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Norfolk in the Dark Ages,  
400—800 A.D.

PART I.

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

By definition the Dark Ages are an obscure period awaiting enlightenment by the co-ordinated assault of varied sciences advancing on fronts geographically widespread. This article aims at presenting a summary of the existing state of knowledge, derived almost entirely from the archaeological method, relating to this period in Norfolk. The limitations of this method must be borne in mind in assessing the results, especially as the material is composed largely of the necessarily scanty relics left by the predominant cremation rite of the Anglian invaders. It consists rarely of more than pottery, beads, comb or tweezers while from the graves of the inhumed dead come shield, spear, knife, wrist-clasps, girdle-hangers or brooches, square-headed or cruciform. Contemporary villages have not yet been investigated in the county and there is thus no stratification to confirm or modify the conclusions drawn from pure typology and association. The discovery and complete excavation of a deserted village of the early phase of the invasions is one of the important tasks ahead of Norfolk



archaeology. The lack of a regal or episcopal centre suited to their preservation may account for the absence of literary material or traditions of the invasions and settlement of East Anglia, such as might have illumined the archaeological record.

This period has been little studied in Norfolk since the appearance in 1901<sup>1</sup> of R. A. Smith's monumental survey of the county's early Anglo-Saxon antiquities, and the general neglect is intensified by the two outstanding exceptions. Meanwhile general studies of the Dark Ages have advanced rapidly if spasmodically and they throw considerable indirect light on the march of events in Norfolk. It would be presumptuous, however, to attempt to re-assess the whole evidence for the district until the eagerly-awaited publication by the Place-Name Society of Dr. O. K. Schram's study of the place-names of the county, and Commander F. R. Mann's report of his careful excavation of the important Anglian cemetery at Caistor-by-Norwich, which is the only cemetery in the county excavated with any approach to completeness. The present notes owe their origin to fieldwork which the writer was privileged to carry out in 1932-3 for the Ordnance Survey Map of Britain in the Dark Ages (S. Sheet, 1935) and are therefore primarily topographical, as a visit to every site in the gazetteer was indispensable to its preparation. In view of the existence of this map and other excellent sketch maps in recent books<sup>2</sup> none is included in this article.

#### THE STUDY OF NORFOLK IN THE DARK AGES.

Nearly three centuries ago it was the distinction of an Anglian cemetery in Norfolk to stimulate Sir Thomas Browne to the production of what is at once a literary and philosophical classic and the first

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H.*, Norfolk, i., 325-51 (for abbreviated titles of literature used throughout paper see table on page 212).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, Hodgkin, i., 1935, 109; R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons*, 1935, Fig. 2; Darby, 1936, 103; Leeds, 1936, 29, 87; Myres, 1937, map VII.



illustrated report on Anglo-Saxon antiquities in this country, for the discovery of an urn cemetery at Great Walsingham was followed a few months later in 1658 by "Hydriotaphia" or "Urne-Buriall," with a plate depicting four of the pots found. Browne regarded these finds as Roman, but this error he shared with his antiquarian successors for nearly two centuries. To-day his discovery is commemorated in the city of Norwich in which he dwelt so long by the statue of him in the Haymarket gazing at one of these Anglian urns. It is possible that even Sir Thomas's record must yield precedence to that of the indefatigable Leland who between 1538 and 1543 noted that "Syr John Dicons told me that yn digging of a balke or mere yn a felde longging to the paroch of Keninghaul in Northfolk ther were founde a great many yerthen pottes yn order cum cineribus mortuorum." Unfortunately none of these pots is known to survive and as the well-known Kenninghall cemetery contained no cremations, the age and exact position of this other graveyard must remain in doubt, as must the significance of discoveries made at Narborough in Queen Elizabeth's reign and recorded by Spelman.

It was in the eighteenth century that schemes of agricultural improvement began to reveal numerous archaeological sites of which some were recorded by contemporaries, albeit imperfectly as the science was still in its romantic stage. The great cemetery at North Elmham attracted the attention of Peter Le Neve, a local antiquary, as early as 1711 and another graveyard at Rushford was noted by the Rev. G. Burton of Elveden. Pottery from both these sites and finds made at Holkham were drawn for the Rev. William Stukeley, but these have not all been traced. An Anglian pot (*see* pl. 9, 1) found in 1763 and possibly one of Burton's finds from Rushford is now in the Museum of Archaeology at Cambridge. A contemporary find of skeletons at Bawdeswell or Sparham in 1743 evoked the opinion that they were those of "some unfortunate strangers which were



robb'd and murder'd there," though Tom Martin, F.S.A., who visited the scene of the discovery concluded that they formed part of an ancient cemetery, possibly of Anglo-Saxon date.

In the early nineteenth century the cemeteries examined by antiquaries at Markshall and Pensthorpe were still classified as Roman and it was not till the middle of the century, when similar objects were revealed at Drayton, Earsham, Carbrooke, Kenninghall, Brooke, Northwold and Smallburgh, as well as in railway construction at Gissing and Little Walsingham, that their Saxon character was fully recognised. In Norfolk the credit for realising the significance of these finds must go to Henry Harrod who in 1853 wrote the Saxon section of the Catalogue of Antiquities in Norwich Museum, to Goddard Johnson and Robert Fitch who presented much of the material to that institution, and to Dawson Turner whose talented artistic family delineated in colour many objects of this period which have since been lost to view. These paintings are now in the British Museum.

It was not till 1891 that the first attempt was made to investigate a cemetery scientifically. By the liberality of H. Willett of Brighton and at the instigation of Dr. A. Jessopp, digging was organised at Castle Acre where pottery had been found a generation before. The report in this journal contains neither plans nor illustrations and is inadequate by modern standards, as was the excavation in 1901 of a cemetery in Hunstanton Park by Prof. T. McKenny Hughes of Cambridge. Since then a few stray finds have been made at Brettenham (in tree-planting), at Catton (Norwich) (in road-making), at Mundford (in gardening), at North Runcton and Earsham in the churchyards and at Tottenhill, Wretton and Wolterton (in gravel digging). But the only site excavated with any real regard for its scientific potentialities is the extensive one on the outskirts of the Roman town at Caistor-by-Norwich known since 1815. Since 1932 Commander Mann (with the collaboration of Prof. Atkinson till 1935) has almost single-handed patiently



excavated the remainder of this cemetery and when published the results should be of considerable significance for a correct understanding of the local Anglian pottery and its continental origins.

A brief summary of Norfolk in this period has been published by J. E. Sainty<sup>1</sup> in 1935 and the present writer has dealt with the chief sites in Breckland.<sup>2</sup> As Norfolk is an area with arbitrary boundaries, the ethnic groups and human cultures which transgress these limits can only be comprehended by a consideration of those of adjacent districts. Since 1901 the Dark Ages in the neighbouring counties have been surveyed in some detail and their relics disclose both analogies and differences with those from Norfolk. R. A. Smith described Anglo-Saxon Suffolk in great detail<sup>3</sup> in 1911, while in 1923<sup>4</sup> Sir Cyril Fox published his epoch-making geographical study of the pagan settlement of the Cambridge Region embracing North-West Suffolk and the Thetford area. This survey has now been supplemented by T. C. Lethbridge<sup>5</sup> who has been able to draw on his own productive researches in the hut-sites, cemeteries and linear earthworks of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Across the Wash, C. W. Phillips has summarised the Anglian remains of Lincolnshire.<sup>6</sup> Concise discussions of the general problems of the invasion and settlement of East Anglia have been published by Prof. Baldwin Brown (1915),<sup>7</sup> R. H. Hodgkin (1935)<sup>8</sup> and most recently (1937) by J. N. L. Myres<sup>9</sup> who has also laid the foundations of a sound study of the pottery of the age.<sup>10</sup> Other

<sup>1</sup> B.A.H., 70-1.

<sup>3</sup> V.C.H., Suffolk, i., 325-355.

<sup>2</sup> I.B.W., 1937, 83-6.

<sup>4</sup> Fox, 1923, 237-312.

<sup>5</sup> V.C.H., Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely, i., 1938, 305-333—summarised in *A Scientific Survey of the Cambridge District* (British Association, 1938, 94-8), see also Lethbridge, 1931, especially pp. 75-86.

<sup>6</sup> A.J., xci., 1935, 137-151.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, iv., especially 763-5; 789-96.

<sup>8</sup> Hodgkin, i., 147-8.

<sup>9</sup> Myres, ch. xxii., especially 383-393.

<sup>10</sup> *Ant. J.*, xvii., 1937, 424-437 (*Three Styles of Decoration on Anglo-Saxon Pottery*); *Antiquity*, xi., 1937, 389-399 (*Some Anglo-Saxon Potters*).



typological studies of primary importance for an understanding of the Norfolk antiquities, particularly its brooches, have been published by N. Aberg (1926)<sup>1</sup> and by E. T. Leeds (1936).<sup>2</sup> The chronological difficulties apparent in these typological studies have been enhanced by the stimulating views of T. D. Kendrick on the dating of the important Kentish antiquities.<sup>3</sup> The geographical approach to the problems of the age utilised so brilliantly by Sir Cyril Fox has been developed by S. W. Wooldridge and D. L. Linton (1935-6)<sup>4</sup> who have shown the importance of the intermediate or loamy soils in the settlement period. Leeds has combined the geographical and typological methods with success in his advocacy of a West Saxon penetration up the Icknield Way from the limits of Fenland navigation near Huntingdon after circumnavigating the Anglians on the southern edge of the Fens.<sup>5</sup> H. C. Darby<sup>6</sup> has studied the rôle of the Fenland as a frontier between the warring states which rose from the confusion of the settlement period.

#### PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF NORFOLK AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT.

On the basis of its complex surface geology, Norfolk has been divided into regions the number and boundaries of which are in dispute among geographical

<sup>1</sup> Aberg., 1926, especially 28-89.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, 1936, especially ch. v., *The Cultural Relations of East Anglia with the Midlands and Northern England*, pp. 79-95.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquity*, vii., 1933, 429-52; K. and H., 1932, 306-7; *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> Wooldridge and Linton, 1935; Wooldridge in Darby, 1936, 88-132.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch.*, lxiii., 1913, 159-202; *History*, x., 1925, 97; *Ant. J.*, xiii., 1933, 229-251.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquity*, viii., 1934, 185-201 (*The Fenland Frontier in Anglo-Saxon England*).

workers.<sup>1</sup> The recent classification of Wooldridge and Linton includes seven main regions:—(i) Fenland (alluvial), (ii) Broadland (alluvial), (iii) North Norfolk marshes (alluvial), (iv) West Norfolk scarp foot zone (sandy gravel), (v) Breckland (sandy gravel), (vi) North-West Norfolk (clay soils lightened by partial sand or drift covering) (the “ Good Sand ” region of Arthur Young and Mosby), (vii) Mid-South and East Norfolk (lighter boulder-clay of which the Norwich loam or brickearth region extending into East Norfolk is a sub-division).

In considering the attractiveness of these regions to intrusive settlers in the Dark Ages, the first three alluvial tracts may be dismissed owing to their imperious soils unsuitable at this period for habitation or tillage. The contrast between the dense Romano-British occupation of parts of the Fenland and its desertion in the subsequent period is remarkable and the most probable explanation is that land subsidence<sup>2</sup> and increasing difficulties of drainage<sup>3</sup> or deteriorating coastal defences due to the breakdown of civilization would have caused the general evacuation of the area in the fifth century without the stimulus of the invasions.<sup>4</sup> The condition of the Broads at this time is uncertain<sup>5</sup> as is the position of the coastline of East and North Norfolk. Most of the alluvial area was

<sup>1</sup> Cf., Wooldridge and Linton in *Antiquity*, vii., 1933, 297; *Geography*, xx., 1935, 165 (Fig. 1), and Wooldridge in Darby, 1936, 90 (map), with J. E. G. Mosby in B.A.H., 1935, map i., facing p. 20, and *The Land of Britain*, part 70, Norfolk (Land Utilisation Survey), 1938, 96-7 and 193, and P. M. Roxby on East Anglia in A. Ogilvie, *Essays in Regional Geography*, 1930, 142-166.

<sup>2</sup> There was a general sinkage of land levels around the North Sea in the early fifth century (Myres, 385).

<sup>3</sup> This omits consideration of any possible difference in rainfall. The Roman period may have been wetter and the sixth-seventh centuries drier than now (Wooldridge and Linton, 1935, 163).

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Phillips in *A Scientific Survey of the Cambridge District* (British Association, 1938, 93)—Wooldridge in Darby, 1936, 94.

<sup>5</sup> *Norfolk Annual*, 1938, 6.



probably subject to tidal inundations and though some of it may have sufficed as rough summer pasture, its condition precluded settlement,<sup>1</sup> as the estuaries were probably wider and deeper than now.<sup>2</sup> The barren Greensand east of King's Lynn and the equally barren sands and gravels of the Breckland heaths repelled the invaders, as their fertility was low, though the woodland cover was probably light. There remain the clay and sand regions which occupy the centre of the county. In general, the areas in which clay predominated bore natural woodland, lighter and more open where the sandy admixture was greater. The thickest woodland probably lay in the centre of the county, while the Norwich loam region extending to the coast north of Broadland probably supported but light and dispersed woodland and its fertility was conducive to tillage. It must, however, be remembered that even in the wooded clay areas there were extensive patches of almost open country with a lighter soil suited to primitive agriculture, while the valleys which penetrate the area mainly from east to west are of prime importance from the viewpoint of this survey. The rivers, so important for water-supply and fishing, are often flanked in the boulder-clay tract by terraces of well-drained sandy or gravel soils suitable as village sites and affording easy going for trackways.

The geographical distribution of the first settlers may now be considered in relation to the soils selected for exploitation and to the points of entry of the invading farmers. No villages of the "entrance" phase of the Anglo-Saxon invasions have yet been identified in Norfolk, but as the graveyards are unlikely to have been far distant from the habitations of the living, the conservative estimate revealed by the O.S. Map of the Dark Ages may be taken as a fair indication of the distribution of population, though the uneven diffusion of archaeological enthusiasm may render it defective in some districts. The map marks

<sup>1</sup> Hodgkin, i., 1935, 382a.

<sup>2</sup> Wooldridge in Darby, 1936, 105.



seventeen cemeteries in Norfolk and to these should be added one, Catton, there shown as a single burial, and one, recently recognised, at Brundall. The other isolated burials, some of which may represent adjacent villages, will here be disregarded. If these nineteen sites are plotted on a geological drift map of the area, it is to be noted that the alluvial soils, Fens, Broads and coastal salt-marshes are unoccupied, that Breckland and the sands and gravels of West Norfolk support only three sites, while seven are on the "Good Sand" with clay admixture in North-West Norfolk and nine more on the loamy soils of Central and East Norfolk, of which six are concentrated in the Norwich area. The heavier wooded clays of South Central Norfolk were not apparently favoured by the invaders. The type of soil selected by the intruders for interring the cremated remains or bodies of their dead is not always a criterion of the soil they favoured for tillage, as many soil variations often occur within a geographically restricted area, but the Norfolk cemeteries, even in the loamy areas so much in favour, are usually placed on sand or gravel patches on the valley slopes. The valley distribution of settlement is of fundamental importance. Almost without exception when the exact sites of the cemeteries are known, they are within a quarter of a mile or less of a river or stream, and the exceptions, Hunstanton, North Runcton and Sporle (about one half mile) may be more apparent than real, owing to the disappearance of small streams. In a county even of low altitudes the cemeteries are conspicuous for "lying low"—below 150 ft. O.D. Two indeed, Northwold and Earsham, are below the 50 ft. contour, while Caistor-by-Norwich, Norwich (Catton), Hunstanton, Markshall, North Runcton, Rushford and Brundall fall between 50 and 100 ft. and Castle Acre, Drayton, North Elmham, Kenninghall, Pensthorpe and Wolterton between 100 and 150 ft. The only exception, Sporle, is just over 150 ft. and may be due, as may its distance from a visible water supply, to the probability that the graves there are secondary burials in prehistoric barrows.



The preference for loamy soils with light vegetation already noted, is reinforced by examining a distribution map<sup>1</sup> of the place-names ending in *-ingas* and *-ingaham* which are regarded as indicative of early settlements of much the same age as the cemeteries. Norfolk has about seventy names of these types, the greatest number of any English county. These names show a distribution largely complementary to that revealed by the cemeteries, and suggest a fairly dense population of East and North-East Norfolk as also of the central part of the county, though they are commoner on the margin of the clay area than in the interior. There is another small group on the Lower Greensand of West Norfolk. In the Norwich area many of the place-names of this type lie close to the marshland edge—perhaps the tidal limit at that period. It is probable that this penetration into the clay lands of Central Norfolk implies the beginning of deforestation at an early date if the place-name students are correct in their dating. Similarly in North-West Suffolk *-ing* names occur on the central clay plateau and not with the cemeteries on the low ground near the valleys.<sup>2</sup> The proximity of these early place-names to the modern coast line in North-East and East Norfolk is in marked contrast to the apparent avoidance of it (Hunstanton in North-West Norfolk is an exception) by the pagan undertakers, though the possible loss of early sites by erosion between Weybourne and Horsey must be borne in mind.

The valley distribution of cemeteries suggest that between the settlements and also the routes by which the rivers formed the chief means of communication

<sup>1</sup> Small maps in Wooldridge and Linton, Fig. 3, p. 171; Wooldridge in Darby, Fig. 16, p. 112; and O.S. Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, 1935, p. 14. Dr. O. K. Schram kindly informs the writer that there are at most 24 *-ingas* names and 47 *-ingaham* names. West of a line from Wells to Thetford there are few (about one-tenth of the total) in comparison with the known cemeteries (about one-third of the total). Early names in that area are Fring, Castle Rising, Mintlyn, Sandringham and Dersingham (from same settlement), Massingham, Cressingham, and Wellingham.

<sup>2</sup> Wooldridge in Darby, 118.

the invaders sailed up to the head of navigation and then penetrated by the valleys till a suitable site was located. The distribution of the cemeteries suggests that the invaders landed in three chief areas:—

(i) Came up the Wash, passed through the Fens and entered West Norfolk by the Rivers Little Ouse, Thet (Rushford and Kenninghall), Wissey (Northwold and Sporle), Nar (North Runcton and Castle Acre), Heacham (Sedgeford).

(ii) Landed on the North Norfolk coast (Hunstanton), penetrated the Stiffkey valley (Great Walsingham) and spread inland to the headwaters of the Bure (Wolterton) and Wensum (Pensthorpe and North Elmham), though these may have received their first occupants by the third route.

(iii) Sailed into the estuary at Yarmouth into which flow the Bure, Waveney and Yare. On the Waveney lies Earsham, on the Chet (a tributary of the Yare), Brundall, on the Yare, Brooke, on the Tas (also a tributary of the Yare), Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, and on the lower Wensum which meets the Yare at Norwich, Catton and Drayton.<sup>1</sup>

It remains for future investigation, particularly into the pottery found in these cemeteries,<sup>2</sup> to ascertain how far the local differences in these three zones are of a fundamental character reflecting the distinctive continental homes of the first settlers of the Fenland basin, the North Norfolk coast and the East Norfolk valleys. It is further noticeable that the settlements of the Norwich region and those clustering round the Lark-Little Ouse area are separated by a tract devoid of cemeteries from Southwold through Harleston and Attleborough across Breckland to the Fens. A similar distinction may be observed between East and West Suffolk.

<sup>1</sup> Hodgkin, i., 1935, 108-9—Map of Conquest of Mid-Britain shows routes.

<sup>2</sup> One of the chief needs for the study of Anglo-Saxon Norfolk is the complete excavation of a cremation cemetery in West Norfolk to produce material for comparison with Caistor-by-Norwich.



The roads used in the Roman age do not seem in Norfolk to have exercised any profound influence on the distribution of the settlements of the subsequent period.<sup>1</sup> Close to the Peddars Way lie Sporle and Rushford, close to the Icknield Way Hunstanton and Sedgeford, while North Elmham is near an east-west road probably of the Roman age, but there seems no reason to suppose that this association is at all significant, the proximity of a valley in each case being more important than the road, while the absence of early Anglian settlements from the other sectors of known Roman roads in the county supports this view. It is true that an isolated burial at Gissing in the South Norfolk clay country may be due to penetration along the Roman road from Caistor-by-Norwich through Scole southward, but the general neglect of Roman roads in the invasion period in Norfolk<sup>2</sup> is shown by the partial survival of their courses owing to disuse for through communication. In Lincolnshire the cemeteries, especially those in which cremation is the dominant rite, are closely associated with Roman roads, but between the Thames and the Humber generally Roman roads were avoided by those buried in the cemeteries.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF NORFOLK *c.* 450-550 A.D.

The "Entrance Phase" of the Anglian settlers in Norfolk occurred early in the history of the invasions, as might be deduced from the geographical position of this coastal county in relation to the continental districts from which they emanated. The dominance of cremation in the Norfolk cemeteries (two-thirds are

<sup>1</sup> Wooldridge in Darby, 1936, 117-8.

<sup>2</sup> The sites quoted against this view in B.A.H. 70 are often some distance from the nearest Roman road.

<sup>3</sup> Wooldridge in Darby, 1936, 104—see Leeds, 1936, Fig. 12, p. 29.



the almost exclusive preserve of cremators),<sup>1</sup> which probably, though not certainly, indicates widespread early settlement, the concentration of early place-names revealing piecemeal penetration, the pottery in the cremation cemeteries (as at Caistor, Catton, Markshall, Pensthorpe and Shropham), which has as close affinities with its continental ancestors as any in Britain,<sup>2</sup> and stray finds like the bronze mount from Croxton—all indicate extensive colonization by small bands under warrior chiefs being well advanced by 500 A.D. and beginning in some cases as early as 450. Even casual contact as early perhaps as 400, is illustrated by a hybrid pot from Caister-by-Yarmouth in Roman technique, but trying to imitate Saxo-Frisian fashions of that date. This early date is confirmed by the genealogies of the East Anglian kings which suggest that settlement had become sufficiently consolidated by about 500 A.D. for the Wuffingas to weld these scattered groups into a dynastic unity in the succeeding generation. The Fenside valleys of the Lark and Little Ouse were probably the "primary germinating centre"<sup>3</sup> of East Anglia, to which the North Norfolk, Norwich and South-East Suffolk areas of settlement were of subsidiary importance. East Anglia may have been formed from at least two sub-kingdoms.

Though there is no definite evidence of colonization before 450 A.D. the construction of the "Saxon Shore" coastal defences by the military authorities of Roman Britain shows that the menace of raiding was nearly two centuries old before it gave way to conquest. The term "Saxon Shore" does not imply that the invaders of East Anglia belonged exclusively to that

<sup>1</sup> The cremation cemeteries on O.S. Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, 1935, are Caistor-by-Norwich, Castle Acre, Drayton, Earsham, North Elmham, Markshall, Norwich (Catton), Pensthorpe, North Runcton, Rushford, Sedgeford, Great Walsingham, and Wolterton. The relative importance of cremation is probably greater than mere numbers suggest owing to the lack of trustworthy records of many old discoveries (*see* Gazetteer).

<sup>2</sup> Myres, 389.

<sup>3</sup> Hodgkin, i., 148.



racial group, for it was a general term applicable to all east coast pirates. The location of the two fortresses of Brancaster and Burgh Castle, the first to prevent entry to the rich farmlands of the Fens and the second to defend East Norfolk and the administrative town of Caistor-by-Norwich, indicate the antiquity of the routes ultimately used by the Anglian settlers. In the absence of extensive excavations on these two sites it is impossible to ascertain to what date the coastal fortresses and any intermediate coast-guard stations, continued an effective opposition to the raiders, but the defences were certainly silenced by 450, perhaps even a generation before. The general insecurity in the region is shown by the coin-hoards deposited about 400 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and the evidence of a massacre in one house at Caistor-by-Norwich<sup>2</sup> about this time testifies to the ruthlessness of the pirates who slipped up the rivers when the coastal guards relaxed their vigilance.

The older attempts to draw a clear-cut racial distinction between Angle and Saxon over much of Eastern England have now been abandoned in view of the resemblances between some of the material objects found in apparently Anglian areas in Britain and in Saxon areas on the continent. As Hodgkin says<sup>3</sup> it is "hard to resist the inference that many of our Angles came in fact from the Saxon districts of Germany." For instance, in the decoration of pottery, stamping is commonly found in Anglian areas, whereas on the continent it is largely a Saxon device. Perhaps a fusion of predominant Angle with Saxon and Frisian was taking place before the colonization of Norfolk began.<sup>4</sup> The invaders of Norfolk were probably a

<sup>1</sup> At Carleton St. Peter, Caston, and Fincham.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxi., 1931, 232.

<sup>3</sup> Hodgkin, i., 160.

<sup>4</sup> Leeds, 1936, 39, quotes a small cruciform brooch from Castle Acre, and a cast bronze disc from Caistor-by-Norwich might have come from a Saxon cemetery like Wester-Wanna in the Elbe-Weser area and 1933, 239-40, shows that in this country the early forms of cruciform brooches are as likely to represent Saxons as Angles. On the continent they are found both in Frisia and Schleswig.

motley assemblage derived from areas in Schleswig (the Anglian homeland), from between the Elbe and the Weser in North-West Germany (mainly Saxon) and from the Frisian coast.

Despite the predominance of cremation in the Norfolk cemeteries, inhumation was probably practised from the beginning<sup>1</sup> and widely by 500. It may indicate the presence of Saxon elements among the Angle population or at least the presence of individual adventurers who, on the continent or in Britain, had come in contact with Roman ideas of burial. Cremation was not general after about 550, but the tenacity of burial rites is shown by the late type of square-headed brooch from Brooke which must date from near the lower limit of cremation in the area.<sup>2</sup>

The predominance of cremation in East Anglia has an important bearing on the survival of the Romano-British population which in the fourth and fifth centuries probably practised inhumation exclusively, and its subsequent spread may indicate the influence of the conquered on the conquerors. The predominance of cremation "expresses the absence of Roman military and civil resistance in that area."<sup>3</sup> The "archaeologically negative" nature of the sub-Roman culture of the fifth century makes it difficult to assess the degree of survival of the humble Icenian peasantry. The coastal forts were deserted, the villas lay in ruins, the small town of Caistor-by-Norwich had decayed and perhaps its last inhabitants suffered fire and sword years before the first Anglians began to deposit their cremated dead in the suburbs on both sides of the River Tas. From this archaeological contiguity at Caistor it is possible to argue civic continuity or its reverse.<sup>4</sup> The change in burial rite, the absence of indications of Anglian settlement within the walled area, and its emergence

<sup>1</sup> In the cemeteries of Brooke, Kenninghall, Hunstanton, Northwold, and Sporle inhumation predominates.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, 1936, 35.

<sup>3</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Saxons*, 1935, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Myres, 429.



from the Dark Ages as an insignificant village rather suggest that urban institutions and population vanished in the early fifth century before the arrival of the Anglian settlers. A similar conclusion may be drawn from an examination of the other cemetery sites in Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Rushford, Brundall, Narford and perhaps Thorpe-next-Norwich, all are far from known sites of Romano-British villages and farms and even Rushford, together with an Anglian warrior buried in a Roman refuse-pit across the river at Brettenham, may owe its position to the restricted area of fertile land in the barren Breck country or to the adjacent Roman road (as at Caistor) rather than to the survival of Romano-British peasants, for the invaders in the "entrance phase" seem to have been unable to achieve even that limited degree of woodland clearance effected by their predecessors.

Technically the invaders are likely to have learnt little from any Romano-British survivors. Their squalid habitations have not yet been recognised in Norfolk, but examples have been investigated at West Row, Mildenhall, Suffolk, and Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire.<sup>2</sup> They have more in common with the huts of the Iron Age and Roman villages than with the farms on which Romanised landlords had dwelt. The use of champlévé enamel on cruciform and square-headed brooches which is confined to the eastern border of the Fens is probably a Roman legacy.<sup>3</sup>

The rarity of Celtic place-names in Norfolk also argues against any considerable survival.

One may conclude that the widespread intrusive burial rite of cremation indicates a fairly clean sweep of the few backward Iceni surviving into the late fifth century, though this view would have to be modified if any considerable number of inhumation

<sup>1</sup> Cf., the Cambridge region where Anglo-Saxon sites are superimposed on some Romano-British sites—Fox, 1923, 283.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Lethbridge in *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, xxxiii., 1933, 133-151, and *V.C.H.*, Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely, i., 1938, 308-9 (plans).

<sup>3</sup> Brown, iv., 1915, 791; and Fox, 1923, 283.



cemeteries could be shown to belong to this phase. The survivors may have been retained as serfs (perhaps those buried without weapons in the inhumation cemeteries), or forced to live in the more barren regions such as Breckland, where physical anthropologists<sup>1</sup> have claimed such survivals, or the Fens, where St. Guthlac (653-714) complained of their presence in the eighth century.

#### CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION *c.* 550-800.

The genealogy of the royal family called Wuffingas<sup>2</sup> indicates that the father of Wuffa the first king of the East Angles was able to consolidate his personal power over the hitherto independent scattered communities of Norfolk and Suffolk probably between 500 and 525, as Wuffa's grandson, Raedwald, was king in the early seventh century. He may have united two sub-kingdoms corresponding roughly to these modern counties, and the duality of his realm is reflected in the later diocesan organisation of Elmham and Dunwich. A greater geographical weakness lay in the union of the communities on the east and west of the central zone of heavy soil. From the first days of the invasions the East Angles seem to have been separated from the East Saxons and this division of East Anglia from Essex, linked culturally to Kent, is supported by history and archaeology. The sparsely inhabited region of South Suffolk and the forested zone effectively separated them,<sup>3</sup> and here the river Stour acted as a frontier instead of the watersheds more normal elsewhere. Any expansion of East Anglia after its consolidation was complete could thus only take place along the line of the Icknield Way, now as in prehistoric times the great highway to the civilised south, or across the inhospitable Fens to the west.

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Fleure, *Races of England and Wales*, 1923, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ii., 15.

<sup>3</sup> Shown by the break in the Roman road from Caistor-by-Norwich to Colchester.



In recent years excavation<sup>1</sup> has demonstrated the post-Roman date of the dykes or linear earthworks which bar the Icknield Way along the chalk zone of Cambridgeshire between the forested clay-lands to the east and the fens to the west. The construction of these politico-military frontiers is generally attributed to the need of the East Angles for protection against their half-Anglian, half-Saxon Mercian neighbours in Cambridgeshire. The linear earthworks of Norfolk should, by analogy, belong to much the same period, but their construction cannot be similarly explained. The Devil's Dykes between Nar and Wissey, and Wissey and Little Ouse, were built across important highways to protect those living in the peninsulas to their west from eastern aggression, but despite some excavation in the former, their purpose and date are uncertain, though the former was in existence about 1050.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that they represent temporary frontiers between rival groups of invaders in the "entrance phase" or between the invaders and Romano-British survivors. The Devil's Ditch on Garboldisham Heath between the rivers Thet and Little Ouse has the ditch now on one side and now on the other and its military value is questionable,<sup>3</sup> while the Launditch near North Elmham between the headwaters of the Nar and Wensum is so mutilated that any accurate determination of its significance is difficult, but it seems to face westward.

The political history of the East Anglian kingdom is not a very inspiring record. The hegemony acquired by its king, Raedwald, before the death of Ethelbert of Kent in 616 under whose overlordship East Anglia had been, was a mere flash in the pan. When Raedwald died about 627 the hegemony passed to

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquity*, iii., 1929, 148; *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, xxxi., 1931, 32; and K. and H. 1932, 327. The Black Ditches at Cavenham belong to the same group.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsey Abbey documents—*Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesensis*, Rolls Series, 1886, 162-4, 202, 223.

<sup>3</sup> The Breckland dykes are briefly described in I.B.W., 1937, 85-6.



Northumbria. It was perhaps his defeat of Ethelfrith of Northumbria and his influence over Mercia that may have enabled Raedwald to seize the Southern Fens and exercise effective control as far north as Boston. The missionary activities of the East Anglians after the conversion certainly indicate that in the early seventh century they controlled the Southern Fens including Ely<sup>1</sup> and probably extensive portions of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. The border marches of Raedwald's dominions doubtless enjoyed considerable independence owing to the difficulties of centralised control.

After Raedwald's death and the short Northumbrian suzerainty the East Anglian king Sigbert was killed by Penda of Mercia, who probably attacked through the Fenland. Until Penda's death, East Anglia was for a short time under Mercian domination and then, after the death of Ethelhere at Winwaed in 655 fighting against Oswy of Northumbria, it became a second-rate power, for a brief moment under Northumbrian, and then under Mercian sway again, for a century and a half. The names of the East Anglian puppet monarchs who ruled before Ethelbert, murdered by Offa of Mercia about 793, are unknown, despite the coins which have been attributed to them.<sup>2</sup> No successor is recorded and presumably East Anglia fell under the complete domination of Mercia, and its independence ceased, though its provincial feeling remained intact. As an epilogue it may be noted that in 823 East Anglia sought the protection of the rising star of Wessex, while in 838 a new era dawned with the first Viking raid on the East Anglian coastline.

The pagan period in East Anglia was brought to a close by the foundation of the bishopric of Dunwich in 631, but Christianity had twice before attempted to strike root in the area. The connection of King Raedwald with the Christian court of Kent may account for his Christianisation, but as he set up an altar to

<sup>1</sup> H. C. Darby in *Antiquity*, viii., 1934, 194-5.

<sup>2</sup> D. H. Haigh, *Numismatic History of East Anglia*; and C. F. Keary, *B.M. Catalogue of English Coins*, i., 1887, 83-96 (see below p. 184).



Christ in his temple alongside that to heathen deities<sup>1</sup> the conversion of this "temporizing backslider" was probably merely a political device. His son, Eorpwald, about 628, was won to Christianity through the enthusiasm of Edwin of Northumbria, but he was murdered by the pagans who remained in the ascendant until Raedwald's step-son, Sigbert, became king in 631. Sigbert had acquired his belief in Christianity while in exile in Gaul, and Felix of Burgundy was his chief agent in the conversion of his realm, though aided from 636 by the Irish Fursey who established his headquarters in the Saxon Shore fortress of Burgh Castle. The death of Sigbert at the hands of the pagan, Penda, was insufficient to prevent the spread of the new doctrines. Within half a century of its foundation the Diocese of Dunwich was divided at the Synod of Hertford in 673, and that of Elmham formed for Norfolk. It may be that this split was the outcome of an earlier division between Norfolk and Suffolk temporarily submerged in the formation of the East Anglian kingdom. There are no certain remains of the cathedral of Elmham attributable to the seventh or eighth centuries. The surviving cathedral at North Elmham is considered tenth-eleventh century, while that at Dunwich has perished owing to coastal erosion.

The pagan burial rites probably died hard, and objects were buried with the dead even after the nominal Christianisation of the populace, perhaps as late as the early eighth century. The tendency of Raedwald to syncretize Pagan and Christian rites is underlined by the discovery of pagan burials contiguous to and apparently continuous with at least three churchyards in Norfolk, Earsham, Hilgay and North Runcton (and perhaps at Thetford), while at Caistor-by-Norwich only the fortifications of the Roman town separate the church from the extensive pagan cemetery.<sup>2</sup> Church-

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ii., 15.

<sup>2</sup> On religious syncretism in East Anglia see notes by J. N. L. Myres filed in Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, B.M. On early Christianity in East Anglia see Thirteen-hundredth Anniversary of the Diocese of East Anglia; official handbook (1930), pp. 1-27. (Canon Kendall.)



yards were perhaps general by 750. The contacts of East Anglia with the Southern Fens owing to religious ties are indicated by the inspiring present of a lead coffin and a winding sheet sent to St. Guthlac by the daughter of the East Anglian king.

In the early days of the invasions there was probably little trade apart from the introduction by the newcomers of continental products like the Croxton mount. Their economy was largely self-sufficient and only with the phase of consolidation and the establishment of contacts with neighbouring kingdoms from the middle of the sixth century do imports appear in any quantity in the East Anglian area. Previously foreign contacts seem to have been with Denmark and Norway judging from the development of cruciform brooches.<sup>1</sup>

Kentish influences were felt in East Anglia soon after about 550,<sup>2</sup> and from the southern kingdom the East Angles borrowed the rampant beast to decorate their cruciform and square-headed brooches. East Anglia in its turn exerted influence on Mercia perhaps owing to the political domination temporarily exercised by Raedwald at the dawn of the seventh century,<sup>3</sup> and the florid fully-developed cruciform brooches of East Anglian type have a wide distribution in Mercia,<sup>4</sup> while the simply decorated Kenninghall type of square-headed brooch (probably early seventh century) has an even wider distribution, extending north of the Humber<sup>5</sup> and demonstrating the cultural unity of the province between Suffolk and the Tyne. The routes of diffusion of East Anglian products at this period were probably by the Icknield Way or across the Fenland.

From the late sixth century commercial relations with Kent introduced to East Anglia, and especially to Suffolk, the jewellery of that region, and foreign

<sup>1</sup> Lethbridge, 1931, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Leeds, 1936, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Leeds, 1936, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Leeds, 1936, fig. 16, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Leeds, 1936, fig. 18—for lists of each type of brooch see Aberg, 1926, 56.



products, such as glass-ware from the Frankish area and bronze bowls and ewers of Coptic Egyptian type, perhaps imitated in the Rhineland. Leeds<sup>1</sup> has emphasised that this commercial dominance of Kent as manufacturer and entrepreneur does not necessarily imply political domination. It is, of course, possible that the undoubted maritime contacts with Frisia<sup>2</sup> after about 550 may have been responsible directly for continental imports such as the bronze bowl from Caistor-by-Norwich, and the ewer from Markshall, while the products of Kent such as the Bacton and Wilton pendants probably reached Norfolk by the coastal trade in the seventh century, perhaps through the episcopal seat and port of Dunwich.

The early contacts with Scandinavia (pre-550) may have introduced Baltic amber to East Anglia and Lethbridge<sup>3</sup> has suggested that Southwold amber was first discovered and exploited in quantity from this period instead of continued imports.

There is little evidence that the commercial relations indicated required much coinage for their negotiation. Only one sceatt has been found in Norfolk (Caister-by-Yarmouth), probably minted in Frisia in contrast to their general diffusion over South-Eastern England in the period 600-800. The coins formerly assigned to East Anglian kings from Beonna about 760 to Ethelbert (slain in 793-4), are now regarded as the products of other kingdoms.<sup>4</sup> Their absence does not suggest that economic life had developed to such an extent before 800 as to necessitate a wide monetary basis.

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, 1936, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius' *Gothic War*, iv., 20, has an account of an East Anglian princess invading Holland, perhaps a reflex of the invasion of East Anglia.

<sup>3</sup> Lethbridge, 1931, 75, and K. and H., 1932, 317-8.

<sup>4</sup> G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 1932, 15, 29-30, correcting earlier accounts. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, 1937, 113, and Dirks, *Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits Sceattas* in *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 5th ser. ii., 1870, plate D. The first regular East Anglian coinage bears the name of Aethelstan I. (c. 825-40 ?).

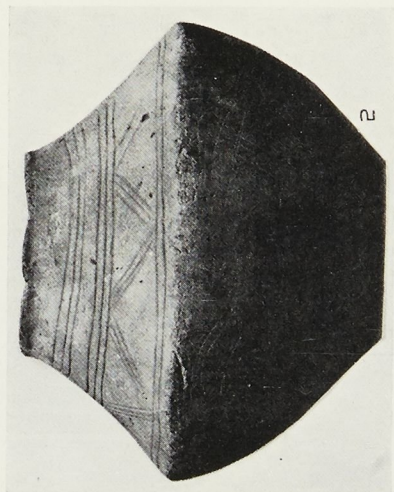
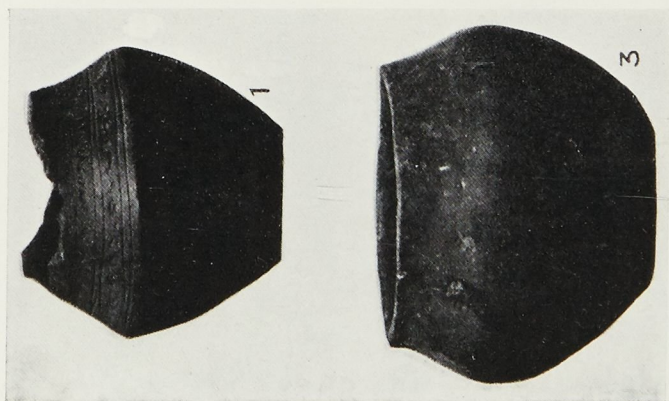


Plate 1. Pottery from Brundall (N.C.M.). (1,  $4\frac{3}{8}$  ins. high.; 2, 9 ins.; 3,  $4\frac{7}{8}$  ins.).  
(See pp. 189—192.)



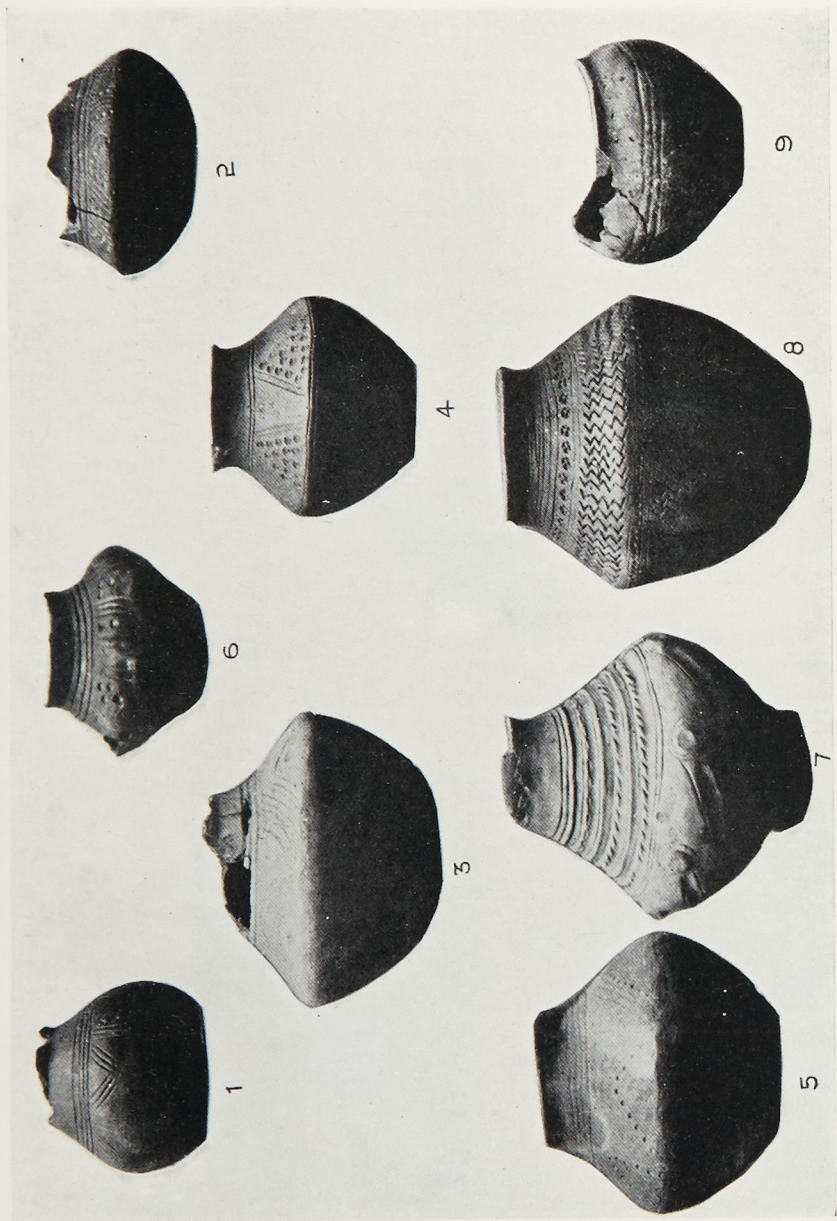


Plate 2. Pottery from Castle Acre (N.C.M.). (Museum registration numbers in brackets).  
 1 (45c-58); 2 (45a-58); 3 (45b-58); 4 (45d-58); 5 (45e-58); 6 (45f-58); 7 (47-10); 8 (43g-58); 9 (47-10).  
 (No. 8 is 10 ins. high). (See pp. 193—195.)

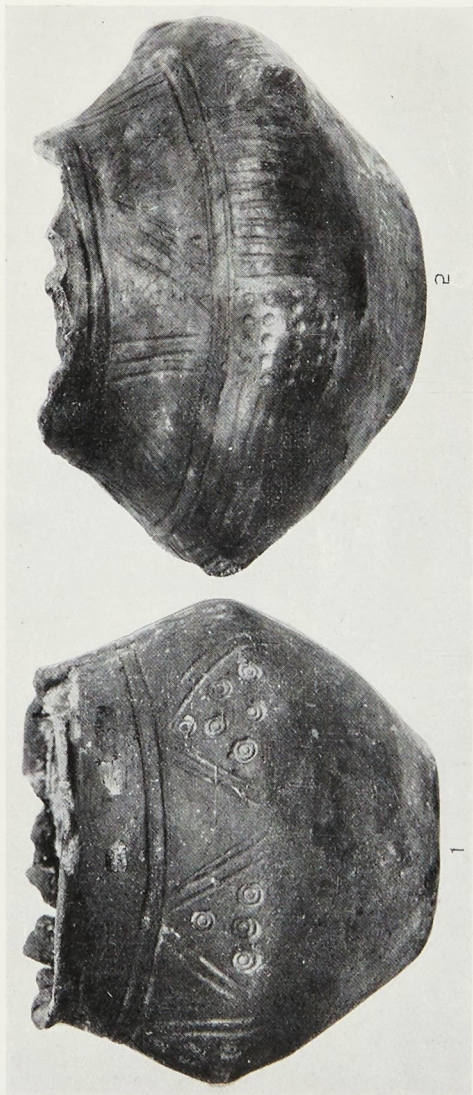


Plate 3. Pottery from Castle Acre (Dorset County Museum, Dorchester).  
1 (5 ins. high); 2 (7½ ins. high). (See pp. 194-5.)



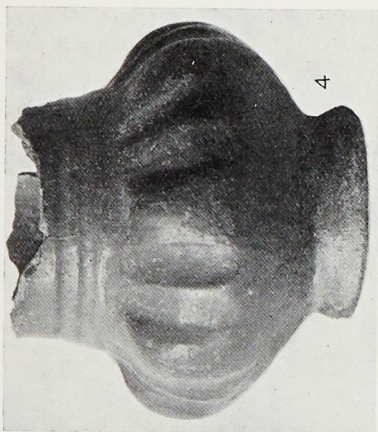
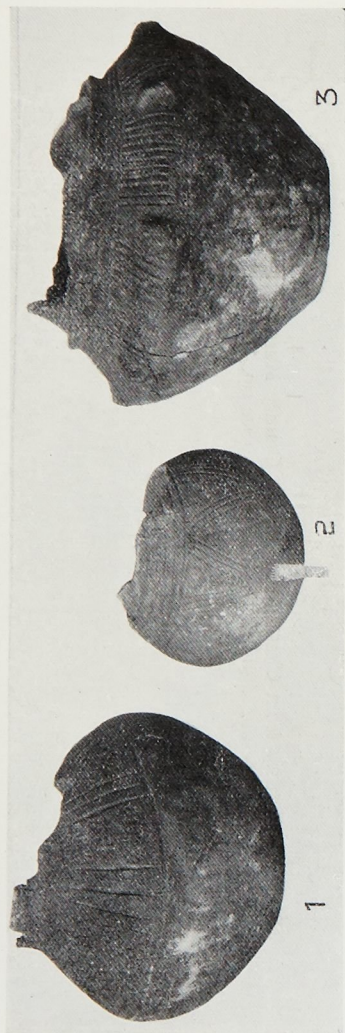


Plate 4. Pottery from Castle Acre (Greenland Fishery Museum, King's Lynn).  
 (1-3; 1 and 3,  $9\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high; 2, 6 ins. high with comb) and Pensthorpe (possession of  
 Rev. H. B. J. Armstrong, St. Margaret's Vicarage, King's Lynn); (4,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high).  
 (See 194-5 and 202-3.)

(See 194-3 and 202-3.)

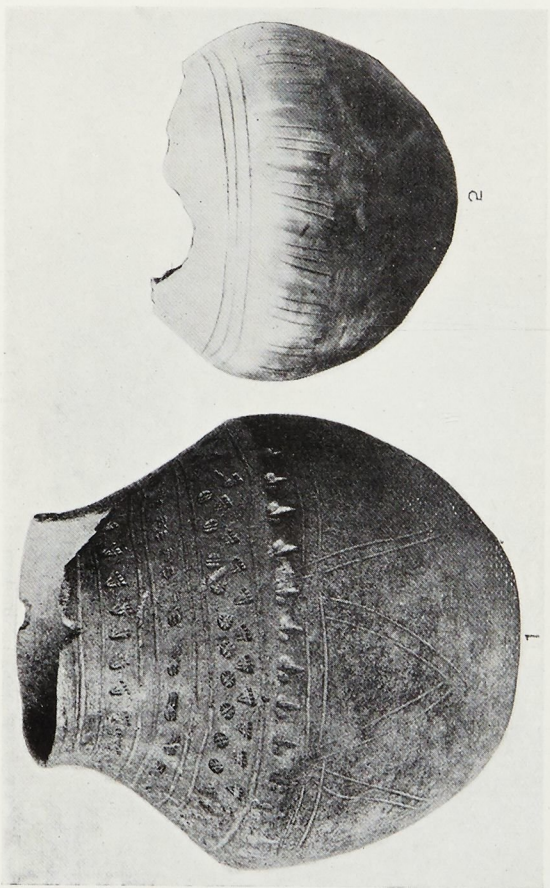


Plate 5. Pots from Earsham (1, 7¼ ins. high) (Earsham Hall) and Elmham, North (2, 5¼ ins. high). (N.C.M. Loan.) (See pp. 196, 198.)



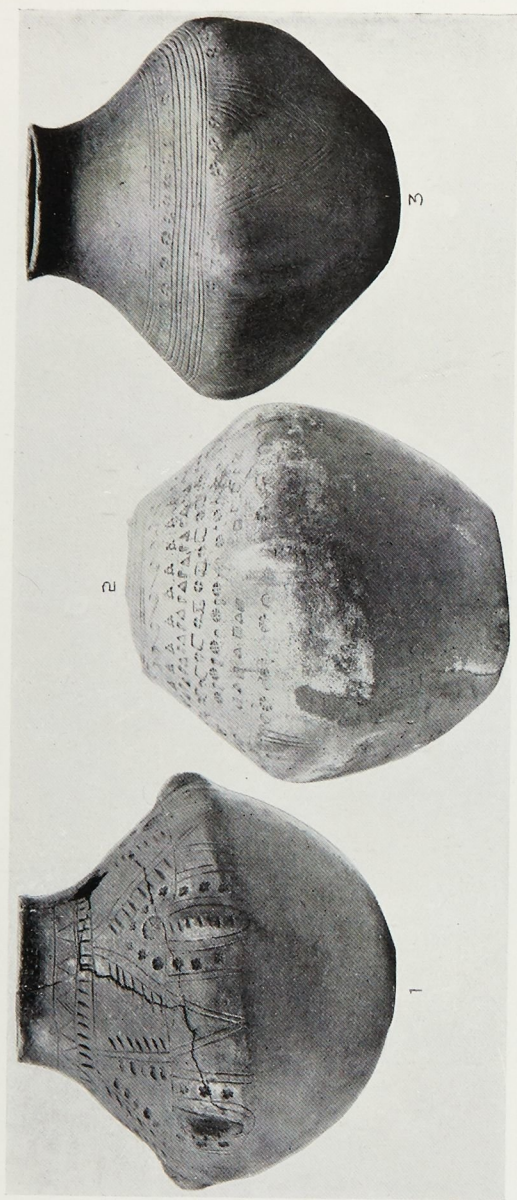


Plate 6. Pottery from North Elmham (C.A.E.M.). 1 (D.24-67)  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high; 2 (D.24-66), 9 ins. high; and Sedgeford (N.C.M.), 3 (173-26),  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high. (See pp. 198-9 and 208.)

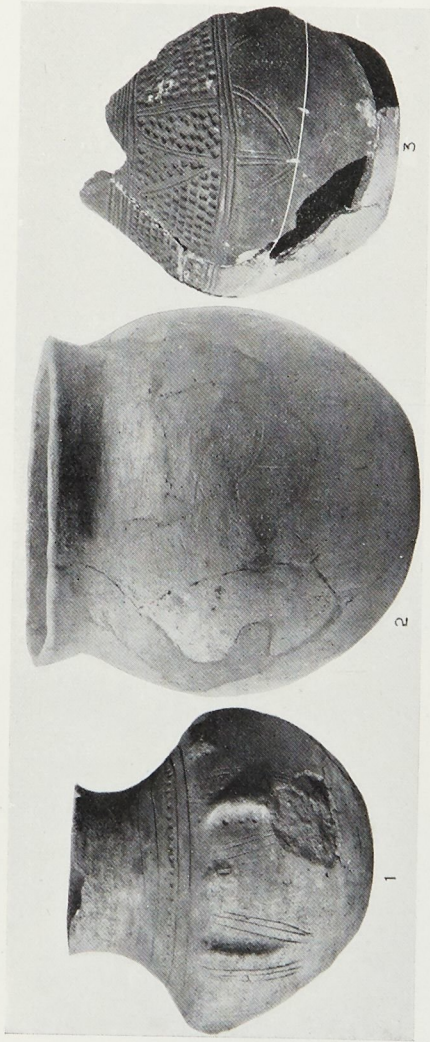


Plate 7. Pots from North Runcton (1, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high); Hilgay, (2, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high) and Wallington (Stow Bridge) (3, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high); 1 and 3, King's Lynn Borough Museum; 2, C.A.F.M. (See pp. 203 and 211.)



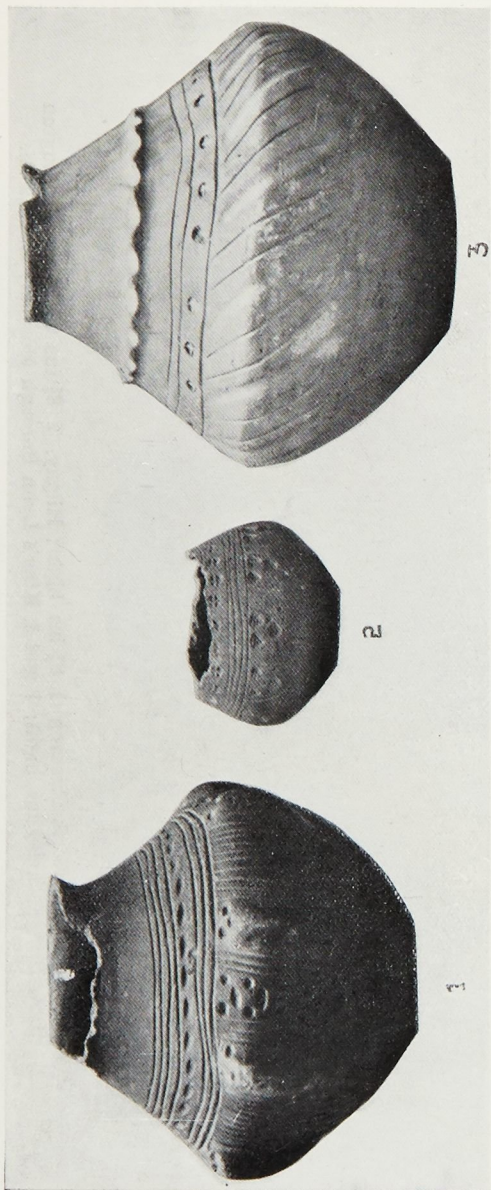


Plate 8. Pottery from Rushford (N.C.M.); (1,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high); (2,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  ins. high); (3,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high).  
(See pp. 206-7.)

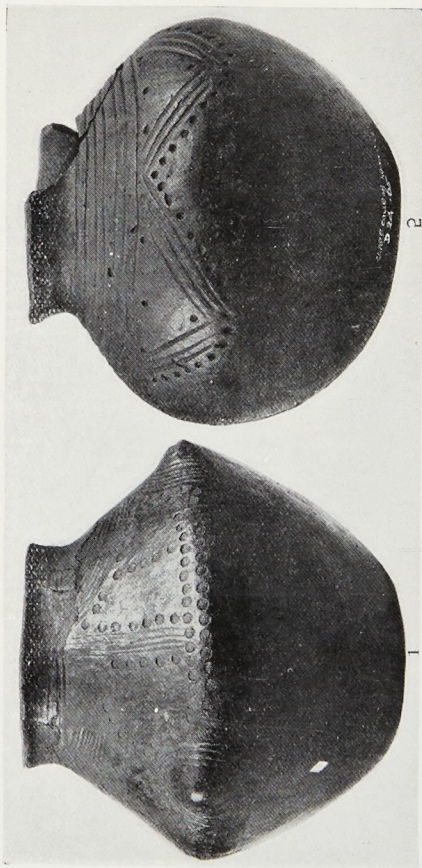


Plate 9. 1, Pot from Rushford (C.A.E.M.)  $8\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high.  
2, Pot from Thetford (C.A.E.M.)  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high.  
(See pp. 207 and 210.)



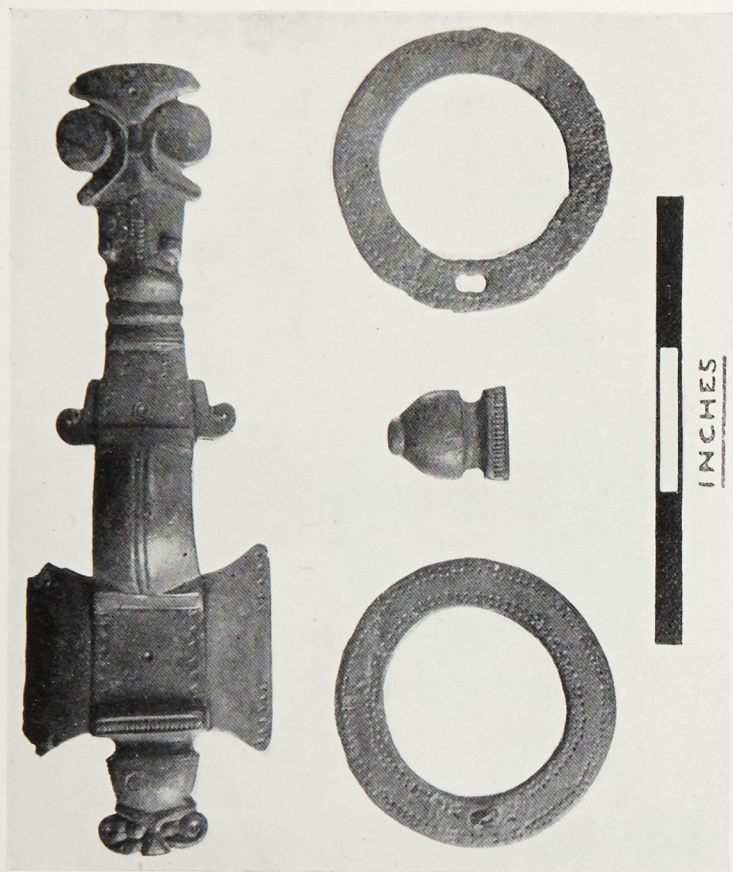


Plate 10. Associated Pot, Cruciform Brooch and Knob, and Ring Brooches found with Burial at Little Walsingham (N.C.M.). (Pot is.  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high). (See p. 211.)

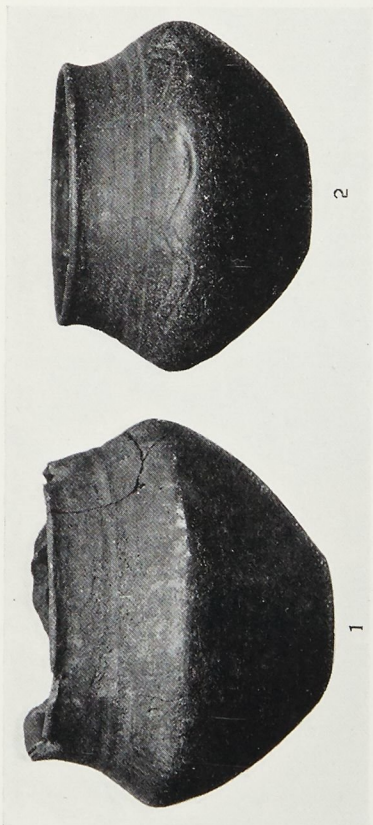


Plate 11. Pots from Pensthorpe (1, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high) and Norwich (Catton) (2, 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. high) (B.M.). (See pp. 201-2.)





Plate 12. Pots from Bale (1, 5 ins. high) and Dersingham (2, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high) (N.C.M.).  
(See pp. 188 and 196.)

## THE ANGLO-SAXON POTTERY OF NORFOLK

BY

J. N. L. MYRES, M.A., F.S.A.

Norfolk is one of the most important counties in England for the study of Anglo-Saxon pottery, a study which has been strangely neglected in the general advance of archaeological knowledge in this country since the beginning of the present century. Norfolk is one of the key positions which must be mastered by the student before he can hope to remedy this neglect. It is important to him not only from its geographical position which would be expected to attract the earliest settlers and so reveal the primary ceramic forms from which later developments spring, but also because the prevalence among those settlers of the habit of cremation should have provided an unusually large mass of pottery for study. Norfolk, moreover, is an area which, except on the south, possesses clear-cut natural boundaries: it can thus be treated as a unit in a way that many comparable regions cannot. And at the same time it should be possible to test more accurately in Norfolk than elsewhere what different elements existed among the invaders and which were dominant at different times, because lines of communication both with the continent and with other parts of Britain are here unusually well-defined. It was in the hope of attempting a preliminary occupation of this key position that the opportunity offered by the publication of the present paper has been taken for a survey of the ceramic material in the county, much of which has never been published before.

That the survey has resulted in no epoch making discoveries of major historical importance is not surprising. In many ways the available material is frankly disappointing. Leaving aside the great cemetery of Caistor-by-Norwich, incomparably the most important site for Anglo-Saxon ceramics in the whole country, the rest of Norfolk can produce far less



pottery for study than the large number of known cremation cemeteries would lead one to expect. Most of the numerous sites from which there are records of substantial discoveries can now show only two or three pots as chance survivors of an universal tragedy of destruction: apart from Caistor, which has between three and four hundred restorable urns, there is only one cemetery, Castle Acre, from which the whereabouts of more than twenty urns are known. To base any kind of general historical judgment on so small a fraction of what is known to have existed, a fraction so minute that it would be madness to regard it as a fair sample of the whole, would be a gravely unscientific proceeding. Moreover, until the material from Caistor is published—and there is reason to hope that that may not be long delayed—any such survey in Norfolk is bound to be largely provisional. Without the evidence of Caistor it is hardly possible even to guess at the problems which will especially repay investigation.<sup>1</sup> For these reasons I have deliberately refrained from historical generalizations: it would be unwise, for example, to attempt, at this stage of our knowledge, to give confident answers to the intriguing questions on the relation between the settlers of West, North, and East Norfolk which are raised by Mr. Clarke earlier in this paper.

Certain positive facts do none the less emerge from the fragmentary evidence before us. Such are the wide distribution in Norfolk of the earliest types of pottery known from Anglo-Saxon sites in England, and the surprisingly high proportion which pots of these types bear to the whole number under review. I refer particularly to the vessels of the continental *buckelurnen* type, and to the wide-mouthed bowls.

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen from the following notes that I have on occasion mentioned parallels from Caistor to pots under discussion from other Norfolk sites. I do this by kind permission of Commander F. R. Mann, who has generously supplied me with photographs of the Caistor urns. These are all numbered individually so that identification of pots referred to will be easy when the Caistor material is itself published.

They occur in all three areas of settlement distinguished by Mr. Clarke: at Shropham, Rushford and Castle Acre in the west: at Pensthorpe in the north: at Catton, Brundall, Caistor, and Markshall in the east.<sup>1</sup>

Another fact is that while continental analogies to these early vessels come equally from the Angle, Saxon, and Frisian districts, the Norfolk pottery as a whole seems to show its predominantly Anglian character by a far less general use of stamped ornament than is found, for example, in the Cambridge or Northamptonshire cemeteries. There is in this respect a close general similarity, and many detailed parallels, between Norfolk on the one hand and such Lincolnshire cemeteries as Hough-on-the-Hill,<sup>2</sup> or those of East Yorkshire, such as Sancton, on the other.<sup>3</sup> But it would none the less be an error to ignore the presence, in almost every cemetery which has more than two or three pots surviving, of at least one vessel essentially Saxon in type showing well-developed, often elaborate, stamped ornament. Such occur, for example, at Earsham, Brundall, and Caistor in the east: at Pensthorpe and North Elmham in the north: and at Castle Acre in the west. One of the main problems to be settled in Norfolk is the explanation of this strongly Saxon element in the pottery of the sixth century. It is no secret that at Caistor-by-Norwich—the only site where scientific excavation has been permitted any say in the matter—the evidence points forcibly to the intrusion into the old mainly Anglian community of a new folk who used pottery of this kind. Hints will be found in the detailed notes below which suggest the possibility of a similar history on other Norfolk sites: but it would be far from safe at this stage to posit a general incursion of mainly Saxon folk into East Anglia in the sixth century, although,

<sup>1</sup> Of these sites three are marked on my Map X (cemeteries showing use by 500 A.D.) in Myres, 1937: the remaining five should be added.

<sup>2</sup> Grantham Public Library.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Mortimer Museum, Hull.



if this did happen, it is highly probable that the bearers of the new fashions came from the Cambridge region or elsewhere in Middle Anglia. But to say even as much as this is to run the risk of breaking the necessary canons of caution laid down above. It is best to avoid further generalization, and to leave the pots to speak for themselves.

BALE (Pl. 12, 1).

A vessel of the tall biconical form with four or five slight bosses on the widest part. The rim is missing, but the stamped ornament is apparently unaccompanied by linear decoration: it seems to have consisted of a horizontal zone of stamps on the neck from which depend vertical rows of stamps in no clear relationship with the bosses. This slipshod style of stamped decoration without lines is probably late: and the probability is strengthened in this case by the obviously decadent and shapeless contour to which the originally sharp biconical form has here been reduced. For further discussion of this form and type of ornament see the notes on North Elmham 5 (Pl. 6, 2) below: the North Elmham vessel is a more elaborate and perhaps rather earlier example of the same class as this pot, which should perhaps be dated towards the end of the sixth century.

BROOKE.

The vessel in the B.M., whose scheme of decoration is given in *V.C.H.* i., 329, Fig. 14, has a single horizontal line of stamps surmounting groups of two and three lines set chevronwise. This is a simple stamped variation of a very common linear design on Angle pottery both in England<sup>1</sup> and on the Continent, a variation naturally arising from the English fondness for stamped ornament. It would thus be rash to draw any definite conclusions from its appearance here. It was, however, certainly popular in South Norfolk and in North Suffolk, for among the very few pots preserved in this district, close parallels occur on the Suffolk side both at Eye (Bury St. Edmund's Museum) and at Hoxne (sketch of a pot in Kemble's notebooks in the British and Medieval Department of the B.M.). The decadent bag shape of the Brooke pot suggests a late date.

<sup>1</sup> It occurs in this form, *e.g.*, at Heworth (Yorkshire Museum) and Sancton (Hull) in Yorkshire, and at Croydon, Surrey (B.M.), as well as in Middle and East Anglia.

## BRUNDALL.

The pottery here published from this site comprises the whole or part of six decorated vessels and one plain one.

1. Fig. 1, 1. A sherd of brownish-grey smooth ware being part of the side of a vessel decorated with horizontal lines and grooves round the neck, surmounting linear arcading carried out in the line and groove technique, apparently alternating with groups of sharp lines arranged chevronwise. In the angle above the arcade is a neat rosette of six finger tips surrounding a larger centre, and a single finger tip beneath the arcade suggests that some motive flanked by finger tips (as in Plettke's example from Quelkhorn *op. cit.* Pl. 32, 4) may have been there also.

Vessels of this type are very common on the Continent where they are dated by Plettke to the later fourth and early fifth centuries. They occur in numbers in the Elbe-Weser area (Wester-Wanna,<sup>1</sup> Quelkhorn,<sup>1</sup> Langen<sup>2</sup>) and further west in Friesland (Hoogeteintum,<sup>3</sup> Midlaren<sup>4</sup>). But in England they are extremely rare and the closest parallel to this one that I know is another Norfolk vessel from Caistor-by-Norwich, which I have recently published<sup>5</sup>. An interesting and unusual feature of the Brundall fragment, which, even if Plettke's dating is too high, can hardly be put later than the middle of the fifth century, is the apparent combination of semicircular arcading in the line and groove technique, an early and mainly Saxon trait, with the much commoner and longer-lived chevron motif in groups of lines, which is found also commonly in the Anglian areas. This may point to a very early mixture of the two strains among the first Teutonic settlers of East Norfolk.

2. Pl. 1, 2. Large biconical urn with sharp carination: the upper half is slightly concave, the lower half convex, thus pointing the transition from the true biconical form to shouldered types like *e.g.*, Earsham, Pl. 5, 1. The decoration is purely linear, consisting on the upper half of a main zone of chevrons demarcated above by two groups of three horizontal lines, and below by a single group of two lines. Below the carination are decadent linear representations of embossed

<sup>1</sup> Plettke: type A, 6-7, Pl. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Bremen Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Hoogeteintum Terp. Boeles *Friesland tot de Elfde Eeuw* (1927), Pl. XXX., 3.

<sup>4</sup> Assem Museum 1856/4. 2, 1856/4. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant. J.*, XVII. (1937), 429, Fig. 1(b). The significance of the rosette motive on English pottery of the period as a sign of early date is discussed, *ibid.*, 427-8.



arcading with vertical lines imitating a boss pendant from each arch, a common motive on the continental Saxon *buckelurnen*.<sup>1</sup>

The type, with variations of linear ornament usually all above the carination, is a common one in the Saxon<sup>2</sup> and Anglian areas<sup>3</sup> on the Continent. It also occurs freely in England, in this simple form mainly in Anglian districts: a close parallel in Norfolk is the urn from North Elmham with the fake Roman inscription<sup>4</sup>: and there are several at Caistor-by-Norwich (E. 20, M. 39, Y. 40). Another from Sancton (Yorks) is in the Hull Museum. It is probably safe to regard this type as fairly early, perhaps running across the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Like many simple early forms it gave scope to the Saxon fashion for stamped decoration, and a wide range of types ensued, the biconical shape often giving way to jar forms with high shoulders, or merely losing its sharp outline in a weaker curve. The zone of chevron lines, so common on the unstamped examples, is now expanded for the display of stamped ornament until it often covers most of the upper half of the pot, being bounded top and bottom by lines or further horizontal zones of stamps. The earlier examples (*e.g.*, North Runcton, p. 205 and Castle Acre, Pl. 2, 4, or unpublished Caistor-by-Norwich vessels, F. 3, N. 99) use stamps sparingly, but in the later examples, the whole surface of the upper half often becomes covered with stamps giving a rich and florid effect. Of this type the next Brundall vessel is a good example.

3. Fig. 1, 2. About a fifth of the upper half of the side of a very large urn of the stamped biconical type in smooth grey-brown ware. The form has lost the early sharp outline. The decoration covers the whole of the upper half of the pot and consists of a wide zone of triangular spaces filled with stamps divided by diagonal lines and bands of stamps. The main zone is bounded above by three horizontal lines and below by a horizontal zone of stamps. Two stamps are used on the surviving portion, and there is also a band of bird-bone impressions: it is quite likely that other stamps were used on the lost part, as is often the case with these elaborately decorated vessels.

The earlier evolution of this type is traced in the preceding note. Large examples of this fully developed stage are as

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* Plettke, *op. cit.*, Pl. 36, 2 and 4, from Quelhorn.

<sup>2</sup> It occurs, *e.g.*, at Blumenthal (Bremen Museum) and Rahnsdorf (Helmsmuseum, Harburg).

<sup>3</sup> *e.g.*, at Bordesholm, Allfahstedt, Borgstedt (all Kiel Museum).

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H.*, I., 312, now at Liverpool.

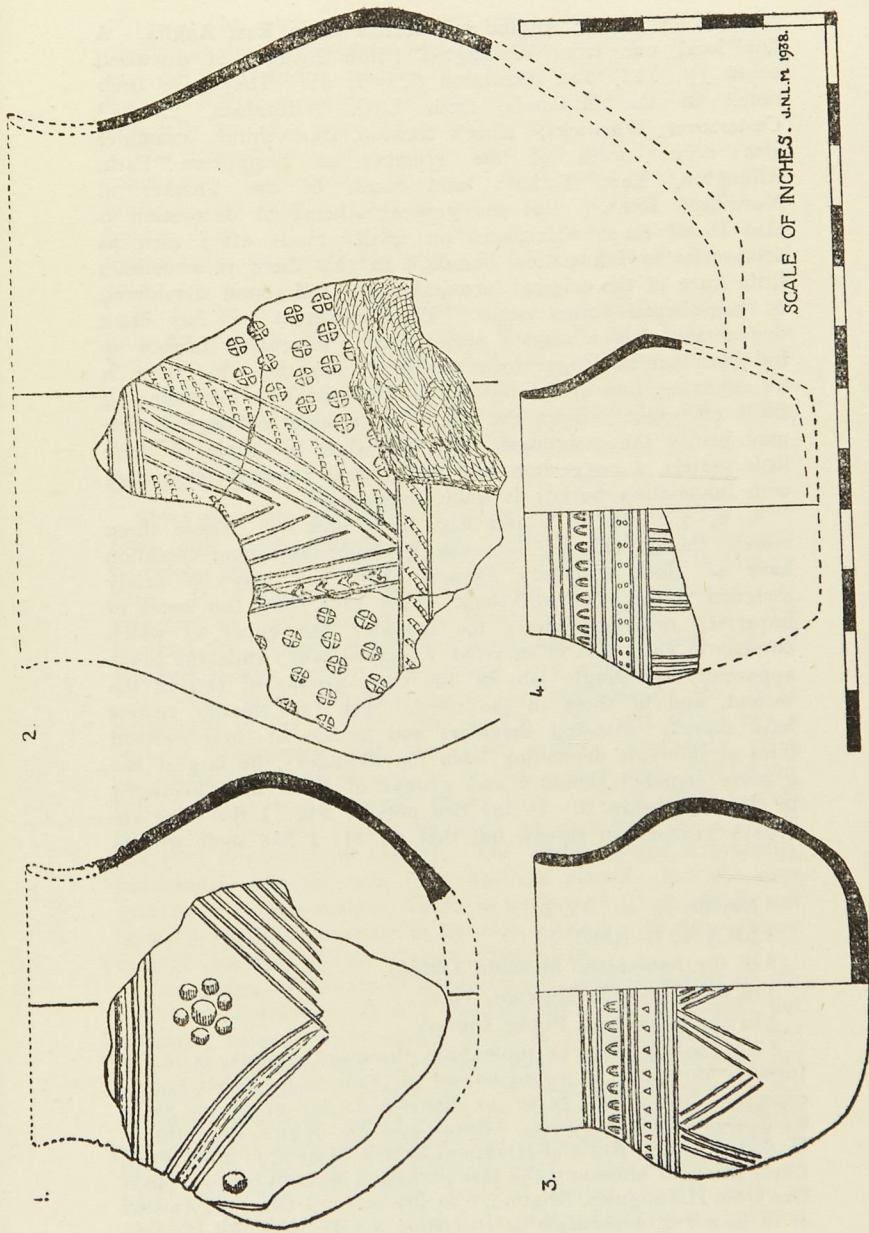


Fig. 1. Pottery from Brundall (Norwich Museum). (See pp. 189, 190, 192, 193.)



common in Middle Anglia and Mercia as in East Anglia. A fine local one from Wallington (Stow Bridge) is discussed below (p. 211) and illustrated (Pl. 7, 3). They have been noted in the Midlands, from Little Wilbraham, Cambs,<sup>1</sup> Cestersover, Warwicks,<sup>2</sup> King's Newton, Derbyshire<sup>3</sup>; examples also occur north of the Humber at Scampston Park, Rillington, East Yorks<sup>4</sup>; and south of the Thames at Northfleet, Kent.<sup>5</sup> But the general scheme of decoration is also found more widespread on small vessels often used as accessories to inhumation burials. In this there is sometimes little trace of the original biconical shape and round shouldered or bag-shaped forms occur. The decoration too has often degenerated into a vaguely stamped zone irregularly broken up by lines that no longer form chevrons: sometimes too there is no confining line at the bottom of the zone and the stamping trails off vaguely down the pot. These hints of degeneration may justify the assignment of a late date for some of these little vessels, a suggestion with which their common occurrence with inhumation burials is quite consistent.<sup>6</sup>

4, 5, 6. Pl. 1, 1 and Fig. 1, 3 and 4. These three vessels, though differing somewhat in form, fabric and execution have so close a family likeness that they may be safely assigned to the same workshop. They each show two zones of impressed ornament above the shoulder, the upper of which consists in each case of inverted V shaped jabs, while the lower apparently has single jabs in one case, groups of two in the second, and of three in the third. The two smaller vessels have sharply carinated shoulders and groups of three vertical lines at intervals depending from the shoulder: the largest has a more rounded shoulder and groups of three lines arranged in chevrons below it. In the two pots of Fig. 1 the lines are always grouped in threes, but that on Pl. 1 has some groups

<sup>1</sup> Neville, *op. cit.*, Pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> J.B.A.A., II. (1847), 59.

<sup>3</sup> In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

<sup>4</sup> In the Yorkshire Museum, York.

<sup>5</sup> In the Gravesend Public Library.

<sup>6</sup> An East Anglian example from Bramford, Suffolk, is in the Ipswich Museum. It would be out of place to list other known examples here: they occur in districts as far apart as Sarre, Kent (Maidstone Museum), Girton and St. John's, Cambridge: Market Overton, Rutland (Oakham School Museum): Riby Park, Lincs (Lincoln Museum), the last perhaps a seventh-century piece. One from Harmignies, Belgium, is at Brussels: G. Cumont, *Annales de la Societ  d' Arch ologie de Bruxelles*, XXII. (1908), 301-11.



of two. The fabric of the largest pot is light grey and rather rough, the linear ornament being strongly incised: the smaller ones are of a reddish paste with a smooth black surface, rather Romano-British in texture, and the lines are more faintly drawn, especially on the more fragmentary specimen.

The decoration is of a simple type and calls for no special comment. The maker of these three pots was evidently imitating the regular stamped wares with jabs of a stick or broken bone. It is perhaps too fantastic to assume that he deliberately numbered his products by the jabs in the lower zone.

So far as it is possible to use the fragmentary evidence of only six pots it would seem that Brundall may bear out in little the story told at Caistor-by-Norwich. There are at any rate signs of a very early settlement with Fig. 1, 1, and the site was also frequented in the sixth century by folk using elaborate stamped wares like Fig. 1, 2.

#### CASTLE ACRE.

More pots are available for study from this cemetery than from any other single site in Norfolk outside Caistor-by-Norwich, and 14 of the 22 known examples are illustrated here. It is remarkable how few types of decoration are represented in this collection, the prevalence of early linear and line-and-dot schemes on the one hand, and of a special type of stamped design on the other being very noticeable.

1. The most important vessel is undoubtedly the large *buckelurne* in the N.C.M. (Pl. 2, 7). This urn, which has a foot, is ornamented with six raised collars, alternately plain and slashed or finger-tipped, on the tall conical neck, and on the belly a series of neat round bosses from each of which a wide and deep diagonal groove bounded on each side by a single line runs downward to the left. The whole scheme is typically continental, and the urn, if it was not actually brought over with them by the earliest Teutonic settlers at Castle Acre, was certainly made by someone in the closest touch with fifth-century ceramic fashions in the German homeland.

The design of the vessel seems closely related to that of the Rushford *buckelurne* (Pl. 8, 3 parallels discussed pp. 206-7), but it clearly belongs to an earlier phase in its development. Not only has it a foot and six raised collars in place of one, but stamped ornament is absent and the diagonal grooves on the carination are treated as a series of distinct units each with its accompanying boss, and are not run together as at Rushford to produce the effect of a continuous whirl. This combination of neat round boss and deep diagonal groove is not easy to parallel exactly, but a related if more complicated pattern



occurs on an elaborate urn from Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs, now at Grantham: here long curved bosses depending from a raised collar are combined with groups of neat round bosses arranged diagonally to produce a general whirling effect of unusual complexity, which covers all the upper half of the pot.

2, 3. Two pots show varieties of the early Anglian shoulder boss style: and may perhaps be dated about 500 A.D. One of these (Pl. 4, 3) at King's Lynn has a raised collar, and eight or nine small upstanding bosses on the rather angular shoulder, these separating panels filled with vertical lines. The other (Pl. 3, 2 at Dorchester) is more biconical in form and also has eight or nine bosses, some of which are large and decorated with dots, others small and slashed: some of the panels contain vertical, some horizontal lines. On the neck is a zone of chevron lines demarcated top and bottom by panel lines, a feature commonly found on unbossed vessels of early biconical form as *e.g.*, the Brundall urn (Pl. 1, 2: type discussed p. 190). This Castle Acre urn seems in fact to be a good example of the early fusion between the shoulder boss style and the biconical style, a fusion not uncommon already in continental cemeteries,<sup>1</sup> and one which gave rise to a very large variety of designs on the later stamped panel style pottery so common in Middle Anglia in the sixth century.

4, 5. Two other Castle Acre pots show simple linear ornament: in each case a group of horizontal neck lines above linear arcading or groups of chevrons from which depend vertical groups of lines. One of these (Pl. 2, 1, N.C.M.) has the arcade broken up into chevrons: the other, now in the Blackgate Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne,<sup>2</sup> has unbroken linear arcading and is conveniently dated by its association with the burnt remains of an early sixth-century cruciform brooch.

A close parallel to these urns is a vessel from Shropham in the B.M.<sup>3</sup>

6, 7, 8. Three other pots in N.C.M. (Pl. 2, 2, 3 and 5) are of roughly biconical form and show line and dot ornament imitating with more or less success the finger tipped curvilinear arcading of the continental *buckelurnen*. This type is discussed further in connection with the Thetford urn (Pl. 9, 2 and p. 210), and probably belongs to the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries.

9, 10, 11, 12. The four stamped vessels deserve a brief notice. Three of these are of the developed biconical form

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*, it occurs, *e.g.*, on vessels from Blumenthal (Bremen Museum), and Borgstedt (Kiel Museum).

<sup>2</sup> P.S.A., Newcastle, 2nd series, IV., 1890, 276.

<sup>3</sup> Decorative scheme shown, *V.C.H.*, I., 329. Fig. 13: see p. 208.



discussed under Brundall 2 and 3 (pp. 189, 190). The latest typologically is the urn at King's Lynn (Pl. 4, 1) which has become more or less rounded in contour and has a single widely stamped zone divided into compartments by seven groups of vertical lines. The other two (Pl. 2, 4, N.C.M., and Pl. 3, 1, now at Dorchester) have all the appearance of coming from the same workshop.<sup>1</sup> Both retain the biconical outline and have a wide zone of linear chevrons beneath a pair of necklines: in both only the lower spaces between the chevrons are filled with stamps, and the stamps are closely similar, if not identical, on the two pots. The smaller of the two has no further ornament, but the larger pot (N.C.M.) has also three horizontal lines on the carination, and below are pendant triangles filled with the same stamp. This reversal of the design on the lower half of the pot, which may owe something to influence from the later unbossed panel style, is not very common on vessels of this type, but a fairly close parallel is provided by a rather more elaborate urn from Little Wilbraham (Cambs).<sup>2</sup> It is much to be hoped that an opportunity may occur for the examination of these two vessels, now separated by over half the breadth of England, side by side: only so can the hypothesis of their origin in one workshop be properly tested. The fourth stamped urn is a tall vase with a rather angular shoulder: it also shows apparent influences both from the developed biconical style and from the later stages of the stamped panel style. From the former come its angular outline and the emphasis laid on the carination by the placing of a zone of line-and-dot ornament on it: from the latter come the two zones of stamped ornament on the upper half and the pendant stamped triangles on the lower half of the pot.

It is clear that these four stamped vessels are in a group by themselves, closely related to one another, and distinct from the *buckelurne* and linear and line-and-dot motives of the earlier group of urns. It is interesting to notice that two of them bear ornament which seems to suggest fusion between the later panel style of Middle Anglia and the later biconical style which was considerably more popular in East Anglia proper: it may be significant that a close parallel to the unusual scheme of one of these vessels comes from Little Wilbraham, Cambs. It would, of course, be most unwise to dogmatise from such a small group of urns, but it can at

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is only tentative: I have not seen the Dorchester urn, and it is unwise to base a definite opinion on a photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Now at Audley End. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies* (1852), Pl. 24, bottom left.



least be said that the evidence of Castle Acre, as we have it, is not inconsistent with the notion of a very early and predominantly Anglian settlement of Norfolk, which was later influenced by fashions of more developed Saxon character spreading eastwards across or around the Fens from the Cambridge region and beyond.

DERSINGHAM (Pl. 12, 2).

This vessel (in N.C.M.) seems to show influences both from the early bowl forms (see Catton and Pensthorpe, Pl. 11) and also from the biconical style (discussed under Brundall 2). Although the form closely matches that of the Pensthorpe bowl it is not likely to be so early as this for the decoration is characteristic of the biconical type: thus the carination is emphasized by a horizontal line and this is surmounted by a wide zone of double linear chevrons and a single horizontal line of stamps. A date fairly early in the sixth century may be tentatively suggested.

DRAYTON.

The vessel illustrated in *J.B.A.A.* v. (1850), 154, is a normal example of the early Anglian shoulder boss style. It apparently had about eight shoulder bosses with panels of vertical lines between, and linear decoration above. I have discussed the type, which is very common in Schleswig, in connection with an example from Lincolnshire. (*Ant. J.* xvii., 1937, 429-30).

EARSHAM.

The two pots from this cemetery whose present whereabouts are known are both stamped vessels of strongly Saxon character and probably not of very early date.

The one illustrated (Pl. 5, 1), now at Earsham Hall, has a carinated shoulder and tall concave neck with a straight lip. Above the carination it is ornamented with four horizontal zones of stamped ornament which run right up to the rim: three or four stamps are used. Below the carination are pendant linear triangles containing no stamps. The vessel is light grey in colour.

Vessels of this kind are not unparalleled in East Anglia, and a very similar one comes from Caistor-by-Norwich (X. 7): this has a greater profusion of stamped ornament, five different stamps being employed, and the pendant triangles, which in this case are still separated by small bosses, are filled with stamps. It may be suggested that such a design arises from a fusion at a comparatively late stage between the carinated, biconical type discussed in connection with the Brundall pot (p. 189 and Pl. 1, 2), and the stamped panel style which may have reached

East Anglia in the sixth century from the Cambridge region. Two vessels from the St. John's cemetery, Cambridge (C.A.E.M.), and one from Little Wilbraham, Cambs,<sup>1</sup> show analogous decoration, but neither is so close a parallel as the Caistor urn.

The second Earsham pot, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh,<sup>2</sup> is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high and barrel shaped with a short everted rim. It has a horizontal line of stamps on the neck surmounting two flat slashed collars and two further zones of stamps separated by grooves. Below these are groups of four, five or six lines arranged chevronwise the upper and lower spaces being partially filled with a rather haphazard arrangement of stamps. Only one stamp is used. The only unusual feature of the vessel is that the groups of chevron lines are repeated (without the accompanying stamps) over the lower half right down to the base, giving the impression that the pot is enclosed in open basketwork. In spite of its slashed collars the vessel does not look at all early, and the careless application of the stamps and linear ornament can be paralleled on many pots from the Cambridge area which show more unmistakably decadent features than this does. Both pots may thus belong to the middle or late sixth century, and illustrate the later Saxon influence in East Anglia.

#### ELMHAM, NORTH.

About eight urns from the site are known:—

1. A vessel in the B.M. decorated with a wide zone of line-and-dot ornament with slight bosses demarcated top and bottom by three horizontal lines.<sup>3</sup> The design is unusual and irregular, and I have no explanation of its peculiarities to offer: the arrangement of the bosses in tiers, one above the other, is also uncommon. On the general use of line-and-dot ornament which is frequent in Norfolk, see notes on the Castle Acre and Thetford vessels pp. 194 and 210.

2. A vessel now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool.<sup>4</sup> This is an early biconical urn with linear decoration comprising a plain zone demarcated above by four neck lines and below by a band of dots between pairs of horizontal lines. The main zone is divided into sections by groups of vertical and diagonal lines and one of these sections has been used for the scratching

<sup>1</sup> Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *N.A.*, VI. (1864), 154: I owe a drawing of this pot to the kindness of Miss P. A. M. Keef.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated, *V.C.H.*, I., 329, Fig. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated, *V.C.H.*, I., 312, Fig. 27: the inscription is condemned by Haverfield, *ibid.*, 312.



of a faked Roman inscription. The type is closely parallel to that of the Brundall urn (Pl. 1, 2) and is discussed in connection with it (p. 189).

3. Pl. 5, 2. A globular vessel in the N.C.M. This is decorated with three horizontal neck lines and below are numerous wide vertical grooves separating panels of three vertical lines. This is a variation of the Anglian shoulder boss style, the vertical grooves acting so to speak as negative bosses. Examples of this treatment could be quoted from the continental cemeteries:<sup>1</sup> it is allied perhaps to the Anglian technique of furrowing or corrugation, and if set diagonally on the belly of a pot would produce effects like that on the Castle Acre and Rushford *buckelurnen* (see pp. 193, 206).

4. Pl. 6, 1. An urn with tall conical neck and six shoulder bosses now in C.A.E.M. The decoration on this vessel, whose form is more appropriate to the Middle Anglian panel style, seems to be mainly inspired by motives in evidence on pots of the developed biconical type. Below narrow bands of linear chevrons and of vertical lines (representing vestigial collars) is a main zone of large linear chevrons whose upper points run high over the bosses while their feet run down to the bottom of the bosses. The latter thus form the central ornament of a triangular panel under each chevron, and are surrounded with linear and stamped decoration. Numerous stamps are employed, at least four being visible in the photograph. The design is one which can be more easily matched in the Cambridge region than in East Anglia: it bears for example some resemblance to that on a group of urns from a workshop used in connection with the Girton cemetery, Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> But it differs from these in exactly those ways which distinguish the general character of East Anglian pottery from that of Middle Anglia: the stamped ornament is less conspicuous, the influence of the panel style less obvious, and the linear ornament more angular and emphatic. Although they are all probably to be dated towards the middle of the sixth century, the Norfolk urn retains more primitive features in the slashing on the bosses and the imitation of a finger-tipped collar.

5. Pl. 6, 2. A large biconical vessel with about six bosses on the carination. Apart from a horizontal groove bordered by sharp lines on the neck, and lines round the bosses, the ornament is entirely produced by stamps, which are arranged in seven zones and cover all the upper half of the

<sup>1</sup> e.g., several vessels from Borgstedt, now at Kiel.

<sup>2</sup> Five of these urns are illustrated in *Antiquity*, xi. (1937), 392, Pl. III., Fig. 6.



pot. The five lower rows are each composed of two different stamps used alternately, the two upper rows employing only one stamp each. No fewer than twelve stamps are thus in commission, and the emphasis laid on their display is shown by the fact that where the two lower rows are interrupted by the bosses no attempt is made to use the latter in the design which proceeds straight ahead round the pot entirely unaffected by their presence.

Deliberate exhibitions of a full repertory of stamps in this way belong generally to the period of the greatest popularity of stamped ornament in the baroque phase of Anglo-Saxon art after the middle of the sixth century. Continental examples of certainly earlier date are uncommon and seem only to occur in purely Saxon districts. The best known case is that of an urn from the Galgenberg near Cuxhaven, now in the Cuxhaven Museum, which shows at least twelve stamps, arranged in vertical panels, but this is in every way a most unusual piece. Multiplicity of stamped ornament is much commoner in England. It is a normal feature of the fully developed panel style in Middle Anglia, and many examples could be given of the use of from five to ten different stamps on vessels of this type. In Norfolk such displays were always much less popular, as is natural in a mainly Anglian area, but a few examples could be cited from Caistor-by-Norwich, notably an urn (M. 16) of which not much over half remains, but which even in this fragmentary state shows twelve stamps: this is however a panel style pot of obviously Middle Anglian character. The North Elmham urn, in spite of its biconical form and its retention of bosses, is probably late: the absence of guiding lines to provide the background of a design for the stamps is certainly a late feature. In this case, it is true, the stamps are still marshalled in a coherent fashion in horizontal zones, even without linear aid, but there are many demonstrably decadent vessels from various localities in which this is no longer the case, the stamps being applied often quite at random without any attempt at a pattern, as in the case of the North Runcton urn, discussed below (p. 206). It may well have been the unattractive effect produced by such careless use of stamps which led to their virtual abandonment by the end of the seventh century as a normal method of decorating pottery in England. The North Elmham urn thus stands typologically at the moment when stamped ornament was most popular, but when the signs of what became a fatal lack of restraint in its employment are already beginning to appear. It may perhaps be dated provisionally in the second half of the sixth century, and it would not be unreasonable to see in the rather incompetent use which is here made of a wealth



of decorative detail, the effect once more of the impinging of Saxon fashions from Middle Anglia on an Anglian tradition in Norfolk which was not always capable of absorbing them.

#### MARKSHALL.

The large urn in the Ashmolean Museum is a typical Saxon *buckelurne* of fifth-century style. Its form is more spreading and shapeless than is normal with the continental examples, and its decoration is the simplest statement of one of the basic designs of the Saxon *buckelurnen*, consisting of three semicircular arches in relief, each covering a small boss while three larger circular bosses separate the arches: the relief ornament is all emphasized with lines and the arches in addition have slight slashing and a line of circular jabs above following the curve. There is no true stamped ornament, and no collars or neck lines such as are almost universal on fully developed examples of this type on the continent.

A close parallel abroad to this extremely simple presentation of a theme which recurs with every variation and complication both on the continent and in England is a fragmentary urn from Hooghaalen, Holland, now in the Leiden Museum. I have not noticed as close a parallel in England.

Of the four Markshall urns in the Norwich Museum two call for no special comment.<sup>1</sup> One<sup>2</sup> of the others is a large and well-made example of the Anglian shoulder boss style in course of transition to the panel style. It is markedly biconical in form and has numerous shoulder bosses with panels of short vertical lines: above are two horizontal zones of stamped ornament. The fourth urn,<sup>3</sup> which is defective in the rim, is an early vessel with a foot. Its neck is covered with horizontal corrugations or grooves in the regular Anglian manner, and below is a continuous zone of semicircular arcading also roughly executed in deeply grooved lines outlined by sharp lines. This appears to be a rougher and simpler version of the type discussed in connection with the first sherd from Brundall (p. 189), but lacking the rosette ornament and with more definitely Anglian characteristics. It is not likely to be later than the fifth century, for urns with feet are nearly always early in England, and the style of ornament in this case fully bears out the date.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1 and 2 in the cut annexed to the 1853 catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> No. 10 in the 1853 catalogue, illustration.

<sup>3</sup> No. 3 in the catalogue, illustration.

<sup>4</sup> There is an almost exact parallel to this vessel in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe at Hamburg (Room I., Wall-case IV., bottom shelf, no findspot given), but it has no foot.

It would thus seem that two out of the five surviving Markshall urns should belong to the earliest phase of the invasions and it is clear that the cemetery began in the same period as did Caistor. It is most unfortunate that so little material is available on which to base an estimate of the relationship between these two adjacent sites.

NORWICH (Catton). (Pl. 11, 2).

The vessel preserved in the B.M. is a wide-mouthed bowl decorated with three horizontal grooved lines on the neck and a pair of grooved lines above the shoulder. These lines run as a continuous series of curvilinear swags, a natural variant on the commoner schemes of zigzag or semicircular arcading.<sup>1</sup>

The main interest of the type in Norfolk—another example is the Pensthorpe bowl on the same Plate, and there are a number of instances at Caistor-by-Norwich—lies in the fact that the continental examples are normally regarded by German scholars as belonging to the period before the traditional date for the Anglo-Saxon migrations to this country. Plettke, for example, dates them as far back as the third and early fourth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Their occurrence in England, however, not only in Norfolk but elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> makes it certain that the type was much longer lived than is sometimes supposed, though there is little evidence at present to show how long it lasted after the *Adventus Saxonum* in the middle of the fifth century. Until further light on this point is forthcoming it seems wisest to regard such vessels as among the products of the earliest invaders, and their presence on at least three sites in Norfolk (all incidentally in the Yare-Wensum river system) strengthens the case for believing that Teutonic settlement began here as early as anywhere in England.

#### PENSTHORPE.

The known vessels from the cemetery are mostly of early types. They include:—

1. (Pl. 11, 1). A wide-mouthed bowl in the B.M. The type, which has been dated by continental scholars as early as the fourth or even the late third century, is discussed above in connection with the Catton bowl. The Pensthorpe bowl is

<sup>1</sup> A handled bowl of this type with this kind of rather haphazard curvilinear ornament occurred at Hoogeteintum, Holland (Leeuwarden Museum, 28, 326): another, without handle, is at Caistor-by-Norwich (N. 69).

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3, and Pls. 28-29.

<sup>3</sup> Examples from Sancton, E. Yorks, are in the Ashmolean Museum.



larger than that from Catton and is decorated with two horizontal grooves on the neck from which fall widely spaced groups of vertical lines to the rather sharp shoulder. Bowls decorated with groups of vertical lines in this way occur on at least three sites in Holland: Beetgum (Leeuwarden Museum), Midlaren (1856/4.13 Assem Museum) and Ezinge (Groningen Museum): and also in Holstein (Bordesholm, Kiel Museum). There are Norfolk examples from Caistor-by-Norwich (*e.g.*, N. 15): and the type also occurs in Yorkshire (Sancton 12, Hull Museum). The decoration is clearly reminiscent of the Angle shoulder boss style common enough on bowl forms: here the blank spaces, between the groups of vertical lines, represent the missing bosses.

2. The urn R. 1920-85.5 in the Ipswich Museum from Fakenham Heath may belong to the Pensthorpe cemetery.<sup>1</sup> This is a fine *buckelurne* on a well-moulded foot. It has three raised collars on the neck with the early cabled and finger-tip ornament and below are pairs of pendant bosses separating panels containing a long diagonal boss surrounded with impressions of one cross-in-circle stamp. Apart from another Pensthorpe urn (3, described next) I have not noticed a close parallel to this arrangement, although other combinations of vertical and diagonal bosses are not uncommon; there is a later version of the scheme among the urns from Baginton, Warwicks,<sup>2</sup> but this example has no foot or raised collars, the pendant bosses are not doubled and there is a greater emphasis on the stamped ornament. The early features of the Ipswich urn suggest that it should be placed in the fifth century.

3. One of the urns in the N.C.M. (5 on the cut in the 1853 Catalogue) is a vessel of somewhat similar type to that just described, a fact which may perhaps be used to support the view that the latter also comes from the Pensthorpe cemetery. It too is decorated mainly with vertical and diagonal bosses, this time set alternately: all the bosses are bordered with lines and the diagonal ones are further emphasized by slashing and are delimited below with linear swags. This vessel however has no foot and no raised collars, and no stamped ornament. But it is in a burnished black fabric much commoner on the continent than in England and can hardly be far removed in date from the other.

4. The little vase (Pl. 4, 4) in the possession of the Rev. H. B. J. Armstrong, St. Margaret's Vicarage, King's Lynn, is also likely to be of early date. This too is in black burnished ware, and has a well moulded pedestal foot: the decoration

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H.*, Suffolk, I. (1911), Pl. III., 1.

<sup>2</sup> In a private collection.



consists of three wide horizontal grooves round the neck and deep irregular vertical fluting on the shoulder. A vessel rather of this type is in the Museum at Stade (Oldendorf 22): it was found with a brooch of 4th-5th century type. Another of the same kind but without the pedestal foot is in the Groningen Museum, Holland (from Ezinge). The type has northern affinities and may be related to the dark burnished grooved pots which occur from the end of the fifth century onwards in the Danish Island of Fynen (Copenhagen Museum): these however have no feet. From Norfolk, there is a fairly close parallel at Caistor-by-Norwich (E. 16: a little vessel with a foot similar in shape and size to the Pensthorpe vase, but having the vertical flutings punctuated at intervals by regular slashed shoulder bosses).

Of the remaining pots from Pensthorpe of which anything is known, one of those recorded among the Lukis drawings in Guernsey (Fig. 2, 1) seems to have been a vessel with slashed collars and numerous small shoulder bosses with grooved arcading between, and at least three others<sup>1</sup> were decorated in simple linear, or grooved, designs with some use of finger tipping. All these could be early.

Only two vessels from this site are known with well-developed stamped ornament. One is a large urn in N.C.M. with three horizontal zones of stamps: the other<sup>2</sup> is elaborately decorated with at least two stamps in the more decadent variety of the style discussed above under Brundall 3 (Fig. 1, 2 and p. 190). There are also sherds of at least three other stamped pots drawn among the Lukis collection in Guernsey, one of which seems to have been a vessel of early panel style type, showing a single line of stamps in a panel of numerous vertical lines.

The surviving evidence thus tends to emphasize an early date for the settlement of Anglo-Saxon folk at Pensthorpe.

#### RUNCTON, NORTH.

The vessel in the King's Lynn Borough Museum from this site (Pl. 7, 1) has a tall concave neck and wide body. On the shoulder are six or seven vertical bosses separating panels containing a single small round boss, set between groups of vertical lines. On the neck there is a horizontal line of fingertip dots demarcated top and bottom by two lines, and similar dots are used round both sets of bosses.

<sup>1</sup> One drawn in the Lukis collection in Guernsey, and two pots in N.C.M. I have to thank Mrs. C. M. Piggott for information about the Lukis drawings of the Pensthorpe pottery, and the Curator for permission to reproduce them.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in N.A.M., 2nd ser., i. 1906, 81.



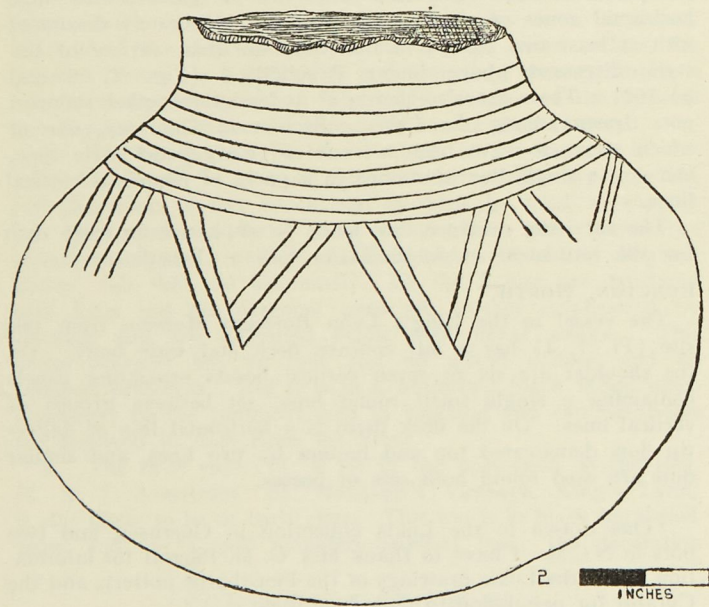
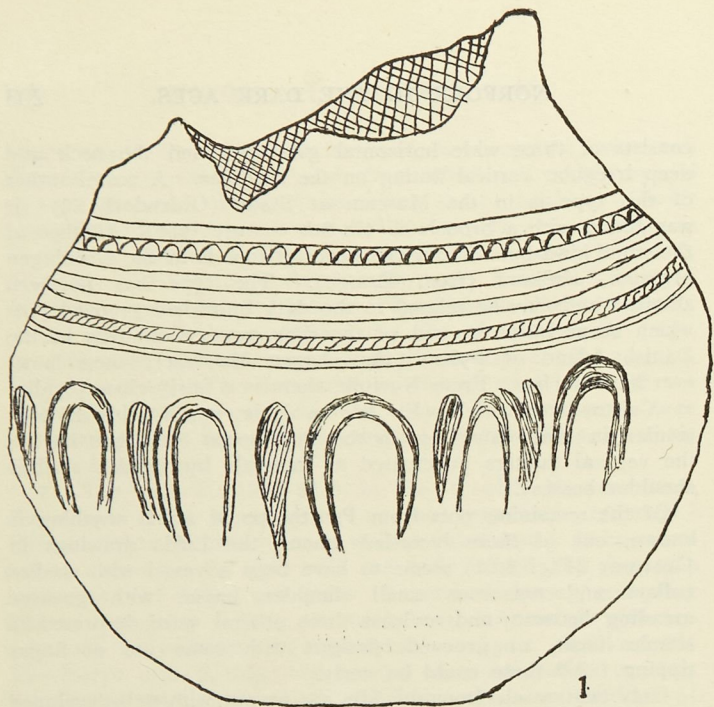


Fig. 2. Tracings by Mrs. C. M. Piggott of Drawings of Pottery from Pensthorpe in Lukis Museum, Guernsey. (See p. 203.)

The chief interest of this arrangement lies in the rosette patterns formed by the small bosses with their circular ring of dots: the design is emphasized by placing a single dot at the centre of the rosette on the top of each circular boss. The significance of the rosette as a sign of early date has been discussed above in connection with Brundall 1, (p. 189) and bossed rosettes of this kind, but often much more prominent, are common on the continental examples of the fifth-century *buckelurnen*.<sup>1</sup> Although in the present instance the rosettes are an inconspicuous feature of the developing panel design their presence makes a date much after 500 A.D. very unlikely for this vessel. A more stylish Lincolnshire variant on the same design, involving the use of large stamps to form the rosettes is illustrated and discussed by me in *Ant. J.* xvii. (1937), 424, Pl. XCI. (a).

Two of the fragmentary vessels at North Runcton Hall from this site deserve notice.

1. A vessel of the developed biconical form discussed under Brundall 2. It would originally have been some 7 ins. high and a little more in maximum diameter. The upper half of the pot is decorated with the usual wide zone of chevron lines, which has a vertical line of stamps in each upper space: this zone is demarcated above and below by a pair of horizontal lines and a single band of stamps.

This is typologically a fairly early stage in the development of the design, for the emphasis is still laid mainly on its linear elements and although the wide chevron zone is available for decoration, it has not yet been given over to a lavish display of stamps. The shape of the pot confirms this general diagnosis, for while it has lost the angular contour of the earlier examples, it retains a generally biconical outline which is emphasized by the band of horizontal decoration at the point of maximum diameter. For local parallels from Castle Acre and Caistor-by-Norwich to this stage of the design see the note on Brundall 2. Although direct evidence is lacking, it would be natural to place these vessels in the first half of the sixth century.

2. About a dozen fragments belonging to a shouldered pot originally 5-6 ins. in height and about the same in maximum

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Plettke, *op. cit.*, Pl. 35, 8, from Wester-Wanna, a vessel with exactly the same basic design as that here discussed, but carried out with much greater elaboration of detail, and technical skill. These two vessels make extremely interesting comparison as illustrating the derivative character of English pottery of this period: the essence of the continental design is remembered, but the execution of all the detail is skimped, slipshod, and ill-proportioned.



diameter, made of brown ware with burnished surface. The rim is wholly missing and the base shapeless and ill-formed. The decoration consists simply of the haphazard application of two different stamps all about on the upper half of the pot without any attempt at a design. Random stamping of this sort unaccompanied by linear ornament is to be regarded as a late feature marking the final stage in the waning popularity of stamped ornament, which perhaps went out of fashion altogether in the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> As often happens with these late pieces the stamps are very carelessly applied, and their precise form is not easy to distinguish, but it is clear that they are not of any of the normal patterns. The impressions in fact appear to have been made with an embossed metal object, which it was difficult to apply straight, for they are nearly all deeper at one end than at the other; one of them may quite possibly have been done with the foot of a late cruciform brooch, for it seems to show the splayed nostrils from the usual horse's head on such brooches, while the other, semicircular in shape, might have been made with the head or side knobs of a similar brooch. If this diagnosis is correct the vessel can be regarded as a dated piece of some interest, for brooches of the kind to produce such impressions were not in vogue until about the middle of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

#### RUSHFORD.

Of the four pots known to survive from this cemetery one (Pl. 8, 3) in N.C.M. is an early biconical urn with a raised finger-tipped collar above a single horizontal zone of stamps, below which is a continuous zone of deep diagonal grooves separated by pairs of diagonal lines extending both above and below the carination.

Diagonal grooves or bosses running across the carination or belly of a pot are a regular feature of some styles of the continental *buckelurnen*: they generally occur on elaborate urns with feet and other embossed decoration, as at Borgstedt (Kiel Museum) or Wehden bei Lehe (8395 Hannover Museum).

<sup>1</sup> The later history of stamped ornament is discussed above (p. 198) in connection with the North Elmham urn (Pl. 6, 1). The best known dated example of the last phase is the little vessel in the Blackgate Museum, Newcastle, from the churchyard of Heworth, Gateshead, which was found with stycas of Ecgrith (died 685).

<sup>2</sup> I have not found exactly the brooch to suit the impression. Nose pieces like those of the Icklingham, Suffolk, or Londesborough, Yorks, brooches (Aberg, Fig. 66, 6, Fig. 70, 46) are fairly close. In any case a simple brooch of his Groups III. or IV. seems indicated.



A close parallel to the Rushford urn is a vessel from Perlberg bei Stade, now at Hannover:<sup>1</sup> this has a single finger-tipped collar, as at Rushford, but the place of the stamped zone is taken by five or six strong horizontal corrugations in the Anglian manner, and there is a foot. Another close parallel from Wester-Wanna<sup>2</sup> has the same combination of deep grooves and pairs of lines in the diagonal zone as the Rushford urn and like it has no foot, but it has numerous finger-tipped collars and no true stamped ornament. There is no reason to doubt that this Rushford urn is of fifth-century date.

Another urn from this site in N.C.M. (Pl. 8, 1) is a regular example of the transition from the Anglian shoulder boss style to the stamped panel style. In the place of true stamps, finger-tipping or irregular dabbing is employed in a single zone among the numerous neck lines, in a group over each of the eight or nine shoulder bosses and in some of the panels between them, the remainder being filled with continuous vertical lines. The same style is used in a simpler form on one of the smaller pots from Castle Acre (Pl. 2, 6) and again though more roughly, on the Little Walsingham vessel which was associated with a mid-sixth-century cruciform brooch. The Rushford pot could well be earlier than this date.

The little bagshaped vessel (Pl. 8, 2) is of the accessory type common with inhumation burials: and shows late panel style ornament without bosses. It has a single horizontal zone of stamps among the necklines, and small pendant triangles, each containing three impressions of a second stamp below. A rather larger vessel of essentially similar though more elaborate design, including two stamped zones on the neck was found at Woodston near Peterborough with a cruciform brooch of the mid-sixth century, and this is the most likely date for the present example.

The urn at Cambridge (Pl. 9, 1) is of the dark burnished ware common among the earlier pottery of East Anglia. It is a biconical vessel with three or four small bosses widely spaced on the carination. Two horizontal lines of stamps link the bosses along the carination, and the same stamps are also used to border the bands of vertical lines which run up to the neck and the swags of grouped lines which depend from the neck towards the bosses.

This type of decoration is not very easy to place: it is perhaps related to the line-and-dot designs often found on the unbossed pottery of biconical or bulbous form in the age

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, Pl. XXX., 2.

<sup>2</sup> Plettke, *op. cit.*, Pl. 32, 9.



preceding the migration to England in North Germany.<sup>1</sup> Here, as so often, stamps have taken the place of the earlier dots. An imperfect unbossed biconical pot at Groningen (1920/2/16) has a comparable design carried out in stamps, and English parallels could also be quoted: although bosses seem uncommon on pots of this type. The design is probably related to that discussed under Brundall 2 (p. 190), but the precise relationship between them is not clear at present.

#### SEDFORD.

The pot illustrated (Pl. 6, 3) is typologically a fairly early example of the bossed panel style. The form with high conical neck, narrow mouth and shoulder bosses is probably at bottom Angle: but the stamped ornament shows Saxon influence, and this particular combination of Angle form and Saxon decoration is especially characteristic of Middle rather than East Anglia: it occurs commonly in the Cambridge region: *e.g.*, at Girton (*Antiquity* xi. (1937), 392, Pl. 3, Fig. 6). In the present case the stamped ornament is sparingly used and only one stamp is employed. It is confined to a single horizontal zone among the numerous lines on the neck, to a group set over each shoulder boss, and to an uncrowded arrangement in only one or two of the five panels, which contain within pendant linear triangles an inner loop of three semicircular lines. The remaining panels are all filled simply with vertical lines.

#### SHROPHAM.

Of the five urns from Shropham in the British Museum, two are decorated with simple linear ornament, in one case a single zone of chevrons demarcated top and bottom by three horizontal lines, in the other, three neck lines with triple chevron below (one chevron is replaced by a triple arch covering three vertical lines).<sup>2</sup> Such simple decoration is common in all Anglian districts.

Another, which is markedly biconical with a short straight neck, shows more elaborate curvilinear decoration in groups of grooves or furrows. It<sup>3</sup> has a series of heart-shaped panels with round heads, and some continuous interlaced arcading with the triangular spaces filled with horizontal grooves. It is

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*, on a vessel from Loxstedt (Hannover Museum), or one from Hammoor (Kiel Museum).

<sup>2</sup> *V.C.H.*, I., 329, Figs. 8 and 13. Close parallels to the second pot occur among the Castle Acre urns, one of which is dated by an associated brooch to the first half of the sixth century (*see* p. 194).

<sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.*, I., 329, Fig. 11.

rather like an urn (Y. 40) from Caistor-by-Norwich of the same biconical shape, which has a pattern of hatched triangles reminiscent of a familiar motif on the earlier Lombardic pottery of North Germany. Both designs are perhaps imitative of basketry and can be paralleled in other Anglian areas.

The fourth is an urn of more character: it has a sharply biconical contour and is decorated above the carination with three raised slashed collars each surmounting a horizontal zone of stamps. Raised slashed collars are always a sign of early date in this country for they are very common indeed on the continental *bucketurnen* and comparatively rare in England: the fashion evidently went out towards the end of the fifth century. The stamped ornament (two stamps) is unusually profuse for a vessel of this date, but it characteristically includes a large swastika stamp,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch across, again a sign of early date, and a device always much more popular in Germany than in England.<sup>1</sup>

Continental parallels to this horizontal scheme of mixed collars and stamped zones on biconical vessels, occur at Wester-Wanna<sup>2</sup> and Blumental<sup>3</sup> both in the Elbe-Weser area, but neither is so elaborate as the Shropham urn. Typologically the scheme is the first stage of a transition from a multiplicity of slashed or finger-tipped collars, such as occur frequently on the continent, or in Norfolk, for example, on the upper half of the Castle Acre urn (Pl. 2, 7) to a multiplicity of horizontal zones of stamps, a very common type in England, which occurs nearly always on vessels which have lost the sharp biconical outline and thus betray their later date. But there is no reason to doubt that the Shropham urn was made in the fifth century. An East Anglian parallel to the design, but a stage later in development, is the B.M. urn from Cavenham-Lackford, Suffolk. This is of biconical form with no raised collars—it has three zones of stamps, the lowest consisting of three legged swastikas, reminiscent of the normal four legged swastikas in the same position on the Shropham urn.

<sup>1</sup> V.C.H., 329, Fig. 16: A.S. G., Pl. II. 6. J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, Pl. XXX., 19.

<sup>2</sup> No. 802, Morgenstern Museum, Wesermünde. This example, which is on a foot, has two raised slashed collars at the top and two zones of stamps (one stamp) below.

<sup>3</sup> Bremen Museum: an imperfect vessel with a pierced lug-handle on the carination; it has two finger-tipped collars and two zones of stamps (two stamps) set alternately: but the collars are here quite flat, and are in process of being merged into the stamped zones.



The fifth urn<sup>1</sup> is a narrow necked globular *buckelurne* with a foot. It has a slashed collar, and prominent bosses. These consist of long vertical bosses set alternately with circular ones, the latter being surmounted by a semicircular embossed arch. The design is closely related to that of the Markshall urn (above p. 200), but is much more continental in style and execution. It certainly belongs to the earliest phase of the settlement.

#### THETFORD.

The urn in C.A.E.M. (Pl. 9, 2) is a wide globular vessel with narrow mouth and everted rim. It is made of a dark fabric with burnished surface and is ornamented with seven neck lines and triple linear chevrons below. The lower sides of the chevrons are bordered continuously with dots, and dots also mark the angles and the centre of the upper side of the triangular spaces between the chevrons and the lowest neckline.

This is a very common Anglian linear scheme, and line-and-dot ornament is also frequent enough in Norfolk as elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The present example is of interest chiefly for the arrangement of the dots, which illustrates the close relationship between the simple chevron ornament and the semicircular arcading common on vessels of the *buckelurne* type. Such arcading, whether in relief or not, is often emphasized on early vessels by slashing or finger-tipping<sup>3</sup> and in an example from Castle Acre (Pl. 2, 5) a flat linear arcade is carried out entirely in the line-and-dot technique to imitate this. Other Castle Acre vessels (Pl. 2, 2 and 3) show this idea breaking down into a continuous wavy band or into irregular groups of lines and dots. But in the Thetford urn, while the pattern is formally one of chevrons rather than arches, the continuous chain of dots beneath the broken linear scheme is clearly reminiscent of the emphasized arcading on the first Castle Acre vessel and the general effect is somewhat similar to it.<sup>4</sup>

It may be noticed that, on such vessels as everywhere, stamping came to replace the dot or finger-tip technique.

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, Pl. XXX., 12.

<sup>2</sup> See *e.g.*, three examples from Castle Acre on Pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *e.g.*, the urns from Quelkhorn shown in Plettke, *op. cit.*, Pl. 32, 4.

<sup>4</sup> A more rational use of dots on a linear chevron design is shown by a Caistor-by-Norwich pot (N. 32), where the triangular spaces above and below the chevron are entirely outlined by dots: the effect is of course entirely different from that of the Thetford urn.



Several pots at Caistor (*e.g.*, D. 6, D. 7, Y. 6.) show simple linear chevron designs emphasized by bordering rows of stamps, while another (N. 54) has a linear arcade picked out in the same way. It is perhaps significant that vessels showing this type of decoration are often of the globular form shown in the Thetford example, a fact which helps to confirm their general relationship, and to distinguish the evolution of their ornament from the similar development on urns of the biconical form which is discussed under Brundall No. 2. The two stories are however closely parallel and in their later stages may often be impossible to keep apart.

WALLINGTON (Stow Bridge). (Pl. 7, 3).

A fragmentary vessel of the advanced biconical type discussed under Brundall 3 (Fig. 1, 2 and p. 190). The upper half of the pot, whose contour is weak and sagging, is covered with a single zone of broken chevrons entirely filled with stamps, and demarcated top and bottom by a group of horizontal lines. Below this zone are pendant linear triangles containing groups of vertical lines but no stamps. These probably represent the linear arcading which occurs in this position on some unstamped vessels of the earlier biconical type (*e.g.* Brundall 2 Pl. 1, 2), but the significance of the motive has been forgotten. Vessels of this class are not likely to be earlier than the middle of the sixth century.

WALSINGHAM, LITTLE (Pl. 10).

A little wide-mouthed vessel rather roughly made and decorated in a simple shoulder boss style. The six panels are filled with short vertical lines and there are two horizontal zones of roughly impressed ornament above. The association with a cruciform brooch of Aberg's Group IV. shows that this type of vessel, which might well have been made some time earlier, was still in use in Norfolk at least as late as the middle of the sixth century. For whereas at Holywell Row, Suffolk, a similar vessel, but slightly earlier in type, has been found in a grave dated by Lethbridge soon after 500,<sup>1</sup> a similar brooch (lacking the zoomorphic ornament on the top knob) occurred at Woodston near Peterborough in association with a pot typologically much later, one which shows fully developed panel style ornament (three stamps), without bosses.<sup>2</sup> It may be that the comparative purity with which the Anglian tradition survived in Norfolk, as contrasted with the stronger mixture of Saxon influences which prevailed in the Peter-

<sup>1</sup> Lethbridge, 1931, Pl. 1, 69 and p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Peterborough Museum.



borough area, accounts for the apparently late occurrence of this type of vessel at Walsingham.

WEREHAM (?).

Of the two urns now in the possession of H.M.O.W. custodian at Dartmouth Castle, Devon, which may come from this cemetery, one is decorated. This is a fine urn rather coarsely made, with numerous small shoulder bosses below a zone of linear ornament consisting of continuous semicircular arcading demarcated top and bottom by horizontal lines. The type is not uncommon in Anglian areas and is presumably related both to the shoulder boss and the *buckelurnen* styles. I have not noticed a close East Anglian parallel, but there is a vessel of exactly similar design from Sancton, East Yorks, now in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>1</sup>

#### LITERARY ABBREVIATIONS.

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<sup>1</sup> 1323—1886.

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- N.A.M.—*Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, 2nd series (Norwich, 1906-8).
- N.C.M.—Norwich Castle Museum.
- NUM CHRON.—*Numismatic Chronicle* (1837-), (Royal Numismatic Society).
- O.S.—Ordnance Survey-sheet number refers to 6 inch to 1 mile map.
- PLETTKE—A. Plettke, *Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Angeln und Sachsen* (1920, Hannover) in *Die Urnenfriedhöfe in Niedersachsen* ed. C. Schuchardt.
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- P.S.A.LOND.—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1849-1920).  
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(Part 2 will comprise a gazetteer of sites with full bibliographical references.)