

# ANGLO-SAXON SURREY

BY

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## A. THE GAZETTEER

THE Gazetteer has been compiled from sites published in the *Surrey Archæological Collections* and relevant national periodicals; from the contents of the British, London, Kingston, Guildford Museums, and items in the possession of the local authorities of Croydon and Carshalton, and the records of the Archæological Department of the Ordnance Survey. It has unfortunately not been possible to make a thorough excerpt of all numbers of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society's *Transactions*, or of all reports in the *Croydon Advertiser*. It is clear that the gazetteer is incomplete; it can serve as a basis to which other items may in the future be added. References are given to the National Grid. The letters and figures of the 100 km. Grid Square are omitted. All references beginning with the figures 8 and 9 lie in square SU (41); all those beginning with the figures 0 to 3 are in square TQ (51).

A very considerable number of objects has been recovered at various times from the Thames, from the Surrey and Middlesex shores and from midstream. A few individual items have been published from the mass preserved in the Museums. These are all omitted, since they are the relics of people who crossed the river, rather than of those who lived on its banks. Most of the objects are weapons, and if their exact find-spots were recorded, it might be possible to suggest where battles were fought. Unfortunately the locations are with few exceptions too vague to permit such inferences.

Only objects of the pagan period, between about A.D. 400 and 650, have been included. The gazetteer is necessarily limited to the modern county, though Anglo-Saxon Surrey in the pagan period should probably be extended at least as far east as the Darent and the Cray.

It is proper to record grateful thanks to the officers and officials of private societies and public bodies, whose help has made possible the compilation of this gazetteer.

ASHTHEAD. 2000 5735. S.E. of Ashtead Park, near Stane Street.

Anglo-Saxon *skeletons* found 1910, A. W. G. Lowther in *Sy.A.C.*, LI, 151, note 1.

Small plain *urn* and *knife* in Guildford Museum (S6989-90), *Sy.A.C.*, XLV, 166.

Undated.

At either Ashtead or Banstead may have been the meeting place of Cophorne Hundred *E.P.-N.S.* XI, 68.

BANSTEAD. 2410 6023. Near Banstead Railway Station, 1925.

Two skeletons (one 5 ft. 5 in. tall) with three *urns*, in Guildford Museum (S.6996-8), one illustrated (fluted globular vase with Kentish affinities), *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVII, 91, cf. 108; XL, 133.

Late sixth cent.

BANSTEAD. 2472 6120. Banstead Downs Golf Course.

Saxon inhumation with knife, found 1918. O.S. 19 N.E. 9., A. W. G. Lowther.

Undated.

BEDDINGTON. 3002 6548. A mile west of Croydon, 500 yards south of a Roman villa (*Sy.A.C.*, VI, 118), *V.C.H.*, I, 263. The area is now a sewage works.

At least 12 inhumations and at least 9 cremations were found in 1871-5, *Sy.A.C.*, VI, 122 (= *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> V, 154); a sword, 8 spears, 5 shield-bosses and 8 knives are mentioned, together with 9 urns, a blue glass bead, a bronze bracelet, and "pieces of bronze," perhaps brooches. The urns included 2 "patterned Urns," one with "encircling lugs and impressed ornaments," and one with "markings like British urns."

Two spears and 2 bosses are illustrated in J. C. Anderson, *Pre-historic and Roman Croydon*, p. 41.

E. P. Loftus Brock twice exhibited objects from the site at the British Archæological Association; in May 1871 (*J.B.A.A.*, XXVII, 517) "an urn of rough description; a considerable quantity of bones; some other urns; a fine large circular cinerary urn . . . of dark colour, (which) has curious indented patterns . . . and another similar; and two spears"; in April 1874 (*J.B.A.A.*, XXX, 212), the skeleton of a tall man, 6ft. 6 in. high, with two shield-bosses, a sword and four or five spears (one 10 in. long), a coarse black urn, a glazed white drinking cup, and charred wood, as from "under a tumulus."

In the spring of 1875, three more skeletons were discovered "at oblique angles to each other, at six to eight yards apart"; with each was a shield-boss, spear, knife, "dagger," and "arrowhead." By the skull of one was "the rim of a helmet of some sort," possibly a bronze bowl, and also a "bronze ornament" and a sword. (*Sy.A.C.*, VII, xxxvii). The sword was 40 in. long, (J. C. Anderson, *Saxon Croydon*, p. 87).

From the site are a pair of *saucer brooches*, 1 in. in diameter, with a simple five-spiral design, one in Cambridge Museum (1871), the other in the Ashmolean, (donor T. H. Powell, 1912, 12). In the Ashmolean is also the base of an *applied saucer brooch*, 1½ in. diameter, with raised central boss, and traces of appliqué, apparently of a central cross with faces, similar to Croydon and Guildown types.

Forty years ago some objects were preserved in Croydon Public



Library (Baldwin Brown, IV, 631). The Croydon Society has recently discovered in the Town Hall a brown paper parcel labelled "Beddington, 1874." In it were 12 spears, of types A, B, C, D and E, one of them 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. long and another with a barbed point, rather too short to deserve the name "angon"; with them is part of a sword, a knife of type C, and a modern barrel lock. The extant objects account for most of the grave goods reported from the inhumations; the bosses, bracelet, bead and twelve urns are missing.

This was evidently a considerable mixed inhumation and cremation cemetery; the urns with "encircling lugs" sound like Saxon urns, perhaps Bückelurnen, perhaps of the fifth or early sixth century; the cast saucer brooches with five scrolls are probably fifth-century (cf. p. 81 above), the applied brooch sixth-century.

Fifth to sixth cent.

BETCHWORTH. 201 504. Between Dorking and Reigate, "Barley Mow" or Box Hill Sandpit.

Saxon *pots* on site of a Roman settlement, with Bronze Age and Neolithic pottery, *Sy.A.C.*, XL, xii, cf. xxi. (The Roman pottery is illustrated in *Sy.A.C.*, XLIX, 110).

Undated.

BROCKHAM. 19 49. Between Dorking and Reigate.

Merovingian *gold coin*, triens of Metz, moneyer Ansoaldas, c. A.D. 650. *Arch. J.*, XI, 69; *Sy.A.C.*, I, 5; *V.C.H.*, I, 272; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the light of the Crondall Hoard*, 42, cf. 13, and 24-25.

CARSHALTON, four miles west of Croydon.

*Bunkers Field*, centre 2888 6502, in and around the grounds of Wallington County Grammar School, a fortified enclosure of the Iron Age, touching the bank of the Wandle, excavated thirty years ago, *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVI, 1925, 113-14, cf. also Rev. J. Williams, *Historical Notes on Wallington*, 1873.

The surviving material is in the possession of the Beddington, Wallington and Carshalton Archæological Society. The collection is cared for by the Carshalton Urban District Council, but for want of space is housed in boxes in premises used for other purposes, and could not be examined. A catalogue is however available, and was evidently compiled by someone who understood the objects. From Bunkers Field it lists 113 Iron Age sherds, 50 Roman sherds, and 13 pagan Saxon sherds. Among the Roman wares are listed New Forest products, a rosette-stamped sherd of the fourth century, and others listed as of the fourth century; no Samian, or other products of the early Empire are mentioned. It would seem that an Iron Age earthwork by the Wandle was reoccupied at the end of the Roman period, and that the occupation was continued by the Saxons. The proportion of Roman to Iron Age sherds, and of Saxon to Roman, in the surviving collection is quite large.

*Colston Avenue.* 278 648.

Five Roman and five pagan Saxon (?) sherds, found with much medieval pottery in building operations, in the catalogue at Carshalton U.D.C. The site is much more doubtful. The proportion of the sherds would be consistent with the discovery of a medieval farmstead built on land that had been cultivated in Roman and Saxon times.

*Carshalton-on-the-Hill* (Queen Mary's Hospital), centred 275 625. An Iron Age Hillfort, excavated just before the war, *Sy.A.C.*, XLVI, xi; XLVII, xxiii; XLIX, 56-74.

The finds were deposited at the Grange Wood Museum, Thornton Heath, which was bombed in the war. The Museum Catalogue however survives in the possession of the Croydon Society; from the site it lists (p. 130) much early Iron Age and "late Celtic" (Belgic) material, a quantity of Roman pottery including "Gaulish or Samian ware," a brooch and spindle-whorls, and "four specimens Anglo-Saxon pottery."

The balance of this catalogue, in so far as it is reliable, differs from the record of Bunkers Field. The Roman pottery noted is of the early empire, and the proportion of Roman to pre-Roman, and of Roman to Saxon much less. This appears to be an Iron Age site which continued in use through the Belgic period into the early Roman empire. It may or may not have been re-occupied in late Roman times, and the Saxon use of the site seems, as far as the record, slighter than at Bunkers Field.

*Carshalton Road*, near the south end of Ringstead Road, 2704 6425. Found during the widening of Carshalton road in November 1906. *Sy.A.C.*, XXIII, 213.

Several skeletons found at a depth of about 2 ft. 6 in.

Two skulls and a *spear* from the site were seen in a box in the Council Offices at the time. The site is within the ramparts of a large Iron Age fort, which also held Roman and Bronze Age material. *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVI, 104.

Undated.

CHEAM. 2312 6519. In 1941 at No. 3 Shrubland Grove, North Cheam, just west of Stane Street, two miles north-east of Ewell, *Sy.A.C.*, LI, 151, (Fig. p. 152), a *spearhead*, type E.

Undated.

CHOBHAM. 97 61. Perhaps the meeting place of Godley Hundred, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 103.

COBHAM. 114 602. South-west of Esher; Leigh Hill.

A *spearhead*, found near Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman site, *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVII, 93 (Fig.) cf. XXI, 192; XXII, 137.

Undated.

Eaton Farm perhaps preserves the name of the Getingas. *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 88.

COULSDON, *Cane Hill.* 291 587, approximately. Four miles south-west of Croydon.

Several skeletons facing east, a *knife* with each, found "in a field near my residence," by J. M. Moodie, together with hippopotamus and mammoth tusks, *Sy.A.C.*, XXVI, 139. The finds were made in 1912, "on the opposite side of the valley" from Farthingdown (*q.v.*). Cf. *Sy.A.C.*, XXVII, xiii.

The approximate area is fixed by the accession book of the Horniman Museum, which possesses a skull, registered in 1918, given by Sir John Moodie, described as found "in a Saxon grave at Cane Hill. The land concerned was owned by the L.C.C. The only L.C.C. land on Cane Hill is that belonging to the Hospital." (Letter from the Horniman Museum to Dr. Dance of Guildford Museum, 1 September, 1952.)

"A spearhead and some beads" were found at Cane Hill Asylum (built 1873) about 1881-2, *Croydon Advertiser*, 7 March 1885. The building of the Asylum may well have destroyed graves unrecorded, and the site may have been a large one.

An entry printed on the Ordnance Survey 6 in. sheet, at 2912 5798, reads "Human remains found A.D. 1910." This discovery may be part of the same cemetery. Measurements of two skeletons are given in *Biometrika*, XXVIII, 1936, 290.

According to Mr. F. G. Parsons, (letters to the Ordnance Survey, dated 14 October and 9 November 1933), the cemetery has been found scappily at various times, but seems to have been a regular burial ground, with bodies in rows, some with spears, and a sprinkling of swords.

Undated.

*Farthingdown*. Between 2995 5835 and 3008 5743. Five miles south of Croydon.

Over 30 graves, 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. deep, under and between low barrows, 18-30 ft. in diameter, two of them 40 ft. across, between 12 in. and 18 in. high, excavated about 1760 (*M.&B.*, II, 448); in 1871, *Sy.A.C.*, VI, 109, *V.C.H.*, I, 264; in 1939, *Sy.A.C.*, XLVII, 119; XLIX, 114; and in 1948-9, *Sy.A.C.*, LI, xi; LIII, x, cf. 21. Cf. *Archæological News Letter* II, (10), p. 170.

Half the graves were without grave goods. In the others were 1 *sword*, 6 *spears*, 4 *knives*, 1 *scramasax*, 1 remarkable conical *boss* (now in the Ashmolean Museum, *Sy.A.C.*, VI, pl. ii, Baldwin Brown III, 199, pl. xxiii, 3), 2 silver *pins*, 1 bone *pin*, (*Sy.A.C.*, VI, pl. i), 2 *buckets*, 1 *stoup*, (*Sy.A.C.*, VI, pl. iii; *V.C.H.*, I, 257, pl. Fig. 6), 4 *buckles* (one Frankish), a small string of *beads* (*Sy.A.C.*, VI, pl. i), a piece of *amber* and a *purse mount*, 1 *gold bracteate* with cruciform design (*Sy.A.C.*, VI, pl. 1), a small decorated *pot*, a pair of *shears* and a *comb* and *cowrie shell* in a bag, and a burial with the *wing* of a *goose*. A sword, boss, and "drinking cup" (perhaps a bucket) were placed in the "Museum of the Society lately established at Croydon," but cannot now be found. A knife and spear are in Guildford Museum (S6991-2). The stoup, the bracteate, the

Frankish buckle and probably the conical boss are of the late sixth or early seventh century; though many of the objects are of uncertain date, none suggests an earlier date. All the graves found in 1948-9 were orientated north and south.

Late sixth and seventh centuries.

The best survey of the barrows is by Grinsell, in *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 45-47.

**CROWHURST or LIMPSFIELD.** A rough, plain urn, Guildford Museum S.7003, found 1881, is so labelled. It might possibly be from the same site as the Limpsfield urn, *q.v.*

**CROYDON.** 3117 6505. *Waddon Caves.* 41 Alton Road, Waddon.

Through the slope a hill, a long V-shaped flat-bottomed trench, some 8 ft. or 10 ft. deep, was cut into sandy soil, leading downward towards a spring, now a pond in the municipal park. The trench acted as street, and off it opened a number of wholly underground houses, entered by doorways with worked lintels. One of these was wholly excavated, others partially. They contained Iron Age and Belgic pottery, with a quantity of Roman pottery of the first three centuries A.D., including two minute scraps of Samian, and a few late Roman sherds. The finds also include a single Anglo-Saxon rim *sherd*, of dark grey ware, with parallel lines round the neck, and the impression of a banana-shaped stamp, probably half a rosette circle, similar to those common on late Roman rosetted wares, and very like the stamp used on a very late Roman bulging bowl, half of which is preserved in the London Museum. The rubble lying over the Iron Age, Roman and Saxon material was full of mesolithic flints, and, during an earlier excavation in 1902, caused the site to be listed as neolithic. *Proceedings of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society*, XII, 1951-2, 145.

The site is quite unique. Like the Carshalton-on-the-Hill fort, it is clearly an Iron Age and Belgic site that continued into the early Roman period, and has some slight trace of casual late Roman and Saxon reoccupation.

*Edridge Road, Elms Estate, 325 650*, immediately south of the Town Hall.

There is a sufficiently widespread scatter of Roman material to suggest that Croydon may have been the site of a Roman roadside village or posting-station. Numerous skeletons, etc., have been found at, and south of, the junction of George Street and High Street (400 yards to the north) from the foundation of Archbishop Whitgift's Hospital in 1596 onward, J. C. Anderson, *Saxon Croydon*, p. 91. In 1856, Mr. C. Lashman exhibited to the Surrey Society "a skull, found with a number of other human remains, iron weapons, sword blades, etc., at the bottom of St. George's Street," *Sy.A.C.*, II, xii. Many objects were recovered from builders in 1893-4, with no account of the graves,

*Sy.A.C.*, XIII, 18 (= *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> XV, 328), *V.C.H.*, I, 258. The objects recorded are 4 *swords*, 26 *spears*, 1 *angon* (a long spear of continental origin, used in Britain by the Franks), 12 *shield-bosses*, 3 *franciscas* (Frankish throwing axes); 9 *knives*, 9 *brooches*, 2 *openwork triskele discs*, 1 *buckle*, 1 *bronze bowl*, 2 *buckets*, 1 *whetstone or sceptre*, several *coins*, 1 *belt-tab*, 1 *faceted disc*, 2 *rings*, 1 "*prickspur*," 2 *needles*, 2 *pins*, 1 *pair of tweezers*, 1 *armlet*, 1 *bronze pendant object*, 1 *cow's horn*, 2 *glass vessels*, 4 *Romano-British pots* and 17 *Anglo-Saxon urns*. The quantity of objects recovered is comparable with that from the 200 odd graves recorded at Mitcham.

The bulk of the objects are in the British Museum (1895-3-13, 1-48), which has 2 *swords*, 13 *spears*, the *angon*, 9 *bosses*, 3 *knives*, 2 *franciscas*, 3 *brooches*, the *buckle*, 1 *ring*, the *pendant object*, the *cow's horn*, 1 *glass vessel*, and 9 of the *Anglo-Saxon urns*. Other objects were lodged in the Grange Wood Museum at Thornton Heath (Baldwin Brown IV, 631) which was bombed in the 1939 war. The catalogue survives.

Three of the British Museum urns are plain, six decorated; they include a large *Bückelurn*, heavily stamped with two separate stamps, the features in low relief, early, but not of the earliest period, perhaps of the late fifth century; one urn stamped with a running S and chevron pattern, and one vessel with a dotted chevron pattern on the lower part of the vessel, probably not earlier than the mid-sixth century.

The brooches include the cast saucer brooch<sup>1</sup> of Fig. 7A, perhaps of the first half of the sixth century, 1.2 in. diameter, the base of an applied saucer brooch, (B.M. 44), diameter 1.6 in., a disc brooch with four stamped circles (B.M. 42), a pair of flat ring brooches, and four small-long brooches (*V.C.H.*, I, 257, plate 2-5) two of them closely matched at Mitcham (107 and 112). The *belt-tab* and *faceted disc* (Baldwin Brown, IV, 558, pl. clii, 1, 5 and 8), possibly the fitting of a *sporrán*, are closely paralleled at Dorchester Dyke Hills,<sup>2</sup> a burial closely dated to the closing years of the fourth century, at Vermand at a date not later than c. A.D. 410, and also at Kempston (*A.A.S.R.*, VII. 1864, 285), at Croxton, near Thetford in Norfolk (Baldwin Brown, IV, 558, pl. clii, 4, Norwich Castle Museum) and in the Elbe region. The *bronze pendant object* (B.M. 40, Baldwin Brown, IV, 419, pl. xcix 4) is decorated with ornamentation that also recalls Vermand, and has a simpler parallel at Droxford in Hampshire (Baldwin Brown, pl. xcix 5). One of the *glass vessels* Harden (*D.A.B.*, 158 cf. 139 and Fig. 25 I a 1) dates to the fifth century. Four whole Roman vessels, including one of *Castor ware* and one of "*Upchurch*" ware, are also unusual survivals in Anglo-Saxon graves. Baldwin Brown also illustrates the *bronze bowl* (IV, 473, pl. cxvii, 3) and several of the weapons (III, 209,

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 85.

<sup>1</sup> *Oxoniensia*, XVII/XVIII, 63.

pl. xxv 3 and III, 221, pl. xxvii 9 (swords); III, 199, pl. xxiii 2 (boss); III, 231, pl. xxix 6 (francisca); III, 237 pl. xxxii 15 (angon). One of the bosses was of conical shape cf. Mitcham 73; all such bosses found with dateable objects belong to the late sixth century or later.

The cemetery contained several objects that properly belong to the last decades of the Roman period, and might have survived into the Anglo-Saxon period; there are several Anglo-Saxon objects of the fifth century, and a number of objects of both the first and the second half of the sixth century, with several specifically Frankish items, and nothing that need be of the seventh century.

Fifth and Sixth cent.

CUDDINGTON. 233 618. A mile east of Ewell.

Anglo-Saxon *spearhead*, found by Mr. M. Flint, and identified at the British Museum in 1956-7, O.S. 19, N.W. 30.

DORKING, West of. 160 492. West Dorking Sandpit, Vincent Lane, about 200 yards from the probable site of the Roman posting station.

Two *spears*, a small *urn*, and a *glass bottle* in Guildford Museum, S6979 (rough small plain urn), *Sy.A.C.*, XL, 133.

Undated.

An -ingas name, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 269.

EASHING. 94 44. An -ingas name, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 196.

ESHER. 139 650. The Warren, Sandown Park, 100 yards south-west of the grandstand.

Three graves, facing east, two with a *spear* and a *shield-boss* (hemispherical) each, the third empty, a *spear* loose in the surrounding soil; the graves were dug into an Iron Age site, with some Roman material, *Ant. J.*, XXVII, 24, cf. *Sy.A.C.*, L, ix.

Undated.

The hundred of Elmbridge is named from the bridge over the Mole at Esher 130 645, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 86.

EWELL. 2192 6239 to 2198 6227. Ewell House, The Grove, adjoining the site of a Roman posting station.

Quantities of human bones were dug up in the late seventeenth century in Mr. Fendall's grounds near the Epsom road, *Aubrey II* (1718), 219; cf. V, 363. Mr. Fendall owned Ewell House, *Sy.A.C.*, XLVIII, 13.

At least 10 inhumations and 2 cremations, found 1930-1932.

7 *spears*, 1 *shield-boss*, 1 *knife*; 1 cast *saucer brooch*, with leg-and-stroke pattern, probably about or just before the middle of the sixth century and the bases of a pair of *applied saucer brooches*. 1 pair of *disc-brooches* incised with hexafoil pattern. 1 *disc-brooch* with dot-and-circle pattern. 1 *bead*, 1 *silver ring*, 1 *spindle whorl*, 1 *buckle*, 1 *armlet*. 2 *cremation urns* and 1 plain red *urn*

from an inhumation. The finds in Guildford Museum (S6967-77) include a well-made shouldered urn.

The cemetery was dug into a Roman site with first- to fourth-century and Iron Age pottery. *Ant. J.*, XII, 442; XIII, 302; also cf. *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVIII, 227; XL, 13; XLI, 122; XLII, 113; XLIII, 16. The finds are in Guildford and London Museums (*London and the Saxons*, 131-6).

Two earlier discoveries, "skull and bones with a rusty iron bar," found at the junction of Meadow Mill and High Street in 1897 (2192 6284), (O.S. 13 S.W. 18), and "Human remains found 1912," a hundred yards to the southwest at 2185 6273, printed on the O.S. 6 in. map (13 S.W.), all on the edge of the Roman village, may belong to the same cemetery. If so, the few recorded relics of the Ewell burials may be the debris of a cemetery as large as those of Croydon and Mitcham; the undiscovered burials may have contained fifth-century material, but those which have survived do not.

Sixth cent.

FARNHAM, *Firgrove Pit*. 8422 4667. On rising ground, 100 yards south of the Wey, just east of the road to Bourne, Frensham and Hindhead, 100 yards west of a Roman cemetery.

*Sy.A.S.*, 1939, *Survey of the Prehistory of the Farnham District*, p. 255, cf. *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVI, 123; XLIV, 138.

Anglo-Saxon village with huts 12 ft. to 15 ft. wide, sunk 2 ft. into the soil, with *clay loomweights* (Guildford Museum S7035), a bronze *clasp*, roughly paralleled at Herpes, in south-western France (British Museum Guide, 1923, p. 148, Fig. 196) a glass *bead*, a *knife*, sherds of *coarse pots*, including one heavily stamped sherd, probably of the mid-sixth century.

Sixth cent.

*Castle Street*, 839 471. Anglo-Saxon *stamps* on a Roman tile, cf. Titsey, *Sy.A.S. Survey*, pl. xxiii, p. 253, cf. 259.

*Farnham*. Anglo-Saxon *sherd* with basketry incisions and clay loomweights, find-spot unknown, found "about 30 years ago," *Sy.A.S. Survey*, pl. xxv, p. 258, cf. 259. *Ant. J.*, XIII, 324, fig. 2, cf. 325.

The Crondall Hoard of IXth century Anglo-Saxon coins was found about two miles to the west, across the county boundary.

Farnham Hundred met at Lawday House, 814 494, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 165.

FARTHINGDOWN—see Coulsdon.

FETCHAM, Hawkshill. From 1564 5539 to 1596 5617. Immediately south-west of Leatherhead, from the crest of Hawkshill near the junction of A2012 and A246 to the mill pond on the left bank of the Mole,  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile south of Leatherhead station.

Between 60 and 100 inhumations, excavated at various times between 1758 and 1933.

A small proportion of the grave-goods were recorded and pre-

served. These are 3 *swords*, 3 *shield-bosses*, 7 *spearheads*, 1 *scramasax*, 3 *knives*, 2 *glass beads*, one or two *coins* of Constantine, a few *pots*, a Frankish *girdle-hanger*, apparently from the same mould as one from Maidstone, there found with a garnet-studded brooch of the mid-sixth century, *bucket* plaques with human face in punched outline, similar to the late sixth-century saucer brooch "Maltese Cross" designs (p. 84, Fig. 6 above), and a decorated *bronze disc* (British Museum 1934-5-7). In Guildford Museum are the *girdle-hanger* and a sword-knot bead (S7007-8). *Sy.A.C.*, XVI, 251; cf. XX, 119; XXXVII, 93; XL, xvii; XLII, 136; *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> XVIII, 253, *V.C.H.*, I, 267, cf. III, 284; IV, 362, 365; *Ant. J.*, XIII, 48; *M.&B.*, I, 482.

The *scramasax*, *bucket*, *bronze disc*, and *girdle-hanger* are probably of the late sixth or early seventh century. Nothing recorded suggests an earlier date.

Late sixth and seventh cent.

The main group of graves lies 50 to 100 yards from a large Iron Age and Roman occupation site, which also had some Bronze Age material. The material is in Guildford Museum, S7006-13.

GODALMING. 96 44. An -ingas name, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 195.

GODSTONE. 351 514, between Godstone and Stratton.

*Urns*, bones, "*glass bottle*," *spears*, *tiles*, *armlet*, *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> IX, 101.

The armlet and a small plain urn are in Guildford Museum, S.7005.

Undated.

GUILDOWN. 9883 4884. In the garden of "Chalk Hill," Guildown Avenue, immediately south of the Old Road, on the Ridgeway, just before it dips down the hill to cross the Wey. *Sy.A.C.*, XXXIX, 1, cf. xii; XLI, 119; cf. LIII, pl. xxv-xxviii.

35 burials of the pagan Saxon period, together with 189 skeletons interred with a coin of A.D. 1043; attributed to a massacre of A.D. 1046.

The grave goods were 5 *spearheads* (one with a closed socket) and 6 *knives*, but no *swords* or *shield-bosses*. There were 20 *brooches*, including 9 *saucer* brooches, three cast and six applied, eight of them closely matched at Mitcham, 2 pairs of *disc* brooches, 1 great *square-headed* brooch (Leeds, *Corpus* 70, from grave 116, not 46), 3 small Kentish *square-headed* brooches (two of them, grave 206, Leeds, *Corpus* 7) and 3 *small-long* brooches, one of them very like Mitcham 107. The other objects were two *glass vessels* (Harden, III a i, 6-7), 9 *strings of beads* and 9 loose *beads*, 2 *spindle-whorl beads*, 1 *iron key*, 2 *bronze* and 1 *silver ring*, 2 *bronze pins*, 1 *ear-ring*, 2 *rock crystals*, 1 *bucket*, 14 *buckles*, 1 *hone*, whetstone or sceptre, 2 small *bronze objects*, 1 fragment of *samian* ware, and a large bossed and rosetted *urn*, heavily stamped, with three other decorated and four plain urns. The finds are in Guildford Museum. Cf. *Biometrika*, XXVIII, 1936, 290 for measurements of a skeleton.

The saucer brooches do not include any of the certainly earliest or latest types; they, and the square-headed brooches, large and small, belong within the sixth century, and so probably do the urn and the glass; the burials recorded probably began some time after 500 and ended before 600.

Sixth cent.

GUILDFORD, Mareschal Road, Mount Street. 9921 4925.

Twelve skeletons, found September 1930, with a fluted *urn*, some *sherds*, and two *whetstones* or hones, Guildford Museum G6993-4, 2410, *Sy.A.C.*, XXXIX, 4, cf. 163; XL, xi.

The site is about 400 yards from the Guildown cemetery.

GUILDFORD, St. Martha's. 028 483.

Small plain black Anglo-Saxon *urn*, Guildford Museum S6999, *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> XXVIII, 230; *Sy.A.C.*, XXIX, 152, plate, cf. LIV, 42, fig. 9.

St. Martha's is a Saxon church (much rebuilt in the nineteenth century), standing in isolation on the summit of a sharp conical sandy hill nearly 500 ft. above the valley, two miles south-east of Guildford. The church lies in the centre of a semicircle of round earthworks, some 100 ft. in diameter, for which an analogy with Bronze Age sacred sites is claimed, though excavation found no Bronze Age objects (*Sy.A.C.*, LIV, 10, ff.). From the summit of the hill come Mesolithic and Neolithic flakes and an axe, some Iron Age sherds found by Pitt-Rivers in 1874 (*ibid.*, p. 39), a Roman pot found recently, in private possession in Guildford (O.S. 32 N.W. 4, S. S. Frere), tiles which may have been Roman, and the Saxon urn, found within one of the "Bronze Age" circles (*ibid.*, p. 41). There is a considerable scatter of Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman sites in the immediate neighbourhood, an Iron Age pottery-making site at the foot of the hill 400 yards to the east of the church, and half a mile to the north-east a small Roman cremation cemetery of the first century A.D., just outside the gates of Tyting Farm (023 487), which is an -INGAS name (*E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 245). The earth circles are ignored by the copious writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and are first mentioned in 1850; from 1876 onward, but not earlier, there is record of an allegedly ancient procession with folk-dancing to the site.

The urn is of the sixth century. The site has certainly been sacred since the Christian Saxon period; it is a pre-eminently awe-inspiring position, still inaccessible to wheeled vehicles, and may possibly have been sacred from the Neolithic or Bronze Age onwards. The occasional presence on the hill of peoples of all ages is proven; but the purpose of their presence is not established.

No other church in England is dedicated to St. Martha. An alternative name, Martyr Hill, persists from 1273 onward,

*E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 244; cf. *Sy.A.C.*, XLIV, 62. There is no association with St. Thomas the Martyr, though the site is on the Pilgrim's Way to Canterbury, and no tradition of Martyrs on the site. The dedication is a puzzle.

It might conceivably be a solitary lowland instance of "Martyrium," Welsh "Merthyr," a term bestowed on a variety of sacred sites in the sixth century by British- and Latin-speaking peoples. The precise significance of the term in Wales is not clearly understood; it certainly does not necessarily imply the martyrdom of saints, but carries the vaguer significance that there some saint "bore witness" to Christ, occasionally by the forcible dedication of pagan holy sites to Christianity. The names Walworth, Walton and Wallington show that British was still spoken in Surrey in the sixth century; it is possible that a name so given was preserved in ecclesiastical Latin as Martyrium, and later corrupted to Martha.

HACKBRIDGE—see Beddington.

HAM. 1693 7159.

Anglo-Saxon village, one hut excavated, Hope-Taylor and S. S. Frere, February 1950, 170 yards from an Iron Age site. Pottery, loomweights and animal bones were found, *Sy.A.C.*, LII, 101.

HAWKSHILL—see Fetcham.

EAST HORSLEY. 09 52.

A Saxon youth, with *knife*, *Sy.A.C.*, LIV, 136, discovered during building operations.

Undated.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES—see Ham.

LEATHERHEAD—see Fetcham.

LIMPSFIELD. 425 534. Two miles east of Oxted on the Redhill-Sevenoaks road, near a Roman cremation-cemetery, on the line of the London-Lewes Roman road.

Anglo-Saxon *urn*, probably mid to late sixth century, Guildford Museum, S7002, *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> XIII, 249-250, (Fig.). See also Crowhurst.

Sixth cent.

MERTON. 25 69. On Stane Street, one mile north-west of Mitcham and 5 miles north-west of Croydon.

Cast *saucer brooch*, with central cross, of the late fifth or early sixth century, British Museum 1923-5-7. It is possible that the brooch is a stray from the cemetery at Mitcham, a mile to the south-east.

Late fifth or early sixth cent.

MICKLEHAM. 1725 5270. On Stane Street, two miles north of Dorking.

In 1780, when Juniper Hall was being built, two skeletons and a spearhead were found. Brayley, (*B.&B.*), IV, 457; *V.C.H.*, III, 302.

Undated.

MITCHAM. 270 682. 4 Miles north-west of Croydon.

Several hundred burials recorded over more than a century, pp. 51-131 above.

Fifth and sixth cent.

PEPER HARROW. 942 445. Two miles west of Godalming, four miles south-west of Guildford.

Heathen place-name. *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 207, cf. xii.

PURLEY. 3232 6075. Junction of *Mitchley Avenue* and Riddlesdown Road, eight or more skeletons, heads to the east, with a *knife* of type A, 6 in. long, *Proc. Croydon Nat. Hist. & Scientific Soc.*, X, 1931-3, 199.

Four of the skeletons were presented to the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society Museum, *Sy.A.C.*, XLI, 137.

Undated.

*Russell Hill*. 3118 6225. 18 or more gigantic skeletons, found 1865, buried 18 in. deep in the chalk, parallel to the road, which might be the Roman road. *Croydon Advertiser*, 17 March 1877.

A further skeleton was found in the garden of No. 3, Overhill Road, 3120 6247, and was the subject of a coroner's inquest reported in the *Croydon Advertiser* between 1924 and 1929 (information from Mr. A. F. L. Rivet).

There are Bronze Age pots and implements from the site in the British and Guildford Museums, *Sy.A.C.*, XXI, 208-9.

RICHMOND PARK, centred 18 72. Bun-shaped loomweight, diameter  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., in Guildford Museum, S7037.

RIPLEY. 0370 5641. Seven miles south-west of Esher. *Papercourt Farm*.

Anglo-Saxon *spear*, type D (and Bronze Age Mace). Guildford Museum G6399. *Sy.A.C.*, LII, 81.

Undated: cf. Woking.

SANDERSTEAD. 3313 6247. Two miles south of Croydon, direct on the alignment of the London-Brighton Roman road. 300 yards south of Sanderstead railway station east of the Croydon road. 11 or 12 skeletons all facing east, 18 in. to 2 ft. deep, with a hand-made *urn* and two *knives*

Finds in Guildford Museum, 921, and S6983-8, *Sy.A.C.*, XLI, 136. *Croydon Advertiser*, 7 March 1885; *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> XXVIII, 233; *V.C.H.*, I, 267.

There was an Iron Age site with storage pits very near, and a Roman site 500 yards to the east, at Crohamhurst Farm, *Sy.A.C.*, L, xxiii.

Undated.

SANDOWN PARK—see Esher.

SEALE. 883 474. Three miles east of Farnham.

Binton Farm perhaps is an -ingas name, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 181.

SEND—see Ripley, Woking.

THUNDERFIELD CASTLE, Horley. 300 426. Five miles south of Redhill, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 295, cf. xii. Heathen place-name.

THURSLEY. 9021 3953. Eight miles south-west of Guildford.

Small plain Anglo-Saxon *urn*, with impressions of barley, *Sy. A.C.*, LI, 152, pl. xviii, b.

Heathen place-name, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 211, cf. xii.

“Thor’s Stone” is said to be at 9073 4160, *Sy.A.C.*, LIV, 138–41.

Undated.

TITSEY. 406 544. “Anglo-Saxon” stamps on a Roman tile.

*Sy.A.S.*, *Farham Survey*, 1939, pl. xxiii, p. 253, cf. 259.

TOOTING. 27 72. An -ingas name, *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 35.

TUESLEY. 96 41. Two miles south of Godalming. Heathen place-name. *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 200, cf. xii.

TYTING—see Guildford, St. Martha’s.

WALTON-ON-THAMES. 094 665. Three miles east of Chertsey.

A “range of barrows” formerly existed near Walton Bridge at “Windmill Hill.” In 1793, “when the stone bridge was building, the foreman of the work was in possession of a *boss* of a *shield*, some *spearheads*, and *earthen vessels*, taken from these barrows, which I made drawings of; and which were similar to those I have heretofore described in other tumuli.” Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, 94; *M. & B.* III, clx. Douglas does not say whether the tumuli lay on the Surrey bank or the Middlesex bank where there are also Saxon cemeteries at Shepperton and at Walton Bridge Green (*P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> IV, 118; Vulliamy, *The Archaeology of Middlesex*, 227–30). E. Gardner, *Sy.A.C.*, XXV, 1912, 134, cites Douglas, adding “on the left-hand side of the approach to Walton Bridge, on the Surrey side of the Thames.” This may be a guess, since Douglas’ note is embedded in an account of Wimbledon; or the name Windmill Hill may have survived in 1912. If so, the site is presumably the same as “Anzac Mount” below.

A cinerary *urn* was exhibited to the Archæological Institute in 1867, *Arch. J.*, XXV, 178 (cf. *V.C.H.*, I, 268) together with “calciné bones,” a bead and a bronze ornament.

*Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 38, cf. 29.

*Decorated pot*, *Ant. J.*, XIX, 323. British Museum, 1928–2–11, “found in 1927 on high ground overlooking Cowey and Walton Bridge, west of the bridge approach, now called Anzac Mount, formerly part of Mount Felix Estate,” perhaps the same site as Douglas’ discoveries.

The barrows were perhaps grave-mounds as at Farthingdown.

Undated.

WHITMOOR COMMON—see Worplesdon.

WILLEY HO. 813 454. Two miles south-west of Farnham, on the Wey.

Heathen place-name. *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 175.

WOKING. About 029 571. Two miles south-east of Woking.

A *spearhead*, 4 in. long, type D, found "in the moat around the wood in Woking Park Farm in 1904." *Sy.A.C.*, XXV, 140, pl. Fig. 2.

Undated.

Cf. also Send and Ripley.

Woking is an -ingas name. In the middle ages the Hundred met at Harmes Hatch, (02 55?), Send. *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 135, cf. 148.

WORPLESDON, Whitmoor Common. About 992 537. Two miles north of Guildford.

Six grave-mounds with "Burnt bones, an iron Saxon *knife*, and other remains." *British Association Report*, 1877, 117 (Anthropological Section, Maj.-Gen. Pitt-Rivers); *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 49, cf. 30; cf. XIV, 219.

Undated.

WOTTON. 117 484. Three miles west of Dorking, north of Deerleap Wood.

Anglo-Saxon *pot-sherd*, *Ant. J.*, XIX, 325, *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVII, 222.

British Museum, 1927, 1-4, 2. Found in a Roman cremation cemetery of the first century A.D.

#### DOUBTFUL SITES

ADDINGTON PARK. 37 66. Three miles east of Croydon.

"About twenty-five tumuli . . . one in diameter nearly 40 ft., two about half that size . . . the remainder very small . . . Salmon says that some broken pieces of urns taken out of them . . . were . . . in the possession of an apothecary at Croydon." Lysons, *Environs of London*, I, 1. *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 30, cf. 39.

A heathen place-name, *Thunderfield Common*, was apparently still in use in the area in the early years of this century, *P. Croydon N.H. & S.S.*, VIII, 1916-17, 162-3, (map p. 164), cf. cix.

ASHTHEAD. 1821 5670. One mile north-east of Leatherhead.

"In the grounds of the Goblin Factory, by the pre-Roman track called Green Lane, south of the Leatherhead-Ashtead road, near Stane Street," 1927.

A pit, with several bodies thrown in, whose condition suggests Dark Age or mid to late Saxon. A. W. G. Lowther in *Sy.A.C.*, LI, 151, note 1.

CUDDINGTON, Court Farm. 2418 6172. East of Ewell.

"Between Sandy Lane and the road to Banstead and Ewell railway stations," skeletons of men and women with late Roman pots, roof and flue tiles, perhaps used to frame a tomb. *Sy.A.C.*, XXXVII, 242. Possibly post-Roman.

EASHING. 9434 4334. Five miles south-west of Guildford.

On the Godalming By-pass  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile above the east bridge, October 1931.

Seven skeletons, one with a Roman pin, some buried long after death. Rough apparently hand-made "Romano-British" potsherds were found in the surrounding soil.

Possibly post-Roman. *Sy.A.C.*, XL, 118, cf. xxi; XLIV, 151.

EFFINGHAM. 111 529. Four miles west of Leatherhead.

In 1758 four or five skeletons were found in making the turnpike road near the barrow "still called Standard Hill," *M. & B.*, II, 688, cf. 708; I, 482, *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 51.

Effingham gives its name to a Hundred. Barrows were sometimes chosen as hundred centres, and such hundred-centre barrows were sometimes pagan Saxon burial grounds, as at Lovedon Hill, a large pagan cemetery, that gives its name to Lovedon Hundred in Lincolnshire. At Redbourne, in Redbournestoke Hundred in Hertfordshire, ten Anglo-Saxon burials were found in 1178 in a barrow called Standard Hill, "where the folk used to meet by ancient tradition" (Roger of Wendover and related Chronicles, sub. anno 1178). In the middle ages, Effingham Hundred met at "Lethe Croyce" or Leithepitt," *E.P.-N.S.*, XI, 99, (142 553, two miles north-east of the barrow, *Sy.A.C.*, L, 157). Effingham barrow may have been a pagan Saxon cemetery, and the original meeting place of the hundred, as at Lovedon and Redbourne, and known as Standard Hill for that reason.

EPSOM. 2168 6072. Allotments near the north end of College Row.

Six skeletons found in 1929, *Sy.A.C.*, LI, 151, note I, and several more found at 2179 6062, 120 yards to the south-east in Copse Edge Avenue, in 1934 (O.S. 19 N.W. 26).

The burials may be of the Anglo-Saxon period, either pagan, or perhaps later.

EWELL. 23 60. Some barrows with bones and weapons opened in the North Looe area in 1803 may possibly have been Saxon.

*M. & B.*, II, 581; *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 43.

GODSTONE. 355 504. Tilburstow Hill Common.

A burial urn found in a gravel pit, a few years before 1874, with spiral markings on the outside and a black band round the neck, which A. W. Franks thought resembled "what is found on Gallo-Roman and early Merovingian pottery." From the same pit came a bronze spear and a "saucer and bottle." *P.S.A.*,<sup>2</sup> VI, 155-6.

HORSLEY DOWN. About 07 51.

"Rings and many ancient copper coins and medals, both Roman and English . . . and . . . skeletons of several human bodies . . . found near some buildings belonging to George Shepley, Esq.," in 1800. *MS Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries*, XXVIII, 236; *V.C.H.*, IV, 364.

In 1800, saucer brooches were sometimes regarded as Roman medals; Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were still commonly described as Roman, unless swords and spears were plentiful, when they became battlefields. The burials might have been Roman, though Roman coins are at least as common in Saxon as in Roman graves. The "English" (not, as V.C.H., "Saxon") coins may well have been lost in medieval or later centuries, unconnected with the burials.

WALLINGTON. 288 646. At the junction of Alcester Road and Manor Road, 25 yards north of Holy Trinity Church.

Seven or more skeletons, facing east, at a depth of 3 ft., with a *bronze spearhead*, found in February 1869, *J.B.A.A.*, XXV, 517, with "Roman fragments" near. If the spear was really of bronze, it is unlikely that it was Anglo-Saxon. "Some glass beads, found with a skeleton, with the head westward, at Wallington" in 1896 may have been Saxon, *V.C.H.*, I, 268.

WIMBLEDON COMMON. 22 71. North of Wimbledon.

About 23 barrows were visible in the late eighteenth century. Douglas, *Nenia Britannica* 93; *Sy.A.C.*, XLII, 30, cf. 34.

These barrows may or may not have been Saxon. From one of them Douglas excavated, on 29 September 1786, what seems to be a Roman beaker, (his plate XXIII, 4).

## B. THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN SURREY

In the year A.D. 410, the Imperial Roman Government, which had administered the province of Britain for nearly 400 years, announced that it was no longer able to defend the island; it told the authorities to organize their own defence, which they did successfully for a while. Somewhere in the second quarter of the fifth century,<sup>1</sup> the Romano-British leaders invited Anglo-Saxon mercenaries to defend them against the Picts. The Anglo-Saxons drove back the Picts, but then rebelled against their British employers. In half a century of bitter war, the towns, the villas, and the economy of the lowlands were destroyed. The Britons, however, alone among the western peoples of the Roman Empire, defeated the barbarians. The decisive victory was won by King Arthur at Mount Badon not far from the year 500. For half a century, the British remained on top; forty years after, one contemporary blames the degeneracy of his fellows who "had never experienced the troubles, and know only our present security . . . now that our foreign wars are over." But between 550 and 600 the Anglo-Saxons rebelled again, and made themselves masters of the greater part of England, the land that bears their name.

In the south the decisive campaigns were those of Ceawlin (Colin) of Wessex; in 568 "Ceawlin and Cutha fought against King Ethelbert and drove him into Kent, and slew two aldermen at Wibban-

<sup>1</sup> Two separate traditions name alternative dates, of about 430 or about 450. Modern opinion, rightly in my view, is tending to prefer the earlier date.

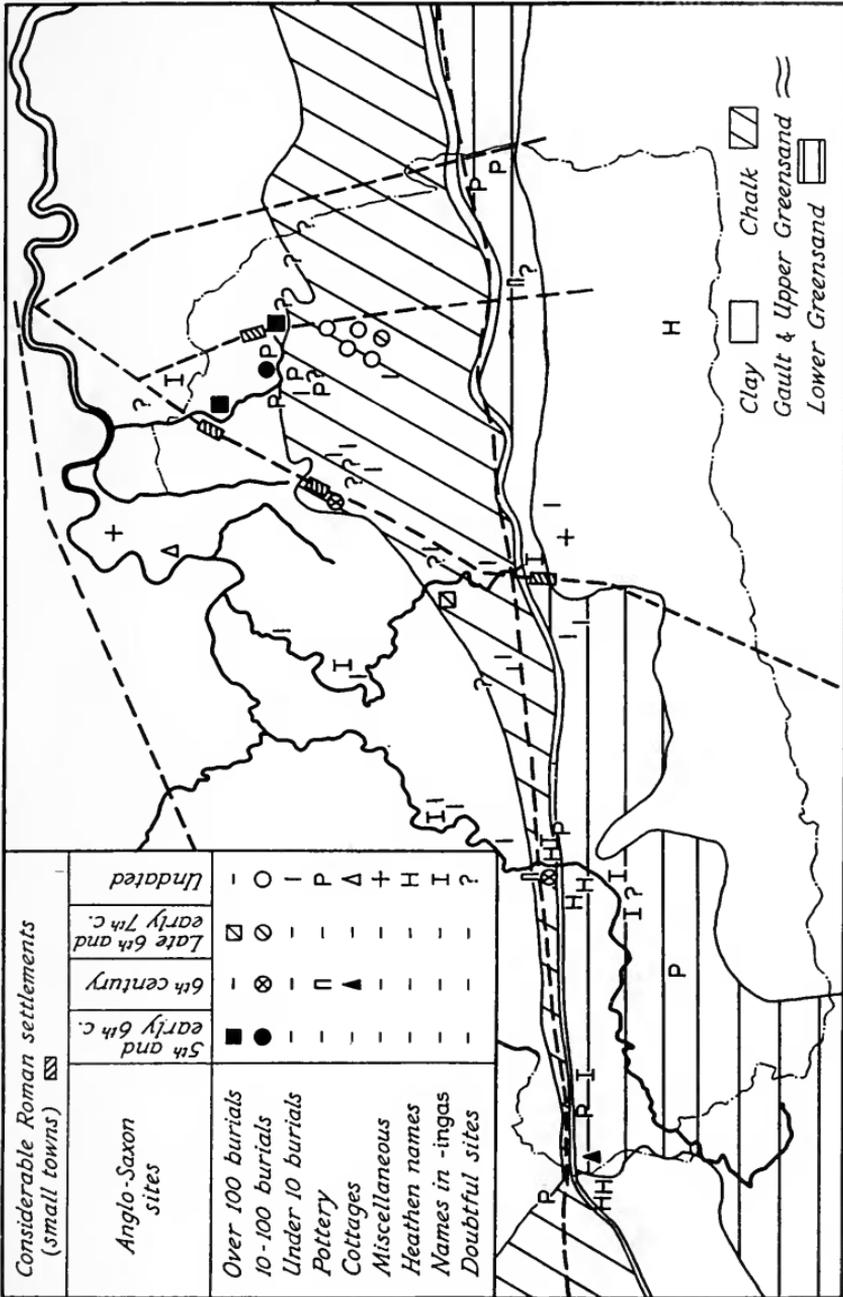


FIG. 1. PAGAN SAXON SURREY.

dune." In 571 they mastered Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and the middle Thames, and in 577 Gloucester, Bath and Cirencester. But in 591 Ceawlin was "driven out" and died in 593. A few years later Ethelbert was master of all England south of the Humber, and was converted to Christianity by St. Augustine.

The bald account in the written sources can only be filled out by inferences from archæology. Fortunately for us, the Anglo-Saxons buried a rich variety of grave-goods with their dead, and almost all that we know about the pagan Saxons before their conversion to Christianity comes from a study of these grave-goods.

The study of Anglo-Saxon grave-goods is not easy, but anyone who would make sense of Anglo-Saxon England or Surrey must be familiar with the rules of the game. Those scholars deserve sympathy who sometimes wonder if there is anything in it at all, if it is any more than a series of subjective guesses for specialists to quarrel about and wiser men to leave alone. There is just enough in it to make the study worthwhile. Two things must be done. A relative typology must be worked out, and it must be given fixed dates. The first is not so hard as the second. We may say that this is a copy of that, and demonstrate the connection in a way that any man with two eyes and common sense will accept. But no typology will ever tell us how long the evolution took, whether it developed evenly or unevenly, at different rates in different places, or whether A went on making his old-fashioned traditional brooches long after B had begun experimenting with his fancy derivative copies. Therefore the typology is without meaning, unless it is anchored by a certain number of fixed dates.

In Anglo-Saxon archæology there is a bare minimum of fixed points, just enough to outline the limits of typology. There are three main anchors; at the beginning, a number of cemeteries in north-eastern France contain a mixture of Roman and Teutonic objects, buried together in the same grave, often with dated coins, in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. At the end, from the mid-sixth century on the Rhine, and from about 600 in England, dated Byzantine and Frankish coins are found in graves. In between, the Anglo-Saxon settlement in England is itself a fixed point. The grave goods found in Saxon cemeteries in Germany evolve steadily from about A.D. 200 to about A.D. 500, and there they stop short.<sup>1</sup> Throughout this period there is a continuing and fairly even

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<sup>1</sup> Why the date 500 is commonly agreed, no one has clearly argued. But it makes sense. In England, France and the Rhineland, Frankish and Saxon objects begin to be found together in some numbers at about the stage when Saxon objects cease in Hannover. These objects are also found in the cemetery of Herpes in Aquitaine, which did not become Frankish till A.D. 507. In Frisia, Saxon objects cease at about the same stage as in Hannover, to be followed by a few late Frankish objects. The Frisian king seems to have been a subject ally of the Franks before A.D. 515; in or about that year Hygelac the Great raided King Theudebert's coast (Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, III, 3) and was killed. He was killed in Frisia fighting against Franks and Frisians (*Beowulf*, 1202 ff., cf. 2354 ff., 2501 ff., 2910 ff.). Theudebert subsequently

evolution of pots and brooches, and there are very many of them. Thereafter the great numbers of cremations cease, and only a few inhumations in a few cemeteries continue. For the last two or three generations of this evolution, during the fifth century, the pots and brooches are matched piece for piece in Germany and in England, and in Scandinavia. In eastern England and on the middle Thames, numerous Saxon objects appear all at once in many cemeteries, at the same stage in their evolution, roughly early fifth century. It is to be assumed that these are the burial grounds of the settlements of the second quarter of the century, of which Gildas, Nennius, Bede, etc., speak. The date of this settlement in England controls and corrects dates calculated in Germany, on the basis of long typological evolution; it is not itself determined by that typology. In the sixth century, the same pots and brooches continue to evolve in England and the brooches in Scandinavia. But these later developments are not found at all in Germany, and the English and Scandinavian brooches evolve on diverging lines, growing more and more different from each other. At the same time, the English cemeteries begin to contain Frankish material, paralleled in cemeteries in south-western France, in regions the Franks did not conquer till A.D. 507. The date "A.D. 500 or a little before" is therefore a watershed. Most of the objects common to England and the main German cemeteries are fifth-century: most of those not found in Germany are sixth-century or later.

This is the framework of the dating. Upon it has grown a very complicated and forbidding body of knowledge, built upon the principle of association: object A was found with B, B with C, C with D, and D is typologically earlier than E which is dated by coins and the like. Though modern scholars sometimes forget the framework, and are content to talk pure typology, or to rely too trustfully on the opinions of their colleagues, all that is known or inferred of the dating of Anglo-Saxon objects rests on these few fixed dates. Perhaps the most important single element in the typology derived from it is the history of the motives known as "animal ornament," for whose evolution Mitcham offers a representative selection of objects. Animal ornament begins with the more or less naturalistic representation of animals in late Roman art; the Roman buckle from grave 38 is made up of two fishes, whole and entire, with tails, and no argument about what they are. The barbaric imitations lead to making a pattern of separate limbs of animals, in which the theme of a dog chasing a hare is most popular; the outer border of the head-plate of the brooch of Fig. 8c is a good example. These Scandinavian brooches are generally regarded as

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boasted to Justinian that he ruled all the peoples from the Danube to the "shores of Ocean" (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXI, 1165A). Since burials peter out at the same typological stage in Hannover and Frisia, the date is presumably much the same. The date of "about 500" seems valid, though with an ample margin of approximation. Some scholars, including the late E. T. Leeds (*e.g. Arch.*, XCI, 6) incline to a date a little before rather than after 500.

mid or late fifth-century, on quite good evidence. This stage, where the individual animal limbs are quite clearly to be distinguished, is still there in the cast saucer brooch of grave 208, where, however, abstract patterns already dominate recognizable limbs. The date of its origin abroad is a matter of dispute; but in England the date is quite clear; such ornament is not normally found during the overlap period, when German and English grave goods are identical, in the fifth century; it is found with the earliest Frankish objects of the early sixth century. In a third stage, recognizable limbs almost disappear, and the broken-down shapes of Mitcham 208 become patterns in their own right, with an emphasis on lines that cross under and over each other, and on a pattern that recalls the human eye. This stage is very well instanced by the great square-headed brooch of grave 205. In a fourth stage, the eye pattern is forgotten, and the crossed lines are tidied up to a regular interlacing that suggests the coils of a snake. This stage is contemporary with coins of the very late sixth and early seventh century. Much more can of course be said of animal ornament; but it is valid for England only if it takes meticulous account of the evidence of deposits in England.

There is a good deal in the Surrey cemeteries that can be dated by these criteria. There are only three cemeteries so far known which have contained objects of the fifth century; the Croydon "sporrán" disc and tab are quite rare objects, dated by association in France and England to the very beginning of the century. The Croydon pendant object and the buckle of Mitcham 38 are almost as early. At least one urn and some other objects from Croydon, and the five-scroll saucer brooches of Mitcham 66 and Beddington are of the fifth century. While any or all of these objects might in theory have been generations old when buried, or archaic survivals made by an old-fashioned craftsman, it would be irresponsible speculation to suggest that they are in Surrey out of their normal and proper context. Croydon and Mitcham have several grave-goods as early as the earliest Saxon settlers. The probability is that they, and perhaps Beddington, were settled when the British first invited Saxons to help them against their enemies, in or before the middle of the fifth century.

These three cemeteries of the Wandle were placed on the nearest inhabited land to London. It was not the easiest agricultural land, and the chalk downs show no sign of settlement before the sixth century. The motive which inspired the exact place of the early settlement must remain a matter of guesswork. But the strategic effect of the settlements needs no argument. Placed on the Wandle between Merton and Croydon, these garrisons blocked all access to London from the south. They covered the London-Chichester and London-Brighton roads at the two Roman roadside villages nearest to London. Moreover, they centred round a remarkable concentrated group of Iron Age fortified sites, whose ramparts were certainly still standing, and serviceable, all probably reoccupied in late

Roman times, and all of which show some slight trace of Saxon use. The position enabled the Saxons to defend London from the south; all the authorities that we have aver that the original settlers were invited by the Romano-British authorities and settled where those authorities chose to establish them. It is therefore not surprising that the earliest settlements are found in places advantageous to the defence of Roman Britain, rather than on the easiest agricultural land.

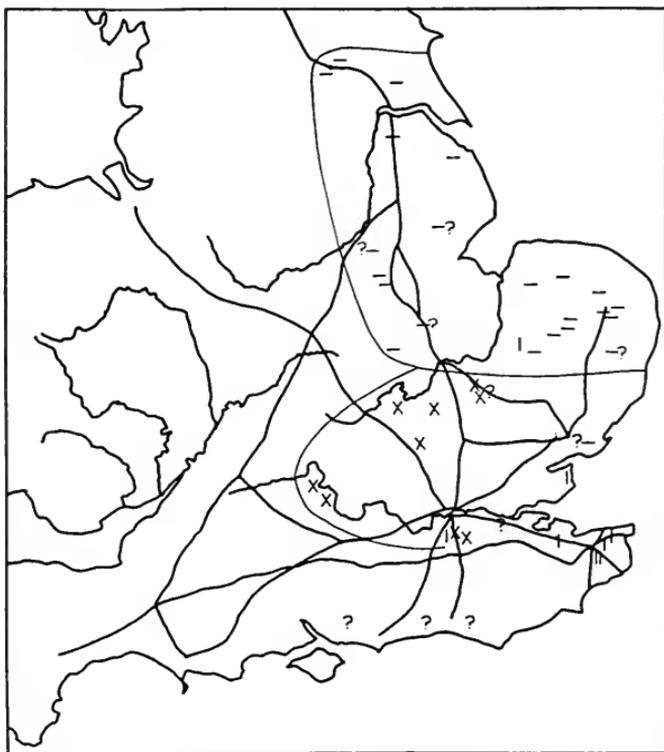


FIG. 2. CEMETERIES OF THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

Cremation	—
Inhumation	
Mixed	x

Fig. 2 shows these Surrey cemeteries in the context of fifth-century England. The map distinguishes those cemeteries in which the earliest objects of the fifth-century migration, or overlap, period have been discovered, principally pedestalled buckelurns and a few other types of vessel (which many German scholars would be happy to regard as fourth century), cruciform brooches<sup>1</sup> of Aberg's Group

<sup>1</sup> See footnote on p. 154.

1a, and a few other of the earliest brooches and other objects (equal-armed brooches series 2 (but not 7), sporrán discs, etc.).

It is as near as we can get to a map of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements. The map shows striking contrasts between the modes of burial in different parts of the country. All along the east-coast counties, from East Anglia to Yorkshire, all the earliest cemeteries use cremation only. They retain the custom of cremation into the seventh century, apart from a few very late inhumations without grave goods added at the close of the cemetery's life at Caistor-by-Norwich and occasionally elsewhere. Along the Icknield Way and for twenty miles or so north of it, from Cambridge to the Oxford region, cremations and inhumations of the earliest period were made side by side in the same cemeteries of mixed burial custom. In Kent and in Sussex, and later in Hampshire, there is no cremation apart from two exceptional sites of uncertain date, Northfleet in Kent and Hassocks in Sussex, and a few burials beside the great inhumation-cemetery at Highdown, Sussex. Inhumation is otherwise universal. These three sharply differentiated areas are those which Bede and the continuing county names assign to the Angles, Saxons and Jutes; but the pattern is not so simple as that; for, though continental Anglian urns are virtually limited to Anglian England, the Anglian or Anglo-Frisian cruciform brooch and Saxon saucer brooch mingle in the fifth century in the area of mixed cemeteries, and typically continental Saxon urns are common in the Anglian regions. Though there is a mainly Saxon and a mainly Anglian area, the two are not rigidly exclusive. These three groups have effective contacts only at two points; a few miles north-east of Cambridge lies the frontier between East Anglian cremation and the mixed cemeteries of the interior; and in Surrey, Croydon and Beddington are mixed cemeteries, while at Mitcham there were no cremations among more than 200 interments. From the beginning, Surrey was a meeting point of two major groupings within the Anglo-Saxons.

During the fifth century, new sites spread to parts of the midlands, notably beside the Fosse Way between Lincoln and the Watling Street. The earliest dateable objects in Sussex are the five-scroll saucer brooches; they are certainly fifth-century, but may or may not be as early as the first settlements. Since the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

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<sup>1</sup> The cruciform brooches, characteristic of the Anglian regions, form the spinal column of Anglo-Saxon typology. Thirty years ago, Nils Åberg (*The Anglo-Saxons in England*, Cambridge and Uppsala, 1926, pp. 28-56), classified them in five chronological and typological groups, and thirty years' further work has amply confirmed the outline of his classification by newly discovered associations. The series begins from the brooches dated at Vermand and Dorchester to the very early fifth century, and groups I and II are equally prolific in Germany and England; groups III and IV are not found in Germany at all, and group V just reaches into the age of late sixth-century coins. There are no cruciforms south of the Thames, except for a few early ones in Kent, but the ornament of Mitcham 210 is like enough to some cruciforms of the turn of groups IV-V to suggest that its maker had seen them.

and the British historian preserved by Nennius agree to date the settlement of Sussex a generation later than the main settlements, it would be unwise to contradict them on so doubtful evidence; certainly none of the undoubtedly earliest objects signalled on Fig. 2 have yet been found in Sussex. In most of the older areas, the number of cemeteries in use increases; or, more accurately, there are a number of fifth-century cemeteries which have not shown evidence of the earliest period. But there are no new sites in Surrey. The three small poor settlements on the Wandle are all that are known for the period of the British-Saxon wars of the fifth century.

In the early sixth century there is even less evidence of territorial expansion, except in west Wessex, and that may well not be earlier than about 530–550. In a few parts of the midlands, notably at Kempston, in Bedfordshire, the dated grave-goods of the period, common elsewhere, are altogether unrecorded, though of course undated brooches, especially "small-longs", may be early sixth century; but in most of the older settled areas, the number of burials and the number of cemeteries increases. There are unmistakable signs of new influences, the Frankish jewellery in Kent and the coming of the Gippingas bringing the great square-headed brooch with strong Scandinavian associations to Ipswich; and there is clear evidence, documentary and archaeological, of a reverse migration of Anglo-Saxons to Europe. English Saxons were held in the ninth century to have played a considerable part in the growth of modern, inland, Saxony; they received land in modern Belgium as mercenary allies of the Frankish kings, and they fought wars upon the Rhine. There is plenty of Saxon pottery in a great Frankish cemetery at Anderlecht (Brussels) and plenty of Kentish jewellery at Herpes in south-western France; in north-eastern France, there is a scatter of purely Saxon place-names, with a number of cruciform brooches of the first half of the sixth century (Åberg's groups III and IV) to accompany them, but none earlier or later. It would appear that the effect of the British victory was to contain the Anglo-Saxon settlers within their previous limits, if not to reduce those limits, and to coerce their increasing population either to emigrate overseas or to expand within existing territories. Surrey shares in that expansion. The Wandle cemeteries are reinforced by Ewell, the next substantial Roman site down the Stane Street, and Guildown, where the ridge of the North Downs is cut through by the passage of the river Wey.

It is in this period that the Wandle Saxons lived most to themselves. They may have made their own brooches, and made them well, trading them up and down Stane Street, and setting new fashions which the men of Wessex copied to advantage in the next generation, when Surrey made no more brooches. They gave something to Wessex, but received nothing, and they had nothing to do with the fashions of Kent or of the Anglian areas. Their influence did however reach eastward as far as the valley of the Darenth and the flats beyond Gravesend, and, at least in this period, the effective frontier

with Kent probably lay between the Darent and the Medway.<sup>1</sup> The effective centre of this community, covering rather more than the modern county, clearly lay at Mitcham or Croydon, or between them, in the area of original settlement.

In the second half of the century came the second rising and the final victory of the Anglo-Saxons. Again, the emphasis lies on the Saxon and not on the Kentish connections. There are a few brooches, weapons, and buckles that are Kentish, or imitate the fashions of Kent. But they are few and poor, and of the kind that spreads widely over southern England; it is quite safe to assert that the proportion of Kentish grave-goods is no more than in Cambridgeshire or Bedfordshire, less than in Berkshire, and very much less than in Hampshire or Sussex. Within Surrey, Guildown on the Ridge Way has more share in Kentish wealth than the Wandle. This heavy bias in the grave-goods underlies the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's note of the battle of *Wibbandune* in 568. Where the place is, we do not know; Wimbledon is a somewhat similar name, but no more; it is better to leave the name as that of a place unidentified. But wherever it was, Surrey was before the battle, and had long been, a part of the culture of Wessex; when the young king Ethelbert emerged from Kent, whither Ceawlin "drove him back," it can only have been Surrey that he entered. If the battle was not fought in Surrey, it was certainly fought for the possession of Surrey; its result was to bring Surrey within the orbit of Wessex for another 25 years, though the Wandle was perhaps no longer its natural centre. On Ceawlin's fall, in 591 or so, Surrey cannot but have come under the control of Ethelbert, who commanded the obedience of all England south of the Humber. But it was too late to affect the character of the cemeteries; the custom of interring grave-goods had already ceased.<sup>2</sup>

During Ceawlin's time, the number of Surrey settlements increased. By the middle of the century the village of Farnham was in being; and new sites of considerable size at Farthingdown, perhaps also at Sanderstead south of Croydon, and at Fetcham by Leatherhead have grave-goods of the second half of the sixth century, but not earlier. Many of the miscellaneous undated sites must have come

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<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely correct, in a period of such relatively sparse habitation, to speak of frontiers as lying "on" rivers. Normally rivers united rather than sundered the people who lived on opposite banks. What separated them was the empty country between the rivers. The Medway is so large a river that it may have been exceptional.

<sup>2</sup> The disappearance of grave-goods has no rigid and automatic connection with the coming of Christianity, though it happened at roughly the same time. In Kent, grave-goods certainly continued to be interred half a century after the conversion; on the Rhine they were buried in a churchyard beneath a Christian inscribed head-stone (cf. p. 107 above, note 3). At the other extreme, grave-goods ceased to be interred in the cemeteries of Mercia half a century before Christianity was first preached there, though in Mercia as elsewhere kings and chiefs were commonly richly buried in isolated barrows throughout the first half of the seventh century. The social structure and the beliefs of society were changing.

into existence by this time, but almost all of them are, as far as our record goes, small individual burials, not the grave-yards of considerable communities. Other evidence besides archæology points to the existence of communities whose burial grounds have not been discovered. It has long been thought that place-names terminating in *-ingas* probably belong to the pagan period, for they are normally prefixed by a personal name; Tootingas are the "men of Tuda." Such names are most likely to arise in the days of easy settlement and mobility. There is however nothing in the name-form to suggest whether such names came into being in the fifth century, in the sixth, or in the early seventh; a number of them were already in being in the seventh century, when Bede relates incidents that happened at them, and kings begin to name them in charters. In Surrey, they are not found in the areas of earliest settlement, but around its edges; the nearest is Tooting, a few miles north of Mitcham; elsewhere is Dorking, the third major Roman site along Stane Street, the Getingas of Esher and a few more at either end of the Hog's Back in the extreme south-west of the county. The same relationship between names in *-ingas* and pagan cemeteries has been noted in other counties; in Surrey, as elsewhere, they are better connected with the sixth century, perhaps even the middle or late sixth-century expansion, than with the initial fifth-century settlements.

The surviving pagan place-names are similarly located; five of the six lie at the two ends of the Hog's Back, close to sixth-century settlements and to place names in *-ingas*; the sixth, Thundersfield Castle, is stuck way out in the wealden clay, far south of the Downs and of any other trace of pagan Saxon life. If it is a really ancient name, it has nothing to do with the main community of the *Suthrige*.

This name, the "southern district," was perhaps already in existence. It implies that the territory belongs to some unit located to the north. Nothing is known of the fate of London until after Ethelbert's conquests, when he and his son-in-law, the king of Essex, controlled the city. It was then English and pagan. Its sixth-century history is surmise, and can really only be judged in the light of Saxon Surrey. If Mitcham, Beddington, Croydon, Ewell and Guildwood were able to trade or intermarry with the people of Luton, Cambridge and the Oxford region, and perhaps belonged to the same political unit, then it is extremely probable that their contacts crossed by London bridge, and that London fell within the same unit, until Ethelbert's victory transferred its control to Kent and Essex.

Beyond A.D. 600, the Anglo-Saxon burials have nothing to say of the history of Surrey. The latest objects are a glass vessel from Mitcham, perhaps the cist-burials, if they are genuine, and a few miscellaneous ornaments of uncertain late date from Farthingdown and Fetcham. Some of them might have been buried just after the beginning of the seventh century; but none of them need have been, as far as our present knowledge goes. The small communities of early Surrey remained as they had begun, small groups of heavily-

armed poor farmers, limited to the banks of the rivers and the chalk downs, tending to concentrate along the lines of the major Roman roads (including the Ridge Way), especially preferring the same sites as their Roman predecessors, located where the roads crossed the rivers. What mattered for the future was that London had again become an inhabited town of great moment; and Surrey, the nearest workable agricultural land to the city, again became a suburb, its history wholly dependent on London's.