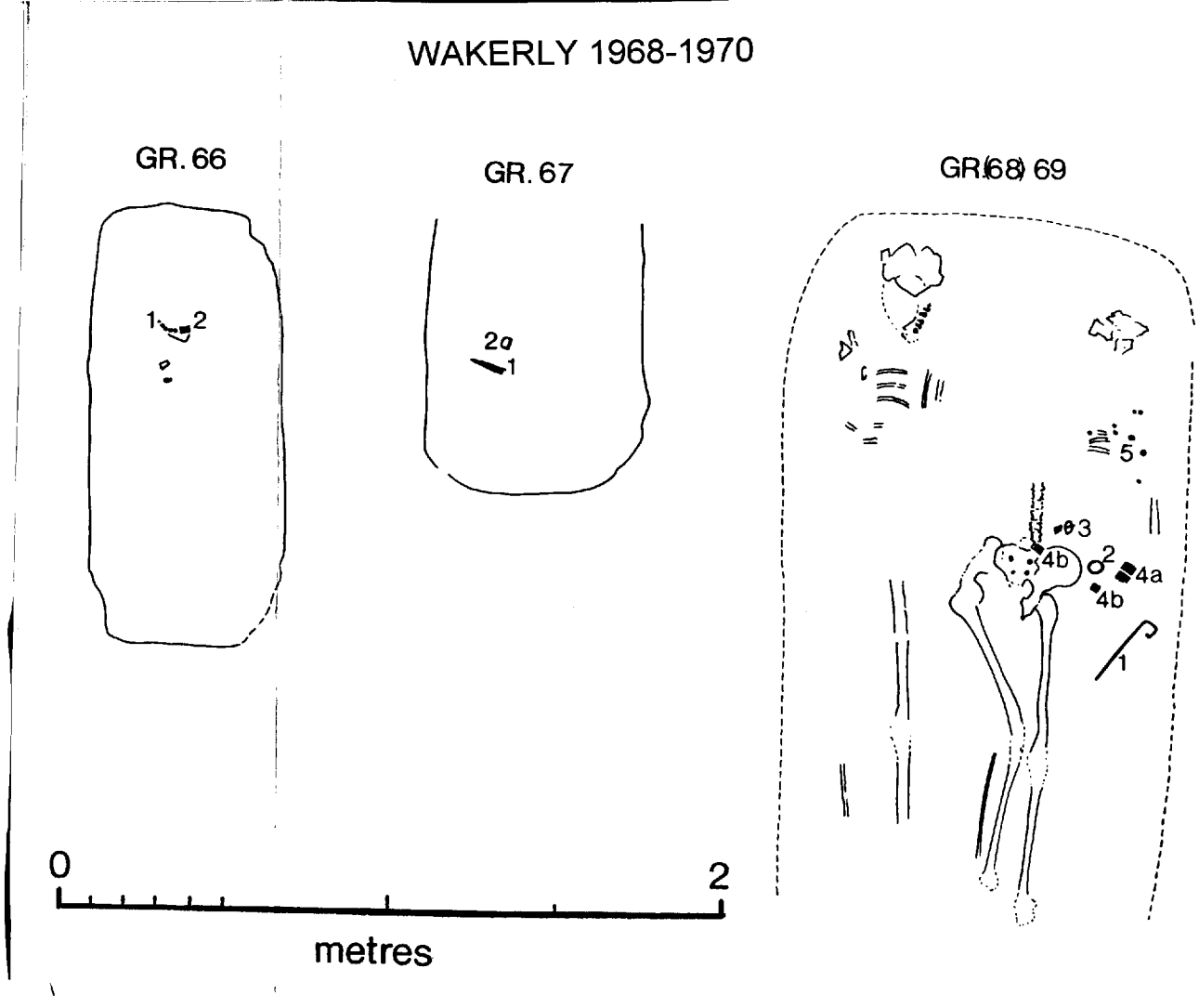


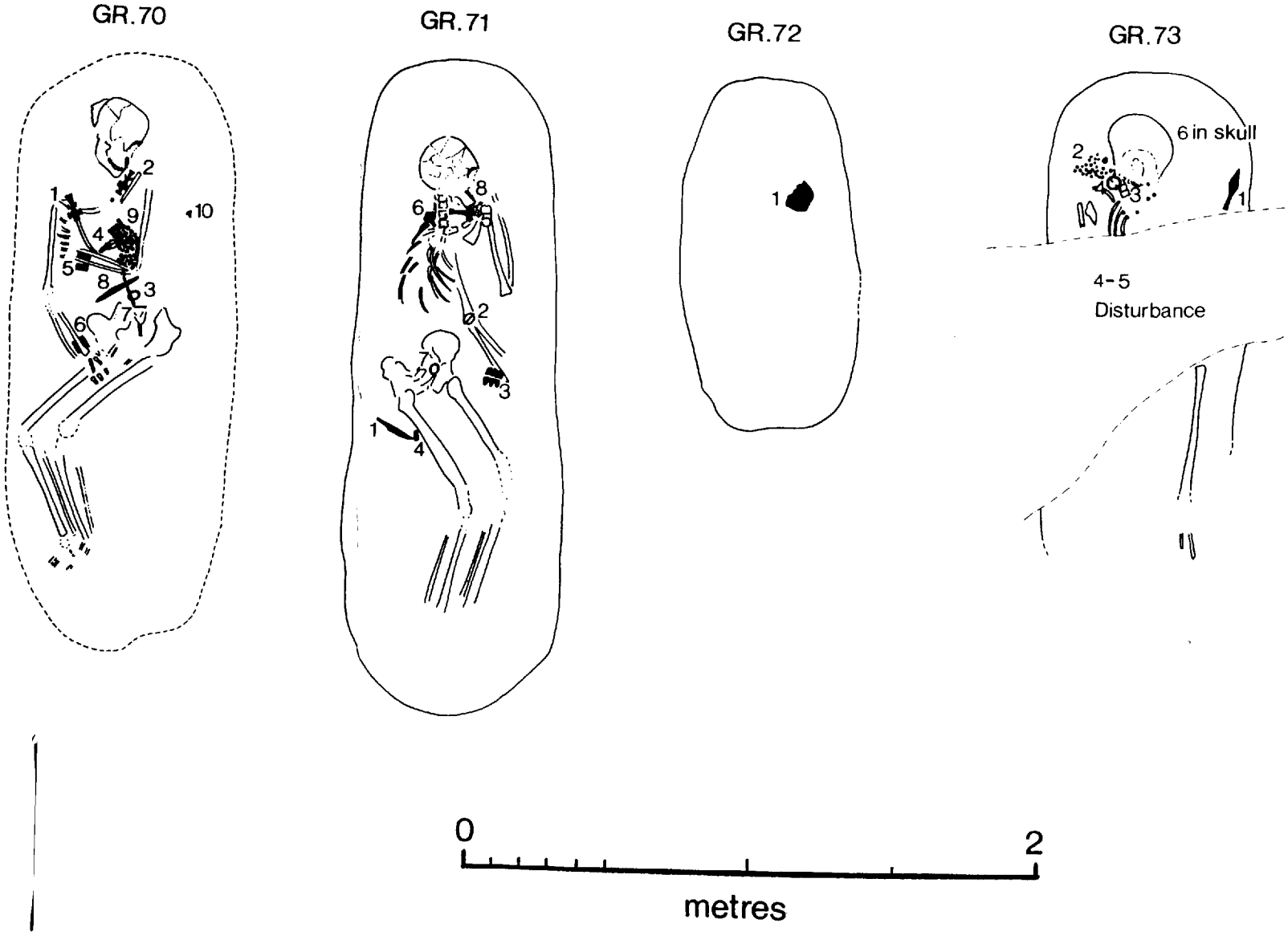

WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR.59
GR.60
GR.61
GR.62
1
3
2
1
2
7
6
5
4
3
10
8
9
2
11
1
12
Objects disturbed in this area
0
2
metres

WAKERLY 1968-1970




WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR. 66
GR. 67
GR. 68/69
1
2
2a
1
5
3
4b
2
4a
4b
1
0
2
metres

WAKERLY 1968-1970



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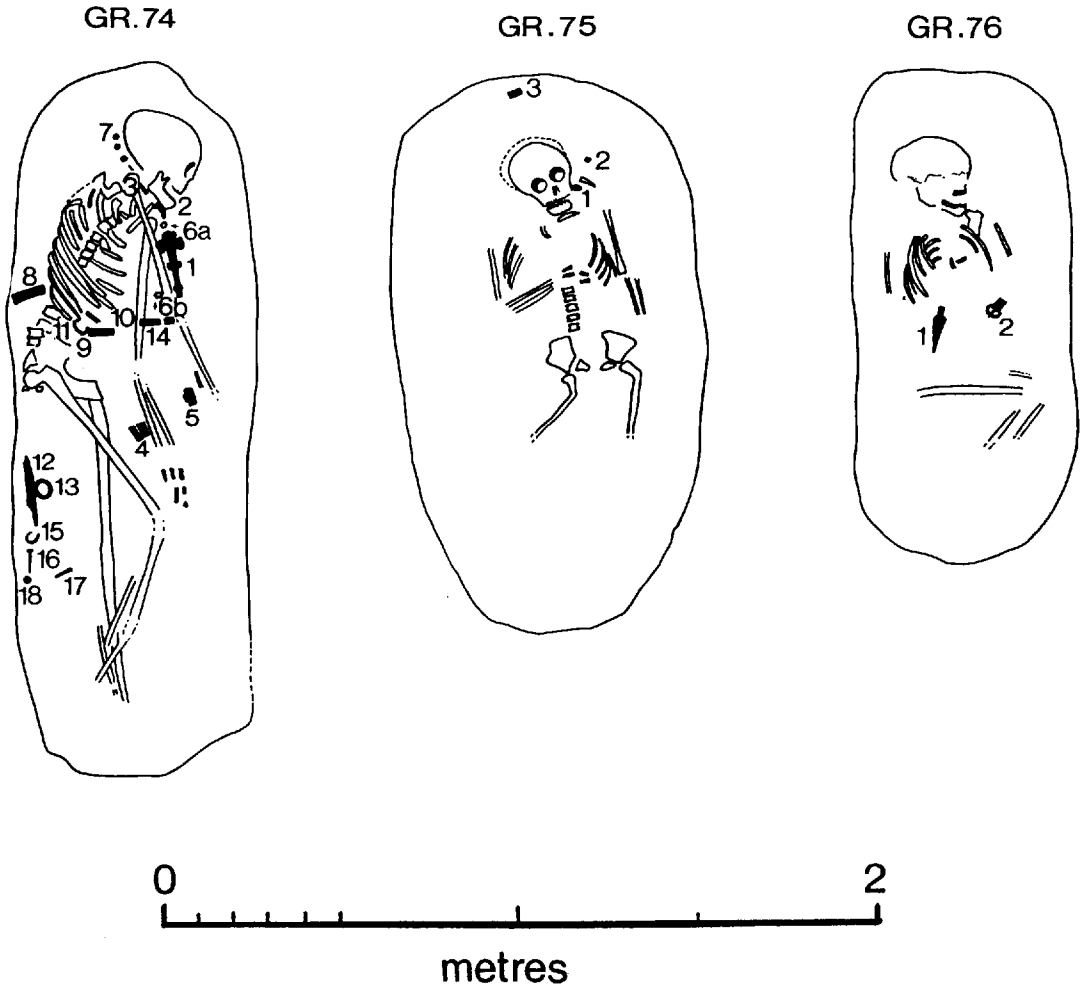

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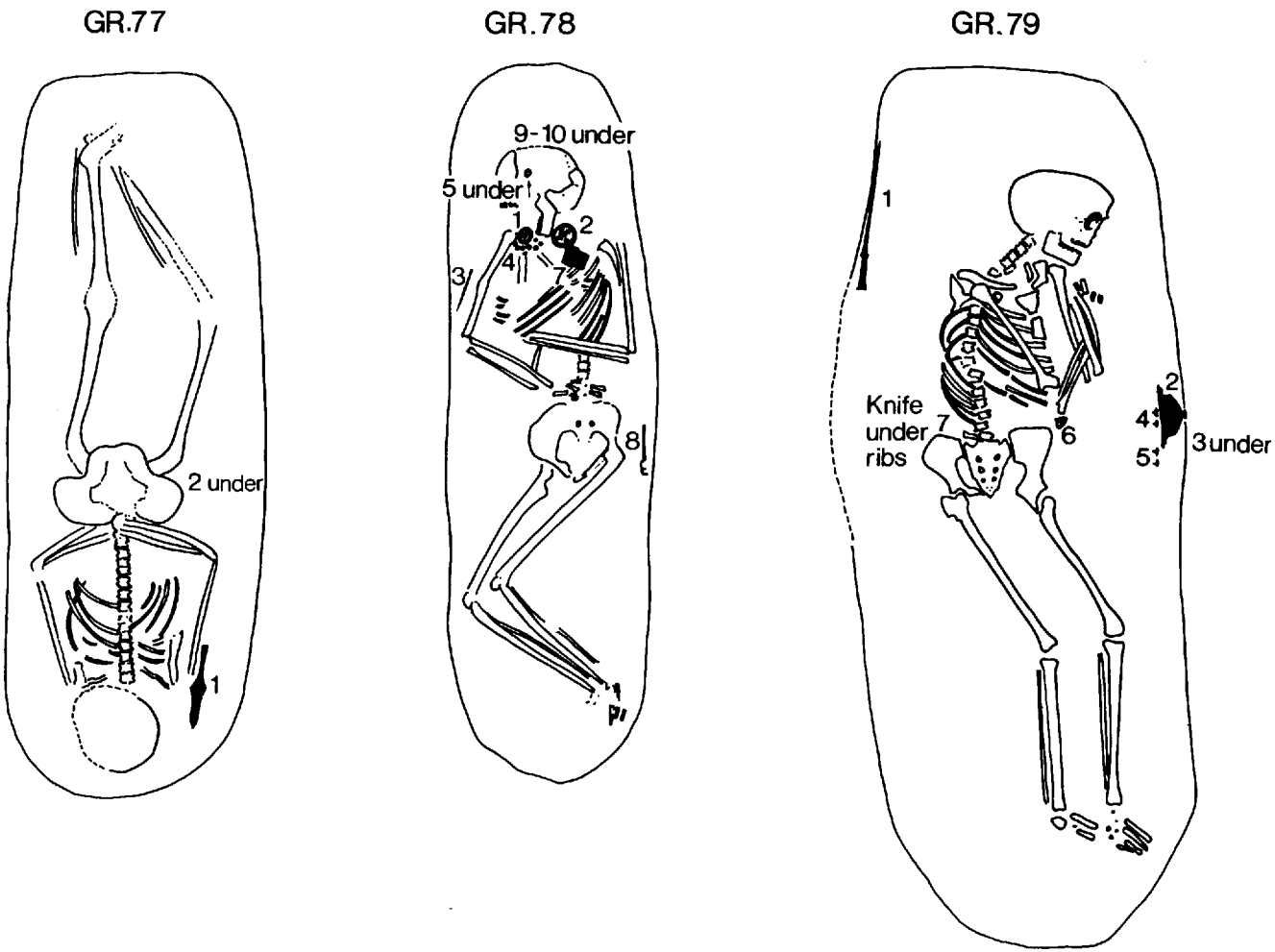

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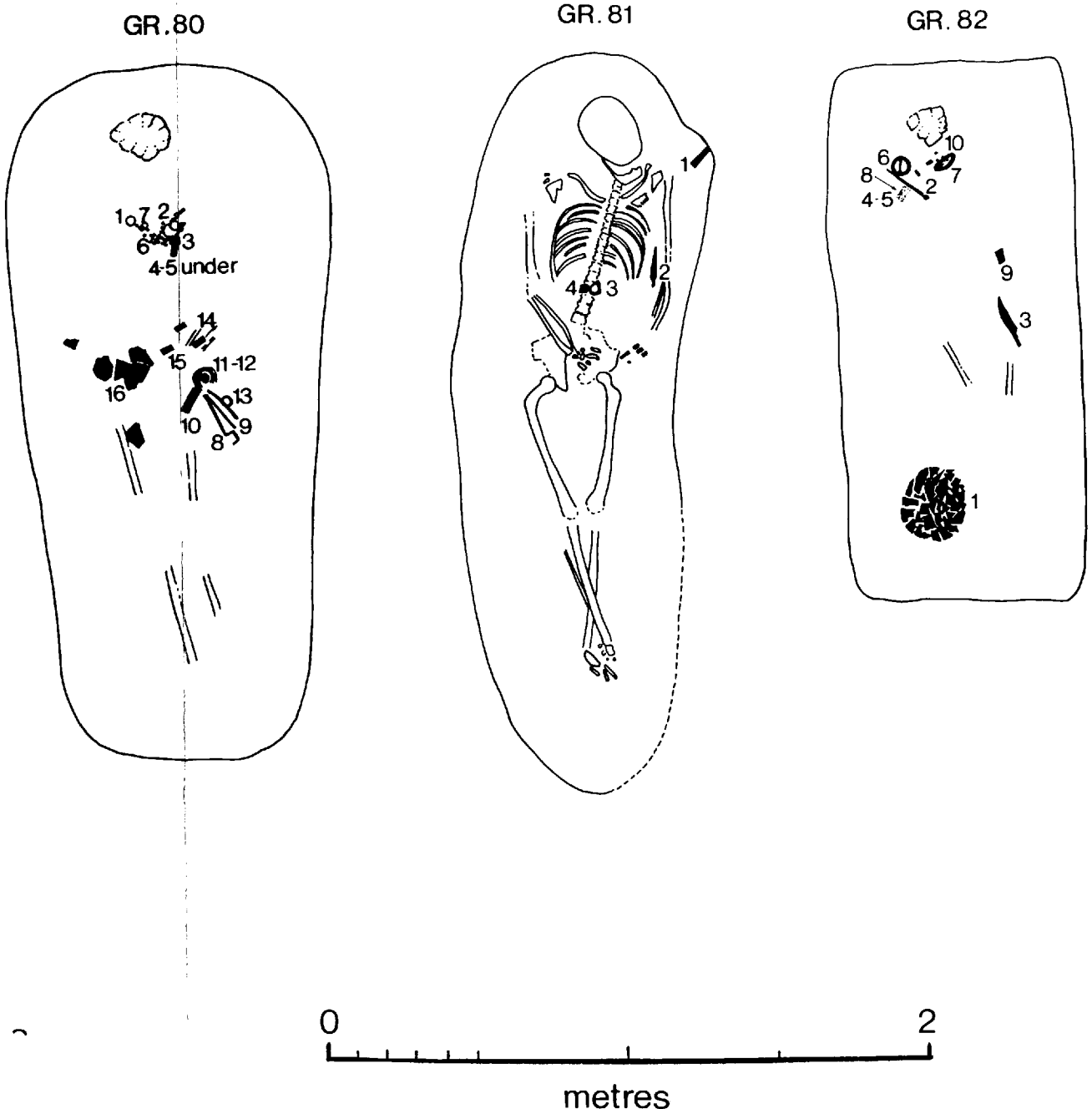

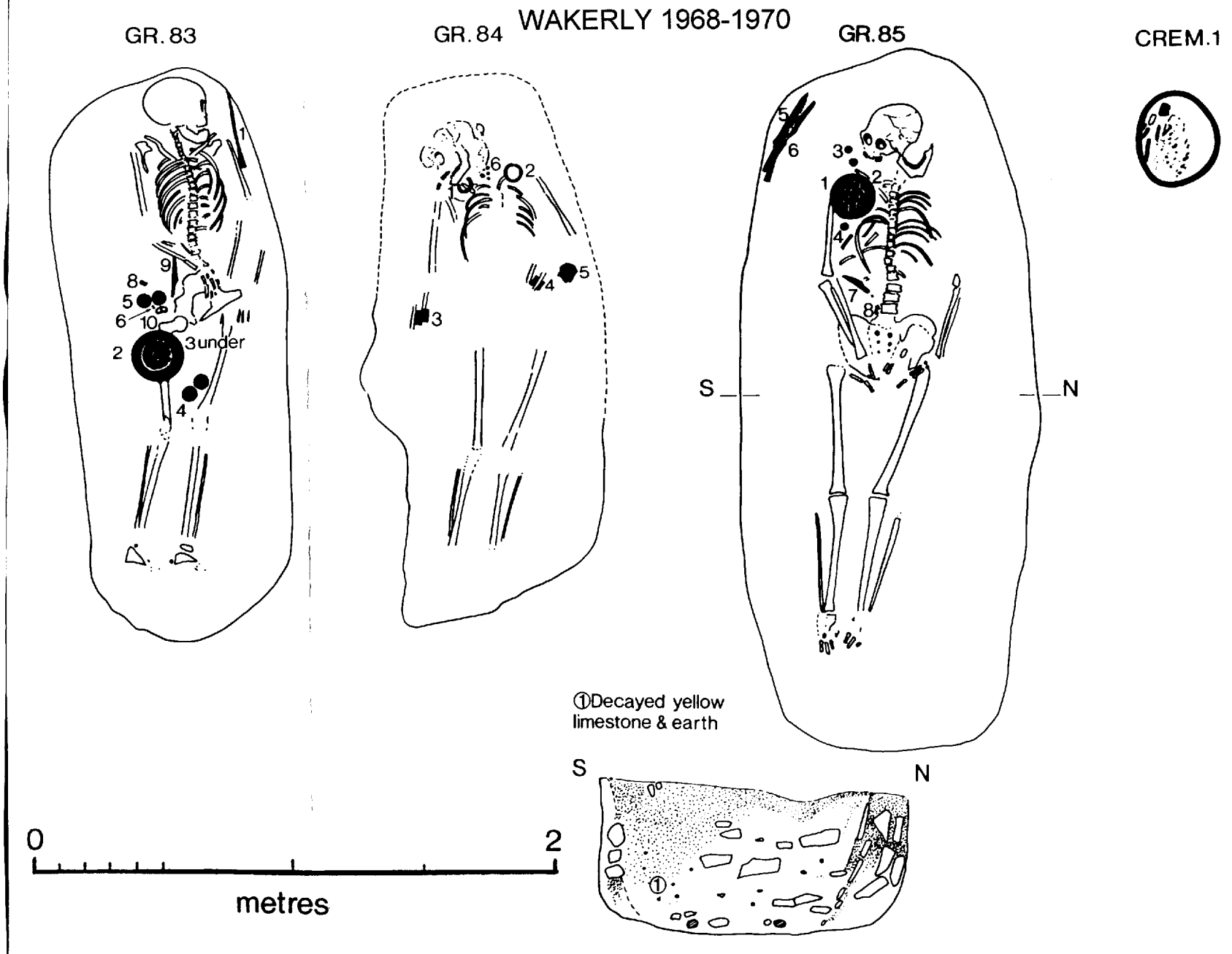
WAKERLY 1968-1970
GR. 83
GR. 84
GR.85
CREM.1
1
9
8
5
6
10
2
3under
4
6
2
3
4
5
5
6
3
2
1
4
7
8
S
N
①Decayed yellow
limestone & earth
S
N
①
0
2
metres