

# The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent: a Reconsideration

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SINCE its excavation in 1929, the small cemetery at Finglesham, or, more properly, West Street, near Eastry, Kent, has been the subject of much discussion in both English and continental literature on the migration-period. In it were three important graves, one of which, the famous grave D3, contained perhaps the most interesting and controversial group of objects ever to be found in a burial of the early pagan Saxon period. The importance of this grave-group was quickly recognized by the late E. T. Leeds and its contents first illustrated in 1936.<sup>1</sup> Since that date, his photographs have been reproduced frequently and the jewellery has been discussed so often that it might be thought that nothing new remains to be said about it. The truth is, however, that Leeds was almost the only scholar ever to set eyes on the originals, and consequently every subsequent estimate of the material has depended on his illustrations. Both these and the preliminary publication of the cemetery<sup>2</sup> itself leave much to be desired in the light of present-day standards of research in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. In addition to this, some of the less spectacular material, and even some of the jewellery, has never been published at all.

When, therefore, an opportunity of working on the material presented itself during the reorganization of the Ministry of Works' museum at Ospringe, Kent, in which, after the excavation, the majority of the ironwork and some of the bronzes had been deposited, I accepted it gladly. Fortunately the objects had lain untouched in their original wrappings with the original labels intact, and it has been possible to allocate most of them to their original graves. The best of the jewellery, pottery and glass passed into private possession, but here again, thanks to the early notice of the site by Leeds and to the care of Lord and Lady Northbourne in keeping the excavators' labels on the individual pieces, the grave-groups can be reconstructed with complete certainty. The only doubt concerns a few knives, miscellaneous fragments and a buckle, which may have come from graves excavated after the completion of the report in 1929, and about which there is no definite information.

In republishing the cemetery every available means has been used to extract as much information from the material as is possible at this late stage. Much valuable information has inevitably been lost, however, owing to the scanty

<sup>1</sup> Leeds (1936), pl. xiv. For a list of works thus cited by author's name and date of publication see Bibliography, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> W. P. D. Stebbing, 'The Jutish cemetery near Finglesham, Kent,' *Archaeol. Cantiana*, xli (1929), 115 ff.

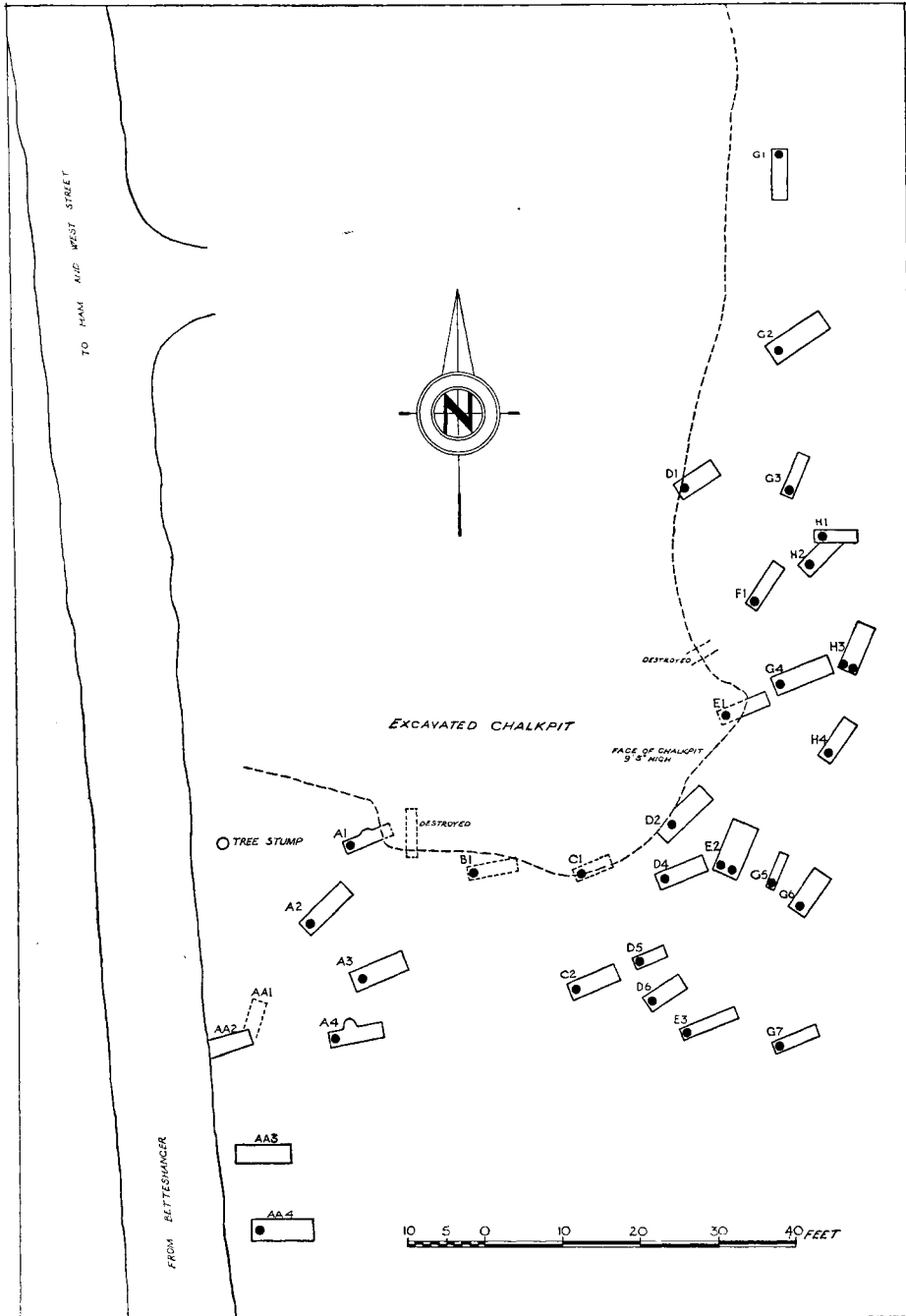


FIG. I  
 PLAN OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT FINGLESHAM, KENT  
 The double grave D2/3 is here numbered D2.

*Based on original plan by W. P. D. Stebbing.*

nature of the records of the original excavation. The positions of the objects in many of the graves were never noted, and the skeletal remains were inadequately documented. Yet, to some extent, by treating the cemetery as a kind of jigsaw puzzle, it has been possible to supplement this aspect of the original report, and the existence of some photographs has made the task easier. Despite deficiencies of this type, and despite the deterioration of much of the material since it was taken from the ground, it became evident from the beginning that the task of re-examination would be productive. Technical study, radiography, and even simple cleaning gave new information about the various objects.

The intention throughout has primarily been to provide good photographs, drawings and descriptions of the whole of the material, together with sufficient discussion to place the cemetery in its broader context. It is hoped, therefore, that this account will be considered as a test-case that will justify the republication of other cemeteries of the period, and show that there is still much new information to be gained from such a process.

### THE SITE

The Finglesham cemetery is situated on the east side of the road from Betteshanger to Ham and West Street, one mile south-east of Eastry and three miles north-west of Deal.<sup>3</sup> The graves lay around the southerly edges of a small chalk-pit (FIG. 1), just above the 100-ft. contour on an open chalk down that is now under plough. This upland forms part of the ridge of high ground, the extreme easterly verge of the North Downs, that extends from the coast south of Deal in a north-westerly direction towards Canterbury. Behind the cemetery the ground rises steadily for some five miles as far as Lydden; in front of the cemetery the land slopes gently down to the marshes in the southerly part of what was once the bay of Sandwich and, before that, the easterly entrance of the Wantsum channel (FIGS. 2 and 3). Today, at this point, two miles of low-lying ground intersected by drainage channels lie between the sea and the high ground.

The geological formation of this coast-line has been discussed many times, with particular reference to the post-Roman silting of the Wantsum channel that once divided Thanet from the mainland of Kent, and of the Roman harbour at Richborough.<sup>4</sup> Briefly, the two main factors governing this process have been the northward drift of eroded material, in the form of shingle and sand from the cliffs of the South Foreland, across the entrances of the natural harbours and inlets of the old coast-line, and the resultant formation of lagoons. Into these the tides and the rivers from the interior carried and deposited silt, until the alluvial mud thus created reached the level of the water itself, so that the lagoons became mud-flats, exposed at low tide, through which the rivers cut winding channels to the sea. The main difficulty is to determine the date by which any given stage of

<sup>3</sup> Ordnance Survey 1-in. sheet 173 (E. Kent), 3256/5343; 6-in. sheet XLVIII/SW., lat. 51° 14', long. 1° 20'.

<sup>4</sup> White, 'Geology of the country near Ramsgate and Dover,' *Mem. Geol. Survey* (1928), p. 20; G. P. Walker, 'The lost Wantsum Channel,' *Archaeol. Cantiana*, xxxix (1927), 91 ff.; F. W. Hardman and W. P. D. Stebbing, 'Stonar and the Wantsum Channel,' *ibid.*, LIII (1940), 62 ff.; J. A. Williamson, 'The Cinque Ports,' *History*, xi (1926), 113 ff.; J. A. Steers, *The Coastline of England and Wales* (1946), pp. 337 ff.

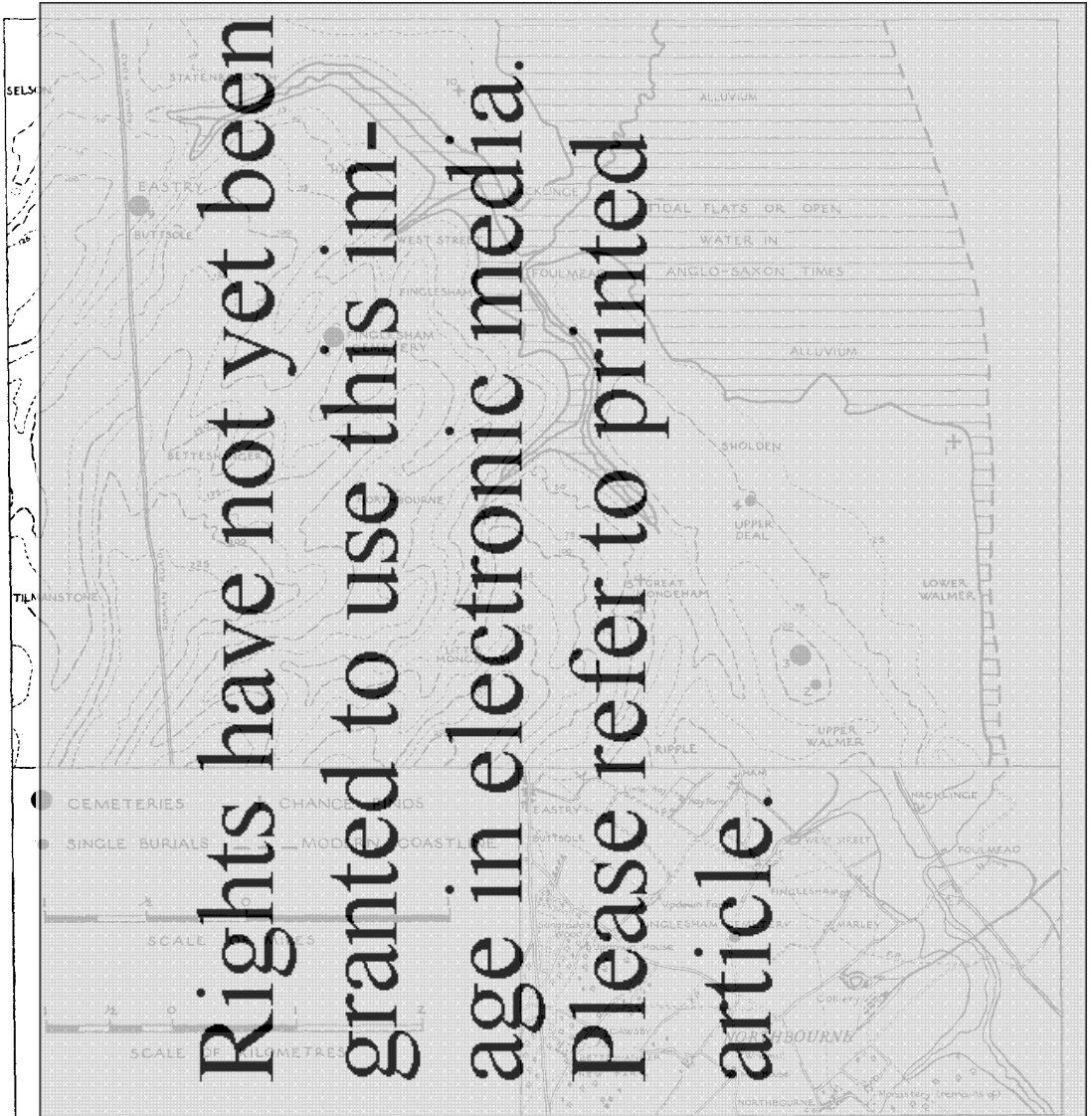


FIG. 2

THE FINGLESHAM DISTRICT (NE. KENT) IN ANGLO-SAXON AND MODERN TIMES

For key to sites, see Appendix II, pp. 63 ff.

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this process was reached. We know that the reclamation or 'inning' of the marshes was under way by the early middle ages<sup>5</sup> and that in the middle of the seventeenth century part of the reclaimed area, the sea valley of Deal, was beginning to be

<sup>5</sup> Williamson, *op. cit.* in note 4.

inhabited.<sup>6</sup> At the other end of the process, we know that Richborough harbour remained in use throughout Roman times,<sup>7</sup> but at the end of this period it must already have begun to be affected by the choking silt, since, by the seventh century, Sandwich was already becoming important as a port.<sup>8</sup> The Wantsum channel itself was open for ships until the eleventh century or a little later, but the channel was gradually choking before that period.<sup>9</sup> The general opinion appears to be that by Saxon times the main shift of the shingle from Deal northwards had begun.<sup>10</sup> At all events, it is certain that the area just to the north of Deal was among the first to be affected by the drift.

Some discussion of these problems is of primary importance for the understanding of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement of east Kent and in particular of that of the Finglesham area. To clarify the situation, the areas of alluvial silt have been shaded on the maps (FIGS. 2 and 3) to differentiate them from the older shore-line of chalk, Thanet sand, or brickearth. The purpose in this has not been to attempt to show the actual Saxon shore-line, but merely to indicate the area that is likely to have been water or mud-flats in early Anglo-Saxon times. Against this background the early settlements assume a more coherent pattern than is apparent from a glance at the present-day map of Kent. The position of the Finglesham cemetery at once takes on a new significance.

Half a mile from the cemetery and below it at the foot of the down is the small modern village of West Street, beneath the houses of which should be the settlement of the people buried at Finglesham. Originally, as the map indicates, this settlement was situated at the head of a small creek leading off a larger inlet, the seaward entrance to which lay between Hacklinge and Foulmead. The area of the inlet and creeks was quite extensive. It branched north-west to Eastry and south-west to Great Mongeham and Northbourne, and its course is still marked by low-lying, slightly marshy, ground through which a number of small streams from the upland flow out together from Foulmead across the marshes to the Great Stour at Sandwich. The cemetery at Eastry and the objects found at Great Mongeham<sup>11</sup> suggest that each arm of the inlet had its early Anglo-Saxon settlement, and their position gives useful information about the condition of the coast in the fifth and sixth centuries. Clearly the silting had not advanced far enough to cut off the tidal flow in the inlet and this in its turn indicates that there still was water in the outer lagoon, at least at high tide. The inlet was, in fact, a perfect natural haven, protected by ridges of high ground on the seaward side and by the down behind. From it, one may suppose, there was access by sea both to the other settlements of the Wantsum channel and the two branches of the River Stour. Even if mud flats had already formed at this time, there is no reason

<sup>6</sup> Hardman, 'The Sea Valley of Deal,' *Archaeol. Cantiana*, L (1938), 50 ff.; Stebbing, *The Invader's Shore* (1937).

<sup>7</sup> J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, I (Research Rept. Soc. Antiq., VI, 1926), 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> Williamson, *op. cit.* in note 4; Hardman and Stebbing, *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LIV (1941), 42.

<sup>9</sup> Hardman and Stebbing, *ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.; Williamson, *op. cit.* in note 4; Walker, *op. cit.* in note 4, pp. 106-7.

<sup>10</sup> Walker, *ibid.*, pp. 102-5; Steers, *op. cit.* in note 4, p. 337.

<sup>11</sup> See table of sites, Appendix II, p. 64. nos. 5, 6, 9.

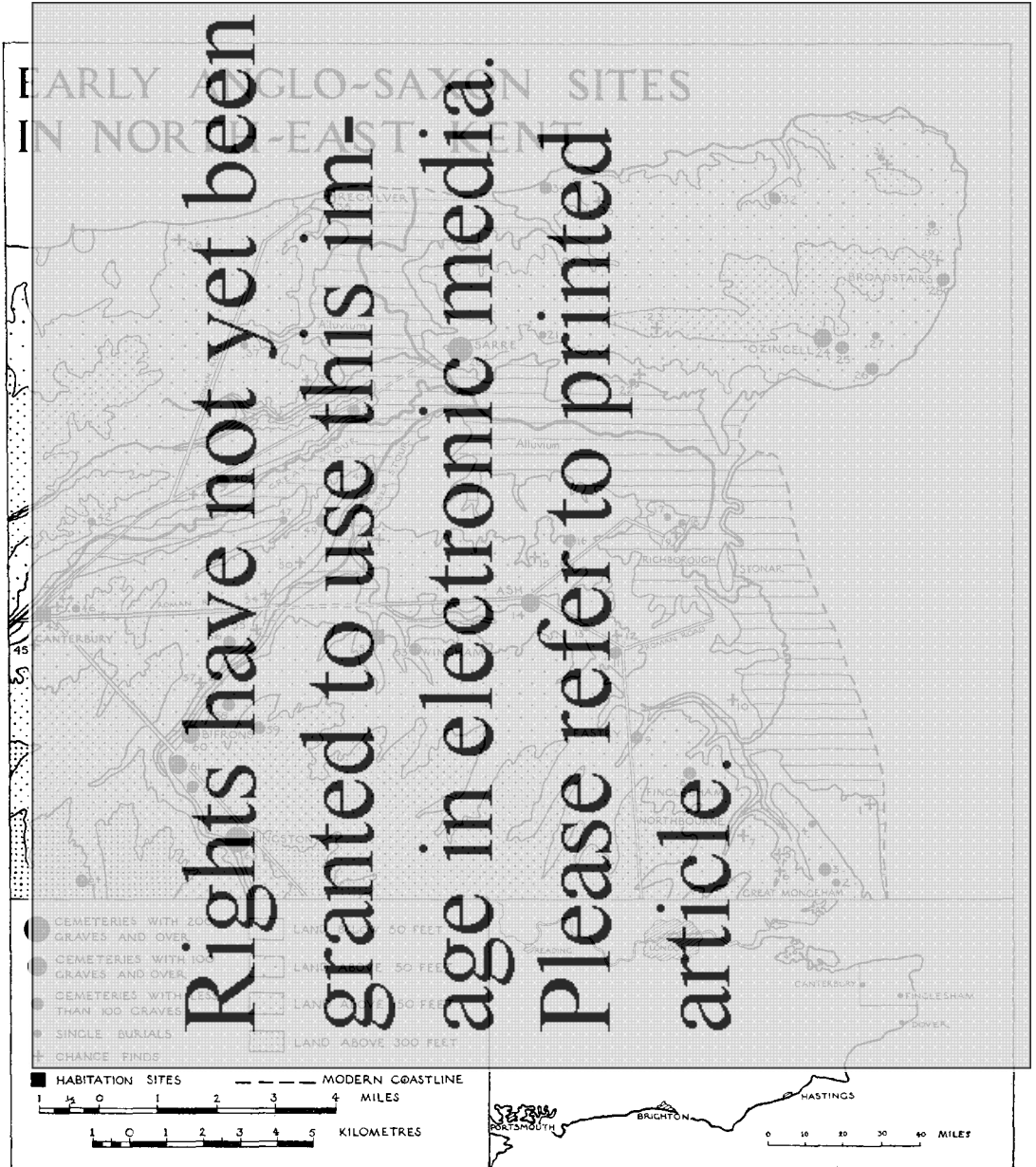


FIG. 3

EARLY ANGLO-SAXON SITES ON THE ISLE OF THANET, IN THE RICHBOROUGH HAVEN, AND IN THE VALLEYS OF THE GREAT AND LESSER STOUR

For key to sites, see Appendix II, pp. 63 ff.

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to suppose they had reached anything approaching the two-mile breadth of the modern marshes.<sup>12</sup>

The settlement at West Street, then, was well placed with regard to communications by sea, and by land it was only a matter of a mile from the Finglesham cemetery to the Roman road that leads south to Dover or north to Eastry and the Anglo-Saxon settlements at Gilton, Wingham, Howletts and Canterbury. The Finglesham/West Street people formed one of the most southerly of the Richborough Haven group of settlements, and were geographically within easy reach of the main areas of Germanic settlement in Kent. They were also close to the main trade routes from the continent.

### THE EXCAVATION

The discovery of the site in 1928 was due to the interest of the late Mr. P. W. Steed, who farmed the land on which the cemetery was situated. His attention was drawn to the chalk-pit by an observation of one of his labourers. The pit had been worked spasmodically over a period of years and it transpired that bones had several times been noticed, but, as no grave was ever completely exposed at one time, no great attention had been paid to them. It is thus fairly certain that a part of the cemetery had already been destroyed before the excavation began. In the autumn of 1928 large quantities of chalk were being removed from the pit, and to prevent any further destruction Mr. Steed asked for an official investigation to be made. A grave was opened in the presence of the late Reginald Smith of the British Museum. This was the interment later numbered E 1 and the pottery bottle (FIG. 4, c) discovered with it put the nature of the burial-ground beyond doubt.

The Kent Archaeological Society raised the funds necessary for excavation and the investigation of the cemetery proceeded under the direction of Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing of Deal. Between October and Christmas, 1928, twenty-three graves appear to have been opened up and by June the number had been brought to twenty-eight. These are the graves which appear in the preliminary report.<sup>13</sup> After this date a few more burials were located of which there is no record, but which included those in the AA series. In 1937, Mr. Stebbing wrote that thirty-eight graves had been excavated.<sup>14</sup> Only thirty-two of them (or thirty-four with the two destroyed graves) have been accounted for here.

### THE GRAVES

On the site of the cemetery (PL. I, A) the chalk is overlaid by a few inches of weathered chalk-rubble and about seven inches of plough-soil. The depths of the

<sup>12</sup> The post-Roman land sinkage may to some extent have counteracted the accumulation of silt. Excavations at Canterbury have shown that the level of the River Stour has risen at least 10 or 12 feet since Roman times (F. L. Jenkins, *Archaeological News Letter*, April 1951, p. 166, and June 1954, pp. 34-5; *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXIV (1951), 68, figs. 4-5). Similar evidence of land submergence has been obtained from the north Kent marshes (J. H. Evans, *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXVI (1953), 103 ff.). This subsidence, with the accompanying rise in the water level seems to have been general in south-east England, and may for a time have slowed up the process of marsh formation along the Kent coast during the Anglo-Saxon period.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 2.

<sup>14</sup> Stebbing, *op. cit.* in note 6, p. 24.

graves were measured from the top of the solid chalk. The chalk surface here is good, but is in places pitted with pipes and hollows filled with red clay and flints—areas which the grave-diggers appear to have deliberately avoided. As the chalk-pit was cut back the graves appeared in its face as rectangular outlines filled with hard-packed rubble. The graves were observed to have slightly rounded angles and the head end was frequently higher than the rest of the grave floor. This may have been a means of raising the head of the corpse, used as an alternative to the 'chalk-pillows' found at Lyminge<sup>15</sup> and elsewhere. The dimensions of

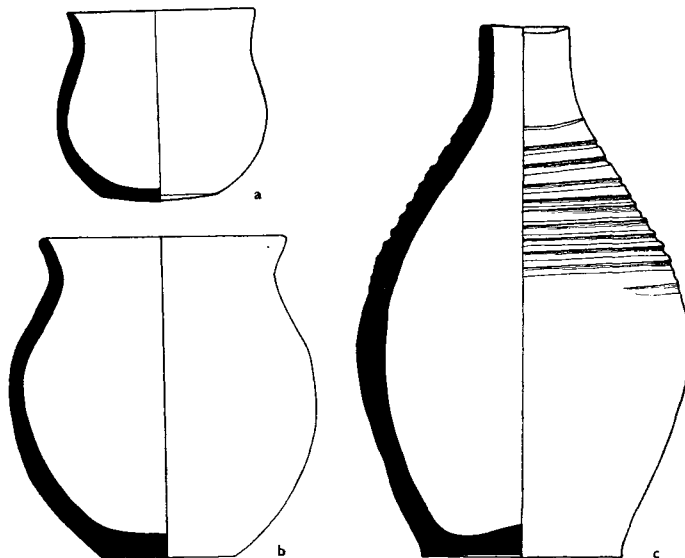


FIG. 4

## POTTERY FROM THE FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a*, grave A 1 (pp. 10, 38); *b*, grave C 1 (pp. 10, 38); *c*, grave E 1 (pp. 7, 18, 38)  
Sc.  $\frac{1}{2}$

the graves varied considerably, and the large size of graves D<sub>3</sub>, E<sub>2</sub> and G<sub>2</sub> may be a secondary indication of the rank of their occupants. Mr. Stebbing suggested that A<sub>3</sub>, the only large grave which had few grave-goods, had been robbed in antiquity but, in default of detailed record, this must be considered doubtful.<sup>16</sup>

The graves do not appear to have been laid out according to any plan, but only once was a later grave cut through another (H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>); unfortunately neither had datable grave-goods. The orientation varied but was predominantly with head to west-south-west; only one burial being orientated with head to the north. Among the twenty-eight recorded graves two (D<sub>6</sub> and G<sub>5</sub>) appear never to have been completed. Two graves contained double burials: H<sub>3</sub> a man and a woman, and E<sub>2</sub> a woman and child. D<sub>2</sub> appears to have been a re-cutting of D<sub>3</sub> to allow for the burial of a child in its mother's grave. No mention was made of

<sup>15</sup> Warhurst (1955), p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Careful excavation detected robbed graves in the Lyminge cemetery.



coffins in the original report, but two sets of angle-irons were found among the cemetery material, which probably belonged to graves D<sub>3</sub> and G<sub>2</sub>.

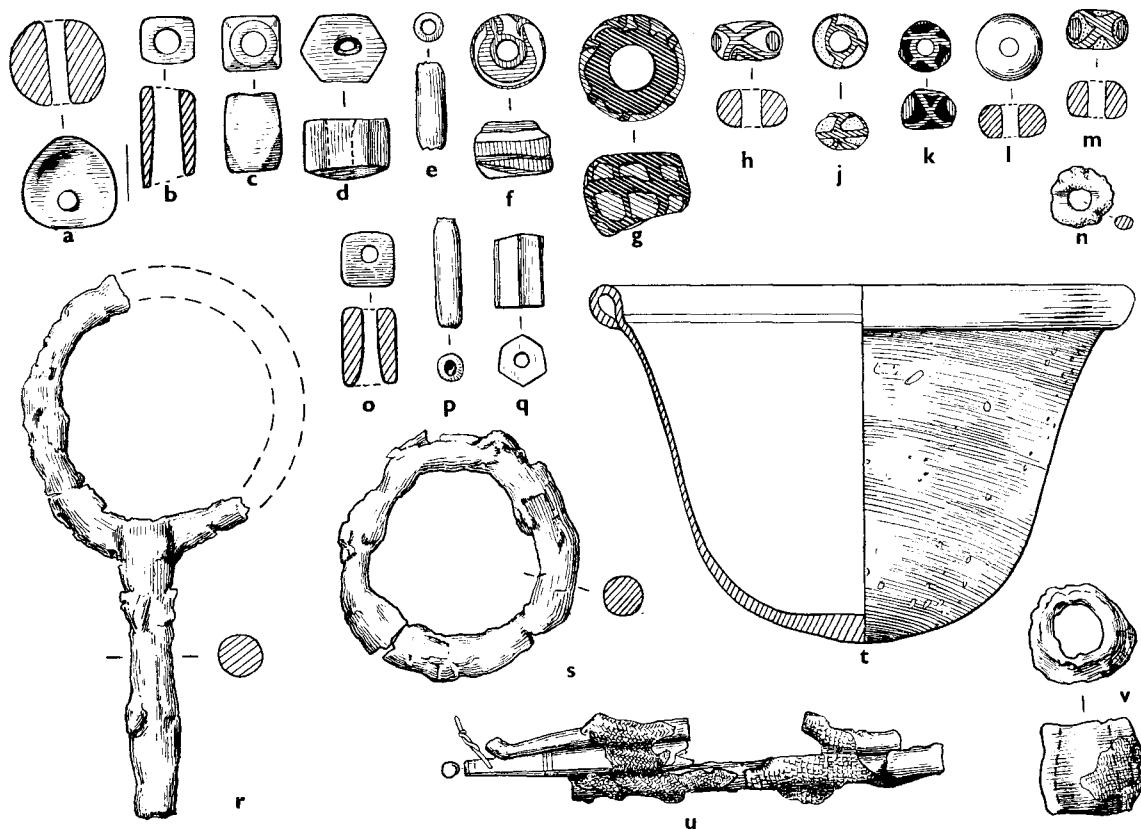


FIG. 5

GLASS CUP, BEADS AND OTHER OBJECTS FROM THE FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a-m, o.* Beads, grave D 3 (p. 12); *p.* Bead, grave A 3 (p. 10); *q.* Bead, grave G 1 (p. 21); *n.* Iron ring, unassociated find, no. 2 (p. 27); *r.* Iron key, grave D 3 (p. 17); *s.* Iron ring, grave C 2 (p. 10); *v.* Iron ferrule, grave H 1 (p. 25); *t.* Glass palm-cup, grave AA 4 (pp. 27, 37); *u.* Needle-case and keys, grave D 3 (pp. 17, 35 f.)

Sc.: *a-m, o-r,*  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *n, s-v,*  $\frac{1}{2}$

GRAVE INVENTORY

The following inventory is largely based on the preliminary report of 1929, supplemented by a few manuscript notes and original excavation photographs belonging to Mr. Stebbing. The passages within quotation-marks are taken either from the report or from the notes. The majority of the photographs are not suitable for publication, but they have yielded a little more information about the condition and position of some of the skeletons and the placing of the grave-goods with them. The descriptions of the objects are derived from a fresh study of the material.

Compass directions are those of the head of the grave; D=depth; B=breadth; L=length; H=height; Diam.=diameter. An asterisk after a grave number indicates that a photograph exists but is not reproduced here.

## A 1\*

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 3 in.; B. 1 ft. 5 in. Foot end destroyed by quarrying. A woman about 5 ft. 4 in. tall; remains of leg and arm bones, pelvis, vertebrae, and crushed skull; supine, extended, arms at sides.

1. Small *pot* (FIG. 4, *a*) in hollow cut in side of grave to left of pelvis. H. 7·5 cm. Diam. rim 7·5 cm. Hand-made, of coarse, dark ware, with flat base and fragmentary, everted rim.
2. Iron *knife* on pelvis. Fragmentary, single-edged.

## A 2\*

SW.; B. 2 ft. at head, 1 ft. 10 in. at foot; L. 7 ft. 6 in. A man nearly 6 ft. tall; skeleton in good condition; supine, extended, head to right, arms at sides.

1. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *f*) on pelvis, L. 10·5 cm. Narrow, single-edged.

## A 3

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 7 in.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 7 ft. 5 in. The grave was apparently lined with large flints and seemed to have been disturbed in antiquity. Skeleton (presumably female) unrecorded.

1. *Pot* fragments (now missing) in NW. corner by left foot. Hand-made, black ware with flat base.
2. Iron *knife* (unidentified) on right side in line with femur.
3. Amber *bead*.
4. Thin, blue glass *bead* (FIG. 5, *p*).

## A 4

Between W. and WSW.; D. 1 ft. 10 in.; B. 1 ft. 11 in.; L. 7 ft. A semi-circular niche had been cut in the grave wall 2 in. above floor, 2 ft. from head end, on left side of body: excavation threw no light on function or original contents. Adult man, 5 ft. 11½ in. tall, well built; skeleton in good condition; supine, with head at higher level.

1. Fragment of iron *pin* (now missing). L. 2·5 cm.
2. 'Four or five pieces of soft red brick or pottery' scattered in grave filling (now missing).

## B 1

Between W. and WSW.; D. 2 ft. 2 in., but grave largely destroyed by quarrying. Female aged about 50 years; skull crushed but bones in good condition.

No grave-goods.

## C 1

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 9 in.; L. 4 ft. 8 in.; mainly destroyed. A child?

1. *Pot* (FIG. 4, *b*). H. 12·75 cm.; Diam. rim 9·75 cm. Hand-made, soft red brown paste, fired to dark brown; flat base and everted rim. It seems to have had a backing of chopped grass or straw, which, burnt out, survives only as impressions. Found in fragments.
2. Iron *knife* (unidentified) by right arm.

## C 2

WSW.; D. 10 in.; B. 2 ft. 2 in.; L. 6 ft. 8 in. A woman. Skeleton almost completely decomposed.

1. Bronze *ring-brooch* (FIG. 6, *l*) on breast. Thickness 2 mm., exterior Diam. 3·8 cm., interior Diam. 2·7 cm. Flat in section, with rounded edges. Decoration of radiating incised lines in five groups; iron pin, now missing.
2. Iron *ring* (FIG. 5, *s*). Diam. 6·5 cm. Round in section, diam. 1 cm.

## D 1

Between SW. and WSW.; D. 1 ft. 2 in.; B. 2 ft. 3 in.; L. 5 ft. 10 in. Quarrying had destroyed most of skull; bones much decayed.

No grave-goods.

D 3 (including D 2)\*<sup>17</sup>

SW.; D. 2 ft. 9 in.; B. 2 ft. 7 in.; L. 8 ft. 3 in. Quarrying had sliced away part of grave side but had not disturbed the contents. In the filling, 8 in. below the surface

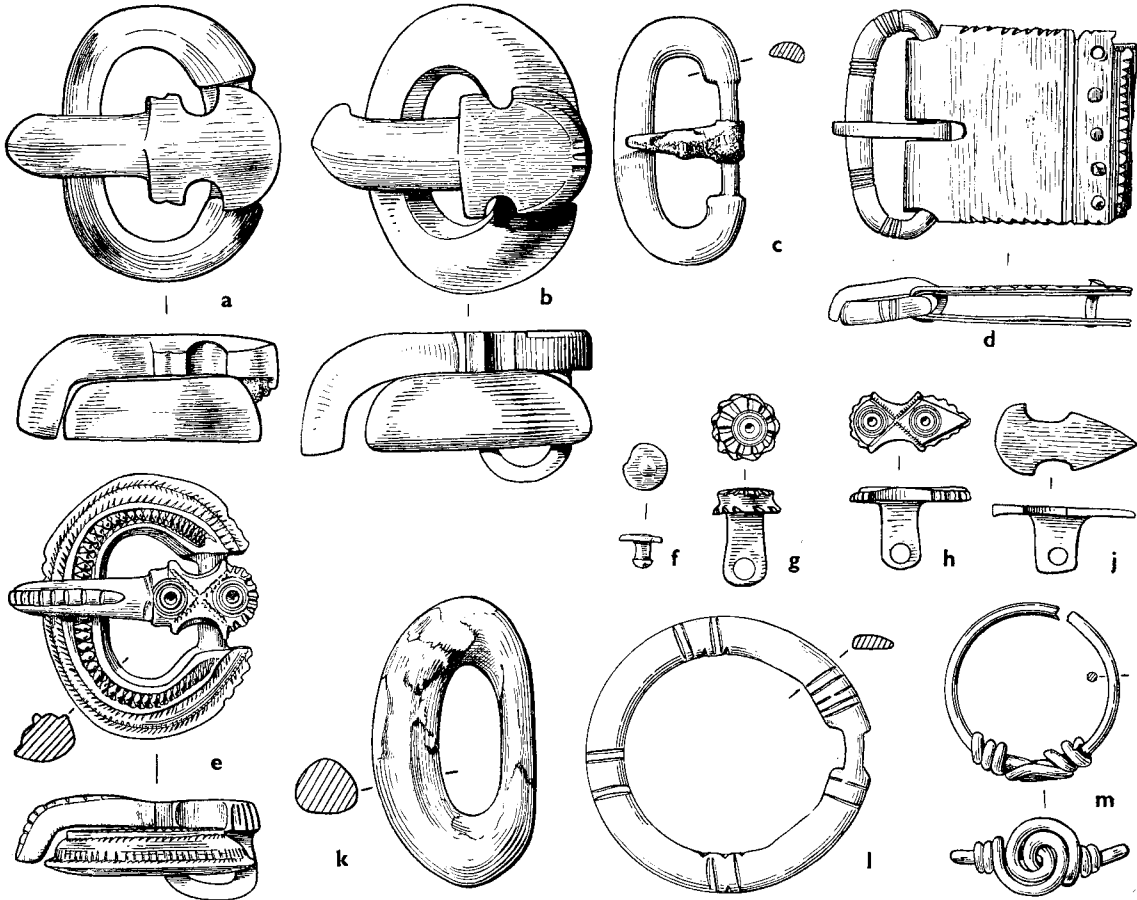


FIG. 6

BUCKLES, STUDS AND OTHER OBJECTS FROM THE FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a, j.* Buckle and rivet, grave D 3 (pp. 17, 39); *b.* Buckle, grave G 2 (pp. 22, 38 f.); *c.* Buckle, grave H 2 (p. 25); *d.* Buckle and plate, unassociated find, no. 1 (pp. 27, 39); *e, g, h.* Buckle and rivets, grave E 2 (pp. 20, 39); *f.* Stud, grave G 3 (p. 24); *k.* Buckle, grave H 3 (p. 25); *l.* Ring-brooch, grave C 2 (pp. 10, 39 f.); *m.* Finger-ring grave G 1 (pp. 21, 39)

Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

of the chalk, was a small fragmentary skull, unaccompanied by grave-goods. The main burial lay some inches below. A woman; remains of leg and arm bones, and top of skull; supine, extended, arms at sides.

<sup>17</sup> In the original account of the excavation, Mr. Stebbing gave a separate grave number to the small skull. This is confusing since both the description of the grave and the cemetery plan suggest that no separate grave existed. The skull may have been a chance ingredient in the filling of grave D3, or, more probably, a secondary burial, perhaps that of a child placed at a later date in its mother's grave.

1. Glass *claw beaker* (PL. IV, c) behind and to the right of the head. H. 18 cm., Diam. rim 8·5 cm., Diam. base 2·5 cm. The glass is very thin and amber-coloured, of fine quality but so heavily weathered as to be opaque. The beaker has a widely-flared mouth with thickened, rounded rim and the sides taper steeply towards the base which has a narrow, pushed-in base-ring, with kick and pontil-mark below. On the neck is an eleven-fold spiral trail beginning from a drop-on blob at its lower end; on the lower part of the body is a similar ten-fold trail. At middle of body are two rows of four claws each, set in zig-zag formation, flattish, as is usual in the earlier beakers, and with prominent hook channels in their tails. The claws are hollow throughout and their placing lends elegance to the proportions of the beaker.
2. Iron *weaving sword* (FIG. 7, e) parallel to the right leg. L. 52·5 cm. Blade 4·5 cm. wide, tapering at the tip and ending in a small tongue-like projection. The blade is too much oxidized to tell whether the edges were blunted. L. of tang 9·5 cm., but no trace of the original wood of the grip survives. The radiograph revealed a pattern-welded core, probably built up of four composite rods in 'double assembly, in standard pattern';<sup>18</sup> that is, four zones of pattern-welding on each side composed of uniformly-twisted rods, the direction of the spiral on which alternates from rod to rod, forming a chevron pattern (FIG. 8, b). No trace of any sheath was found.
- 3-4. Fifty-two *beads* and three gold *bracteates*.

These are at present in two strings, the long one containing thirty-eight beads and the three bracteates, the other, fourteen beads. There is no surviving record to indicate the original order of the beads, but the 1929 account states that they were found 'over and around the body', and this suggests that they were strung together as one long necklace. The bracteates were probably arranged as in the photograph (PL. III). The report in the *Daily Telegraph*, 14 December 1928, states: 'Another exhibit is a beautiful necklace of beads mounted with jewel-studded clasps or brooches from which are attached gold pendants . . . the jewels are polished garnets . . .'. The only garnet jewellery in the grave is the pair of bird brooches, and if this account is worthy of reliance it would appear that the necklace was worn suspended between these two brooches, presumably from the shoulders.

3. *Beads* (PL. III; FIG. 5, a-m, o). The long string contains: (a) eighteen small round beads of which eight are opaque green glass, two clear green glass, five terracotta, two blue and one dark brown opaque glass; (b) two amber, one large (FIG. 5, a), one small, decayed; (c) five irregular opaque red glass; (d) two clear blue glass (FIG. 5, b-c), one hexagonal opaque light green glass (FIG. 5, d) and one long clear blue glass (FIG. 5, e); (e) nine polychrome glass: one large opaque yellow with marvered intertwined trails of green and yellow (FIG. 5, g), one clear green streaked with red and yellow (FIG. 5, f), three small opaque yellow decorated with green marvered interlace (FIG. 5, j), one similar brown with white marvered interlace, one brown with blue marvered interlace and terracotta spots (FIG. 5, k), one irregular clear dark green with remains of blue spots, and one opaque crimson with traces of white decoration.

The short string contains: (a) four small amber beads; (b) two clear blue glass rings (FIG. 5, l); (c) two similar rings in clear black glass; (d) two green rings with squarish profile; (e) one opaque terracotta glass bead, rectangular (FIG. 5, o); (f) two polychrome glass beads: one opaque yellow with

<sup>18</sup> Terms are taken from J. W. Anstee, *Nature*, no. 178 (29 Dec. 1956), 1432-4.

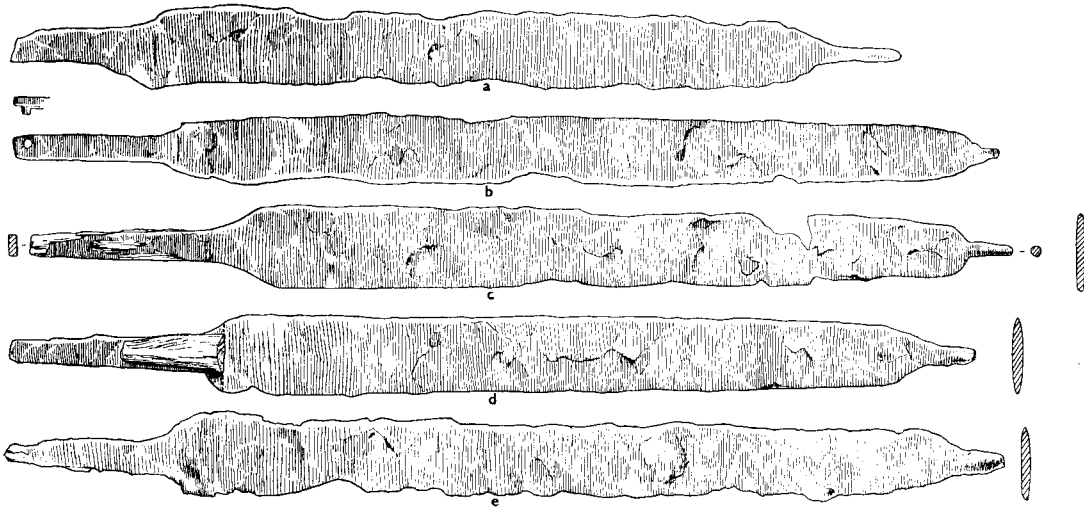


FIG. 7

IRON WEAVING SWORDS OF ANGLO-SAXON TYPE

*a.* Herpes, Charente; *b.* Holywell Row, grave 11; *c.* Bifrons; *d.* Chessell Down, grave 15; *e.* Finglesham, grave D 3 (pp. 12, 30 ff.)

Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

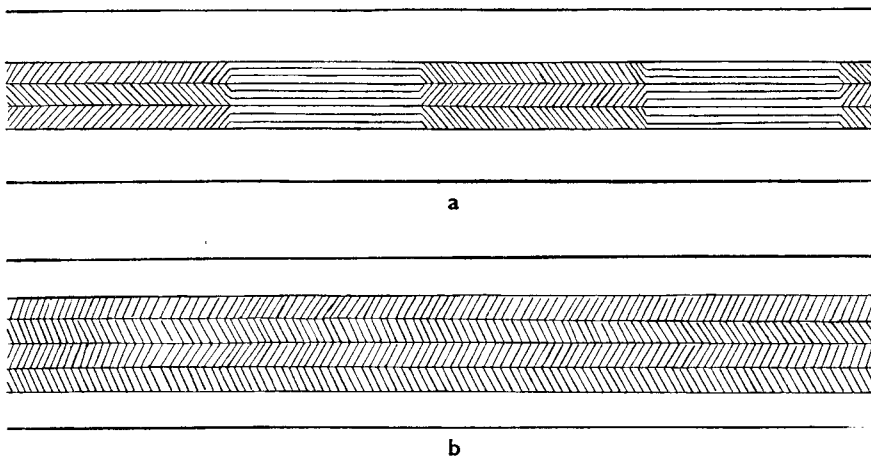


FIG. 8

SCHEMATIC DRAWINGS (BASED ON RADIOGRAPHS) OF THE WELDED PATTERNS (*a*) the sword from grave G 2 (pp. 21 f., 28); and (*b*) the weaving sword from grave D 3 (pp. 12, 30 ff.).

Sc.  $\frac{1}{2}$

green marvered interlace and red spots (FIG. 5, *m*), one white with blue marvered interlace and red spots (FIG. 5, *h*).

4. *Bracteates*

i. (PL. III; FIG. 9, *e*). Diam. 2·3 cm. A circular die-stamped sheet of gold edged by a ring of finely-beaded gold wire, soldered on. Suspension-loop made from a length of corrugated gold sheet or ribbon, rolled so that its edges grip the gold disc just inside its border, and are soldered in place. Central design slightly off centre. A circle impressed from the front encloses the repoussé animal ornament, consisting of one beast with beaked head (at top below loop), back-turned over ribbon-like body which is itself doubled back to fit the available space, and interlaced with its own limbs. Design very clean-cut and coherent.

ii. (PL. III). Diam. 2 cm. From the same die as no. i and in all respects similar except that the plain border inside the beading is narrower.

iii. (PL. III; FIG. 9, *f*). Diam. 2·75 cm. Suspension-loop smaller and coarser and frame made of fine twisted wire. Repoussé dots accentuate the impressed circle around the zoomorphic centre-piece. This animal motif shows strong family likeness to that of nos. i and ii, but loops of interlace are severed and detached and the whole animal has disintegrated into an assemblage of bits with little organic coherence. Craftsmanship, also, less precise.

5-7. Five silver *brooches*

When removed from the ground all five brooches were entirely covered by a uniform green patina that obscured not only the true nature of the metal but also some of the ornamental details. In this condition they were photographed for Leeds, and it is from that negative that the only existing reproductions have been taken.<sup>19</sup> PL. II. shows them after cleaning, and reveals that they were all silver gilt, and that the two radiate brooches also contained niello inlay. Apart from the badly worn square-headed brooch, the pieces were in excellent condition despite a thick surface deposit of cupric oxide which seems to have originated from impurities in the silver itself. The position of the brooches in the grave was not recorded, but the photograph<sup>20</sup> may give some indication. It has already been suggested (p. 12) that the bird-brooches were at the shoulders with the necklace; in the photograph these do not appear, but the positions of three other objects are shown: one in the middle on the lower ribs, and one at each side of the waist. It seems likely that these were the positions of the other three pieces of jewellery and one can infer that the great square-headed brooch was in the centre, the radiates on either side at the waist.

5. Two *bird-brooches* (PL. II; FIG. 9, *c-d*). Max. L. 3·25 cm., Thickness 1 mm. Silver-gilt with garnet inlay; decoration first cast and then touched up by hand. Both represent a perching bird of the pigeon family, but while very similar they are not absolutely identical.

i. (FIG. 9, *d*). Round eye and wedge-shaped tail inset with sliced and polished garnets backed by cross-hatched gold foil. Body carries panel of devolved Style I zoomorphic ornament in which the only distinguishable feature is a bent leg. The narrow frame around this, and the top of the

<sup>19</sup> Leeds (1936), pl. xiv; Leeds (1949), pl. A1, no. 1; Kühn (1940), pls. lxxvi, 11/10, lxxxii, 14/1; Hawkes (1956), pl. xiii.

<sup>20</sup> Among the original photographs of the cemetery is one of a grave that, from its relationship to the chalk-pit, its size and depth, and the condition of its skeleton, can only be grave D3. For some reason all the grave-goods had been removed and replaced by stones which appear to indicate the position of the glass beaker, the weaving sword and some of the jewellery. The photograph is thus of very doubtful value but it has been used to give a tentative suggestion as to the arrangement of the jewellery on the body.

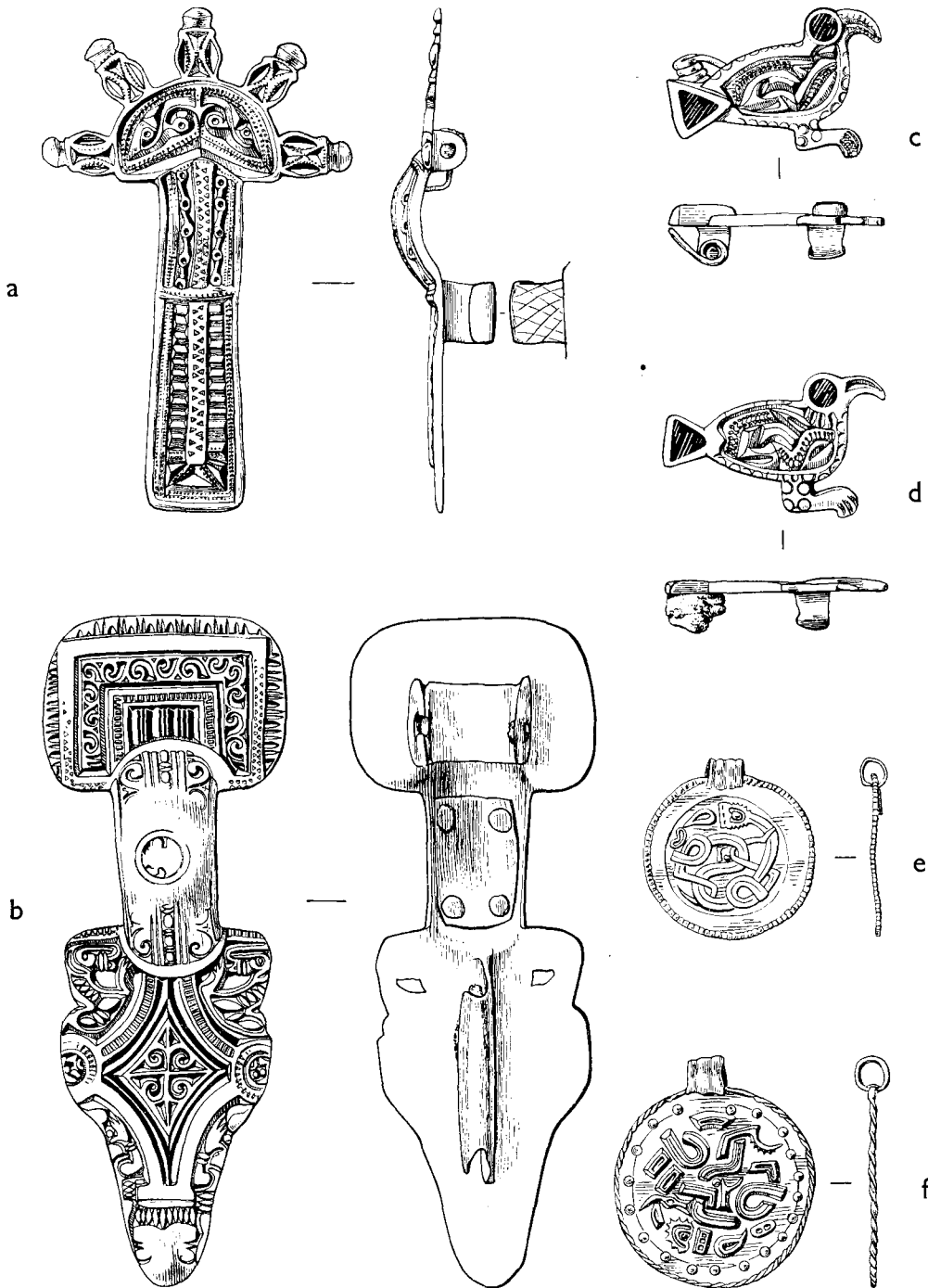


FIG. 9

JEWELLERY FROM GRAVE D 3, FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a.* Radiate brooch (pp. 16, 40 ff.); *b.* Great square-headed brooch (pp. 16 ff., 45 ff.); *c-d.* Bird-brooches (pp. 14 ff., 42); *e-f.* D bracteates (pp. 14, 42 ff.). Sc.  $\frac{1}{2}$

bird's leg, are decorated with incomplete punched rings. The beak has a carved central groove, while the claws are carved and cross tooled. At back of brooch the pin-catch and the side plates for the spring-coil are silver, soldered on, whereas coil and pin are iron.

ii. (FIG. 9, *c*). Slightly different from no. i in shape of bird, in amount of tooling on zoomorphic panel, in arrangement of ornament and in shape of beak and its finish. Claws of feet punched, not carved, and garnet cells raised. Spring-coil and pin bronze.

6. Pair of *radiate brooches* (PL. II; FIG. 9, *a*). Almost identical, and from the same mould since a slight irregularity in the arrangement of the five lantern knobs is repeated on both. L. 7.25 cm. Silver, gilt except for the median bar of bow and footplate, which is decorated with double row of nielloed triangles. Semi-circular headplate decorated with opposed tendril scrolls, the central points of which are accentuated by punched dots. Similar dots point the small running scrolls at the sides of the bow. A single horizontal ridge divides bow from foot, and below it the median ridge is flanked by ladder pattern of bars, slight irregularities in which suggest that cast decoration was worked over by hand afterwards. Angular punch-marks produce effect of milling on knobs, and on borders of both headplate and footplate. The bronze pin operated on spiral coil of same metal and was secured to side attachments by iron bar. The pin catch is silver with back-surface ornamented by an engraved, diagonal, lattice pattern. Workmanship on both is extremely precise and competent, and there is little sign of wear except on the bow.
7. *Great square-headed brooch* (PL. II; FIG. 9, *b*). L. 9.5 cm. Very much worn on upper edges of headplate, lower parts of footplate and, particularly, on top of bow, where, as a result, much of decoration has been obliterated. Bow cracked at one side and repaired in antiquity by rectangular silver patch secured in each corner by silver rivet, neatly filed down at front to merge with spiral ornament of side panels. Headplate, even allowing for this extraordinary amount of wear, is smaller in relation to the whole than is usual in the English corpus. Curving top of bow cuts into it considerably, absorbing one side of low-set rectangular panel in centre, which bears three vertical grooved bars enclosed by relief band carrying a ladder pattern of billeting within parallel grooves. Outside this, a border of broken tendril design, gouged out, is framed by relief band with a double row of punched triangles that may once have contained niello, though no trace of it now remains. Edges of headplate, on three sides, decorated with egg-and-tongue pattern.

The bow, which is long and steeply arched, is convex in lateral cross-section, and slightly flattened in middle. Its ends have unusual median band of long and short billeting, flanked by two narrow, plain, bands on inner edge of broader panel of broken scroll design, similar to that on the headplate, but differently arranged. The flat top of the bow had a plain-bordered roundel whose decoration is almost completely obliterated, but, by analogy with the brooch (pp. 45 ff.) from Engers, Hessen (PL. V, E), this can be interpreted as a sideways-facing human mask, with globular cheeks and chin.

Top of footplate flanked by inward-facing rampant beasts, with billeted body enclosed in 'frame', upraised forefeet, and long-nosed 'framed' head. Centre of footplate occupied by what Leeds termed a 'floriated cross', set within concentric lozenge-shaped frames, the outermost of which is a relief band with ladder pattern, like that on headplate. At lateral corners of this are roundels with same style of border, containing masks like that on bow, but this time in profile and facing towards top of



footplate. Foot terminates in animal mask, again most closely paralleled and more clearly seen on the Engers brooch. The row of vertical billeting above the forehead may be intended to represent hair, or perhaps a mane. Lower edges of footplate occupied by a human figure which has upraised hand with braceleted wrist and what seems to be a helmeted head. The figures face inwards and upwards towards the lateral roundels. Iron pin, now missing, operated on a coil secured by a bronze bar to the usual soldered side plates. The mechanism was tightened by means of horizontal bronze plate soldered to brooch beneath coil. Pin catch of simple type but longer than usual.

8. Silvered *buckle* (FIG. 6, *a*). Max. width 3.7 cm. A common type with heavy shield-shaped back. It is thickly silvered and by analogy with similar pieces from Bifrons graves 34 and 39, which are broken and show iron cores, it may be accepted as being made of iron heavily plated with silver.

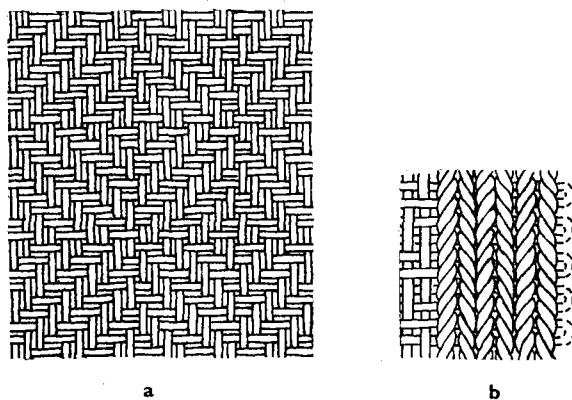


FIG. 10

DIAGRAMMATIC RECONSTRUCTIONS SHOWING THE WEAVE-PATTERN OF THE TEXTILE REMAINS FROM GRAVE D 3, FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a*. Broken diamond twill; *b*. Tablet-woven border (pp. 36-7). Over †

9. Pair of tinned bronze *shoe-shaped rivets* (FIG. 6, *j*). L. 1.9 cm. Usual pierced tongue at back.
10. Bronze *tube* and *keys* (PL. I, c; FIG. 5, *u*, *r*). Probably suspended from girdle. A conglomerate mass of bronze and iron fragments which consist of:
- i. Small bronze *cylinder* (FIG. 5, *u*) made from sheet bronze, rolled till edges overlap. It is hollow and broadens out at base, and is suspended at the top by twisted wire ring that passes through two holes. Surface decorated by incised grooves. It may have served as a needle-case, and some sort of perishable material must have been used to close the bottom end.
  - ii. Two iron *rods*, broken. L. 5 cm., Diam. 0.5 and 0.75 cm., rusted together with tube to form single mass. Perhaps remains of keys.
  - iii. Nos. i and ii are covered with textile remains lying in folds (PL. I, c). Two samples were submitted for examination, and show that the dead woman was buried in a dress or coverlet of linen diamond twill (FIG. 10). (See specialist report, pp. 36-7.)
11. Two fragments of iron *key* (FIG. 5, *r*). Probably connected with the complex above. Together they make up a ring 3.8 cm. diam. with broken shaft 4 cm. long.

12. Iron *knife* (unidentified).  
 13. The so-called '*shield*'. The 1929 account states that the grave was left open at the week-end and 'Sunday vandals must have started digging and exposed the shield which seems to have been placed above the head. This was removed and only fragments of the binding have been recovered'. Clearly this object cannot have been a shield. Apart from the small skull in the filling which had no grave-goods, there is only one burial and one set of personal possessions, and these belonged to a woman. It is not at all certain that any object was actually seen by the excavators, and there is nothing in the material from the cemetery that would fit the description, unless what is referred to as 'binding' are actually the angle-irons of a box, or of the coffin. Two sets of these (p. 27) from an unknown source in the cemetery are figured (FIG. 15, *c-e*).

D 4

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 3 in.; B. 1 ft. 9 in.; L. 6 ft. 6 in. Bones almost completely decomposed.

1. Iron *knife* (unidentified) at left hip. L. 7.5 cm.
2. Fragments of iron *brooch* or *buckle* (now missing) at left hip.

D 5

WSW.; D. 9 in.; B. 1 ft. 5 in.; L. 3 ft. 7 in. Bones almost completely decomposed. Probably a child.

No grave-goods.

D 6

SW.-NE.; D. 7 in.; L. 5 ft. 4 in. Grave probably never completed: no bones found. No grave-goods.

E 1\*

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 7 in.; B. 1 ft. 10 in. Head end of grave and part of body removed by quarrying; only leg bones remained.

1. Jutish *pottery bottle* (FIG. 4, *c*), on its side with neck lying over ankles of skeleton. H. 21 cm., rim missing; on neck a continuous spiral groove. Wheel-turned, in hard, sandy, red ware.

E 2

SSW.; D. 9 in.; B. 3 ft. 5 in.; L. 7 ft. Double burial of a woman with a child on her left side.

1. Silver-gilt *great square-headed brooch* (PL. IV, A; FIG. 11, *a*). L. 9.3 cm., thickness 1.5 mm., cast in one piece and thickly gilt. In good condition with little sign of wear. Central decoration of headplate consists of two rectangular garnets set in raised collar and backed by gold foil, within a broad border of zoomorphic ornament composed of pair of animals 'in pursuit' nose to tail, the heads being in the top left and bottom right corners of the panel. The animals have 'helmet-style' heads, but the body contours have been broken down into loose three-strand curves. Legs tucked up under bodies in couchant position. This zoomorphic panel is enclosed on both sides by a notched ridge carrying linked, punched dots. Principal border of headplate a relief band with double row of nielloed triangles. Edge of brooch simply ornamented with line of punched dots.

The bow projects upwards as truncated cone and is convex, with flat top and steeply-sloping sides decorated by vertical lines of punched dots. The thick circular disc was secured, as an empty cell, by two rivets whose heads appear on under side of bow-top. This cell may have been soldered as well, since it is completely rigid. Once in place, the disc was filled with

white crystalline paste,<sup>21</sup> in the centre of which was imbedded a flat circular garnet in a silver wire frame. The white substance has not shrunk in drying, either here or on the boss at the bottom of the footplate, which is cast in one with the brooch and also has an inset garnet in wire frame. This boss is balanced by two smaller ones, set with sliced garnets mounted on gold foil, on the rudimentary side lobes, the three being linked by a relief

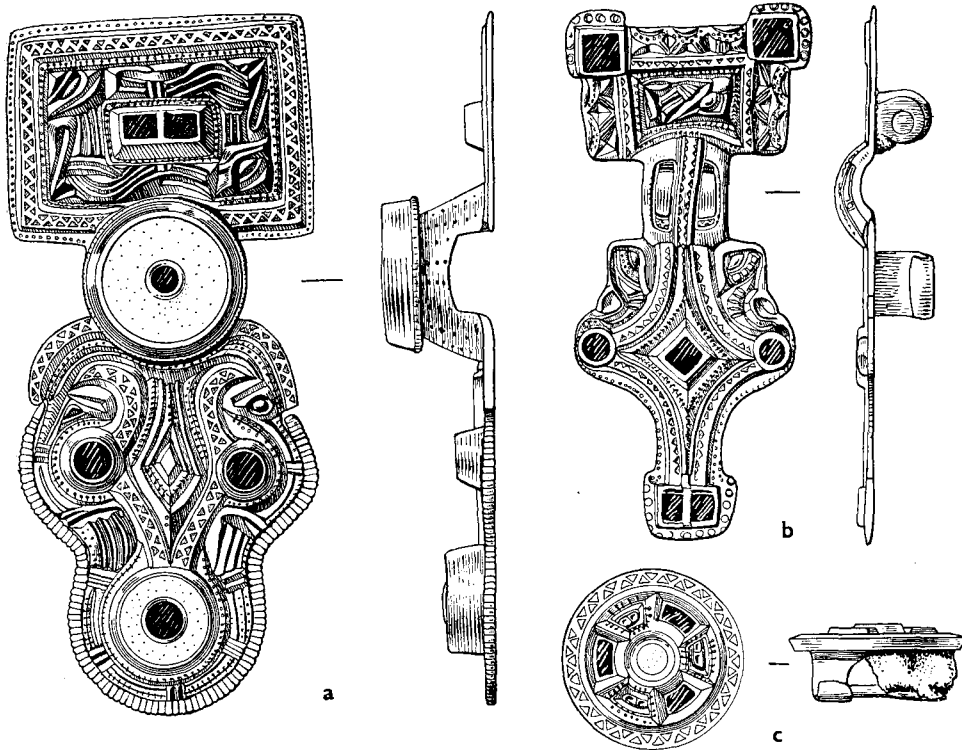


FIG. 11

BROOCHES FROM GRAVE E 2, FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

a. Great square-headed brooch (pp. 18 ff., 58 f.); b. Square-headed brooch (pp. 20, 57 f.); c. Disc brooch (pp. 20, 58). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

band, with nielloed triangle decoration, which curves up under the bow. Zoomorphic ornament, reduced to continuous three-strand skein with cross-ties, encircles footplate, ending above side bosses in heads still reminiscent of the 'helmet-style'. On the central part of footplate are concentric lozenges, the ridges of which have occasional cross-notching. This occurs

<sup>21</sup> The Finglesham E2 great square-headed brooch belongs to the sixth-century group of metalwork inlaid with white material. Results of recent research on this substance as found in Kendrick's style B disc brooches, of which the E2 disc brooch is one, have been summarized by Vera Evison ('The white material in Kentish disc brooches,' *Antiq. J.*, xxxi (1951), 197-8). The material used was some form of white crystalline paste, varying in composition from brooch to brooch but, on the examples analysed, predominantly of magnesite ( $MgCO_3$ ) or crystobalite ( $SiO_2$ ). It was not possible to have that on the Finglesham brooches analysed, but close examination of the white substance suggests that it is of this type, and not the imported shell that features on the seventh-century brooches of Kendrick's A type (R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Pectoral Cross of St. Cuthbert,' in C. F. Battiscombe, *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (1956), pp. 310-11).

- also on ridges along edge of footplate and at base of both bow and bosses. Top of footplate outlined by relief band that stops short and is replaced by frame of beaded silver wire, soldered in place. Iron pin operated from spiral coil between silver retainers. Pin catch of silver soldered on and set on a plate that tapers to a closed end at foot.
2. Pair of small silver-gilt *square-headed brooches* (PL. IV, B; FIG. 11, *b*). L. 7.5 cm., cast as pair but showing differences in retouching. Top corners of headplate decorated with square-cut garnets mounted on gold foil, which are bordered on outside by flat flange that projects slightly and is ornamented with punched rings. Remaining edges of headplate occupied by panels of triangles-surmounted-by-semicircles, separated from central panel by a relief band carrying single row of nielloed triangles. In centre is a schematized helmet-style animal placed upside down; only head and hind leg distinguishable. The short and flattened bow has nielloed median ridge flanked by sub-rectangular panels. Footplate has garnet in centre, mounted on gold foil in raised lozenge-shaped cell within two concentric frames, first a simple notched ridge and then the relief band, at lateral corners of which are round cells containing garnets. Foot of brooch ends in rectangular lobe, with flange decorated by punched rings, around an oblong cell with inner garnet. FIG. 11, *b* shows the garnet cracked and reinforced in antiquity by a strip of solder, giving the impression that there are two square garnets. On both brooches this rectangular cell was riveted in place. Lower edges of footplate decorated with punched dots. Upper edges carry badly-executed rampant animals with helmet heads turned outwards. Iron pins missing but coils operated between usual silver retainers. Pin catch soldered on.
  3. Silver *disc-brooch* (PL. IV, B; FIG. 11, *c*). Diam. 2.4 cm.; cast and then finished by chisel and thickly gilt. Three wedge-shaped garnets backed by gold foil in raised cells radiate from central boss filled with white crystalline paste. Between them wedge-shaped panels containing barely recognizable 'helmet-heads'. Rim broad and flat and decorated with nielloed triangles. Pin bronze, catch-plate silver.
  4. Bronze *buckle* (FIG. 6, *e*).<sup>22</sup> B. 3.5 cm. Loop solid with slightly faceted back. Front surface cut in irregular steps, accentuated by cross-notching, and uppermost surface has parallel grooves, the ridge between being heavily cross-tooled. The tongue has a shield-shaped back, notched around the curved end, and decorated by diagonal cross of close-set punch-marks, with double ring-and-dot stamp in upper and lower angles. Curving front of tongue decorated with low ridge, notched laterally.
  5. Pair of bronze shoe-shaped *rivets* (FIG. 6, *h*). L. 1.6 cm. Decoration as on shield-shaped plate of the buckle. Usual pierced tongue at back.
  6. Bronze rosette-shaped *rivet* (FIG. 6, *g*). Diam. 9 mm. Head thick and slightly waisted. Both upper and lower angles notched. In centre a double ring-and-dot punch-mark with radiating grooves. Pierced tongue at back slightly longer than on no. 5.

## E 3\*

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 9 in.; B. 1 ft. 3 in.; L. 7 ft. 7 in. Head end of grave shallower; step at foot end, 1 ft. 6 in. long, 9 in. deep. Woman aged 40-50 years; 5 ft. 5 in. tall; remains

<sup>22</sup> The belt fittings of this grave present something of a problem. The original account states that they consisted of a 'heavy bronze buckle, two shoe-shaped rivets, and a circular rose one for the belt'. The buckle in question is that in FIG. 6, *b*, which has been transferred to grave G2 in this inventory. Grave G2 is recorded as having contained the decorated buckle now allotted to this grave. For a number of reasons it is felt that the present arrangement is the correct one. The first is that the decorated buckle and rivets form a suite and are more likely to have been found together, in which case grave E2 is much the more likely candidate since no rivets are recorded from G2. Finally a study of the photographs of grave G2 reveals a buckle by the right side that is almost certainly the heavy plain one now attributed to it.

of skull, leg and arm bones; extended position, hands on abdomen. Narrowness of grave made it necessary to wedge body in sideways, right shoulder down, head to right.

No grave-goods.

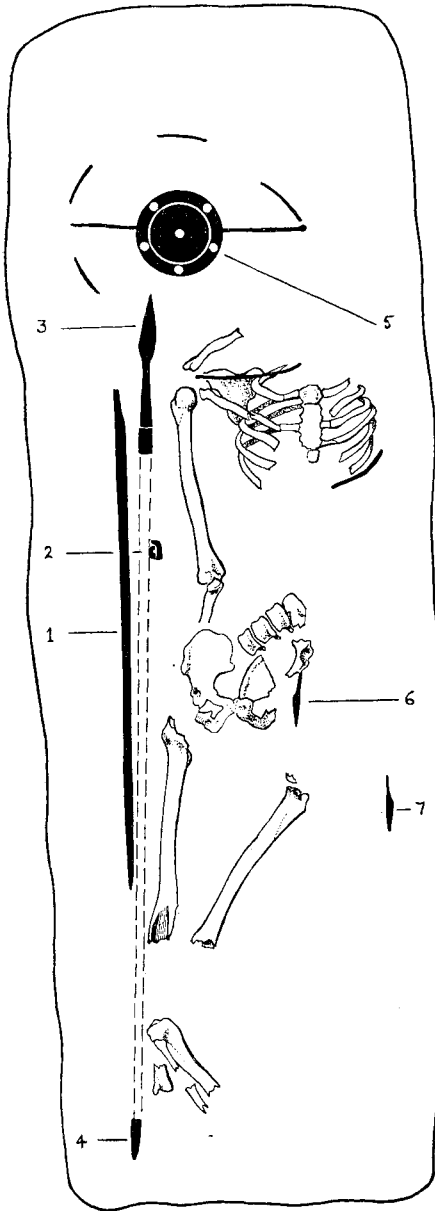


FIG. 12

GRAVE G 2, FINGLESHAM CEMETERY  
Reconstructed plan of burial (p. 21)

F 1

Between SW. and SSW.; D. 1 ft.; B. 1 ft. 8 in.; L. 6 ft. 6 in. The corners at bottom of grave 'were distinctly rounded'. Bones much decayed.

No grave-goods.

G 1\*

N.; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 6 in. A woman; skull well preserved; body supine, extended, head to right, left arm across abdomen, right hand on pelvis.

1. Silver *finger-ring* (FIG. 6, *m*) beside right ear. This siting of the ring is perhaps a little suspect, as the objects had been removed and laid on pieces of white card for photography, but although originally a finger-ring, it may have been worn in the ear, especially as the wire is broken opposite the bezel. Made of one piece of wire, 1.5 mm. thick, with ends twisted into flat coil to form bezel, and finished by being given two turns around the ring beside the bezel.
2. Fragment of iron *pin* at back of head; probably a hairpin. L. 6 cm., Diam. 5 mm.
3. Piece of *glass* (now missing) on right shoulder.
4. Glass *bead* (FIG. 5, *q*) of hexagonal shape, opaque green.

G 2 (PL. I, B; FIG. 12)<sup>23</sup>

Between SW. and SSW.; D. 3 ft. 1 in.; B. 2 ft. 9 in. (at feet), 2 ft. 6 in. (at head); L. 8 ft. 3 in. Adult man; remains of legs and arm bones; skull missing except for a few teeth; extended, lying on left shoulder, legs slightly bent.

1. Iron *sword* (FIG. 14, *a*) on right side of body, pommel on level with shoulder and blade lying vertically on one side, point close to thigh. It was, therefore, not actually being worn on body but had been placed beside it. L. 85 cm.;

<sup>23</sup> There are three different photographs of this grave, one of which is reproduced here (PL. I, B). The plan of the grave (FIG. 12) is a reconstruction based on all three.

L. blade 76 cm. Fragile, having deteriorated since 1929, and part of tang, the pommel knob, and original material of grip has disappeared, so that it is now impossible to verify original statement that the sword had 'horn-mounted hilt'. Blade bears traces of wooden scabbard and of animal fibres beneath the wood, which, on microscopic examination, proved to be wool. Scabbard, therefore, probably had sheepskin lining. The radiograph reveals that blade had pattern-welded core, probably built up from three composite rods in double assembly, in alternate arrangement of twisted and straight portions; i.e. each side of blade had three zones of pattern-welding in alternate blocks of straight and diagonal lines (FIG. 8, *a*).

2. Heavy bronze *buckle* (FIG. 6, *b*)<sup>22</sup> close to sword and just above right elbow. The photograph shows it lying on its side but not in the position expected had it been worn on the body. It is therefore suggested that the sword had been laid in ground with belt attached, and this buckle was part of the gear. B. 3.8 cm.; of very thick metal. Loop oval, with short, straight bar for tongue, which has shield-shaped back and down-curving pin.

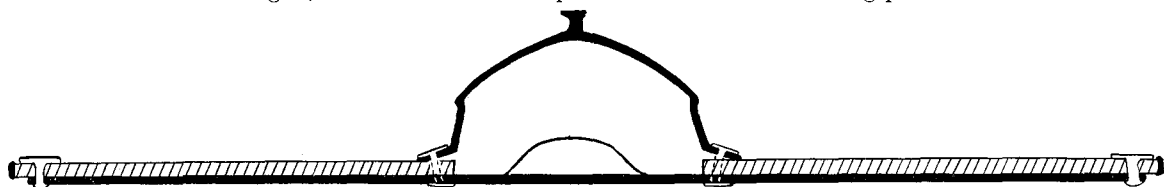


FIG. 13

## GRAVE G 2, FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

Reconstructed section of the shield (pp. 22 ff., 29 f.). Sc.  $\frac{1}{4}$

3. Iron *spear-head* (FIG. 14, *b*) beside right ear of corpse, underneath shield, with shaft lying between sword and body, and showing up as dark stain. Sword possibly propped against it. L. 36 cm.; broken across socket. Blade small and angular and has split socket that ends in what appears to be a complete cylinder, Diam. 2 cm. Radiography and subsequent removal of iron oxide has shown that this 'cylinder' was formed of tightly-coiled iron wire, 2 mm. thick, that appears to have been bound round the spear shaft below socket. This had become consolidated by corrosion and adhered to socket, although originally separate from it. Base of socket itself appears to have been encircled by plain, broad, iron band, carrying narrow band of silver or bronze. The radiograph is difficult to interpret, however, and perhaps the iron band that seems to enclose the split end of the socket is a longer cylinder underlying the iron wire binding. Whatever its interpretation it is probably a means of strengthening the junction of spear-shaft and socket.

A small patch of textile on wire binding probably came from man's cloak, or sleeve of tunic. It is a fragment of  $2 \times 2$  twill, Z-spun in one system, S-spun in the other. Count 5 to  $6 \times 5$  threads per 5 mm. (i.e.  $10-12 \times 10$  per cm.). Textile completely mineralized.

4. Iron *ferrule* (FIG. 14, *c*) beside right foot. L. 14 cm. A flat piece of metal folded into a cone. Internal diameter of open end tallies with that of socket and gives 2 cm. as diameter of spear-shaft.
5. *Shield* (FIG. 13). Placed over head of corpse. The amount of soil between it and spear-head beneath it suggests that it may originally have been placed on top of a coffin. The subsequent collapse would account for displacement of some of the fittings, but would not necessarily break up shield entirely. The continuous dark line that shows in the photograph outside the sword may be the remains of such a coffin, although it is not mentioned in the

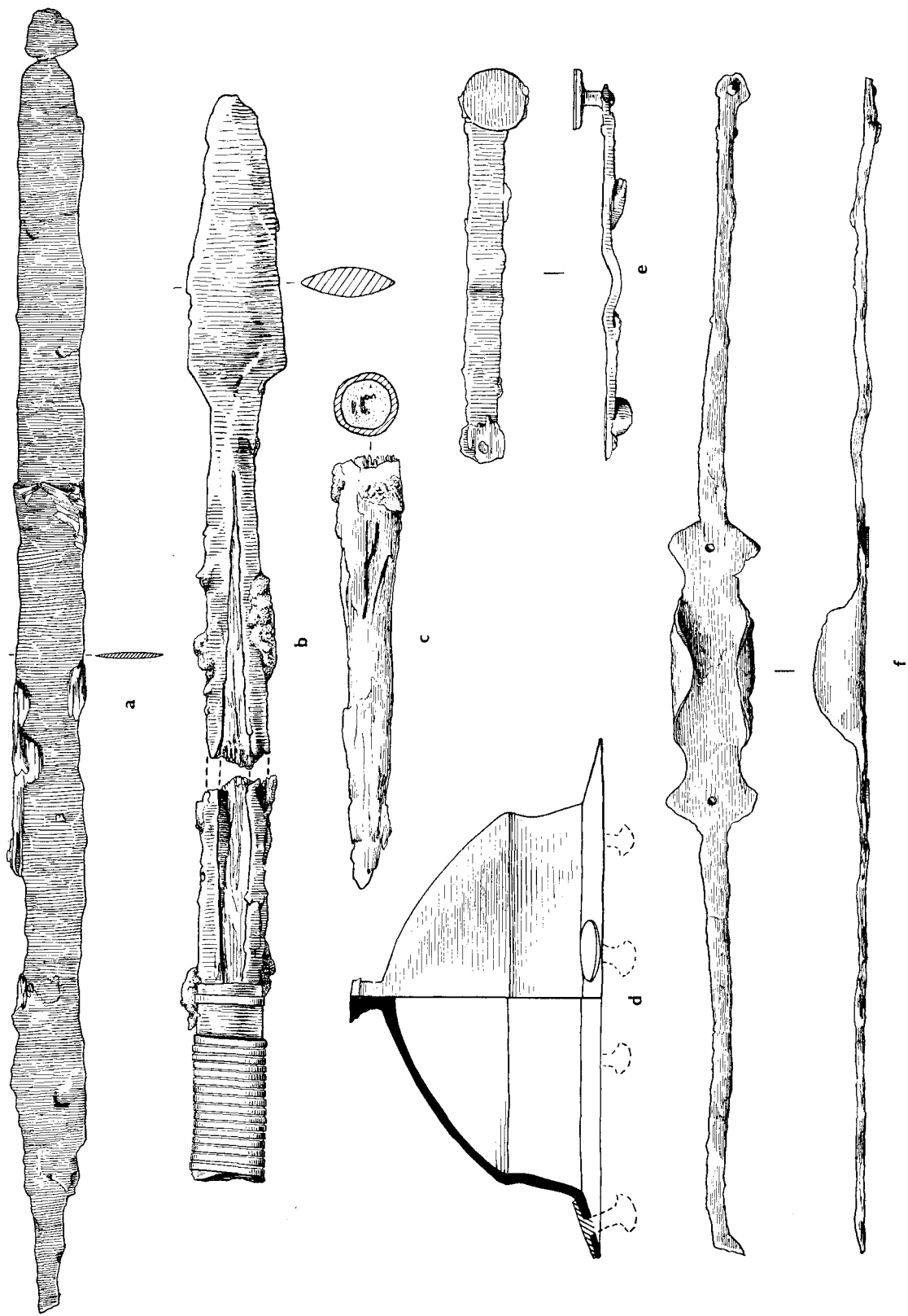


FIG. 14. IRON OBJECTS FROM GRAVE G 2, FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a.* Sword (pp. 21 f., 28 f.); *b-c.* Spear-head and ferrule (pp. 22, 27 f.); *d-e.* Shield-boss and iron strips (pp. 22 ff., 29 f.); *f.* Shield-grip (pp. 24, 29 f.). Sc.: *a.*  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; *b-c.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; *f.*  $\frac{3}{8}$

original report. An unpublished note about the shield by Mr. Stebbing states: 'There was a wooden shield with iron umbo, iron bracing strips, back and front, and an iron rim.'

Boss (FIG. 14, *d*), H. 8.25 cm., Diam. 17 cm., of carinated type with curved dome crowned by disc-headed rivet and broad flange carrying five disc-headed rivets. The flange has pronounced downward angle, and the rivets have soldered bronze facings. Shanks of rivets give thickness of shield as 9 mm.

Grip (FIG. 14, *f*) very broken but of long type with incurved handle and long projecting brace that entirely spanned the shield, terminating in a rivet at each end, on rim of shield. Reconstructed length 59 cm. (23.2 in.). Since the grip was offset from the centre of the boss to allow for passage of the hand, this gives minimum diameter for shield of about 60 cm. (2 ft.). In addition to the grip there are two shorter strips of iron, the complete one being 13 cm. long (FIG. 14, *e*). Originally they had a rivet and disc at each end with a shank 9 mm. long and both have a kink in the middle which is too regular to be accidental. The placing of the rivets on these strips makes it certain that both were placed on the under side of the shield, although they cannot be certainly identified in photograph. The strips were probably placed parallel to grip on opposite sides of shield and intended to strengthen wood and prevent it splitting beneath a blow. They probably ran across grain of wood. The two kinks may perhaps have been points of attachment for a strap, for hanging up shield when not in use.

There remains the question of the iron rim. Nothing like this has survived among the ironwork from the grave, but in the photographs a number of curved strips seem to lie in an irregular circle 1.1½ ft. from the centre of the boss. Allowing for the inevitable minor disturbances and perhaps the collapse of the coffin, this accords well with the size of the shield as calculated above.

We may conclude, then, that the shield was 2 ft. (60 cm.) or more in diameter, and ¾ in. (9 mm.) thick; it had a boss, and, at the back, a grip and two bracing strips. The edge was finished by an iron rim. The grip shows no trace of original curvature and there is nothing to suggest the shield was anything but flat (FIG. 13).

6. Iron *knife* on right hip, pointing towards feet. Fragmentary.
7. Iron *knife* some few inches lower and to right beside upper thigh. Fragmentary.

### G 3

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 4 in.; B. 1 ft. 8 in.; L. 5 ft. 8 in. Skeleton fragmentary; sex not specified.

1. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *d*) between thighs, L. 13.5 cm., L. blade 9 cm. Single-edged, back incurving at point.
2. Bronze *stud* (FIG. 6, *f*), tiny; similar to half of a modern press stud.
3. Small bronze *strip* (now missing).

### G 4

WSW.; D. 1 ft. 2 in.; B. 2 ft. 6 in.; L. 7 ft. 6 in. Woman aged 18-20 years; skeleton in good condition except bones of hand and feet; extended, supine.

1. Iron *knife*. L. 8.5 cm. Blade only, narrow, single-edged.

### G 5

SSW.; D. 1 ft.; B. 1 ft.; L. 4 ft. 10 in. Probably an unfinished grave; no trace of body. No grave-goods.



## G 6

Between SW. and SSW.; D. 1 ft. 6 in.; B. 2 ft. 5 in. (at head), 2 ft. 7 in. (at feet); L. 5 ft. 10 in. Skeleton fragmentary.

1. Iron *spear-head* (FIG. 15, *b*). L. 22·5 cm., but socket broken off; angular blade.
2. Two bronze-faced *rivets* (unidentified); probably part of shield. No boss recorded.
3. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *e*). L. 10 cm. Blade only, narrow, straight-backed.

## G 7

WSW.; D. 2 ft.; B. 1 ft. 7 in.; L. 6 ft. Remains of leg and arm bones, top of skull, and part of jaw; extended.

No grave-goods.

## H 1

W.; D. 1 ft. 8 in.; B. 1 ft. 6 in.; L. 5 ft. 5 in. This grave was dug after H 2 and cut across lower end of it.

1. Iron *ferrule* (FIG. 5, *v*). L. 2·5 cm.; D. tapering, 2·5-2·25 cm. An open cylinder, perhaps ferrule of staff. On it, a patch of textile impression; plain weave, thread Z-spun.
2. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *h*). L. 12 cm. Broad blade with straight back and curved cutting edge.
3. Iron *fragments* (unidentified).

## H 2

SW.; D. 1 ft. 2 in.; B. 2 ft.; L. 5 ft., but end destroyed by H 1.

1. Bronze *buckle* (FIG. 6, *c*). B. 3·25 cm. Traces of tinning. Oval, with concave back and straight bar for iron pin.
2. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *b*). Blade only, narrow, single-edged.
3. Iron *strip*. L. 4 cm., B. 7 mm.

## H 3\*

SSW.; Large grave, no dimensions recorded, containing double burial. Lower body of male aged 40-50 years in extended position with head raised; skull and leg bones well preserved. Second body, probably female, lay above, and across him, with head to his right; bones less well preserved. Only first burial properly laid out with grave-goods. Second body appears to have been more or less flung in on top.<sup>24</sup> As man's body was not disturbed by second it may be assumed that the two were put in together, before decomposition had set in.

1. Iron *spear-head* (FIG. 15, *a*) at man's left side, point on level with his eye. L. 26·5 cm., with small leaf-shaped blade and split socket, internal diam. 2·7 cm.
2. Iron *scramaseax* (FIG. 16, *a*) on man's left, beside hip, lying across spear shaft, tip against side of grave; perhaps displaced by second body. L. 24 cm.
3. Iron *buckle* (FIG. 6, *k*). B. 4 cm.; oval loop shows remains of iron plate.
4. Iron *knife* (unidentified).
5. Bronze *tweezers* (now missing).
6. Iron *pin* with bent end. L. 8 cm.

## H 4

Between SW. and SSW.; Depth not taken; B. 2 ft.; L. 6 ft. 1 in. Only slight traces of skeleton.

No grave-goods.

<sup>24</sup> The interpretation of this grave is based almost entirely on a poor photograph and must necessarily remain tentative. It is supported by evidence from other cemeteries, notably Mitcham, where there were graves containing double burials in which one body had been carefully disposed and the other flung carelessly in (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, 2 ser. XXI (1905), 4 f.).

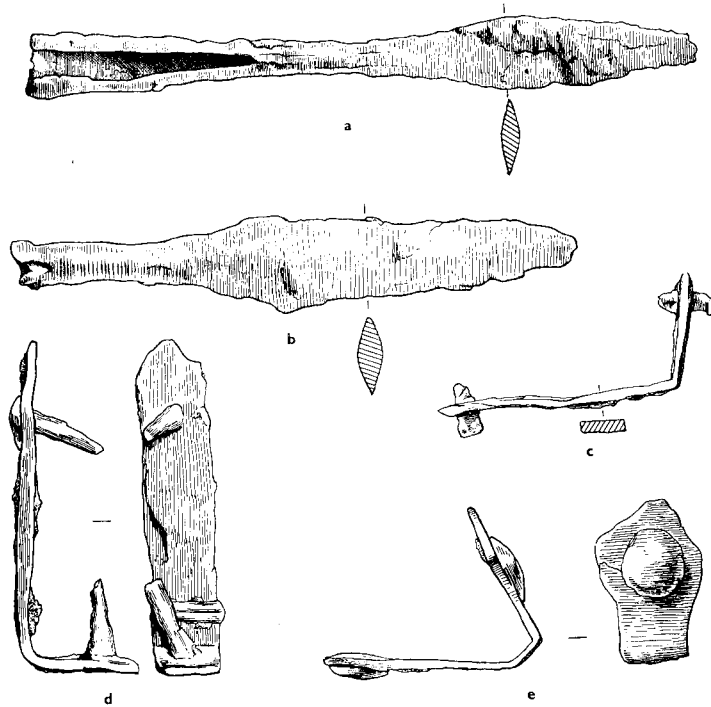


FIG. 15

SPEAR-HEADS AND ANGLE-IRONS FROM THE FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a, b.* Spear-heads from graves H 3 and G 6 (p. 25); *c-e.* Angle-irons, unassociated finds, nos. 5-6 (pp. 9, 18, 27). Sc.: *a, b,*  $\frac{1}{3}$ ; *c-e,*  $\frac{1}{2}$

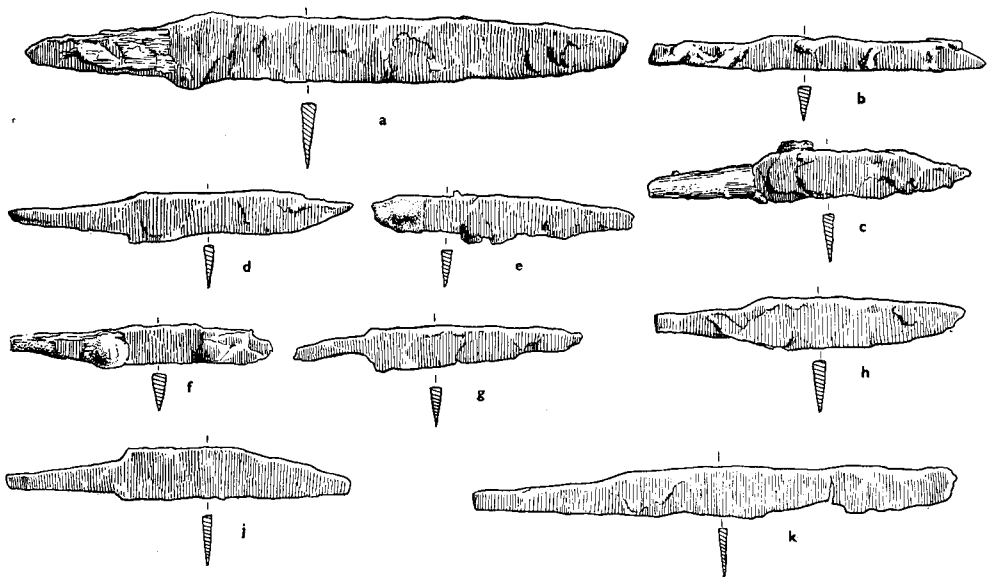


FIG. 16

KNIVES FROM THE FINGLESHAM CEMETERY

*a.* grave H 3 (p. 25); *b.* grave H 2 (p. 25); *c.* unassociated find, no. 3 (p. 27); *d.* grave G 3 (p. 24); *e.* grave G 6 (p. 25); *f.* grave A 2 (p. 10); *g, k.* grave AA 4 (p. 27); *h.* grave H 1 (p. 25); *j.* grave AA 2 (p. 27). Sc.  $\frac{1}{3}$

The following graves were excavated after the publication of the preliminary report. No record was kept at the time of excavation, but they were pencilled in on the plan. A few objects were labelled as coming from them.

## AA 1

SSW.; Grave dotted in on plan; no information, but it was cut into by AA 2.

## AA 2\*

WSW.; Shallow grave. Woman aged about 40; 5 ft. 6 in. tall; remains of leg and arm bones, crushed skull; on right side, elbows to sides, forearm at right angles to body; legs bent.

1. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *j*) parallel to forearm in front of pelvis. L. 14 cm.; straight cutting edge; back incurving at point.
2. Two fragments of iron *pin*, by chest. L. 7 and 8.5 cm.

## AA 3

W.; No details.

## AA 4

W.; A note with the knives suggests that this was a triple burial.

1. Glass *palm cup* (PL. IV, D; FIG. 5, *t*). H. 9.5 cm., external Diam. rim 15 cm. Plain, with pronounced outward folded rim, olive green with many large air bubbles. Glass considerably thicker at rounded base, and pontil-mark and blowing-spirals unusually clear.
2. Two iron *knives* (FIG. 16, *g, k*). L. 11 and 19 cm. respectively; both with slim single-edged blades.

*Destroyed Graves*

Two graves were totally destroyed before the excavation was undertaken. They lay N. and WSW.

*Unassociated Finds*

The following objects cannot be traced to their original graves:

1. Bronze *buckle* and *buckle-plate* (FIG. 6, *d*). B. of loop 3 cm.; a slim oval decorated with four groups of scored lines. Tongue plain, down-curving at tip. Plate formed of two thin sheets of bronze, folded together over bar of loop, where a piece is cut out to allow for free action of tongue. Top surface of outer plate notched diagonally at sides, and longitudinally at end. Here, parallel engraved lines flank the row of five round-headed rivets that secure end of plate. The space between the two halves of plate suggests that belt was 2 mm. thick.
2. Small iron *ring* (FIG. 5, *n*). Diam. 1.5 cm., flattened section.
3. Iron *knife* (FIG. 16, *c*). L. 12.5 cm. Broad blade, back incurving at tip.
4. Fragments of four *knives*.
5. Fragments of four large *angle-irons* or *coffin-clamps* (FIG. 15, *d, e*) made of iron strips *c.* 15 cm. long by 2.5 cm. wide. Ends lozenge-shaped and have large flat-headed rivets with shanks projecting inwards. They are, therefore, outside angle-irons.
6. Fragments of four smaller *angle-irons* (FIG. 15, *c*) made of strips *c.* 18 cm. long by 2 cm. wide, with rivets at ends. Probably inside angle-irons.

## THE FINDS

SPEARS (GRAVES G2, G6 AND H3: FIGS. 14, *b-c*, 15, *a, b*)

Three spear-heads were found, all of normal pagan Saxon types. Only the G2 spear had a ferrule. On the two spears where measurements were possible, the diameter of the shafts can be estimated at 2 and 2.7 cm.

The G2 spear-head is the only one that is at all unusual. The inlaid band at the base of the socket (FIG. 14, *b*) adds this example to the gradually expanding group of English spear-heads decorated with bronze or silver. Up to the present time only eight inlaid examples have been published,<sup>25</sup> but the use of X-rays is beginning to suggest that they are less uncommon than hitherto imagined. The spiral iron binding and the iron collar around the split end of the socket are unusual on spears from this country, although both features occur quite commonly on angons from Frankish graves on the continent. A particularly close example is an angon from Flonheim,<sup>26</sup> the split socket of which is encircled by iron collars each inlaid with a single gold band and bound at its end to the shaft by iron wire in exactly the same way as the Finglesham spear-head. There appears to be no exact parallel from England, but a spear from Greetwell, Lincs., has inlaid wires on the iron ring binding the socket, a plain bronze collar, sprung on to the socket, is to be seen on a spear-head from Dumpton Park, Broadstairs, and a decorated example occurs on the inlaid spear-head from Great Chesterford, grave 51.<sup>27</sup>

SWORD (GRAVE G2: FIG. 14, *a*)

The welding design on the G2 sword-blade belongs to the 'alternate' type<sup>28</sup> (FIG. 8, *a*) examples of which have been published from Holborough grave 2, and Ely Fields Farm, Cambridge.<sup>29</sup> Views on the manufacture of these blades have been expressed in a number of recent papers<sup>30</sup> and it is not proposed to restate them here. Traces of sheepskin scabbard-linings have been detected on swords from Holborough graves 2 and 7<sup>31</sup> and on the sword from Orsoy grave 3, Germany.<sup>32</sup> Other, as yet unpublished, examples are known and it is likely that when more blades are examined, such scabbard linings may be found to be a normal feature. In the Orsoy report it is suggested that the wool was turned to the inside to be in direct contact with the sword-blade, and that its virtue was that it held the weapon tightly in the sheath but did not hinder its withdrawal at need. Another possible interpretation is that the lanolin in the wool protected the metal from deterioration. The position of the Finglesham sword, high up on the right side of the corpse, seems to be unusual. They were more usually placed lower down,

<sup>25</sup> Warhurst (1955), pp. 9 and 32-35, fig. 3.5; Evison (1955), pp. 24-6, 40-1, nos. 32, 35 and 37, figs. 1-2, pl. iii, c; Evison (1956), p. 97 ff., fig. 7; Evison (1958), p. 243. References to continental inlaid spear-heads will be found in Evison (1956). She suggests that the English examples were local products and not continental imports.

<sup>26</sup> Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (on loan: Worms Museum no. 9699). This appears to have come from the same grave as the sword referred to on p. 40, note 107.

<sup>27</sup> Greetwell: *Lincs. Archit. and Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s. v (1955), 81, fig. 1, 4. Broadstairs Public Library: Appendix II, p. 66, no. 28. Gt. Chesterford: Evison (1955), p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> Terms derived from Anstee, *op. cit.* in note 18, pp. 1432-4.

<sup>29</sup> H. Maryon, 'A sword of the Nydam type from Ely Fields Farm, near Ely, Cambridge,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiquar. Soc.*, xli (1948), 76, pls. xviii, xxii; Evison (1956), pp. 100, 118, fig. 8.

<sup>30</sup> H. Maryon, *op. cit.* in note 29, pp. 76 ff.; Anstee, *op. cit.* in note 18; A. France Lanord, 'La technique du Damas dans les épées mérovingiennes et carolingiennes,' *Revue hist. de la Lorraine*, lxxxvi (1949), no. 2; *id.* 'La fabrication des épées damassées aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne,' *Pays gaumais*, 100 année, nos. 1-2-8 (1949); P. Lebel, 'Provenance et diffusion des épées damassées,' *Rev. archéol. de l'Est et du Centre-Est*, iv (1953), 149; A. Liestol, 'Blodrefill og Mal,' *Viking*, xv (1951), 71-98; V. Evison, *Archaeologia*, xcvi (1953), 167-9, fig. 5 (Rainham swords).

<sup>31</sup> Evison (1956), p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> K. Böhner, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxlix (1949), 165.

although, as here, most swords do not appear to have been actually 'worn' in the grave. Parallels for the G2 position do exist, however. One plan of the Taplow (Bucks.) burial shows the sword high on the right shoulder;<sup>33</sup> swords in one Mitcham (Surrey) grave,<sup>34</sup> and in Sarre grave 211<sup>35</sup> were up by the head. At Petersfinger, Wilts., in grave 20, the sword was at shoulder-level on the left,<sup>36</sup> similarly at Mitcham in grave 73.

#### SHIELDS (GRAVES G2 AND G6: FIGS. 13, 14, *d-f*)

The G2 shield-boss is of the usual pagan Saxon type but the grip is of the less common 'long' type which was probably designed to span the shield-board completely. Full descriptions of the shields of this period are rare,<sup>37</sup> but a similar long grip occurred in grave 31 at Lyminge, Kent, on a shield that seems, like the Finglesham example, to have approached 2 ft. (60 cm.) in diameter.<sup>38</sup> A grip of the same type in Petersfinger grave 3<sup>39</sup> belonged to a shield not much over a foot in diameter. At Holborough, Kent, the later shields from graves 7 and 8 measured 1 ft. 8 in. (50 cm.) and 2 ft. 2 in. (65·5 cm.). In the Holborough report it has been suggested that the steep downward angle of a shield-boss is indicative of a curvature in the shield-board.<sup>40</sup> This suggestion was first made by Lethbridge in 1931<sup>41</sup> and is certainly not always correct. Sure proof of curvature in a shield can only be obtained where there is a long grip of the G2 type sufficiently intact to serve as evidence, or where it is possible to record a cross-section of the shield in the grave. Curved shields did exist, as is shown by the curved grip at Petersfinger grave 3 and in a grave at Cassington, Oxon. (L. *c.* 14½ in. or 36·5 cm.<sup>42</sup>), but that the boss alone is not sufficient evidence on which to base a conclusion is shown by the Finglesham G2 shield, where the flange of the boss was down-angled although the grip was perfectly straight. The angle of the flange may perhaps have been an accident of manufacture or even a deliberate device for giving greater resilience to the shield itself. In the present state of knowledge it is difficult to find parallels for the iron rim and bracing strips. Metal rims were found on shields at Sutton Hoo and Birka.<sup>43</sup> The form of the rim on the Finglesham shield is uncertain but it was probably a simple affair, perhaps an iron strip nailed into place.<sup>44</sup> The

<sup>33</sup> R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial,' *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Archaeol.*, xxv (1949), pl. xv. Another plan exists which gives a different positioning but for various reasons the published plan is considered to be more reliable.

<sup>34</sup> *Surrey Archaeol. Coll.*, xxi (1908), 27.

<sup>35</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, vii (1868), 310-11.

<sup>36</sup> Leeds and Shortt (1953), p. 14, no. 52, fig. 3,20.

<sup>37</sup> An appendix on shields by R. J. C. Atkinson appears in Leeds and Shortt (1953), pp. 55 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Warhurst (1955), p. 22.

<sup>39</sup> Leeds and Shortt (1953), p. 55.

<sup>40</sup> Evison (1956), p. 96.

<sup>41</sup> Lethbridge (1931), pp. 18 and 30.

<sup>42</sup> *Oxoniensia*, vii (1942), fig. 16.

<sup>43</sup> H. Maryon, 'The Sutton Hoo Shield,' *Antiquity*, xx (1946), pls. ii and iii; R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a provisional guide* (1947), fig. 5; H. Arbman, *Birka*, I (1940), pl. 15.

<sup>44</sup> The iron rim may have been descended from that on Germanic shields of the Roman iron age. There is a particularly fine first-century example from Faudenheim, nr. Mannheim (H. Gropengiesser, 'Aus der ältesten Geschichte des Neckardeltas,' *Jahresheft Badische Heimat Mannheim*, 1927, fig. 6).

situation of the shield in the grave is also uncommon, but there were shields over the heads of corpses at Sarre, in graves 111, 118 and 156.<sup>45</sup>

The two rivets in grave G6 may have belonged to a shield of a light type with no boss. If so, the rivets probably held the ends of a leather grip.

WEAVING SWORD (GRAVE D3: FIGS. 7, *b*, 8, *b*)

The iron weaving sword from grave D3 is a good specimen of a class of object that is comparatively rare in Anglo-Saxon graves. Only eight other examples are known, and the relevant information about them is listed below.

Provenience	Position	Length	Associations	Museum and Publication
<i>Bifrons</i> , Kent, Tomlinson gift (FIG. 7, <i>c</i> )	Not recorded	52 cm.	Not recorded	Maidstone, K.A.S. 1954. 620. 19
<i>Chessell Down</i> , I.O.W., grave 15 (FIG. 7, <i>d</i> )	Beside right arm	51 cm.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bronze bucket with engraved leopard.</li> <li>2. Silver mounts from two small drinking horns or cups.</li> <li>3. Silver-gilt pierced spoon.</li> <li>4. Crystal ball.</li> <li>5. Iron buckle with silver inlay.</li> <li>6. } Three silver-gilt</li> <li>7. } square-headed</li> <li>8. } brooches.</li> <li>9. Small equal-armed brooch with garnet decoration.</li> <li>10. Small silver-gilt disc-brooch with wedge-shaped garnets.</li> <li>11. Fragments of gold braid by skull.</li> <li>12. Gold finger-ring.</li> <li>13. Silver finger-ring.</li> </ol>	B.M. 1867, 7-29, 151. <i>Collect. Antiqua</i> , VI, 146; Hillier, <i>Hist. and Antiqs. of the I.O.W.</i> , I. fig. on p. 29.
<i>Holywell Row</i> , Suffolk, grave 11 (FIG. 7, <i>b</i> )	Outside coffin	53.5 cm.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Great square-headed brooch. Leeds (1949), A3, 11.</li> <li>2. Bronze girdle-hangers.</li> <li>3. Pair of silver spiral bracelets with stamped decoration.</li> </ol>	Mus. of Archaeol., Cambridge. Lethbridge (1931), pp. 4-9, fig. 3, 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, VI (1864-5), 175-6, 179.

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Pair of silver disc-pendants with stamped decoration.</li> <li>5. Silver pendant with garnet and glass settings.</li> <li>6. Pair of annular brooches.</li> <li>7. Jet, crystal and glass beads.</li> <li>8. Gold braid by skull.</li> <li>9. Bronze bowl with embossed rim.</li> <li>10. Bronze bowl with triangular lugs.</li> </ol>	
Luton, Bedfordshire	Not recorded	24 cm.	Not recorded—stray find	Luton. <i>Antiq. J.</i> , viii, 182.
Mitcham, Surrey, grave 49	Beside left thigh	58 cm.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pot.</li> <li>2. Chatelaine.</li> </ol>	<i>Proc. Soc. Antiq. London</i> , 2 ser. xxi, 5 ff.; <i>Archaeologia</i> , lx, 55.
Ozingell, Thanet, Kent	Not recorded	47 cm.	Not recorded	<i>Collect. Antiqua</i> , vi, 146 ff.; <i>Proc. Soc. Antiq. London</i> , xxi, 5.
Sarre, Thanet, Kent, 1860	Not recorded		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The famous 'Sarre brooch'—composite, late disc-brooch, Kendrick's A1 type.<sup>46</sup></li> <li>2. Coptic bowl.</li> <li>3. Mosaic pendant.</li> <li>4. Amethyst beads.</li> <li>5. Coins of Mauricius 582-602, Heraclius 610-641, Chlothair II, 613-28.</li> </ol>	No longer extant
Sarre, Thanet, Kent, grave 4	On left side		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 6 gold bracteates, D type.</li> <li>2. Amber beads.</li> <li>3. Silver wire ring with spiral bezel.</li> <li>4. Fragments of gold braid on left wrist.</li> <li>5. Silver-gilt spoon, pierced and with garnet decoration.</li> <li>6. Crystal ball.</li> </ol>	<i>Archaeol. Cantiana</i> , v, 305 ff.

<sup>46</sup> T. D. Kendrick, 'Polychrome Jewellery in Kent,' *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 427 ff., pl. iv,4.

Provenience	Position	Length	Associations	Museum and Publication
			7. Glass bell-beaker. 8. Pair of small silver-gilt disc brooches with wedge-shaped garnets. 9. Great square-headed brooch, Leeds B <sub>4</sub> , no. 84. 10. Square-headed brooch with garnet decoration. 11. Keys, shears, etc.	

It will be at once apparent from the list that all the weaving swords from known contexts came from women's graves, and that, except in the case of Mitcham, these graves were also exceptionally rich in grave-goods. The iron weaving sword was clearly a wealthy woman's prerogative. A similar picture is presented by the continental examples, the majority of which closely resemble our English pieces. In 1946<sup>47</sup> Gustav Behrens published a small corpus of sixteen weaving swords from the continental migration period, all but five of which came from Germany. The associations of six were lost and, of the remaining ten, eight came from unusually rich women's graves: Weimar, Thuringia, grave 26;<sup>48</sup> Worms (Bollwerk), grave 1;<sup>49</sup> Schretzheim, grave 26;<sup>50</sup> Unterthurheim, B. A. Wertingen;<sup>51</sup> Neu-Ruppersdorf, Lower Austria, grave 12;<sup>52</sup> Jutas, Hungary, grave 196<sup>53</sup>; Viley-St.-Etienne, Meurthe-et-Moselle, France, grave 46<sup>54</sup>; Lunde o Vansa, Norway.<sup>55</sup> Three of these graves contained coins. Schretzheim, grave 26, had a copy of a solidus of Justinian I together with two chip-carved bow brooches of Lombard type with semi-circular head-plates and two brooches, one an S, the other a rosette type, with all-over garnet cloisonné work. The Worms grave contained a silver coin of Totila (541-552), a pair of silver bird brooches with garnet eyes, plain body, and chip-carved tail and wings, a silver spoon with stamped decoration, and a bow-brooch of Lombard type with rectangular head-

<sup>47</sup> Behrens (1946-8), pp. 138 ff.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138, fig. 8; A. Götze, *Die Althüringischen Funde von Weimar* (1912), pp. 49 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Behrens (1946-8), pp. 138-40, fig. 10; Werner (1935), pp. 39 ff., pl. 6 a.

<sup>50</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 140, fig. 12; Werner (1935), pp. 87 ff., pls. 11 b and 12 a; P. Zenetti, *Germania*, xvi (1932), 307, fig. 1, 1-3; N. Åberg, 'Die Chronologie der Merovingerzeit im Lichte einige neue Funde,' *Altschlesien*, v (1934), 297 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 140; Werner (1935), p. 84, pl. 7 a.

<sup>52</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 140; E. Beninger, *Germanenzeit in Niederösterreich* (1934), pp. 102 and 106 ff., figs. 49-51 and 57.

<sup>53</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 140, fig. 14.

<sup>54</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 142, fig. 15; E. Salin, *Le Haut moyen-âge en Lorraine* (1939), p. 243, pls. 13,4, 16,1-2, 17,1, and 20, 2,4.

<sup>55</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 142, fig. 13.



plate. The grave at Unterthurheim held a solidus of Justinian I (527-565) and a disc-brooch with all-over garnet cloisonné decoration.

Continental opinion on the question of the graves dated by coins is not altogether reliable, nobody having yet found a satisfactory method of calculating the length of time the coins themselves remained above ground before burial. The dates of the coins in these three graves, however, suggest that they cannot have been interred before the middle, and perhaps not until the late, sixth century. To attempt to be more precise is to embark on the troubled waters of continental chronology and there is no space here to do more than summarize the main trends. The fashion among continental scholars, and it is one that does not always agree with the English evidence, has been to give a late-sixth to mid-seventh century date to the bulk of the cemetery material. Åberg<sup>56</sup> dates the Schretzheim grave to a period around the third quarter of the sixth century on the evidence of the bow brooches, which he considers to be among the earliest Lombard types—that is, from the period of the Lombard land-taking in Italy, *c.* 568. Werner<sup>57</sup> considers this date to be too early, on the assumption that Lombard influences cannot have made themselves felt north of the Alps much before 600. He puts a similar date to the other two graves. Kühn agrees with the dating of the Worms grave and places the Weimar group in the same period.<sup>58</sup> He holds the Villey-St.-Etienne grave to be somewhat earlier, probably middle to late sixth century.<sup>59</sup> Behrens adopts Kühn's views.

Broadly speaking, then, continental scholars agree to date the weaving swords to the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Two of our English graves confirm this late dating. The Sarre 1860 grave is dated numismatically to the first quarter of the seventh century at the earliest, and the amethyst beads and Coptic bowl suggest that a date in the second quarter is probably more correct. A similar date may be accepted for the silver pendants in the Holywell Row grave. The stamp-decorated pair are well paralleled in the seventh-century Kentish cemeteries, *e.g.* in Kingston Down, grave 205, in association with the famous Kingston brooch, in Kingston, grave 110, and Sibbertswold, graves 86 and 124.<sup>60</sup> The garnet pendant is also typical of these cemeteries. These two graves in our list may be as late as the mid-seventh-century. The remaining grave-groups, however, are certainly not so late. The Chessell Down 15 and Sarre 4 graves, with their square-headed brooches and early garnet disc-brooches, belong to the middle of the sixth century, and suggest that iron weaving swords appear in England simultaneously with, if not in some instances earlier than, those on the continent.

All the English weaving swords are in a bad state of preservation. Only the Chessell Down and Bifrons examples preserve any trace of their original wooden grips. Behrens's illustration of the weaving sword from Leihgestern, Oberhessen,<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 50, pp. 297-8.

<sup>57</sup> Werner (1935), p. 65.

<sup>58</sup> Kühn (1940), pp. 250 and 260 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 193.

<sup>60</sup> Faussett (1856), pls. i, no. 2, and iv, nos. 20, 22, 24.

<sup>61</sup> Behrens (1946-8), fig. 9.

shows such a grip intact, exactly like that of a sword. The Worms weaving batten shows the slight retaining knob that must have been present at the top of all the tangs to hold the grip in place. The continental pieces are for the most part rather smaller than the English ones, the majority being between 40 and 47 cm. long. This suggests that perhaps the Anglo-Saxon examples were home-produced and not imported. In fact, from the English point of view, the general distribution of the iron weaving swords presents a problem. The large German group occurs almost exclusively on the eastern side of the Upper Rhine in traditionally Alemanic territories<sup>62</sup> and not in the areas that had most influence on Kent. Two pieces strayed farther to the north, near Weimar and Giessen, another into Hungary, and one into the region of Nancy in France. There is nothing to suggest any substantial trade in these objects with Kent or with Scandinavia. The two Norwegian examples and the English group, therefore, are probably independent developments, in part, at least where England is concerned, of earlier date. In the light of this, the isolated Herpes weaving sword (FIG. 7, *a*) must certainly be yet another Kentish export to this part of France.<sup>63</sup>

The pattern-welded blade of the Finglesham weaving sword is an unusual feature.<sup>64</sup> In itself it is normal enough, being of the simple, standard, twist pattern found on a great many sword-blades.<sup>65</sup> The function of the expensive pattern-welding technique, however, was to give added toughness and resilience to a cutting blade; it would be pointless, therefore, to make a weaving tool by pattern-welding. On the other hand, it would be sensible and economical to adapt a damaged sword blade for the purpose, by grinding down the edges and providing the point with a blunt tang.<sup>64</sup> The radiograph, unfortunately, is not clear enough to give much information on this point, but it does suggest that the small tang at the end was made by folding over a strip of metal, rather than by original forging. This would strengthen the argument that the piece was a re-used sword-blade. It is impossible to be certain about this, however, and the explanation could rest in some simple, human whim. The aesthetic appeal of the play of light on the surface of a pattern-welded blade must have been considerable,<sup>66</sup> and it may well be that, on an iron tool, this was the equivalent of the carved decoration on wood or bone. Incised or raised decoration in metal would have damaged the woollen threads, but a pattern-welded blade in its pristine state was smooth and, therefore, quite functional.

<sup>62</sup> Behrens (1946-8), pp. 142-3.

<sup>63</sup> Leeds (1957), pp. 21 ff., has laid great stress on the number of Kentish exports found among the grave-goods in this cemetery. The Herpes weaving sword is now in the British Museum: reg. no. 1905, 5-20, 1049.

<sup>64</sup> Radiographs of the weaving swords from Chessell Down, Bifrons, Holywell Row grave 11, and Herpes produced negative results. The weaving sword from Villey-St.-Etienne, now exhibited in Nancy Museum, is composed of two composite rods with welded cutting edges. It can clearly be seen that it has been cut down from a sword and blunted.

<sup>65</sup> Anstee, *op. cit.* in note 18, fig. 1, p. 1432.

<sup>66</sup> An obscure passage in *Beowulf*, lines 1457-60, probably refers to the surface pattern of the sword blade and suggests that some particular destructive or protective power was associated with it. Aesthetics may therefore have been merely of secondary importance. The reference is to the sword Hrunting: 'Ecg waes iren, ater-tanum fah,' translated by C. L. Wrenn as 'The blade was of iron, adorned with deadly twig-like patternings'.

The resulting tool would have been a luxury item, and this raises the old question of the real purpose of these iron weaving swords. Miss Elisabeth Crowfoot has very kindly outlined her views on the subject for me as follows:

'I do not think there can be any doubt that these "swords" or "battens" really are weaving beaters. A sword-like implement seems to be used for this purpose on primitive looms all over the world, and though these are most often made of wood (or, in the north, of large bones), Ling Roth<sup>67</sup> quotes one Indian example where a wooden beater had been weighted with a protruding edge of wrought iron. I have always felt that the Anglo-Saxon swords must have been rather heavy for beating up the fine Anglo-Saxon twills (Ling Roth quotes the iron-edged beater as being used for very coarse wool), though Dr. Agnes Geijer has said that she found it easier to beat up fine wool with a sword beater than with a modern reed, as she had more control of the pressure and was less likely to catch the threads.'

Since there are so few of these iron weaving swords, the vast majority of such tools must, as Behrens suggested,<sup>68</sup> have been made of wood, and naturally these have not survived. In view of this it might perhaps be suggested that while their primary domestic function is not in doubt, these rare iron weaving swords may have been, like the real swords they closely resemble, a symbol of the rank and social status of their owner. The governing factor may of course be an economic one, but, on the whole, iron was not so expensive that the majority of men could not afford an iron-headed spear. It is perhaps worth noting that three of the English examples, Chessell Down, Holywell Row, and Sarre 4, occurred in association with fillets or wristlets of gold braid, and that two of these graves also contained the enigmatical crystal balls and spoons that seem to be of symbolic rather than utilitarian use. Although these things are less common in German graves, we may note that among those which contained weaving battens, Worms grave 1 had a pierced silver spoon, and Schretzheim 26 and Villey-St.-Etienne 46 pierced glass balls.

NEEDLE-CASE (GRAVE D3: PL. I, C; FIG. 5, *u*)

Objects of this type do not appear frequently in Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent. There are none from the Sarre or Bifrons cemeteries, nor do they appear to have featured in the Kingston Down/Sibbertswold group of late cemeteries. There is, however, a large collection of this kind of object in the Ashmolean Museum, most of which came from the upper Thames valley cemeteries; e.g. Abingdon (Berks.), Cassington (Oxon.), Fairford (Glos.), Frilford (Berks.), and Wheatley (Oxon.). The same museum has examples from Barrington (Cambs.), and Marston St. Lawrence (Northants.). Newbury Museum has one from East Shefford (Berks.), Aylesbury Museum has a fine example from Cursley Hill, Bishopstone (Bucks.), and there was another in grave 50 of the Petersfinger cemetery.<sup>69</sup> The distribution, then, seems to be predominantly West Saxon, with outliers in the midlands and Cambridgeshire.

All are of the same type and made in the same way, as a tapering bronze

<sup>67</sup> H. Ling Roth, *Studies in Primitive Looms* (Bankfield Museum Notes, 2 ser., nos. 8-11, 1918), pp. 73-4.

<sup>68</sup> Behrens (1946-8), p. 138.

<sup>69</sup> Leeds and Shortt (1953), p. 33, pl. vii, no. L 138.

cylinder open at both ends with a ring through the top. The majority formed part of a toilet set and were in company with needles, pins and ear picks, being presumably carried at the belt. Their use is a little difficult to decide. They are usually called needle-cases, but the interpretation does not seem altogether satisfactory, since one closed end would be expected. There is, however, a curious object published with the finds from the Dunstable barrow (Beds.)<sup>70</sup>—a tapering bronze tube with one closed end, the open end retaining traces of a leather sheath, stitched across, and pulled together by a cord. It is possible that some method similar to this was used to secure the end of the 'needle-cases', for the Dunstable object may well have been something of the same type.

This Dunstable tube has been attributed to the very early pagan Saxon period, and there is nothing to suggest that any of the tubes are later than sixth century in date.<sup>71</sup>

#### TEXTILES (GRAVE D3: PL. I, C; FIG. 10)

Three graves in the cemetery produced textile remains or impressions, which have been examined by Miss Elisabeth Crowfoot. Her notes on the textiles from graves G2 and H1 are included in the grave inventory and need no further comment here. Those from grave D3 proved more interesting and Miss Crowfoot has very kindly written as follows:

"Textile remains were present on a bronze tube and iron ring and tubes from grave D 3. They lay on both surfaces of the objects, but it is probable that all were folds of one textile, a twill with a tablet-woven border.

'*Material*: Probably linen. Fragments from the border and the twill were examined by the British Cotton Industry Research Association, and described as "from a fibre of vegetable origin, most probably a bast fibre".

'*Warp*: Z-spun.

'*Weft*: S-spun.

'*Technique*: Broken diamond (crystal) twill, count *c.* 22-24 × 18 threads per cm.; probably the diamond completes on 18 threads (FIG. 10, *a*) but the condition of the fragment makes it difficult to be certain.

"Part of a band of at least six tablet twists, 5 mm. wide, arranged chevron-wise (4-hole tablets, threaded alternately right and left), is present on one side of the metal (FIG. 10, *b*), and a few threads of twill attached show that this was not a separate braid but the border of a twill cloth. The twists are of Z-spun thread, with 17-18 wefts per cm. This was, therefore, probably a tablet border on the diamond twill. Some broken tablet twists lie across part of the band, and fragments of twill across the end of the border, but as far as can be seen the six twists were its full width. It was not found possible to remove the overlying pieces to see if the edge was complete; but the arrangement of the tablet weave, with the tablet wefts single, indicates a side border rather than a starting border, though it is impossible to be certain without having seen the edge.

"There are impressions, probably from the diamond twill, on other pieces of iron and wood that may come from the same objects, the surface deteriorated; again the twill lies in folds or thicknesses.

<sup>70</sup> *Archaeol. J.*, LXXXVIII (1931), 209, fig. 7,9.

<sup>71</sup> Needle-cases in associated grave-groups: Cassington (Purwell Farm), grave 2, with early saucer-brooches with running spiral ornament; Wheatley, grave 14, with two large saucer-brooches of the middle or late sixth century; East Shefford, grave 13, with a pair of tinned bronze disc-brooches, usual fifth-sixth-century type.

'Broken diamond twills similar to this have been found at Sutton Hoo (S.H. 1 and S.H. 9, in wool; S.H. 12 in linen); from the Broomfield barrow, Essex (B. 1, B. 2, both wool); a fragment from Barrington (Cambs.), in linen;<sup>72</sup> remains on a Jutish pin from Dover, c. 600; and a possible fragment on a Saxon buckle from Horndean (Hants.). These English examples are for the most part not yet published. This is the most popular type of diamond twill in Scandinavia.<sup>73</sup>

'Tablet woven borders, starting and ending and side, are recorded from a number of sites in Scandinavia; the wide side border from Vrangstrup (c. 4th century) described by Margrethe Hald<sup>74</sup> is nearest in technique to our border. The famous mantle from the Thorsbjerg find in Schleswig has tablet borders on all four sides,<sup>75</sup> and a fragment from Sutton Hoo (S.H. 14) seems to be from the corner formed by two borders (in this case two-hole tablet weave). The Broomfield twill (B. 2) has a closing border of tablet twist, and Miss Audrey Henshall kindly informs me that a piece she examined recently from Blewburton Hill, Berks., has a tablet-weave starting border. These are all probably in wool.'

#### GLASS (GRAVES D3 AND AA4: PL. IV, C, D)

The claw-beaker from grave D3 is one of the finest examples in Harden's variety of claw-beakers with not very stable bases (type IIa, Chronological group Bi),<sup>76</sup> the development of which he, in company with Thorpe<sup>77</sup> and others, traces from the stemmed beakers (type I, Chronological group B i). By analogy with the continental chronology, he dates both types to the fifth century. Harden lists six English examples of this early variety of claw-beaker,<sup>78</sup> all of which come from Kent. Only one of them occurred in a datable grave-context. This was the beaker from grave 7 at Howletts, associated with which were a pair of small silver square-headed brooches with divided foot and garnet decoration, and a small silver disc-brooch with keystone-garnet decoration. These suggest a date for the grave in the middle or the third quarter of the sixth century. The Sarre grave 60 claw-beaker was found in association with a buckle, the tongue of which had a shield-shaped back.<sup>79</sup> This was probably of similar date. If the fifth-century date for the manufacture of these claw-beakers is accepted, then it would appear that these two at least were anything up to seventy-five years old when buried.

The palm-cup in grave AA4 belongs to a group that Harden, in agreement with Rademacher, attributes to the seventh century.<sup>80</sup> The twenty-three other examples in the group (type Xb, Chronological group B iii) are for the most part not well associated, but one occurred in the Kingston Down cemetery, in grave 205, in company with the famous 'Kingston brooch'.<sup>60</sup> It was probably buried, therefore, during the second quarter of the seventh century. The Finglesham cup should belong to the same period.

<sup>72</sup> G. M. Crowfoot, 'Textiles of the Saxon period,' *Proc. Cambridge Antiquar. Soc.*, XLIV (1951), fig. 3.

<sup>73</sup> M. Hald, *Olddanske Tekstiler* (1950), figs. 48, 49, 78-80, and probably fig. 89, one of the few linen pieces she records.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 80-1.

<sup>75</sup> R. Stettiner, *Brettchenweberei in den Moorfundten* (1911), p. 51.

<sup>76</sup> Harden (1956), pp. 139 and 159.

<sup>77</sup> W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass* (1935; 2 ed. 1949), pp. 53-5.

<sup>78</sup> Harden (1956), p. 159, Group B, II a.

<sup>79</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, vi (1864-5), 168, pl.; Harden (1956), pl. xvi, b.

<sup>80</sup> Harden (1956), p. 142; F. Rademacher, 'Fränkische Gläser aus dem Rheinlande,' *Bonner Jahrb.*, cxlvii (1942), 301 ff.

## POTTERY (GRAVES A1, C1 AND E1: FIG. 4)

The pottery bottle from grave E1 is a clumsy, ill-made version of a type common to Kent and to Frankish areas across the channel. The more sophisticated rouletted examples have been discussed recently,<sup>81</sup> and the evidence points to a seventh-century date: the majority of these must have been imported from the continent. The Finglesham bottle is different. It is wheel-made, but lacks the elegant lines of the rouletted bottles and may represent a local attempt to copy the imported wares, scratched grooving on the neck being substituted for the more elaborate impressed patterns. A similarly lumpy pot with incised grooving on the neck was found on Folkestone Down in 1910,<sup>82</sup> while a third with scratched and irregular zig-zag decoration came from grave 13 at Howletts.<sup>83</sup> The Howletts pot was associated with the fragmentary quoit brooch published by Leeds in 1936<sup>84</sup> and which is of late-fifth-century date. Assuming that this association is correct,<sup>85</sup> we may perhaps suggest that the Howletts bottle was sixth rather than seventh century in date. The Finglesham pot probably belongs to the same period. Another pot that may have some bearing on the question was found at Deal.<sup>86</sup> In shape it was more like a Saxon urn, but the fabric and the grooving on the neck is similar to that of the Finglesham bottle.

Hand-made pottery of the type found in graves A1 and C1 is not common in the rich east-Kent cemeteries. Although similar forms appear in north-west Kent,<sup>87</sup> the type is more characteristic of the Anglian districts. Yet parallels from east Kent do exist; a small globular pot with everted rim from Ramsgate,<sup>88</sup> and a pot with rounded base and flattened sides from near Great Mongeham.<sup>89</sup> In addition to these, there are the so-called sub-Roman pots from Worth<sup>90</sup> and Wingham<sup>91</sup> which are also very similar in shape. It is almost impossible to date these two Finglesham pots, but Myres has suggested that the larger of the two, from grave C1, with its globular body and flaring rim, may be descended from continental Anglian urns with short upright or everted rims that Jankuhn has placed in the fifth century.<sup>92</sup> The C1 pot is clearly later than these and may be sixth century in date.

## BELT FITTINGS (GRAVES D3, E2, G2, H2 AND 3, AND UNASSOCIATED: FIG. 6, a-k)

The six buckles from the cemetery came from graves D3, E2, G2, H2 and H3, and another is included among the unassociated finds. Grave G2 (FIG. 6, b) and

<sup>81</sup> Evison (1956), pp. 104-5.

<sup>82</sup> G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv (1915), pl. cxxxix, 2.

<sup>83</sup> B.M. 1935, 10-29, 11.

<sup>84</sup> Leeds (1936), pl. iii a.

<sup>85</sup> Some doubt will always remain about the accuracy of the grave-groupings of the Howletts cemetery; as yet unpublished, they are based on rough notes by Mr. A. E. Relph.

<sup>86</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xvii (1937), 310-13, pl. xxxiii.

<sup>87</sup> J. N. L. Myres notes parallels from Risely, Horton Kirby and Farningham (Dartford Museum). There is yet another pot of this type from the Rondeau Estate, Sittingbourne (B.M. 1883, 12-13, 595).

<sup>88</sup> Appendix II, p. 66, Herne Bay Public Library.

<sup>89</sup> Appendix II, p. 64, no. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Appendix II, p. 64, no. 10.

<sup>91</sup> Appendix II, p. 69, nos. 51-2.

<sup>92</sup> *Antiquity*, xxvi (1952), 24.

those from D3 and E2 with their accompanying rivet sets (FIG. 6, *a, e, g, h* and *j*) are well paralleled in sixth-century continental Frankish graves. The dating of these buckles from their English associations has not so far received detailed attention, but Åberg has suggested that the type with the heavy shield on the back occurs in the late sixth century.<sup>93</sup> Certainly where these buckles occur in rich grave-groups, as in Sarre grave 4 (p. 31 f.), and Bifrons graves 29, 41 and 42,<sup>94</sup> the archaeological picture presented is remarkably uniform and in many respects very similar to that of the two rich women's graves from Finglesham. The majority of the objects in these graves can be dated to the middle of the sixth century, while a few pieces may belong to slightly later or earlier parts of the same century. The exceptionally fine decorated buckle with its matching suite of belt-rivets from Finglesham grave E2 seems to be without parallel in this country.

The buckle and plate among the unassociated finds (FIG. 6, *d*) may have come from one of the AA series of graves. It is closely paralleled by a buckle in Rochester Museum, among the finds from Watts Avenue, also with an oval, scored loop, and a notched plate with a row of five rivets at its base. Another very similar buckle was found in grave 18 in the Holborough cemetery,<sup>95</sup> and further parallels come from Bekesbourne grave 32<sup>96</sup> and Burwell, Cambs., grave 72.<sup>97</sup> All these cemeteries appear to be of seventh-century date, and this buckle type seems to occur only in late contexts.<sup>98</sup>

#### FINGER-RING (GRAVE G1: FIG. 6, *m*)

Examples of this type of ring have come from grave 250 at Kingston Down, associated only with beads,<sup>99</sup> and grave 4 at Sarre along with the rich grave-group discussed above. Two more such rings, with no known associations, are now in the British Museum, and come from Sarre<sup>100</sup> and Faversham.<sup>101</sup> There is a fifth ring of this type in Canterbury Museum, but the provenience is not known. The occurrence of these rings at Kingston, Sarre and Faversham, cemeteries known to extend into the seventh century, suggests that this particular fashion was in vogue from the late sixth century (Sarre 4), but overlapped into the beginning of the seventh. The Finglesham ring, broken and re-used as an earring, was possibly buried in the seventh.

#### ANNULAR BROOCH (GRAVE C2: FIG. 6, *l*)

The annular brooch in its simpler forms, as Leeds demonstrated,<sup>102</sup> has a predominantly Anglian distribution, but it does appear in Kent and perhaps

<sup>93</sup> Åberg (1926), pp. 118-20.

<sup>94</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, x (1876), 309, 313-14.

<sup>95</sup> Evison (1956), pp. 95 and 123, fig. 19.3.

<sup>96</sup> Faussett (1856), p. 153, fig. 7.

<sup>97</sup> Lethbridge (1931), p. 60, fig. 30.1.

<sup>98</sup> The Watts Avenue graves appear to be at least in part seventh century. Finds from the site include amethyst beads and a cabochon garnet pendant (G. Payne, *Collect. Cantiana* (1893), p. 121).

<sup>99</sup> Faussett (1856), pl. xi, 13.

<sup>100</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXXI (1957), 231, fig. 4.

<sup>101</sup> (R. A. Smith), *B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (1923), p. 45, fig. 45.

<sup>102</sup> E. T. Leeds, 'The distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered,' *Archaeologia*, xci (1945), 46 ff.

more frequently than is generally recognized. The Bifrons cemetery has produced no less than fourteen examples (graves 12, 16, 19; nine in Tomlinson Coll.), four have come from Faversham (B.M. nos. 1092.70; 1127.70; 1288.70), four from Howletts (B.M. graves 33-35), two from Sarre (graves 27 and 85), two from Ozingell,<sup>103</sup> and one apiece from Guiton<sup>104</sup> and Horton Kirby (Maidstone Museum). Dover Museum contains two other examples of unknown provenience. Unfortunately very few of these are from known, or datable, contexts. The brooch in grave 12 at Bifrons<sup>105</sup> was associated with a rectangular belt-plate, its large cells set with green and red glass. It is an elegant example of early Frankish cloisonné work, examples of which are known from other Kentish cemeteries.<sup>106</sup> This style, in its earliest and richest phases, is associated with a group of gold-and-garnet-decorated swords that includes those from Flonheim,<sup>107</sup> Gultlingen,<sup>108</sup> and Pouan,<sup>109</sup> which, by their close relationship to the objects from the grave of Childeric (d. 481), and by associated coins, have been attributed by Werner to a late-fifth- or early-sixth-century *milieu*.<sup>110</sup> The plate from Bifrons grave 12, however, bears traces of influence from garnet brooches, such as that in grave 84 at Weimar,<sup>111</sup> which Werner places in the period between 520 and 550. The Bifrons grave, then, and the annular brooch with it, may belong to the second quarter of the sixth century. The only other annular brooch in a datable context was found in grave 16 in the same cemetery. It was in association with a small bronze bow-brooch that has three knobs on a semi-circular headplate and is decorated with punched decoration. Kühn<sup>112</sup> has dated this brooch-form within the first half of the sixth century. These graves, therefore, substantiate Leeds's view that the annular brooch was an early arrival in Kent and was quickly superseded by more elaborate forms of jewellery,<sup>113</sup> so that there is no need to put the Finglesham annular brooch later than the early part of the sixth century.

#### RADIATE BROOCHES (GRAVE D3: PL. II; FIG. 9, *a*)

These brooches belong to class 11 of Kühn's corpus of Rhineland bow-brooches,<sup>114</sup> a class with straight-sided foot and lantern-shaped knobs. The type is widespread along the middle Rhine and in north France. In Kent we have two

<sup>103</sup> C. Roach Smith, *Collect. Antiqua*, III (n.d.), 1 ff.

<sup>104</sup> Grave 93. Faussett (1856), p. 30.

<sup>105</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, x (1876), 306.

<sup>106</sup> Lyminge, graves 17, 27, 32 and 36 (Warhurst (1955), pl. ix); Howletts, B.M. 1936, 5-11, 115 and 116; Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Payne, *op. cit.* in note 98, p. 114; *V.C.H. Kent*, I (1908), 374; (Smith), *op. cit.* in note 101, pl. iii, 3.

<sup>107</sup> *Westdeutsch. Zeitschrift*, v (1886), pl. 6 f.; G. Kossinna, 'Germanische Kultur im 1 Jahrtausend,' *Mannus Bibliothek*, L (1932), 149, figs. 146 ff.

<sup>108</sup> W. Veeck, *Die Alamannen in Württemberg* (Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit, I, 1931), pls. 68 a, 2-3; 68 b, 1-2.

<sup>109</sup> *Gallia*, XIV (1956), 65-75.

<sup>110</sup> Werner (1935), pp. 30 ff.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34, pl. i A.

<sup>112</sup> Kühn (1940), pp. 172-4, pl. 82, type 16.

<sup>113</sup> Leeds (1936), p. 3.

<sup>114</sup> Kühn (1940), p. 140, pl. 76, 11/10.



other examples, both from the Howletts cemetery,<sup>115</sup> which are similar to, but not exactly like, the Finglesham pair. Two others in the Herpes cemetery in the Charente,<sup>116</sup> are isolated examples that may possibly be Kentish exports.<sup>63</sup> The closest parallel, however, comes from grave 94 at Basel, Kleinhunigen,<sup>117</sup> in the form of a pair of brooches from the same mould as those from Finglesham. Grave 49 at Westhofen, Rheinhessen,<sup>118</sup> has produced another very similar pair. The origin of these radiates has never been in doubt; they were exported from the Frankish Rhineland and probably reached this country via the north of France. Their dating is a more serious problem. Kühn has placed the manufacture of the class between 500 and 550, and typologically speaking, the Finglesham brooches appear to belong to an early phase of this development. Kurt Böhner has suggested to me that the Finglesham pair should be dated around 500,<sup>119</sup> basing his argument on the chronological position of the Basel grave mentioned above, which he thinks cannot have been later than 525. Hawkes, on the other hand, has argued<sup>120</sup> that we have no Frankish material in Kent that is earlier than Werner's class II (520-50),<sup>121</sup> and that the Frankish influences did not get under way before 525. In this statement he has overlooked the presence in Kent of the glass cloisonné work above (p. 40), which can, in part at least, be equated with Werner's class Ib (480-520). This argument, however, does not affect the lantern-knobbed radiate brooches, which occur only in Werner's class II. There was one in grave 19 of the Chaouilley cemetery<sup>122</sup> in company with a rosette-shaped garnet brooch and a *triens* of Justinian I. This appears to be typologically later than the Finglesham examples, having one garnet-decorated knob in the style of Kühn's class VII (525-550). It is suggested, then, that the D3 radiate brooches belong to the period about 525, although, in view of Böhner's opinions, they may possibly be a little earlier. They may, of course, have been manufactured a long time before their arrival in Kent. As we have noticed, however, they show very little sign of wear and were therefore probably somewhat newer when buried than the great square-headed brooch from the same grave.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Kühn (1940), 11/25-26; *Brit. Mus. Quart.*, x (1935-6), 131, pl. xxiii,9; Åberg (1926), p. 92, fig. 153, table III, 19; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, 2 ser. xxx (1920), 108, pl. ii.

<sup>116</sup> Kühn (1940), 11/29; (Smith), *op. cit.* in note 101, pl. xiv,6.

<sup>117</sup> Kühn (1940), 11/12; 25. *Jahresbericht der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* (1933), p. 124, pl. viii. In the grave-group were: silver pin with garnet-eyed bird's head; bird-brooch with plain body and garnet eyes, tail and wings; pair of silver strap-ends with spiral ornament; pair of garnet pendant earrings; Roman glass flask; pot with stamped decoration. Basel Museum.

<sup>118</sup> Kühn (1940), 11/23. Worms Museum.

<sup>119</sup> Dr. Böhner writes (5 April 1957): 'Die fibeln mit halbrunder Kopfplatz gehören meiner Meinung nach zweifellos in die Zeit um 500. Grab 94 von Basel Kleinhünigen ist allein wegen des Knickwandtopfes mit der eingebogenen Oberwand nicht mehr nach 525 möglich, wie sich aus einer Untersuchung der merowingerzeitlichen Keramik ergibt.'

<sup>120</sup> Hawkes (1956), p. 101.

<sup>121</sup> Werner (1935), pp. 32 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Werner (1935), pp. 36, 63, 71, pl. i D; J. Voinot, 'Les Fouilles de Chaouilley, cimetière mérovingienne,' *Mém. de la soc. d'archéol. de Lorraine, Nancy*, LIV (1904), 5 ff.

<sup>123</sup> The amount of wear would depend on where on the body the brooches were worn. If, as has been suggested above, the radiate brooches were at the waist, then one would expect them to have received as much wear and tear as the square-headed brooch on the lower chest, but, of course, it is impossible to tell how frequently each brooch was worn and whether it was always in the same position. Calculations based on wear are chancy unless there is supporting evidence from other brooches of the same class found in graves of the same date, as is the case with the square-headed brooch.

BIRD-BROOCHES (GRAVE D3: PL. II; FIG. 9, *c*, *d*)

This type of bird-brooch is most uncommon. In her corpus, the examples in which are predominantly Rhenish, Gertrud Thiry<sup>124</sup> does not include anything like them, the great majority of Frankish bird-brooches being of the bird-of-prey type, examples of which have been found in Kent also (e.g. Bifrons graves 41 and 51). A few parallels to the Finglesham birds do exist, however, namely an exactly similar piece illustrated by Delamain from the Herpes cemetery,<sup>125</sup> and another pair of brooches from Arras (apparently unpublished), in the National Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye (reg. no. 46646). All three are of the perching bird type, and have devolved style I zoomorphic body decoration. Animal ornament does not generally figure in this way on Frankish metalwork of the sixth century, as both Brenner<sup>126</sup> and Werner<sup>127</sup> have commented (see p. 45).<sup>128</sup> In view of this I suggest that this type of bird-brooch is a Kentish development, for there are a number of brooches, found in Kent or in the areas culturally allied to Kent, which, while not exactly similar, are clearly related to the Finglesham pair. One comes from the new cemetery at Bekesbourne, Kent,<sup>129</sup> the other from Chessell Down, I.O.W. grave 6 (B.M. 1867, 7-29, 36). Both are birds of the perching type; both have debased style I body ornament, and the Bekesbourne piece also has garnet inlay on the tail and eye. A second brooch from Chessell Down, grave 3, in the form of a duck-like bird similarly has style I decoration.<sup>130</sup> On both English and continental brooches this zoomorphic ornament is very degenerate but still unmistakably Kentish in type. It seems probable, therefore, that the Arras and Herpes brooches originated in Kent. The Frankish bird-brooches with plain bodies and garnet eyes seem to have flourished in the early sixth century. The Finglesham type is perhaps a little later; the condition of the zoomorphic ornament suggests a date about the middle of the sixth century.

BRACTEATES (GRAVE D3: PL. III; FIG. 9, *e*, *f*)

The Finglesham bracteates, like the majority of examples found in England<sup>131</sup>

<sup>124</sup> G. Thiry, *Die Vögel fibeln der germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit* (1939).

<sup>125</sup> P. Delamain, 'Le cimetière d'Herpes,' *Bulletin et Mém. de la soc. archéol. et hist. de la Charente*, 6e sér. (1890-1), 96, pl. xv.

<sup>126</sup> *VII Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (1912), p. 299.

<sup>127</sup> Werner (1935), p. 48.

<sup>128</sup> Always excepting the group of square-headed brooches derived from English or Scandinavian models, collected and discussed by Eva Nissen Fett in *Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1941, pp. 1-81.

<sup>129</sup> Canterbury Museum; to be published shortly. Mr. Frank Jenkins has been most generous in making this material available for study in advance of his publication of the cemetery.

<sup>130</sup> *Trans. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* (1846) (Winchester Congress), 153, pl. iii, 11. There is a plain bird-brooch from Sarre (B.M. 1893, 6-1, 224) which seems to be a derivative of the Finglesham type.

<sup>131</sup> Listed and studied by Leeds (1946), 22 ff. D-bracteates occurred in the following graves: (*a*) *Sarre grave 4* (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, v (1863), 310 ff.)—6 devolved D-bracteates, associated with objects listed on p. 31 f.; (*b*) *Sarre grave 90* (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, vi (1864-5), 172 ff.)—1 D-bracteate, gold braid, amber beads; (*c*) *Bifrons grave 29* (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, x (1876), 309-10)—3 D-bracteates and one B type, pair of radiate brooches (Kühn (1940), type 6 (500-550)), pair of keystone garnet disc-brooches (Kendrick's type B), rectangular buckle loop with shield-shaped back; (*d*) *Bifrons grave 63* (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, xiii (1880), 553)—1 D-bracteate, great square-headed brooch (Leeds A1,2); (*e*) *Bifrons grave 64* (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, xiii (1880), 553)—1 D-bracteate, pair of square-headed brooches, crystal ball in silver slings; (*f*) *Lyminge grave 16* (Warhurst (1955), pp. 13 ff.: excavated in 1953 and 1954 and therefore not included in Leeds's corpus)—1 devolved D-bracteate, Kentish style button-brooch, radiate brooch with lozenge-shaped foot (Kühn (1940) type 12), and a simple buckle.

belong to the Jutland group I of the D class.<sup>132</sup> Of the English material, the closest parallels to our nos. i-ii (p. 14) come from Sarre grave 90 and Bifrons grave 29.<sup>133</sup> Among the northern finds, bracteates from Nørre Hvam, Ringkøbing A., Skonager, Ribe A., and Skåne,<sup>134</sup> are extremely close, although not from the same die. Other similar bracteates, but showing rather more differences, come from Skodborg, Haderslev A.; Ukendt Findested; and Landegge and Nebenstedt, Hannover<sup>135</sup>—all sites in Jutland and north Germany. The Finglesham pair, in company with the Sarre 90 and Nørre Hvam examples, are distinguished by a compact and intelligently executed animal ornament which appears in less coherent form on other members of the group. Typologically speaking, the Finglesham bracteates belong to the earliest phase of the D class. The bracteate from grave D3 no. iii, typologically later because of the more disintegrated state of its zoomorphic ornament, is most closely paralleled at Burmania terp, Frisia.<sup>136</sup>

As Leeds has suggested, all the Finglesham bracteates must have been imported either from Denmark or Frisia, and this fact makes it necessary to consider briefly the date of the D-bracteates in Scandinavia. The situation there is complicated by the lack of fixed dates, the only real dating evidence being the typological development of the ornament of the bracteates themselves, and their occasional occurrence in gold hoards containing Roman gold solidi. The most recent study of the chronological problem, based on an attempt to interpret these 'coin-dated' hoards, is to be found in the corpus of bracteates published by M. B. Mackeprang in 1952. In it he suggests that the D-bracteates belong to the very last part of the sixth century and to the beginning of the seventh,<sup>137</sup> and proceeds with the statement that 'all foreign burials containing gold bracteates of Scandinavian type appear to fall within the third period, i.e. in the first half of the seventh'. Then, rejecting the views of both Åberg and Werner<sup>138</sup> on the dating of the radiate brooches, he concludes: 'That the earliest date ascribable to the fibulae with foot of uniform breadth is the beginning of the seventh century, is also shown by the combination in which they occur in grave D3 at Finglesham, Kent.' This grave, with bracteates, radiates, bird-brooches and square-headed brooch, was, therefore, according to Mackeprang's system, deposited in the early part of the seventh century.

If this reasoning were valid it would be necessary to revise the whole chronology of the pagan Saxon period. Even in Scandinavia, however, Mackeprang has met with severe criticism. The late-sixth-century date for deposition of the fifth- and early-sixth-century coinage, which is at the root of Mackeprang's argument, has been questioned by Olfert Voss, who has re-stated the undeniable fact that the coins are virtually undatable, and can only be used as a rough *terminus post quem*.

<sup>132</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pp. 56 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pl. xvi, 11 and 12, nos. 310-11; Leeds (1946), pp. 22-3, pl. viii.

<sup>134</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pl. xvi, 1, 3 and 4.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvi, 5-8.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvi, 13.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 219-20.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 221; Åberg (1926), p. 92; Werner (1935), cf. groups II and III.

for the deposition of the hoards.<sup>139</sup> With regard to the D-bracteates, it should be noted that one of the main reasons for the seventh-century date is based on the square-headed brooch found with Jutland group I bracteates in the Skodborg hoard.<sup>140</sup> There is every indication that this brooch was made by the same hand as another brooch in a hoard from Elsehoved,<sup>141</sup> that was associated with gold coins down to Anastasius (491-518). Mackeprang quotes Lindqvist<sup>142</sup> in comparing the filigree on the Skodborg brooch with that on an S-brooch from Schretzheim found in a grave that Werner would place between 600 and 650.<sup>143</sup> The impossibility of comparative dating on the basis of filigree technique and details has been recently demonstrated by Elizabeth Munksgaard,<sup>144</sup> and her arguments stress the weakness of Mackeprang's theory. The coins in the Elsehoved hoard, also, are in mint condition, and there is thus nothing about them to refute the more usual view that the Elsehoved and Skodborg brooches belong to the first half of the sixth century. The D-bracteates must also be rather earlier than Mackeprang would allow. One is brought back to the more conventional late-fifth- to early-sixth-century dating accepted by the majority of scholars.<sup>145</sup>

A study of the English grave-groups suggests that this is a much more reasonable hypothesis. Leeds has already argued<sup>146</sup> that if we accept the seventh-century date, almost the whole wealth of pagan Saxon archaeology from Kent has to be crowded into the years between 600 and 655 (the date of Sutton Hoo). Of the graves containing D-bracteates,<sup>131</sup> Sarre 4 is probably the latest.<sup>147</sup> It is interesting to note that it also contained the most devolved examples of D-bracteates found in Kent. Finglesham D3 and Bifrons 29, with their apparently earlier find-complexes, contained typologically earlier bracteates. Even Sarre 4, however, is generally accepted as belonging to the sixth century. Indeed, it is very noticeable that not a single Scandinavian bracteate has been found in the seventh-century cemeteries at Kingston Down, Sibbertswold and elsewhere. Clearly in England the D-bracteates occur in a sixth-century context, although to which end of the sixth century they belong is a question which is not easily answered on typological grounds. On historical evidence there is a good case for the early part of the sixth century or even the end of the fifth. Leeds's discussion of the problem in 1946, related as it was to the idea of Danish settlement in Kent, still makes good sense.<sup>148</sup> Recent research has tended to reinforce his views, as we will attempt to show in the following section.

<sup>139</sup> Voss (1955), p. 183.

<sup>140</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pl. xxiii, 8; Leeds (1957), pl. ii, A.

<sup>141</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pp. 73-4, pl. xxiii, 17; Leeds (1957), p. 14, pl. ii, B.

<sup>142</sup> Sune Lindqvist, *Uppsala Högår och Ottarshögen* (1936), p. 225.

<sup>143</sup> Werner (1935), p. 51.

<sup>144</sup> E. Munksgaard, 'Collared gold necklets and armllets,' *Acta Archaeologica*, xxiv (1953), 80.

<sup>145</sup> O. Montelius, *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, x (1900), 80 ff. S. Lindqvist, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der nordischen Goldbrakteaten,' *Acta Archaeologica*, xi (1940), 124-132; H. Öberg, *Guldbrakteaterna från Nordens Folkvandringstid* (1942); W. Holmqvist, *Germanic Art in the 1st Millennium A.D.* (1955), 17 ff. etc.

<sup>146</sup> Leeds (1957), pp. 25-6.

<sup>147</sup> Leeds (1946), p. 26; *id.* (1957), p. 25.

<sup>148</sup> Leeds (1946), p. 36.

GREAT SQUARE-HEADED BROOCH (GRAVE D3: PL. II; FIG. 9, *b*)

The most important features of the square-headed brooch from grave D3 are the unusually small head-plate, the long bow with its mask-in-roundel on top, the undivided lozenge-shaped foot with rampant animals at the top and 'helmet style' human figures along the lower edges, the lateral terminal lobes on the footplate, and, finally, the preponderance of non-zoomorphic ornament in the form of tendril-scroll decoration and the egg-and-tongue border. It is generally recognized that by far the closest parallel to this brooch is another from Engers, Hessen, Germany (PL. V, E). This is larger than the Finglesham piece but has all its features in a slightly different arrangement with the major exception of the human figures on the footplate, which are replaced by more conventional crouching animals. The two brooches show all the signs of having been made in the same workshop, although the much more precise and intelligent work on the Engers piece suggests that it was either the prototype from which our brooch was copied, or an earlier version of that prototype.

This similarity between two brooches from such widely separated find-spots has given rise to much discussion. In 1936,<sup>149</sup> when Leeds first drew attention to the Finglesham cemetery, he suggested that the D3 brooch was an import from the Rhineland and that the 'rampant beast', which appears to be an innovation on the Engers brooch, was a stylistic feature that originated on the continent. He restated this argument in 1949. In the meantime, continental scholars had come to entirely different conclusions. Werner had already observed in 1935<sup>127</sup> that style I animal ornament was rare on sixth-century Frankish metalwork and added:

'Stylistically speaking the earliest zoomorphic ornament (marginal animals in Salin's Style I) appears in the Rhineland on the runic brooch of English origin from Engers, and the equally English brooch from Kleinhünigen grave 74 . . . In general terms the Engers and Kleinhünigen brooches belong to the "northern" brooch type, not native to central Europe, with rectangular head-plate and lozenge-shaped foot, about which Brenner<sup>126</sup> has already asserted that the earliest examples in Germany are either imports from southern England or copies of such.'

Kühn also, in 1940,<sup>150</sup> suggested that the Engers brooch was an indication of Kentish influences on the Rhineland during the sixth century. A similar conclusion was reached by Eva Nissen Fett in her study of square-headed brooches from Western Europe.<sup>151</sup> The majority opinion, then, favours an English origin for the Engers and Finglesham brooches, and this standpoint was also adopted by Hawkes in 1956.<sup>152</sup> The main fact that emerges from all these studies is that the Engers brooch is virtually unique in Germany. There are very derivative brooches that occur quite frequently both in Germany and France and testify to the manufacture of the square-headed brooch on the western side of the continent, but there is little trace of any original inspiration in their decorative elements.

<sup>149</sup> Leeds (1936), p. 50.

<sup>150</sup> Kühn (1940), pp. 20 ff., 166 ff.

<sup>151</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 128.

<sup>152</sup> Hawkes (1956), pp. 102-3.

Eva Nissen Fett gave her opinion that most of them were imitations of Scandinavian, and to some extent also English, imports. Only two of these brooches have any real bearing on the problem of Kent; one is the strange brooch from Champs des Tombes, Nancy,<sup>153</sup> which carries a mixture of Kentish and Scandinavian features; the other is the Basel, Kleinhünigen, grave 74 brooch mentioned above.<sup>154</sup> The latter is indeed very like some Kentish work, but it is much nearer to the later examples in the A1 series (see below, FIG. 17) than to the Finglesham brooch itself; again it has Scandinavian affinities, particularly in its terminal animal mask. It is clearly a copy based on English and Scandinavian originals, and as such it does not affect the present discussion.

The Engers and Finglesham D3 brooches, then, are not Frankish, and, if we leave Scandinavia out of the picture for the moment, the search for valid parallels can at once be narrowed down to Kent. Leeds underestimated the number of square-headed brooches from Kent which can be placed in a direct line of succession from the Engers brooch. There are in fact over a dozen of them (p. 49). In his 1957 posthumous paper Leeds does draw attention to a pair from Barrington, Cambs. (PL. V, B),<sup>155</sup> which were probably made in Kent. They have the same general proportions, including the small headplate and long steep bow, as the Finglesham brooch, and also a variant of the device in the centre of the footplate. The crouching animals along the lower edges of the footplate have an early appearance, although the decoration on the headplate and the zoomorphic panels that replace the roundel on the bow look rather later. Down-biting animals take the place of the rampant beast of the Finglesham brooch. All things considered, however, the Barrington brooches seem to be a later product in the Finglesham style. A very similar picture is presented by an ugly little brooch from the Martyrs' Field, Canterbury (PL. V, A).<sup>156</sup> This, too, has a small headplate, long bow with side panels, and down-biting heads. It has spiral tendrils on the bow and bars on the headplate which are very reminiscent of those on the Finglesham brooch, and rare elsewhere. The Martyrs' Field brooch may therefore be more or less contemporary with the Finglesham brooch.

The Finglesham, Engers, Barrington and Martyrs' Field brooches, therefore, form a very interesting group, and they all show a remarkable amount of wear. Corners have been rounded by use, surface decoration abraded away. Wear to this degree does not feature on any other brooches in the English corpus and is so marked a feature of the group that it cannot be coincidental. It is, therefore, suggested here that it must indicate an early date within the square-headed brooch series. Other characteristics of the group tend to reinforce this hypothesis. The long bow seems to have been a transient fashion that was quickly superseded in Kent, the reason for this being admirably demonstrated by the fact that all except the Barrington brooches have broken across the bow. Another brooch,

<sup>153</sup> E. Salin and A. France Lanord, *Gallia*, IV (1946), 246 ff., fig. 40.

<sup>154</sup> Kühn (1940), p. 170, pl. lxxxi, 14/4; 25. *Jahresbericht der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* (1933), pl. viii.

<sup>155</sup> Leeds (1957), pp. 9 ff., pl. i, c; Åberg (1926), fig. 98; Chadwick (1958), p. 54 ff., pl. x, c.

<sup>156</sup> Chadwick (1958), pp. 52 ff., pl. x, a.

from Bifrons 63, that appears to have had<sup>157</sup> a bow of this type, is broken in the same way. Clearly the long bow was the weak feature of the style, and it is difficult not to see the three-piece casting of the Bifrons 41 brooch<sup>158</sup> and the heavy disc on its bow, and on that of its relatives from Goldstone Cop Street and Gilton grave 48,<sup>159</sup> as an attempt to remedy the fault. Certainly the later, derivative,

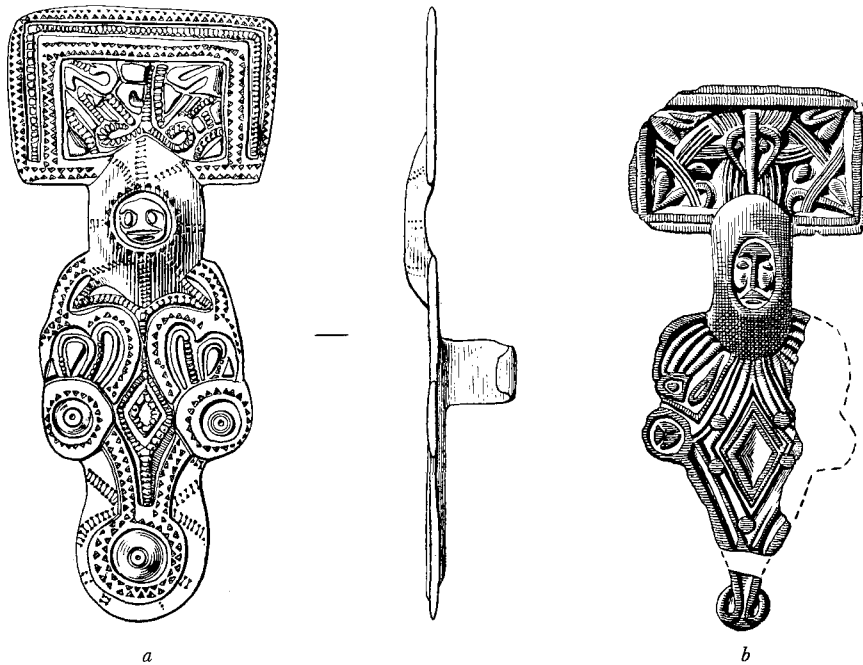


FIG. 17

## SQUARE-HEADED BRONZE BROOCHES FROM KENT

*a.* Howletts; *b.* Faversham (pp. 48-9).

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square-headed brooches from Kent, have, without exception, short bows. Another feature that may be early is the small size of the headplate and the low placing of the central panel. It has been suggested elsewhere<sup>160</sup> that these may belong to a phase in the development of the brooch-form before the employment of style I as surface ornament. With the adoption of a more mature animal style the increasing demand for space led to the larger headplate and more commodious centre panel that can be seen on the Bifrons 41 and Gilton 48 brooches. On the Goldstone brooch and on a series of smaller pieces with devolved style I ornament

<sup>157</sup> Leeds (1949), pl. A1,2.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. A1,3.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. A1,5 (called Richborough), and A1,4.

<sup>160</sup> Chadwick (1958), p. 53.

from Bifrons 64,<sup>161</sup> Bekesbourne,<sup>162</sup> Howletts (FIG. 17, *a*),<sup>163</sup> Faversham, (FIG. 17, *b*) and Stodmarsh,<sup>164</sup> the zoomorphic ornament has become so dominant that the headplate has only one main panel. All these brooches, however, with their undivided footplates with lateral and terminal lobes, and with their mask-in-roundel on the bow tops, show a marked family likeness to the Finglesham brooch.

The majority of them, however, have down-biting heads beside the bow, and the desire to put the introduction of this feature earlier than that of the rampant beast led Leeds into a strange chronological system for the brooch type.<sup>165</sup> He stated that the brooches from Bifrons 64 and Stodmarsh were brought from Denmark by the first Jutish settlers in Kent. From them developed more elaborate pieces such as the Bifrons 41 and Goldstone examples. A second influx of invaders brought over the Finglesham D3 and Barrington brooches, which were imitated in their turn on such examples as that from grave 63 at Bifrons. This system is quite untenable, as Leeds must have seen had he lived long enough to consider the full implications of his statement. Some early features of the Finglesham/Engers group of brooches have already been mentioned and to them should be added the egg-and-tongue, and spiral ornament. It is not conceivable that the little bronze brooches with their extremely degenerate style I ornament could have preceded the Finglesham group, or have been made in the fifth century before the fine examples of style I decoration had been produced. The grave-groups in which they occur (see below) suggest a date in the middle of the sixth century. There is, after all, no reason why the down-biting should not have been contemporary with the rampant beasts, as the presence of both in the Finglesham group of brooches suggests. It is argued here, therefore, that the series of Kentish square-headed brooches listed below, with the characteristic undivided foot, lateral and terminal lobes, and roundel on bow, is a Kentish development that took place during the sixth century, and that stemmed from such fine brooches as that from Engers, which was itself exported from Kent.

In the opposite list the brooches are grouped in sequence according to type and workshop, and incidentally, although this is not the main intention, into a rough chronological scheme based on the disintegration of the ornament.

The brooch from grave 41 at Bifrons stands in very close relationship to those from Engers and Finglesham, as a close study of the animal ornament on the three brooches demonstrates. On the Engers piece, the rampant animal has several important characteristics, of which the most distinctive is the head with its long, rounded nose and hanging lower jaw (FIG. 18, *a*). The nostril is indicated by a round pellet and short parallel bars. Both head and body are double-outlined, or 'framed'; the thigh is well defined and pear-shaped, and the leg terminates in a 'collared' frond-like foot. The crouching animals on the lower edges of the footplate show the same features. On the D3 brooch, the rampant

<sup>161</sup> Åberg (1926), fig. 138.

<sup>162</sup> Canterbury Museum: to be published shortly.

<sup>163</sup> *V.C.H. Kent*, I (1908), 360, pl. fig. 2; Canterbury Museum: no recorded provenience, but probably from Howletts.

<sup>164</sup> Åberg (1926), fig. 139.

<sup>165</sup> Leeds (1957), pp. 12-13.



animals are a more perfunctory portrayal in the same style; the head is very similar but the pellet nostril has gone, and the double bars have shifted to the side of the mouth; the thigh is less well defined, the foot has no collar and the

Provenience	Associations
Engers, Hessen Finglesham D 3 Bifrons 41 <sup>158</sup>	Not recorded See pp. 11 ff. 1. Pair of small, garnet-decorated square-headed brooches. 2. Bird-brooch, with chip-carved body. 3. Amber and glass beads. 4. Bronze buckle with shield-shaped back, shoe-shaped belt rivets. 5. Spiral silver ring. 6. Four Roman coins: Constantine I, Constantine II, Urbs Roma and Carausius.
Martyrs' Field, Canterbury <sup>156</sup> Barrington, Cambs. (a pair) <sup>155</sup> Bifrons 63 <sup>157</sup>	Not recorded Not recorded 1. Beads of amber and glass. 2. Bracteate of D type.
Goldstone, Cop Street <sup>159</sup> Gilton, grave 48 <sup>159</sup>	Not recorded 1. Sword. 2. Shield. 3. Two knives. 4. Fragment of decorated bronze.
Bifrons 64 (a pair) <sup>161</sup>	1. Crystal ball in a silver sling. 2. Beads of amber and glass. 3. Bracteate of D type. 4. Bronze chain.
Howletts Bekesbourne (a pair) <sup>162</sup> Faversham Stodmarsh <sup>164</sup>	Not recorded 1. Pair of bird-brooches. Not recorded 1. Pierced silver spoon with garnet inlay. 2. Square-headed brooch with filigree decoration. 3. Buckle with shield-shaped back, shoe-shaped rivets. 4. Triangular buckle-plate with filigree decoration. 5. Bronze bowl. 6. Spear-heads. 7. Shield-boss. There were two graves in the barrow and it is not certain which objects belonged to which.

body is less solid (FIG. 18, *b*). The 'collared' wrist appears on the human figures on the footplate, however (FIG. 18, *d*). The workmanship is less competent and the detail less precise, and this stresses the secondary character of the brooch as a smaller copy of the fine Engers piece. An examination of the Bifrons 41 brooch at once makes it clear that we have here the same animal as on the Engers brooch. There is a new development in that the animals are used as panel decoration, and on the footplate, for example, one creature is doubled up to fit into the lower end of the lozenge-shaped centre-piece (FIG. 18, *c*). On the headplate there is a procession of the creatures, nose to tail, but they have the same 'framed' head, the same pellet-and-bar treatment of the nostrils, the same 'collared', frond-like foot. Slight differences can be seen in the detached lower jaw, and the rendering of the eye and the back of the head (FIG. 18, *g*), and these recur in the crouching animals on the footplate (FIG. 18, *f*). But even allowing for these divergences it is obvious that the Bifrons and Engers brooches are closely related in their ornament. Even the raised hind-legs of the Bifrons animals were once paralleled on the Engers brooch, it seems, judging by the position of the thigh of the rampant animals on the latter.<sup>166</sup> The implication, then, is that the Engers and Bifrons 41 brooches were made in the same workshop, with, of course, that from Finglesham D3. The distinctive animal-style appears to be a hallmark of the school or craftsman who made the brooches, and up to the moment is apparently confined to these three brooches. The existence of this variant of Anglo-Saxon style I was first recognized by Kendrick<sup>167</sup> and called by him 'the original Kentish style'. In this paper, for reasons that will appear below, it will be called 'the Jutish Style B'.

The existence of this style is of first importance in any consideration of Leeds's latest pronouncements on the origins of the square-headed brooch in general, and on the Finglesham brooch in particular. Between 1949 and 1953 he changed his mind completely about some of the problems of the early settlement of Kent. One of the causes of this was the publication in 1952<sup>168</sup> of an illustration of the headplate of a brooch from Agerskov, Jutland (PL. v, c), which very closely resembles those from Engers and Finglesham. In 1953,<sup>169</sup> Leeds wrote: 'Had I, when I first wrote about the Finglesham brooch and its connections, known of the Agerskov parallel, I should not have hesitated for one moment to place the homeland of this brooch type in Jutland.' He developed the idea further in his posthumous paper in 1957, and some of his statements have already been discussed above (p. 48). Those which concern us here are that: i. the Engers brooch was a direct import from Denmark to the Rhineland; ii. the Finglesham D3 brooch was an import from the same place to Kent; and, iii. the Bifrons 41 brooch was a development within Kent of earlier imports like the brooches from Stodmarsh and Bifrons 64. We have already seen that the two latter are not fifth-century in date and cannot have preceded the Finglesham and

<sup>166</sup> The foot has been worn away. The same feature may well have been present on the Finglesham beasts also.

<sup>167</sup> T. D. Kendrick, 'Style in Early Anglo-Saxon Ornament,' *I.P.E.K.*, 1934, p. 72.

<sup>168</sup> Mackeprang (1952), p. 131, pl. xxii, 4, no. 95.

<sup>169</sup> E. T. Leeds, 'Anglo-Saxon exports: a criticism,' *Antiq. J.*, xxxiii (1953), 208 ff.

Engers brooches. We may say with equal certainty that they have nothing in their decoration that could have been produced in Denmark. They are certainly Kentish. The Bifrons 41 brooch, as we have just seen, must now be grouped with the Engers and Finglesham brooches. If they are Danish, then it too is Danish. Bearing this in mind, we must now take a closer look at the Agerskov brooch (PL. V, C).

In its proportions this piece very closely resembles the Finglesham/Engers group. The headplate is small and heavily panelled; the bow had a flat top decorated with a roundel that probably once contained a mask, and its sides appear to have had panels of scroll decoration; the central panel of the headplate is filled with vertical bars which recall those on the Finglesham and Martyrs' Field brooches; the tendrilled scroll in the outer panel of the headplate is almost identical with that on the Engers brooch; and there is no developed zoomorphic panel decoration. The animals along the top and sides of the headplate, however, are in the Scandinavian tradition<sup>170</sup> and make it likely that the brooch was made in the north and was not an export from Kent.

In view of this striking parallelism, it is surprising that Leeds did not look further for similarities between the Danish and Kentish square-headed brooches, for, in fact, the correspondences do not end with the Agerskov brooch. The 'Jutish style B' is another link between the two areas.

This is best demonstrated by a brief study of the animal ornament on the famous relief brooch from Gummersmark (PL. VI, A).<sup>171</sup> The animals crouching on the lower edges of the footplate, with their long, rounded noses, pellet-and-bar nostrils, elliptical eyes, 'framed' bodies, pear-shaped thighs and 'collared' feet (FIG. 18, *h*), are virtually identical in detail with the rampant variants on the Engers brooch (FIG. 18, *a*). Very similar animals occur on the C bracteates of Mackeprang's Danish Group I, and most notably on examples from Fyn, Randers-Eggen, Eckernförde-Eggen and another in the same hoard as the Gummersmark brooch itself (PL. VI, A).<sup>172</sup> On the Fyn and Randers bracteates, in particular, the shape of the animal head and the treatment of the eye and nostril is exactly the same. The bodies are more naturalistic, but on many of them the beginnings of the pear-shaped thigh can be seen. The bracteates tell us that the animal in question was intended for a horse. We have, then, a definite link between the Danish C bracteates, the Gummersmark brooch, and the Engers brooch. This is strengthened by similarities between the Bifrons 41 brooch and the relief brooch from Vedstrup (PL. VI, B),<sup>173</sup> which has marginal animals (FIG. 18, *k*) that are a development from those on the Gummersmark piece (FIG. 18, *h*). The animal head is of the type under discussion, the eye and the nostrils are the same, but the treatment of the jaw recalls the beasts on the headplate of the Bifrons brooch. There are other correspondences too, namely the arrangement of the mask and

<sup>170</sup> See for example the brooch from Langlø, Vestfold (B. Hougen, *The Migration style in Norway* (1936), no. 19).

<sup>171</sup> B. Salin, *Altgermanische Thierornamentik* (1904), p. 215; E. Nissen Meyer, *Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1934, pp. 25, 27, 33; Leeds (1949), pl. S5.

<sup>172</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pl. vi, nos. 19, 22, and 24.

<sup>173</sup> Leeds (1949), pl. S6; Åberg, *Den Nordiska Folkvandringstidens Chronologi* (1924), fig. 60.

flanking animals on the headplates of the two brooches, and the little beaked animals common to both (FIG. 18, *j*, *l*). The Vedstrup brooch also exhibits the

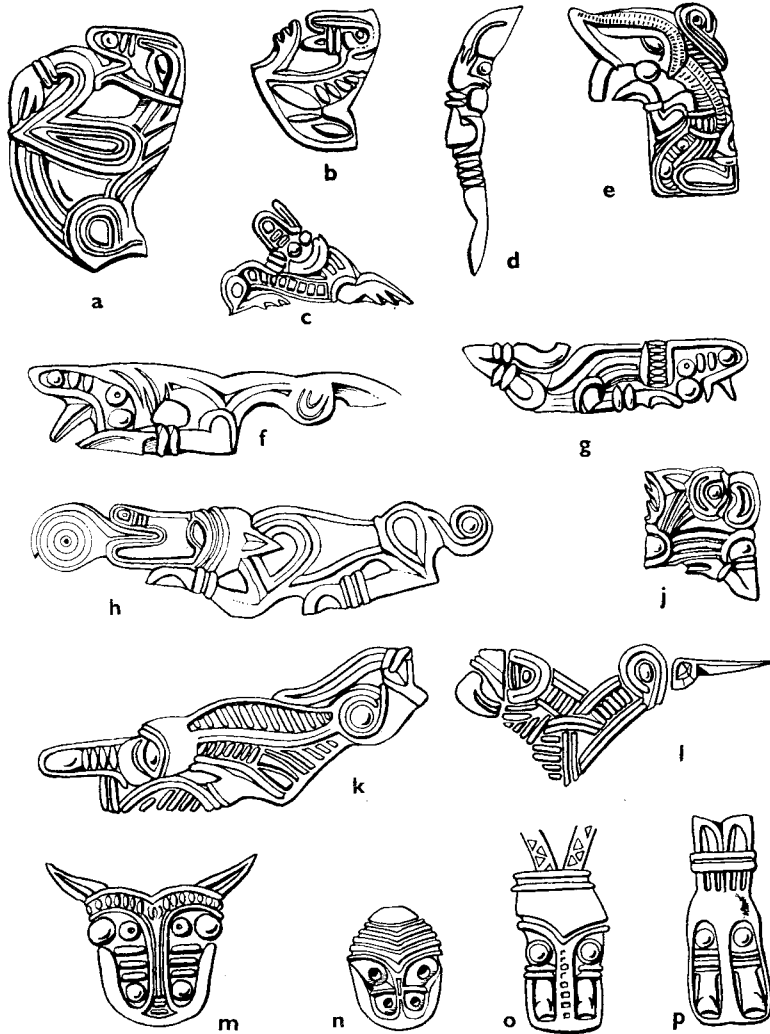


FIG. 18

ORNAMENTAL DETAILS FROM KENTISH AND DANISH SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES  
*a*. Engers; *b*, *d*. Finglesham grave D 3; *c*, *f*, *g*, *j*, *m*. Bifrons, grave 41; *e*. Galsted; *h*, *n*. Gummersmark;  
*k*, *l*, *o*, *p*. Vedstrup (pp. 48 ff.). Sc.:  $\frac{3}{8}$

trick of billeting the body of the animals that occurs on both the Bifrons and Finglesham brooches.

The animal masks on the Bifrons piece are full-face versions of the profile animals in the panels (FIG. 18, *m*), and the worn terminal masks of both the Finglesham and Engers brooches appear to have been of the same type. They are

closely paralleled by the mask on the foot of the Gummersmark brooch (FIG. 18, *n*) and are not unlike those on the Vedstrup piece (FIG. 18, *o, p*). The arrangement of the masks on the latter, again, recalls that of Bifrons 41, and the billeted mane on two of the masks on the Vedstrup brooch is reminiscent of the Finglesham brooch. The human figures of the footplate of the Finglesham piece (FIG. 18, *d*) are unusual. Human figures occur on the Gummersmark brooch, and in contorted form on another brooch from Grønby, Skåne,<sup>174</sup> but the Finglesham figures are perhaps more reminiscent of the helmeted creatures with upraised hand and 'collared' wrist that decorate the Taplow drinking-horn mounts—examples of the 'helmet style' which Kendrick showed to be of Scandinavian origin also.<sup>175</sup>

Yet another Danish brooch must now be considered. This is the fragmentary piece from Galsted, Schleswig,<sup>176</sup> which Mackeprang has already designated as the prototype of the Bifrons 41 brooch.<sup>158</sup> At the top of the headplate are two animals (FIG. 18, *e*) confronted in heraldic fashion against a mask. These animals are not of the same type as those we have been discussing, but they have the same solidity of form, and the lower jaw, 'collared' feet and raised hind legs are exactly the same as those on the Bifrons brooch. On their hindquarters can be seen an example of the distinctive long and short billeting that appears on the bows of the Finglesham and Engers brooches. An extremely important feature of the Galsted animals is that they are in rampant position and are thus a possible source for this innovating feature on the Kentish brooches. Other similarities include the heavy disc on the bow, which is most like that on the Bifrons brooch, although the mask of the Galsted brooch is placed sideways, as on Engers and Finglesham.

Here, then, is a group of seven brooches, four from Denmark, two from Kent and one from Germany, which have a large number of distinctive features in common, the most important of which is the Jutish style B. In this group, the Engers and Finglesham brooches most closely resemble those from Gummersmark and Agerskov, the Bifrons 41 brooch is nearer to those from Vedstrup and Galsted. It begins to appear, in fact, that most of the features that characterize the Finglesham/Engers group of brooches can be paralleled in Denmark. The long bow is yet another common feature. The floriated cross does not appear on the Danish brooches already discussed, but it does occur quite frequently on what Voss has called the Nydam style phase<sup>177</sup> and which he thinks may just precede the Gummersmark phase. A floriated cross occurs on a brooch from Grønby, Skåne.<sup>178</sup> This also has 'helmeted heads' that are close to the Kentish type, and was associated with the brooch mentioned above.<sup>174</sup> Even a third-rate piece of metalwork like the Martyrs' Field brooch has decorative details that can be traced to a Scandinavian source. The down-biting heads of this little brooch are the nearest thing so far found in England to those on the Gummersmark piece. The stamped decoration on the centre of the headplate is unmistakably made

<sup>174</sup> Alenstam (1949), figs. 1, 2 and 17.

<sup>175</sup> T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938), pp. 74-81, pl. xxxv, fig. 14.

<sup>176</sup> Mackeprang (1952), pl. xxii, 2; Nissen Meyer, *op. cit.* in note 171, p. 21; J. Forssander, 'Provinzial-römisches und germanisches,' *Meddel. från Lunds Universitets Hist. Museum*, 1937, fig. 4,6.

<sup>177</sup> Voss (1955), pp. 176-9, fig. B; Forssander, *op. cit.* in note 176, fig. 6.

<sup>178</sup> Alenstam (1949), figs. 1, 1 and 6.

with a horse-shoe, or crescent, stamp similar to that used on the Scandinavian C bracteates and other metalwork of the late fifth to early sixth centuries from the north. The stamp does not appear to feature on other English metalwork and is confined in its distribution to Scandinavia and north Germany.<sup>179</sup>

These considerations provide detailed evidence to support Leeds's view that the Engers and Finglesham brooches have Danish connexions. The chief problem remaining to be settled is whether these two brooches and that from grave 41 at Bifrons, and, with them, the Jutish style B, were in fact produced in Denmark and brought to England with a group of settlers from Jutland. Could they have been made by a Danish craftsman in Kent, or could they have been original English products that influenced contemporary Danish work? The question may never be satisfactorily answered, and any suggestions made here must necessarily be tentative. There are one or two points, however, that should be borne in mind.

There are certain features of the Finglesham and Engers brooches that seem to represent an original development. Although the rampant beast occurs on the Galsted brooch, the use of the animal as a substitute for the down-biting head that is universal in Denmark is something entirely new. The features that characterize the footplate in the Kentish series, namely the undivided foot with its side lobes, the marginal animals, and the foliate cross in the centre, are not typical of Scandinavian brooches. It is only on the Gummersmark and Vestrup brooches, in fact, that there is an early form of the undivided foot with early marginal animals. Shetelig, following Salin,<sup>180</sup> has proposed the theory that the undivided foot with crouching animals is to be derived from late antique strap-ends with chip-carved decoration, of the type that appear frequently on the Roman *limes* in the late fourth to fifth centuries. No such strap-end has been found in Denmark itself and the decoration of the footplates of the two Danish brooches is not sufficiently close to that of the strap-ends to suggest that the derivation was more than second-hand. These strap-ends do occur in England, however, both in late Roman contexts and in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.<sup>181</sup> Chip-carved examples have even been found at Richborough only a few miles from the cemeteries which produced the Kentish square-headed brooches we are discussing. Some of the continental strap-ends and an example from Ixworth, Suffolk, have both crouching animals and some variant of the floriated cross of the Finglesham,

<sup>179</sup> Chadwick (1958), p. 55, note 6, fig. 1. It occurs on bracteates from Ukendt Findested; Broholm (Svendborg A.); and Ulvsunda, Uppland (Mackeprang (1952), pls. xv,24; xx,8; v,13): on gorgets from Halskov, Overdrev (*ibid.*, pl. xxi, 16); Mulsum, Hannover (*ibid.*, pp. 68-9 and Lindenschmidt, *Handbuch der deutschen Altertumskunde*, 1, 395, pl. xiii); Neu-Mexiko, Pomerania (W. von Jenny, *Die Kunst der Germanen* . . . , pl. lxxxi and Jenny and W. Volbach, *Germanische Schmuck des frühen Mittelalters*, pl. xlix (top)); on a sword scabbard from Bornholm (*Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, iv (1842-3), 164 ff., pl. vii, 69, and J. Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager* (1859), no. 430); and on two neck-rings from Taastrup, Jutland (*Acta Archaeologica*, v (1934), 175 ff., fig. 40).

<sup>180</sup> Salin, *op. cit.* in note 171, p. 121, fig. 332; H. Shetelig, *Classical Impulses in Scandinavian Art* . . . (1949), pp. 62-9.

<sup>181</sup> Examples are known from: Cassington, Oxon., grave 2 (*Oxoniensia*, vii (1942), 65, fig. 15); Croydon (*V.C.H. Surrey*, 1 (1902), 257); Dorchester, Oxon. (*Oxoniensia*, xvii-xviii (1952-3), fig. 8); Icklingham, Suffolk (Cambridge Univ. Museum of Archaeology); Leicester (K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester*—Research Rept. Soc. Antiq. London, xv, 1948—84, no. 15); Market Overton, Rutland (*V.C.H. Rutland*, II (1908), frontispiece, fig. 5), Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent (Maidstone Museum); and Richborough, Kent—five examples (J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Richborough*, II—Research Rept. Soc. Antiq. London, vii, 1928—pl. xxi).

Engers and Barrington brooches. In this respect, then, the Kentish brooches are nearer to the late Roman originals. Hawkes has even gone so far as to suggest<sup>182</sup> that the undivided foot may have originated in Kent: 'For there alone can the square-headed model, brought in through the Kentish Jutes' connexion with Danish Jutland, have in the late fifth century met a survival of the required Late-Roman style'. The implication of this is, of course, that the Engers and Finglesham brooches preceded the Gummersmark brooch. This is not impossible, for the Danish brooches show a more developed use of surface-decoration that may be symptomatic of a later date. There is, on the other hand, a major difference between the Danish and Kentish marginal animals that points to another conclusion. In Scandinavia without exception they face down to the foot of the brooch (the position on the strap-ends); in Kent without exception they face the other way. It is probably rash, therefore, to pronounce too emphatically where the undivided foot originated, though it should be legitimate to take this divergence as a sign of originality in Kent. Already on the Finglesham and Engers brooches there is a stress on features which are not prominent in Denmark, particularly the mask on the bow and the side lobes on the footplate, and the large-scale adoption of these on the brooches of the later series in Kent (p. 49) strengthens the position of the Finglesham and Engers brooches as essentially within the Kentish development. In view of this it does not seem likely that they were actually imported from Denmark. The question of Kentish influence on Denmark is again debatable, but one may perhaps see the non-Danish characteristics of the Agerskov brooch as an indication that the traffic in ideas was not altogether one-sided. Leeds was probably overstating the case when he said that at this time Kent 'was a recipient not a donor'.<sup>183</sup>

On the whole, however, the weight of the evidence is in favour of a Danish origin for the Jutish style B. In Kent it was limited in its use and duration, whereas in Scandinavia it does not appear in such isolation. The indications are that it was a Danish invention. This should not really be surprising, since it has for a long time been acknowledged that both the impetus for Kentish style I, and the square-headed brooch itself, came from the Danish peninsula. As Hawkes has stressed,<sup>182</sup> there was no other place from which it could come once the Rhineland had finally been excluded as a possible source. The appearance of the Jutish style B on the Finglesham, Engers and Bifrons 41 brooches is best explained by the presence in Kent of a craftsman from the Danish peninsula who had perhaps been trained in the workshop that produced the Gummersmark brooch, but who, at any rate, had a first-hand acquaintance with contemporary Danish work. Once settled in Kent he was free to develop the basic style along original lines, as on the elaborately conceived Bifrons 41 brooch. Valid parallels for this process are provided by the evolution in Kent of the originally Scandinavian 'helmet style' that seems to be contemporary with the 'Jutish style B', and of another style called here 'Jutish style A'. This is a fresh term for the so-called semi-naturalistic animal style that flourished in Kent and the south of England towards

<sup>182</sup> Hawkes (1956), p. 103.

<sup>183</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 168.

the end of the fifth century and which Leeds thought to be British.<sup>184</sup> There are a number of reasons for thinking that it was in fact largely of northern origin,<sup>185</sup> however highly original in its subsequent development.

The date of the Finglesham D3 square-headed brooch is of paramount importance for the chronology of the whole early Anglo-Saxon period in Kent, and for the migration period in Scandinavia. Unfortunately it is not an easy problem to settle. Leeds always argued on typological grounds that the brooch was made somewhere around the year 500, or a little before—a view shared by Hawkes. The other objects in the grave have already been discussed and seem to range in date between the late fifth and mid-sixth centuries, suggesting that the burial took place in the region of 550 or a little later. The amount of wear shown by the brooch would be consistent with its having been in use for something over fifty years. The Bifrons 41 brooch cannot have been much later. The Scandinavian parallels do not help substantially in the matter of dates, owing to the typological basis, without fixed dates, of the Scandinavian chronology. Voss has recently pointed out that the Gummersmark brooch has been variously dated by Scandinavian scholars between the early fifth and the late sixth centuries, and he expresses the personal view that it cannot be more closely dated than to the century between 475 and 575.<sup>186</sup> Even allowing for the limitations of coin evidence, however, it should be possible to do better than this. The C-bracteates, on which a version of the same animal style occurs, and one of which was actually found with the Gummersmark brooch,<sup>172</sup> are generally accepted as being relatively early. Even Mackeprang, with his unusually late scheme of dating, would place them in the early sixth century. One of this group of bracteates from Rynkebygaard, Svendborg A., is numismatically dated, the latest coins being of Leo (457-474).<sup>187</sup> The crescent stamp of the Martyrs' Field brooch likewise appears to be in use about the same period. An example of such a stamp was found on a gorget in a hoard from Halskov, Overdrev, with an early C-bracteate; on a fragment of a sword scabbard from Bornholm found with coins, the latest of which were of Zeno (474-491); and on a neck-ring from Mulsum, Hannover, associated with a coin of Anastasius (491-518).<sup>179</sup> On this evidence, then, there appears to be nothing in the comparative Scandinavian material to conflict radically with a date a little after 500 for the Finglesham/Engers group of brooches.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Leeds (1936), pp. 3-7.

<sup>185</sup> The nearest parallels to both the silver-sheet-inlay style on some of this metalwork (Evison (1955), pls. vii e, viii a-e), and the processional animal style which is its main characteristic, are in fact to be found in the north. Miss Evison's paper has demonstrated the late-fifth-century date of the style with a flourish after the Germanic settlement of the south of England. More detailed consideration of the style reveals its Germanic character and its affinities with south Scandinavian developments.

<sup>186</sup> Voss (1955), 179 ff.

<sup>187</sup> Mackeprang (1952), p. 122, pl. vi, 30, no. 64.

<sup>188</sup> Unless, of course, Mackeprang's late dating of the Vedstrup brooch is to be taken seriously. It is based on a comparison between the Danish brooch and a square-headed brooch found in an early-seventh-century grave at Täbingen, Württemberg (W. Veeck, *Germania*, xvi (1932), pls. 4-5). The Täbingen brooch has been discussed a great deal (Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 49, pp. 297 ff.; Mackeprang (1952), p. 70 ff., fig. 18; Werner (1935), p. 54; Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 168, pp. 208 ff.) and variously attributed to English or Scandinavian workshops. Superficially there are resemblances between it and the Vedstrup brooch, but the differences in quality and ornamental detail are such that comparison is not really valid on any level. The Täbingen brooch has the appearance of yet another of the brooches produced on the continent from English and Scandinavian models. Leeds has demonstrated the lack of coherence in the decoration.



This date is quite acceptable on historical grounds; indeed a later date would be more controversial. The grave D3 brooch is part of the same cultural phase and the same problem as the accompanying D-bracteates discussed above. The contemporaneity of the two classes of objects is stressed by the fact that the Agerskov brooch was also associated with D-bracteates, as Leeds has already noted.<sup>189</sup> Considered together, the bracteates and the square-headed brooch, with its animal style, must imply a Danish element in the culture of Kent which arrived about the year 500 or possibly a little later,<sup>190</sup> and which constitutes yet another distinctive thread in the complicated settlement-pattern of the fifth and sixth centuries.

SMALL SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES (GRAVE E2: PL. IV, B; FIG. 11, b)

Small square-headed brooches with garnet inlay are common in the east Kent cemeteries, but, as Leeds commented in 1936, the nearest parallels to the Finglesham E2 pair come from Herpes, Charente,<sup>191</sup> and Chessell Down, Isle of Wight.<sup>192</sup> The similarity between the Finglesham and Herpes brooches is very striking, but differences such as the openwork border of the headplate and the triangular cells at the sides of the footplate of the Herpes piece indicate that they do not come from the same mould. The Chessell Down piece is not so close; the animal decoration arranged around a central garnet on the headplate is not of the same type, and the rectangular lobe at the base is larger. Despite minor divergences it is clear that the four brooches belong to a single group with some interesting features in common. The first of these is the border of semicircles-surmounting-triangles which Leeds thought to be derived from the flattened knobs on some Scandinavian brooches such as those from Vedstrup<sup>173</sup> and Gummersmark<sup>171</sup> (PL. VI). The adoption of the motive must have taken place through some such brooch as that from Faversham,<sup>193</sup> which has complete circles above the triangles. In the form in which it appears on the Finglesham brooches the border appears on other English examples, namely on the pair from Barrington<sup>155</sup> (PL. V, B), on the great square-headed brooch from Bidford-on-Avon (Warwicks.),<sup>194</sup> and more schematically on two brooches from Chessell Down and Stowting.<sup>195</sup> The second important feature is the panel of zoomorphic

As a copy and in no way an original product there can be no question of using it to date the Vedstrup brooch: the square-headed brooch went on being imitated on the continent at least as late as the end of the sixth century, probably long after the English or Scandinavian prototypes had ceased to be in circulation.

<sup>189</sup> Leeds (1957), p. 9.

<sup>190</sup> While engaged on my researches on the Finglesham cemetery and in particular on the Danish connexions of the D3 square-headed brooch, I had some discussions in London with Mr. Egil Bakka (Bergen Museum). During his stay in England he undertook some research on his own account into the Scandinavian origins of Anglo-Saxon style I with similar conclusions to my own. I understand that his paper on this subject will appear shortly in the *Bergens Museums Aarbok* and that it will include the evidence of the Finglesham/Engers/Gummersmark group of brooches.

<sup>191</sup> Leeds (1936), p. 56, pl. xvi, a, b.

<sup>192</sup> Åberg (1926), fig. 129.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 97.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 99; Leeds (1949), pl. B3, no. 71.

<sup>195</sup> Åberg (1926), figs. 143-4.

ornament on the headplate. On the majority of these small square-headed brooches the animal ornament has given way to garnet decoration, or an imitation of it. The garnets at the top corners of the headplate are also present on the Faversham brooch mentioned above, and brooches from Belmont<sup>196</sup> and Bifrons.<sup>197</sup> Their placing in this position may be in imitation of the great square-headed brooches from Sarre 159 and Herpes.<sup>198</sup> The shape of the footplate, with its undivided foot, rectangular terminal and central garnet, finds many parallels, e.g. on a brooch from Herpes, on another from Chessell Down,<sup>199</sup> and on a group of nine miniature brooches in the British Museum, also from Herpes.<sup>200</sup>

JEWELLED DISC-BROOCH (GRAVE E2; PL. IV, B; FIG. 11, c)

This brooch belongs to the simplest, and probably earliest, class of Kentish jewelled circular brooches, namely Leeds's Ia type, which he thinks was manufactured somewhere in the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>201</sup> The type is common in the East Kent cemeteries and close parallels occur at Sarre and Howletts.<sup>202</sup>

GREAT SQUARE-HEADED BROOCH (GRAVE E2: PL. IV, A; FIG. 11, a)

Leeds did not attempt to put this strange brooch in any of his main types. It is indeed unique. The disc on the bow and the three roundels on the undivided foot, however, suggest that it is a descendent of the Bifrons 41 type (pp. 47 ff.), but made at a period when the white paste and garnet inlay was beginning to replace the zoomorphic ornament. In its form it most closely resembles a brooch from Howletts,<sup>203</sup> the bow of which has a disc that is in fact a brooch of the type just discussed. The cells with white paste and ring-and-garnet inset are best paralleled on the Howletts brooch, but are a common feature on the early disc brooches also.

The headplate is perhaps the most interesting part of the E2 brooch. Leeds has already demonstrated that the pair of animals-in-pursuit around a central rectangular garnet is an inheritance from a class of Kentish buckle-plates with style I ornament.<sup>204</sup> The same pattern is to be seen on two other square-headed brooches, of the B4 class—the fine piece from Herpes, and the rather less distinguished example from Sarre 159.<sup>198</sup> Both these brooches have a divided foot, and the animal ornament is the only striking similarity to our brooch. On the E2 brooch this is very devolved. The style I animals have loosened into three-strand curves, into what Kendrick called the Fusion style.<sup>205</sup> Earlier stages in this process can be seen on the square-headed brooch from Bifrons 63<sup>157</sup> and on a

<sup>196</sup> Åberg (1926), fig. 137 ('Canterbury').

<sup>197</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, x (1876), 313.

<sup>198</sup> Leeds (1949), pl. B4, nos. 83 and 84.

<sup>199</sup> Åberg (1926), figs. 128 and 126.

<sup>200</sup> B.M. 1905, 5-20, 195-6; 197-8; 200; 229-32; (Smith), *op. cit.* in note 101, pl. xiv, 5.

<sup>201</sup> Leeds (1936), p. 115.

<sup>202</sup> B.M. 1893, 6-1, 232; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, 2 ser., xxx (1920), 107, pl. ii, 7.

<sup>203</sup> Leeds (1957), pl. i, D; Åberg (1926), fig. 145.

<sup>204</sup> Leeds (1949), pp. 53 ff.

<sup>205</sup> Kendrick, *op. cit.* in note 167, p. 73, fig. 6.

number of saucer brooches.<sup>206</sup> The strands with cross-ties that enclose the footplate are possibly a degenerate version of the more competent zoomorphic ornament on the Herpes and Sarre brooches, but may have been influenced by non-zoomorphic patterns, such as are seen on the disc-brooch from Sarre 94<sup>207</sup> and on a saucer-brooch from Horton Kirby.<sup>208</sup> The beaded wire frame on the footplate is not found on other square-headed brooches from Kent, but it does appear on such brooches from Alfriston (Sussex), graves 28 and 43,<sup>209</sup> both of which have divided feet. A cast imitation of the wire frame occurs on a brooch from Chessell Down.<sup>210</sup>

The square-headed brooch from grave E2 is a composite piece, its elements being derived from a number of different sources. It is clearly contemporary with the Ia class of disc-brooches and is in some way imitated from either the style I buckle-plates or the Sarre and Herpes brooches. The date of its deposition cannot reasonably be placed before the third quarter of the sixth century.

### SUMMARY

In this discussion of the grave-goods from the Finglesham cemetery stress has deliberately been laid on available dating evidence and parallels from other sites both in England and on the continent. The dates suggested for the various objects are only approximate, of course; for even abroad, where, as we have seen, there is a sequence of graves and hoards containing coins, any attempt to arrive at an absolute chronology must allow for a fair margin of error. Nonetheless, the knowledge that in Kent the bulk of the cemetery material can be ordered in the light of two reasonably sure dates (*c.* 450 for the earliest invasions and at latest *c.* 650 for the objects paralleled at Sutton Hoo), justifies an attempt to indicate the limits within which the Finglesham cemetery was in use. The answer appears to be that it began in the sixth century and continued into the first years of the seventh. The earliest graves are C2 and D3, dug probably in the middle of the sixth century; E2 seems to be later by a quarter of a century; and A1, C1, E1 and G2, while less closely datable, also appear to belong to the same century. Graves G1, AA4 and the one which held the unassociated buckle (no. 1, p. 00) can be allocated to the early part of the seventh century. Very early material is noticeably lacking: there are no cruciform brooches, no early strap-ends or kidney-shaped buckles, and no early cloisonné jewellery of the type found at Lyminge.<sup>106</sup> The claw beaker, the bracteates and the square-headed brooch from grave D3, the earliest items in the cemetery, were clearly old when buried. There is, therefore, no evidence from the excavated graves to suggest that the settlement at West Street was established before the early sixth century. At the other end of the scale the seventh-century material is undeniably meagre, and there are none of the

<sup>206</sup> Åberg (1926), figs. 23 and 25.

<sup>207</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, vi (1864-5), pl. vi, 5.

<sup>208</sup> Åberg (1926), fig. 24.

<sup>209</sup> Leeds (1949), pls. B1, no. 66; B2, no. 68.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. B3, no. 79.

rich finds usually associated with the flourishing seventh-century communities. All this may of course be of no significance in view of the fact that we do not know how much of the cemetery was destroyed by the quarrying. The present evidence is all that we have to work on, and this suggests that we are concerned with a settlement which had a limited duration of about a century. Alternatively, as happened elsewhere, the members of the community which buried its dead at Finglesham may have changed their burial-place during the seventh century for reasons perhaps connected with the coming of Christianity. Such evidence as we have also suggests that this community was a comparatively small one. The richer graves, D3, E2, G2, and perhaps AA4 may well have belonged to members of successive generations of a single wealthy family; the remainder of the burials being those of their dependents and work-people.

The two richest women's graves give us information of another kind. The D3 grave contained imported jewellery and objects derived directly or indirectly from a number of different sources. The bracteates, and at least the inspiration for the square-headed brooch, came from Denmark; the radiate brooches came originally from the Rhineland; the glass probably from the Rhineland again, or Belgium; and the bird-brooches point to contacts with the north of France or the Charente. The Kentish-made jewellery from grave E2 likewise presents some affinities with the Charente. All this constitutes a fascinating problem in the matter of racial origins, commerce and human relationships at this period, but one outside the scope of this report. It will be sufficient to say here that when a full study is made of the contacts between Kent and Denmark, and between Kent and the apparently Kentish colony at Herpes in the Charente, France, the Finglesham cemetery, small though it is, will make a substantial contribution to the available evidence.

As a whole the Finglesham cemetery is most closely linked with Bifrons and the other cemeteries of the Lesser Stour valley. With them it takes its place as a vital illustration of the complexity of the Anglo-Saxon settlement period in east Kent.

## APPENDIX I

### THE SKELETAL MATERIAL

BY G. C. DUNNING

In the original report on the Finglesham cemetery<sup>2</sup> several notes on the condition of the burials are given. In most cases the bones were very decayed and the skulls crushed, but in six instances the skulls and limb-bones were sufficiently well preserved to be removed for further study. The material selected in this way comprised the skull and right leg of A2, the skull, pelvis and both legs of A4, the skull and left femur of B1, the skull and left femur of E3, and the skulls of G1 and G4. It is also recorded that the skulls from A2, A4, E3, and G1 were sent to the late Professor F. G. Parsons at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, for examination and reports. In a letter to Mr. Stebbing dated 26 June, 1929, Parsons remarks: 'Unfortunately none of the three skulls which you sent me was perfect enough to give reliable cranial measurements, though they will be

valuable at the Royal College of Surgeons for certain subsidiary measurements. One of them, however, the woman's skull which you sent me first, shows marked prognathism, and this is interesting because I have seen it before in Kentish Saxons.' A note on this skull was published<sup>211</sup> by Parsons, who compared the left profile with that of other Anglo-Saxon skulls. The drawing of the skull enables it to be identified, by comparison with a photograph of the burial, as that from E3.

The skulls sent to Parsons were taken to the Royal College of Surgeons for more detailed examination, but enquiry there and at St. Thomas's Hospital has failed to trace them; nor were they transferred to the Anthropological Section of the British Museum (Natural History). These skulls are therefore no longer available for study.

The skeletal material not sent to London was retained by Mr. Stebbing at Upper Deal. In the course of twenty-five years, however, the skulls had become separated from any limb-bones of the same body, and only one skull still had a note with it. The material was, therefore, kept in the eight groups in which it was found when unpacked, namely skulls, groups 1-4, and limb-bones, groups 5-8. In the attempt to equate the bones with the graves, reliance has been placed on the original photographs of the graves A1, A2, D3, E1, G1, G2, G4, H3 and AA2, checked against the written record of the condition of the bones in these and other graves. By this means it has been possible to make eliminations and to correlate most of the groups with five graves, numbers A4, B1, E3, H3 and AA2. This leaves only groups 4 and 8 without identification, and both may belong to a single grave in the AA series. The correlations are, of course, not to be regarded as completely certain, but they are as accurate as is possible under the circumstances.

The individuals represented are too few in number to give reliable data on physical types, but a few general remarks are worth making. The adults included a male (H3) and a female (B1) who had reached the fifth decade of life, and another female (AA2) aged about forty. Long heads (dolichocephalic) are represented in both sexes (H3 and B1). Judging by the shape of the mandibles, these adults also exhibited the marked facial prognathism commented on by Parsons on the female from E3.

The teeth of the two females in B1 and AA2 provide evidence of a marked degree of attrition. On AA2 the dentine is completely exposed on the upper premolars and on both upper and lower first molars, with consequent reduction of tooth height. On B1, who had lost her molars some time before death, the wear on the lower second premolar is even more advanced and has extended down to the neck of the tooth. A similar degree of wear was found on the teeth of Anglo-Saxons at Holborough, Kent, and has been described in detail by Noble<sup>212</sup>, who attributes it to the nature of the diet and the manner in which the food was prepared.

In stature the individuals measured were above average, one male (A4) being 5 ft. 11½ in., and two females (E3 and AA2) 5 ft. 5 in. and 5 ft. 6 in. respectively. They were powerfully built; the limb-bones are robust with well-developed muscular markings. The femora of two females (A4 and E3) show considerable flattening from front to back of the upper shaft (platymeria). This condition, observed before among Anglo-Saxons, is presumed to be related to habits of posture.

Group 1—Reconstructed cranium, mandible, and atlas and axis vertebrae. Identified as the lower body in the double burial H3. Male, aged 40-50 years.

*Skull*: large and capacious, dolichocephalic, sutures mostly obliterated.

Length, 196 mm.

Breadth, 148 mm.

Cranial index, 70·4.

*Lower jaw*: angle obtuse, short ramus. The teeth from canines to molars lost on both sides, and the sockets absorbed.

<sup>211</sup> F. G. Parsons, 'Alveolar and facial prognathism,' *J. Anatomy*, LXV (1930), 149.

<sup>212</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXX (1956), 113 ff.

Group 2—Reconstructed cranium, parts of face, and right side of mandible. Identified with grave B1. Female, aged about 50 years.

*Skull*: dolichocephalic, sutures obliterated.

Length, 192 mm.

Breadth, 139 mm.

Cranial index, 72.4.

*Lower jaw*: angle obtuse; crowns of canines and premolars very worn, as far as the neck on the second premolar. Molars lost and sockets absorbed.

Group 3—Reconstructed cranium, detached orbital bones and palate, mandible, atlas and axis and three cervical vertebrae. Identified with grave AA2. Female, aged about 40 years.

*Skull*: compressed and distorted so that no measurements can be taken. It appears to be dolichocephalic; sutures partly obliterated.

*Palate*: dentine wholly exposed on premolars and first molars, partially on second molars. Third molars lost and sockets absorbed.

*Lower jaw*: short ramus nearly at right angles to body. Crowns of canines and premolars worn flat, exposing dentine. Degree of wear on first and second molars as on palate, slight wear on third molars.

Group 4—Both parietals and occipital bone. This is the only surviving skull of an adolescent. It cannot be equated with any grave in the first report and probably belongs to the AA series. Female, aged 15-20 years.

*Skull*: sutures open.

Breadth, 136 mm.

Group 5—Lower lumbar vertebrae, both innominates, sacrum, both femora and tibiae, left fibula, left talus and both calcanei. Identified with grave A4. Rust stains on the top of the sacrum could have been caused by the iron pin found in the grave. Adult male, tall and powerfully built; mean stature 5 ft. 11½ in.

*Right femur*: Maximum length, 509 mm.

Head diam., 53 mm.

Upper shaft, ant. post. 26 mm., transverse 38 mm., index 68.4.

*Left tibia*: Maximum length, 308 mm.

Upper shaft, ant. post. 36.5 mm., transverse 31.5 mm., index 86.3.

Stature from femur 1,830 mm.; from femur and tibia 1,804 mm.

Group 6—Both innominates, left femur, lower end of right femur, both patellae, right talus and metatarsals of both sides. Identified with grave E3; the grave of a female whose skull was sent to London. Adult female, stature 5 ft. 5 in.

*Left femur*: Maximum length, 450 mm.

Head diameter, 48 mm.

Upper shaft, ant. post. 23 mm., transverse 33 mm., index 70.0.

Stature from femur, 1,656 mm.

Group 7—Part of left innominate, and left femur. Identified with grave AA2. Adult female, sturdily built, stature 5 ft. 6 in. The femur has a well developed *linea aspera* on the distal half of the shaft.

*Left femur*: Maximum length, 465 mm.

Head diam., 50 mm.

Upper shaft, ant. post. 29 mm., transverse 32 mm., index 90.6.

Stature from femur, 1,691 mm.

Group 8—Shaft of right femur. The epiphyses for the head, both trochanters, and the condyles are separate, and these parts are missing. Female, aged 15-20 years. As the only immature bone to be preserved, this femur is probably to be associated with the skull of group 4.

*Right femur*: Shaft length 370 mm.

Upper shaft, ant. post. 23 mm., transverse 28 mm., index 82·1.

The maximum length of the bone is estimated at 390·5 mm., giving a stature of about 5 ft.

## APPENDIX II

### EARLY ANGLO-SAXON SITES IN NORTH-EAST KENT

(O.S. 1 in. sheet 173)

The following table of fifth- to seventh-century cemeteries, burials and finds from NE. Kent is designed primarily as a key to the two maps (FIGS. 2 and 3). The area included in the survey comprises the Isle of Thanet, the Richborough Haven, and the lower reaches of the Greater and Lesser Stour. The table has been compiled both from the available literature and from surviving material in museums, and is as complete as it has been possible to make it in the present state of our knowledge. In certain cases where a cemetery has received much notice in the literature of the period, only the main published references have been given. Numbered finds and sites will be found on the maps: finds prefaced by \* are not thus recorded.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Akerman	..	J. Y. Akerman, <i>Remains of Pagan Saxondom</i> (1855).
<i>Ant. J.</i>	..	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i> .
<i>Ant.</i>	..	<i>Antiquity</i> .
<i>Arch.</i>	..	<i>Archaeologia</i> .
<i>A.C.</i>	..	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i> .
<i>Arch. J.</i>	..	<i>Archaeological Journal</i> .
<i>A.N.L.</i>	..	<i>Archaeological News Letter</i> .
Boys	..	W. Boys, <i>Collections for a History of Sandwich</i> (1792), II.
<i>B.M.G.</i>	..	(Reginald Smith) <i>British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities</i> (1923).
Brown	..	G. Baldwin Brown, <i>The Arts in Early England</i> , III, IV (1915).
<i>C.A.</i>	..	C. Roach Smith, <i>Collectanea Antiqua</i> (n.d.).
Douglas	..	J. Douglas, <i>Nenia Britannica</i> (1793).
Faussett	..	B. Faussett, <i>Inventorium Sepulchrale</i> (1856).
Hasted	..	E. Hasted, <i>History of Kent</i> (8 ed.).
<i>J.B.A.A.</i>	..	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i> .
Kelly	..	<i>Guide to the Isle of Thanet</i> (Kelly's Directory).
<i>P.S.A.</i>	..	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London</i> .
Roach Smith	..	C. Roach Smith, <i>The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne</i> (1850).
<i>V.C.H.</i>	..	<i>Victoria County History, Kent</i> .

No.	Parish and site	Excavated	Nat. Grid ref.	Character	Museum	Publications
1	Deal (Odeon Cinema)		3762/5285	A.-S. or sub-R.-B. pot		<i>Ant. J.</i> , XVII, 310-13, pl. lxxxiii.
2	Deal (Mill Hill)	1939	3645/5125	2 burials		<i>A.C.</i> , LI, 206.
3	Deal (Waterworks Hill)	1897	3625/5125	cemetery	Town Hall, Deal	<i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 363; Brown, IV, 708.

No.	Parish and site	Excavated	Nat. Grid ref.	Character	Museum	Publications
4	Northbourne, Upper Deal	1933	3603/5212	burial		<i>A.C.</i> , XLVI, 209.
5	Great Mongeham ( <i>Mongeham Bottom</i> )			burial	Town Hall, Deal	
6	Between Great Mongeham and Ripple			pot	Town Hall, Deal	
7	Northbourne	18th century		gold coin		Boys, II, 869.
8	Northbourne ( <i>Finglesham</i> )	1928-9	3256/5343	cemetery	Maison Dieu, Ospringe; and Lord Northbourne coll.	<i>A.C.</i> , XLI, 124; the present article.
9	<i>Eastry</i> (Butt-sole or Southbank)	1792, 1860	3120/5450	cemetery	Maidstone	<i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 351-2; Brown, IV, 707-8; Hasted, x, 101; Shaw, <i>Liber Eastriae</i> , 3; <i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser. xv, 180; <i>id.</i> , xxii, 364-7.
10	Worth	1936	3370/5530	A.-S. or sub-R.-B. pots		<i>Ant.J.</i> , xvii, 310-13, pl. lxxxiii.
11	Woodnesborough (sand pit)		3080/5693	cemetery		Akerman, pl. xxiv, 2; Hasted, x, 122; J. M. Kemble, <i>Horae Ferales</i> , pl. xxvi; <i>C.A.</i> , II, 220, pl. lii, 4; Douglas, 71; <i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., xxii, 367; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 356, 387.
12	Marshborough			pot		<i>A.C.</i> , xxix, p. lxxxiii.



13	Woodnesborough (Coombe)	1848	2975/5750	barrow burial		Akerman, pls. xxiv, xxvi; <i>C.A.</i> , II, 221; <i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., III, 239; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 355-6, fig. 10; <i>Proc. Bury and West Suffolk Arch. Inst.</i> , I, 27; <i>Arch.</i> , xxx, 132.
14	Ash (Guilton)	1771, 1957	2810/5824	cemetary	Liverpool; Canterbury	Faussett, 1 ff.; Boys, II, 868-9; <i>Arch.</i> , xxx, 133, pl. xi; <i>id.</i> , xxxvi, 176; Douglas, 48-52, 93; <i>J.B.A.A.</i> , xv, 290; Akerman, pls. xxiv, 2 and xxvi, 1; <i>C.A.</i> , II, pl. xxxvii, 8 & 9; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 353, 354, fig. 9.
15	Ash (Knell Farm)		2850/5943	gold coin		<i>C.A.</i> , I, 64, pl. xxii, 6.
16	Ash (Goldstone Cop Street)	1850	2905/5975	cemetary	Liverpool	<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , v, 374; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 361; Roach Smith, 88, pl. v, 1-6; <i>Arch.</i> , xxx, pl. xi, fig. 1.
17	Ash (Richborough)	18th century		barrow burial		Roach Smith, 88.
18	Ash (Richborough)	1928	3247/6037	burial (Germanic federate?)	Richborough	J. P. Bushe Fox, <i>Excav. at Richborough</i> , IV, 80.
19	Ash (Richborough)			coins		Roach Smith, 157-8.
20	Sarre (mill)	1860, 1864	2610/6505	cemetary	Maidstone; British Museum	<i>A.C.</i> , III, 36 ff.; <i>id.</i> , v, 305 ff.; <i>id.</i> , vi, 157 ff.; <i>id.</i> , vii, 307 ff.; <i>C.A.</i> , VI, 145; <i>B.M.G.</i> , 55 ff.; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 357; Kelly, 43-5.
21	Monkton (Primrose Hill)	1880	2886/6530	burial		Kelly, 46; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 385; <i>Arch.</i> , II, 452.

No.	Parish and <i>site</i>	Excava- ted	Nat. Grid ref.	Character	Museum	Publications
22	<i>Minster</i> (church- yard)	1786	3108/6425	burial		<i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 385; <i>Arch.</i> , viii, 449; Douglas, 71, pl. xvii.
*	<i>Minster</i> (site not known)			beads	British Museum	
23	<i>Minster</i> (Telegraph Hill)		3156/6585	coins		Ordnance Survey Records.
24	Ramsgate ( <i>Ozingell</i> )	1845-7	3614/6547	cemetery		<i>C.A.</i> , II, pl. lviii; <i>id.</i> , III, I ff.; <i>J.B.A.A.</i> , I, 242-3; <i>id.</i> , II, 338; <i>id.</i> , III, 246; Akerman, pls. xxxiv-v, xxxviii-ix; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 362; Brown, IV, 700.
*	Ramsgate	Details unknown.		cemetery	Herne Bay	Museum Records.
25	Ramsgate ( <i>Nethercourt Farm</i> )	1949, 1953	3669/6517	cemetery		<i>A.C.</i> , LXIV, 150; <i>id.</i> , LXIX, 202.
26	Ramsgate ( <i>West Cliff</i> )	1846	3760/6457	cemetery		<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , II, 281; Brown, IV, 699.
27	Ramsgate ( <i>Park Road</i> )	1932	3790/6547	burial		<i>A.C.</i> , XLV, 283-4.
28	Broadstairs ( <i>Dumpton Park</i> )	1909	3944/6705	cemetery	Broadstairs (Council Offices)	<i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser. xxiii, 272-82; Brown, III, 22, 132; <i>id.</i> , IV, 699.
29	<i>Broadstairs</i>			sceattas		Brown, III, 84; <i>Numism. Chron.</i> , II (1942), 42.
30	<i>Broadstairs</i> (Linden- thorpe Rd.)	1911	3930/6854	2 burials		Ordnance Survey Records.
31	Margate ( <i>Northdown</i> )	1841, 1898	3800/7000	burial beads	British Museum	<i>Arch. J.</i> , IV, 164.

32	Margate ( <i>St. John's cemetery</i> )	1848, 1922	3499/6913	cemetery	Margate Public Library	Dixon, <i>The New Historical Guide to the Isle of Thanet</i> , 88; <i>Isle of Thanet Gaz- ette and Thanet Times</i> , 20 Jan. 1923.
33	<i>Birchington</i>		3020/6900	sceattas		<i>C.A.</i> , I, 64, pl. xxiii, 2-4; <i>A.C.</i> , IX, 164; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 384.
34	Birchington ( <i>Minnis Bay</i> )	1938	2932/6959 2927/6867	cemetery	Powell- Cotton Museum, Birchington	Powell-Cotton Museum records.
35	<i>Reculver</i>	18th century?  1922	2280/6975	glass, bronze bowl, brooch pot	Herne Bay Public Library	<i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., xv, 138; Roach Smith, 213-14; <i>C.A.</i> , II, 103; Akerman, pl. ii.
36	<i>Herne Bay</i> (Dence Park)	1923	1880/6810	bottle-vase	Herne Bay Public Library	
37	<i>Hoath</i> (Millbank)	1772	2047/6529	burial		<i>C.A.</i> , II, 163; Akerman, pl. xxv; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 384.
38	<i>Chislet</i>	1949	2230/6452	spear- head	Canterbury	Ordnance Survey records.
39	Upstreet ( <i>Grove Ferry</i> )	1894		burials	Canterbury	<i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., xv, 178; <i>id.</i> , xvi, 174; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 385.
40	<i>Westbere</i>		1993/6155	cemetery	Canterbury	<i>Ant. J.</i> , xxvi, 11 ff.
41	<i>Westbere</i> (Stanes Hill)		1908/6125	pot		Ordnance Survey records.
42	Hackington ( <i>Shelford Farm</i> )	1929	1649/6029	burial	British Museum	
43	<i>Canterbury</i>  a. Theatre  b. St. Mar- garet's Street	1949- 1954		habitation site domestic pottery	Canterbury  Canterbury	<i>A.N.L.</i> , III, no. 9, 151. <i>A.N.L.</i> , IV, no. 9, 140; <i>id.</i> , II, no. 5, 79.

No.	Parish and site	Excavated	Nat. Grid ref.	Character	Museum	Publications
	c. Rose Hotel				Canterbury	<i>A.N.L.</i> , II, no. 5, 80; <i>South-Eastern Naturalist and Antiquary</i> , LIV, 20-1, fig. 2.
	d. Riding Gate				Canterbury	<i>A.N.L.</i> , III, no. 11, 181.
	e. Watling Street			pottery	Canterbury	<i>A.N.L.</i> , V, no. 7, 134.
	f. St. George's Lane				Canterbury	<i>A.N.L.</i> , II, no. 8, 133.
*	Canterbury (unknown provenience)			pot		<i>A.C.</i> , xxxix, 36, pl. i,2.
44	Canterbury (cathedral precincts)	1956	1515/5813	brooch	Chapter Library	<i>Ant. J.</i> , xxxviii, 57, note 7.
45	Canterbury (Martyrs' Field)	1900	1475/5705	miscellaneous finds brooch	British Museum	<i>Ant. J.</i> , xxxviii, 56-7; <i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., xviii, 279. <i>Ant. J.</i> , xxxviii, 52 ff., fig. 1, pl. x,a.
46	Canterbury (St. Martin's)	18th century	1585/5777	burial	Canterbury	<i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., v, 125; <i>C.A.</i> , I, 63, pls. xxii, lv; <i>J.B.A.A.</i> , I, 330-2; <i>Arch. J.</i> , I, 279; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 341.
47	Stodmarsh	1847	2159/6030	barrow with two burials	British Museum	<i>Arch.</i> , xxxvi, 179-81, pl. xvi; <i>B.M.G.</i> , 57.
48	Wickhambreux (Grove Pit)		2376/6195	lead weight	British Museum	
49	Wickhambreux (Supperton pit)	1887	2276/6043	cemetery		<i>A.C.</i> , xvii, 6-9, fig. 6; <i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., xv, 178; <i>A.C.</i> , xxi, p. lvi; <i>V.C.H.</i> , I, 356.
50	Wickhambreux (church)	1794	2200/5875	3 pots		<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , 1794, pt. i, 501, figs.

*	<i>Wickham-breux</i> (provenience unknown)	1910		1 pot		<i>A.C.</i> , xxxix, 36.
51	Preston-next-Wingham ( <i>Derson Farm</i> )		2393/5985	A.-S. or sub-R. pots		<i>Ant.</i> , xvii, 52-5, figs. 1-2.
52	Wingham ( <i>villa</i> )		2401/5720	A.-S. re-occupation?		<i>A.C.</i> , xii, 47-8; <i>id.</i> , xiv, 134; <i>id.</i> , xv, 351 ff.; <i>J.B.A.A.</i> , xxxvii, 449; <i>V.C.H.</i> , iii, 125; <i>Ant.</i> , xvii, 47-8; <i>id.</i> , xviii, 52-5.
53	Wingham ( <i>Witherden Hall</i> )	1843, 1854	2498/5690	cemetery	British Museum	<i>Archaeol.</i> , xxx, 550; <i>id.</i> , xxxvi, 178; <i>V.C.H.</i> , i, 356; Brown, iv, 716.
54	<i>Littlebourne</i>			sceattas		<i>C.A.</i> , i, 10, pl. xxii; <i>V.C.H.</i> , i, 385.
55	<i>Littlebourne</i>	1913	2078/5622	spear-head	Canterbury	
56	Ickham ( <i>Howletts</i> )	1913	2008/5688	cemetery	British Museum	<i>P.S.A.</i> , 2 ser., xxx, 102-3; <i>Ant. J.</i> , iv, 276; <i>B.M. Quarterly</i> , x, 131, pl. xxxix; <i>V.C.H.</i> , i, 15.
57	<i>Bekesbourne</i>	1914-1918	1926/5587	hanging bowl	Canterbury	<i>infra</i> , pp. 72 ff.
58	<i>Bekesbourne</i> ( <i>Cowslip Wood</i> )	1955		cemetery	Canterbury	
59	<i>Bekesbourne</i> ( <i>Adisham Down</i> )	1773	2075/5489	cemetery	Liverpool	Faussett, 144-159; <i>V.C.H.</i> , i, 343; Brown, iv, 719.
60	<i>Patribourne</i> ( <i>Bifrons</i> )	1867	1901/5457	cemetery	Maidstone	<i>A.C.</i> , vi, 329 ff.; <i>id.</i> , x, 298 ff.; <i>id.</i> , xiii, 552 ff.; <i>V.C.H.</i> , i, 342; Brown, iii, 27, 192, 246, pls. xxxiv-xxxvi; <i>id.</i> , iv, 716 ff.

No.	Parish and site	Excavated	Nat. Grid ref.	Character	Museum	Publications
61	Bishopsbourne ( <i>Bourne Park</i> )	1845		barrow cemetery		Faussett, 99-100 and 95, note 1; <i>J.B.A.A.</i> , 1, 97-100; <i>Arch. J.</i> , 1, 253-6.
62	Bishopsbourne ( <i>Bourne Park</i> )	1771	1915/5306	9 barrows	Liverpool	Faussett, 95-100.
63	<i>Kingston Down</i>	1769	2025/5190	barrow cemetery	Liverpool	Faussett, 35-94; Douglas, 37-47; <i>V.C.H.</i> , 1, 345; Brown, IV, 720-3.
64	Upper Hardres ( <i>Burstled Wood</i> )	1749- 1751	1600/5050	cemetery		Faussett, 36.

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The majority of the drawings are by Miss Elizabeth Meikle and are reproduced by permission of the Ministry of Works, as are the photographs, PLS. I, C and IV, D; FIG. 17, *b* is by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse, M.B.E., and is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, as is PL. V, A; PL. V, B is by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, PLS. V, C and VI, A, B by courtesy of the National Museum, Copenhagen, and PL. V, E by courtesy of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. All illustrations of the jewellery, pottery and glass from the Finglesham cemetery are reproduced by kind permission of Lord Northbourne.

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