

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Oxford

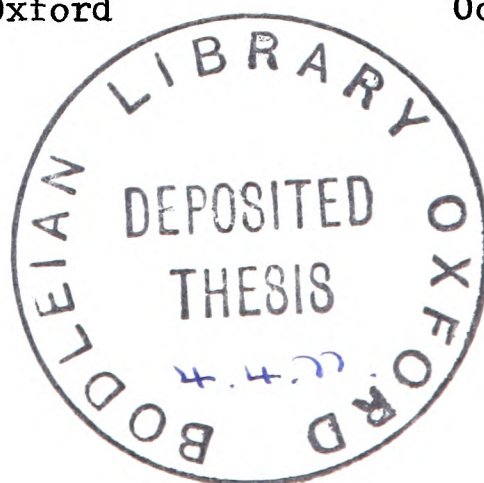
THE ANGLO-SAXON BURIAL SITES OF THE UPPER
THAMES REGION, AND THEIR BEARING ON THE
HISTORY OF WESSEX, CIRCA AD 400 - 700

by

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October 1976



VOLUME I : ABSTRACT AND TEXT

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to establish a chronological framework for the grave-goods, and hence the graves, from all known Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the Upper Thames Region. Such a framework is considered essential to any reconstruction of early Saxon activity in the area and especially to any solution of the problems which surround the origin and early development of Wessex. It is based on a detailed typological study of material from 168 sites within a defined area. This area is bounded approximately on the west by the source of the Thames and the Cotswolds scarp, on the north by the Oxfordshire/Northamptonshire county boundary, on the east by the Thames/Ouse watershed and the Chilterns scarp, and in the south by the Kennet Valley.

The thesis is presented in three volumes, text (I), catalogue (II), and illustrations (III). The text is divided into three parts. Part I is introductory. The subject is set in the context of broader problems and previous hypotheses, and the value of the material to be analysed is assessed. The physical identity of the Upper Thames Region, the problems and methods of cataloguing sites, and the history of their discovery and recording are briefly discussed.

Part II, in which the typology and chronology of the grave-goods are established, forms the core of the thesis. It consists of seventeen chapters and a summary chronological chart. The first chapter considers some general methodological problems and outlines the fundamental points of archaeological chronology for the period, on which that of the Upper Thames Region depends. Chapter 2 is a long analysis of brooches. The greatest attention is given to the manufacture and chronology of cast saucer brooches, but the dating of disc brooches is also set on a firmer basis, and there are important comments on all remaining forms (penannular, annular, button, great and small

square-headed, small-long, and miscellaneous). Chapters 3 to 8 deal with the other objects found principally in women's graves (pins, finger rings and bracelets, necklaces, combs, toilet items, and bags, boxes, and girdle-hung objects); they include discussion of the function of some of these items as well as their dating. Chapter 9 is about belt-equipment. The weapons found in men's graves are discussed in chapters 10 to 14 (swords, seaxes, shields, spears, and miscellaneous); in chapter 12 the first attempt at a typology of English shield bosses, based on computerised numerical taxonomy, is presented, while in chapter 13 Dr.M.J.Swanton's recently published typology of spearheads receives detailed criticism. Knives are briefly considered in chapter 15. Chapter 16, an analysis of the pottery, includes several modifications of Dr.J.N.L.Myres' work. This part concludes with chapter 17 on vessels of glass, metal, and wood.

The chronologies thus established help to provide a date of burial for about one third of the catalogued graves and to indicate a date-range for the use of most sites. These data form the basis for deductions, made in Part III, about the history of the Saxon settlement in the Upper Thames Region. The background to this discussion is set out briefly in two sections, one on the nature of the Roman settlement in the Region, the other a critical survey of documentary evidence pertaining to the period. The synthesis deals in turn with the archaeology of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and its possible historical interpretation. It is argued that the initial settlement during the first quarter of the fifth century consisted of a group of Saxons hired as foederati, who were posted at and near Dorchester-on-Thames; in the second quarter of the century their leaders usurped authority from their erstwhile British employers and assumed control of a wide area, planting out groups of settlers, probably including many new immigrants, during the second half of the century throughout most of the Region. These settlements grew in size, number, and wealth; their prosperity

is reflected in the emergence of well furnished graves, probably belonging to leading families, the most spectacular of which is the early seventh-century 'princely' burial at Cuddesdon near Dorchester. During the fifth and sixth centuries the Upper Thames Region appears to have been most closely connected with the other Saxon settlement along and south of the Thames, but in the sixth century connections with the Midlands, especially the West Midlands, were established, and there is some evidence of direct contact with East Kent. In the seventh century the Upper Thames shares the uniform material culture associated with 'Final Phase' or 'Proto-Christian' cemeteries.

Direct connections between this evidence and documentary history are few, though it is argued forcibly that there is no evidence that the battle of Badon had any ^affect on the Saxon settlement of the Upper Thames Region. The archaeological evidence also suggests that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries relating to the battles fought by Ceawlin and Cuthwulf should not be taken at face value. In a final section the documentary evidence for the history of Wessex is specifically examined in the light of the archaeological conclusions. It is suggested that during the second half of the sixth century one of the leading families of the Upper Thames Region asserted its power not only over an enlarged Upper Thames Region, but also over Hampshire and Wiltshire, thus founding the royal dynasty of Cerdic and Cynric and creating what became known as the kingdom of the West Saxons.

N.B. Throughout the thesis references to counties and to county boundaries are to those in effect before the local government reorganisation of 1st April, 1974 (v. Vol. II, p.1).

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PREFACE

Most of my museum work was carried out between 1969 and 1971 while I was a student at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, and held a major States Studentship from the Department of Education and Science. Supplementary work was done in subsequent years and the catalogue was closed to new material towards the end of 1974. The creation of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit in 1973 and their excavation of a major Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Dorchester (Berinsfield) in 1974 and 1975, as well as minor sites at Barton Court Farm and Cokethorpe Park, came just too late for full incorporation in the thesis, but I have endeavoured to include whatever information has been available to me at the time of writing. The thesis was actually written between July 1974 and August 1976; publications which have appeared since March 1976 have not necessarily been included in the bibliography.

A work of this kind could never have been accomplished single-handed; so many people have earned my gratitude for their contribution to its conception and execution that I cannot name them all. My supervisor, Mrs. Sonia Hawkes, must take pride of place among these contributors for her unstinted advice, encouragement and criticism; and Professor C.F.C Hawkes, who supervised my first year's research, provocatively set me on course. Second are all the curators of museum collections who have facilitated my research: my special thanks go to Mr. David Brown of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, and Mrs. Leslie Webster of the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum, who have had to do most for me, as well as being most generous with information at their disposal. Many friends and colleagues have given me specific information or help and they are acknowledged at the appropriate point; others have unselfishly allowed me to see and refer to their unpublished excavations (Mr.K.Annable

for Black Patch, Pewsey, Miss A. Cook for Andover, Portway East, Mr. and Mrs. W.T.Jones for Mucking, and Mr. David Miles for Barton Court Farm and Dorchester VI). Fellow students at Oxford and elsewhere, especially Mr. Dafydd Kidd, Dr. George Speake and Mr. Martin Welch, and my students here at the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff, have, by exchange of information and rigorous discussion, been invaluable to the formulation of my ideas; Martin Welch has been particularly kind in informing me of unpublished material from Sussex. I must thank the following for their practical contribution: Mrs. Gaye Booth for printing photographs, Mr. Howard Mason for inking most of the final figures, Mr. R.L. Wilkins for making reduced copies of the figures, and Miss Sabina Thompson and Mrs. M.T.Davies for typing all these pages. Finally, I am most grateful to Professor R.J.C. Atkinson and my colleagues in the Department of Archaeology at Cardiff for their indulgence while I completed this thesis, and to Dr. Oliver Dickinson, who not only has been a practical and psychological aid, as befits a husband, but has argued many a point with me and disciplined me to write plain English.

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PART ONE : INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND BOUNDARIES : THE AIMS, NATURE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is virtually the only documentary source for the history of the West Saxons between the fifth and the seventh centuries. Bede provides a little independent information, most of which was copied into the Chronicle, but the Chronicle itself remains the sole written and continuous account. It was composed during the ninth century (the earliest known text may date from AD 891, Whitelock 1961, xxi-xxiii) at the very time when Wessex, after nearly two centuries in eclipse, reemerged as a truly significant political force. Modern scholars must therefore rely for a narrative history of Wessex on those traditions which had come down to and were accepted by the court chroniclers of King Alfred and his predecessors.

These traditions, contained in at least two regnal lists, a series of royal genealogies, probably poetic mnemonics, and possibly for the later seventh century in written annals, held that the ancestor of the Wessex kings, Cerdic, landed in AD 495 on the Hampshire coast and spent his lifetime fighting for control of this small coastal area; only after the middle of the sixth century did his heirs begin to push northwards, culminating in the vigorous career of Ceawlin, the second Bretwalda, who conquered the entire Upper Thames Region; that area became the ecclesiastical centre of the kingdom in the early seventh century, and was only abandoned later in the century, in the face of Mercian aggression, in favour of what became the base of the Wessex dynasty, Winchester and the South Wessex area.

Since at least the late nineteenth century, historians have been aware of a major difficulty in this account, apart from the formal problems which surround annals based on oral tradition: it is not supported by the archaeological evidence. Until the 1950's there was little evidence of Saxon

settlement in Wiltshire and Hampshire, in contrast to an abundance in the Upper Thames Valley, and while the latter was known to be 'early' in the general sequence of English settlement, most scholars dated the few South Wessex cemeteries to the later sixth century and beyond. Although more recent excavation has increased the number of South Wessex cemeteries and pushed their beginnings back to the late fifth century, the basic imbalance remains.

Other evidence has appeared to substantiate an original political dichotomy in Wessex: for example, Ceawlin, the great ruler of early Wessex, is recorded in genealogies only of Cadwalla, Ine, and their descendants, the ninth-century Wessex kings, which has led some historians, notably G.M.Young in The Origins of the West Saxon Kingdom (1934) and Dr.D.P.Kirby (1965), to argue for two separate royal dynasties, one in the Thames Valley, the other in South Wessex. Bede's reference to Gewissae as the ancient name of the West Saxons encouraged Dr.J.N.L.Myres to identify the former with the South Wessex dynasty and the latter with the Thames Valley line (Collingwood and Myres 1937,403-5). Later he elaborated this idea of a division in his interpretation of that great and enigmatic earthwork which cuts Wessex in two, Wansdyke (Myres 1964; see also Fox and Fox 1958; Green 1971).

The dichotomy in evidence has meant that nearly all archaeological interest and interpretation has concentrated on the Upper Thames Valley. Since there was never any doubt that the people who were settled there were Saxon, research was dominated by the questions of from where and how had they come. The terms of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and, until recently, general archaeological concepts, dictated discussion in terms of 'invasion routes' and the potential ability of the indigenous Britons to resist. E.T.Leeds' first suggestion, that the Thames itself was the invasion route (Leeds 1912 and 1913), was accepted by G.Baldwin Brown (1915), and tentatively reasserted

by Miss J.Kirk (1956). Leeds himself became convinced, however, that the Saxons came from the Wash via the Ickniel Way, elaborating his idea in all his later writing (especially 1925, 1933, 1954), and finding broad acceptance for it among contemporary scholars; as recently as 1969 the basic principle has been reiterated (Myres 1969,114). The 'invasion route' concept was also fundamental to Miss V.I.Evison's thesis (1965), though her solution was entirely novel (a joint invasion from the south coast by Hengist, Aelle and Cerdic, spearheaded by a Frankish warrior-aristocracy).

The implications of Mrs. S.C.Hawkes' and Mr. G.C.Dunning's study of Late Roman belt-fittings (1961) were observed by Professor S.S.Frere in Britannia (1967) 381: if, as argued, the earliest Saxon settlers were deliberately invited into Britain and settled as foederati, the concept of an 'invasion route' was made redundant. The only person to exploit this idea in relation to the Upper Thames Region has been again Dr. Myres (1969,89-90); he argues for an early fifth-century plantation of Saxons along the Thames Valley and under the immediate control of Dorchester-on-Thames, but possibly at the instigation of sub-Roman authorities in Silchester.

It can be seen that there is just sufficient evidence to have tempted a very great deal of research into the tantalising problem of the early history of Wessex (mention should perhaps also be made of T.Dayrell Reed, The Rise of Wessex (1947), and G.Copley, The Conquest of Wessex in the Sixth Century (1954)). Yet nearly all these works suffer from two crucial inadequacies: on the documentary side, few treat the evidence with the stringent criteria essential in an ill-documented period, and some use it with the most alarming licence, while on the archaeological side, none had available a comprehensive and acceptable chronology for the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries which provided their principal evidence of settlement¹. These basic criticisms imply that many works and a great number of ideas are, for the purposes of fresh discussion

of the problem, obsolete, and I do not intend to rehearse them further.

The only profitable way to pursue the problem is through a regional study based on all aspects of the archaeology of the period, set against that of the preceding Roman period, and combined with information from documents and place-names. In turn, this study would have to be based on fundamental studies of the primary sources of evidence. There is clearly an urgent need for a thorough reappraisal of the annalistic and genealogical material; the contexts in which these documents were composed and the sources on which they were based must be explained if interpretations are to have historical validity. But the essential task is analysis of the archaeological material, for, in this early period, it far outweighs the written evidence in both quantity and quality; and since in this respect the Upper Thames Region has always been recognised as of prime importance not only for the 'Wessex question' itself, but also for the settlement of Germanic peoples in England as a whole, it seems desirable to begin by establishing this body of evidence on a firm footing.

The first essential is a sound chronological framework, and in the Early Saxon period archaeological chronology can be inferred only from grave-goods. In the Upper Thames Region the bulk of the evidence is funerary, so, whatever its inherent limitations, it does provide our best source of information.

At the moment 'settlement archaeology' cannot provide a viable alternative. It depends on the study of grave-goods for its chronology. It might be possible to establish an independent chronology by treating the fills of Grubenhäuser as closed deposits of artefacts, in the same way as graves, but it would require a sufficient number and an assurance that the fills were sealed deposits. Few sites of such size and quality have been excavated in England, and none in the Upper Thames Valley. Indeed, Miss Freda Berisford has admitted in her recent study of the Early Saxon settlement sites in the

Upper Thames Valley (1973) that conclusions must be limited because of the small number and restricted size of excavated sites. The number of known settlement sites in the area has been greatly increased by aerial photography: for example, about forty can be distinguished on the Thames gravels between Lechlade and Goring (Benson and Miles 1974a,24-75; 1974b,224; CBA 9 NL, 5, 1975, 19-20). These may be compared with nearly sixty burial sites in the same area, and suggest that were a comparable number of settlements to be identified along the tributaries of the Thames and on higher ground, the 168 cemeteries in the Region would not appear disproportionate; but only their excavation will increase knowledge. Actually, cemeteries do provide a fair indication of general population distribution; with increasing recognition of settlement sites, it has become apparent that they are rarely more than a quarter of a mile from a cemetery.

Cemeteries do, of course, provide evidence for far more than chronology: their siting may be used to establish general settlement patterns; the age, sex, and pathology of the skeletons can provide information of the composition and health of the population; and a comparison of the siting and structure of the graves with the sex and age of their occupants and the disposition, combination, and content of the grave-assemblages could yield vital information on the social structure and customs of the community. But such archaeological analyses will be as premature as other historical studies, unless they are based on a secure chronological framework. During the three hundred years covered by this study there was a fundamental change in the language, religion, and political institutions of the population; any analysis which does not distinguish material from this period chronologically is bound to be false, for it will fail to allow for change.

Thus the current state of historical and archaeological research makes the establishment of a chronological framework for the burial sites of the

Upper Thames Region a clear priority. The nature of the evidence, time, space, and personal skills suggest that this study should be devoted to that priority. Obviously, the implications of such a framework, once established, will be legion, but I intend to confine my conclusions only to those which can be legitimately drawn from the studied evidence. I cannot explore fully the other topics which depend on this study - for example, the spatial and social analysis of cemeteries, or the early history of 'greater Wessex' - since I will not have examined in depth the other evidence which pertains to their solution.

Although the Upper Thames Region has always been recognised as crucial to understanding of the Saxon settlement, there has been no agreed definition of its boundaries. These may be indicated by three principal factors - culture, geography, and environment - but, since none of them is truly exclusive, inconsistencies and overlapping inevitably occur.

The best means available of distinguishing cultural groups is through both the types and methods of use of objects. I would agree with Dr. Hayo Vierck that for the area of England in question there were only two obvious cultural groups, the Angles and the Saxons (Davies and Vierck 1974, 272), and there can be no doubt that the Upper Thames Region was Saxon. This begs two questions, however: what was the precise boundary between Angle and Saxon, and were the 'Upper Thames Saxons' really indistinguishable from all others, given the very reasons for an initial interest in them?

The first question affects the northern boundary of the Region. It involves the distribution of a number of features: these are the 'Saxon' saucer brooch and custom of wearing brooches in pairs, and the 'Anglian' later cruciform, narrow flat annular, and swastika brooches, wrist-clasps, girdle-hangers, and custom of wearing brooches in sets of three or more. However, it should be noted that many of these artefacts did not appear until

the sixth century, and that it is now widely agreed that the fifth-century immigrants, who were not distinguished so markedly by different cultural traits, only developed a regional identity once they had become fully established in their new home. It is also true that in the sixth century there was a much greater production of metalwork, much of which may have been 'traded' or taken by brides marrying outside their own community across cultural boundaries without indicating a change in basic cultural affinities. This is particularly true of the saucer brooch, which is found widely throughout the Midlands, and which stimulated Leeds to advance various versions of a theory that the first generation of settlers in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire was Saxon. Leeds did accept, however, that Buckinghamshire represented a hiatus in settlement between these areas and the Thames Valley. Given these points and the fact that chronology is again fundamental to interpretation, the line identified by Baldwin Brown (1915, Map V) and more recently by Vierck (1973,353) can be followed: it runs from the Suffolk Stour west to the Cherwell south of Banbury. Baldwin Brown and Leeds argued that the watershed of the Cherwell, Ouse, Nene, and Avon, north of that point, marked the boundary further west, thus including the Avon Valley cemeteries, with their undeniable Saxon element, in the 'Saxon' nexus. Vierck has argued, however, and I would agree with him, that the Avon Valley cemeteries also show definite Anglian elements not exhibited by sites further south, and he would therefore extend his boundary line directly westwards to join the lower Avon and Severn (op.cit.; also Davies and Vierck 1974,276-79).

The second question primarily affects the southern boundary, and is for the immediate study 'Catch-22'. Any distinctive features of the Upper Thames Region can only be discerned by close study of that area, implying that some boundaries used in that study will be preconceived; and those features will only be properly isolated by comparison with the rest of the Saxon community,

yet there are no studies of it of equivalent detail, and personal limitations mean that, in the present context, I cannot make good such a deficit !

Geography would seem to provide only theoretical boundaries, since in southern England there are few geophysical features which would have impeded human access. Nevertheless, since it is axiomatic that Anglo-Saxon settlement was based on river valleys, a definition founded on watersheds and drainage basins is logical, and, where these are sharply demarcated, as along the scarps of the Cotswolds and Chilterns, has much to recommend it; but where geology reduces the physiographic impact of watersheds, as in the north-east of the Region (the Cherwell/Ouse/Nene watershed), a clear-cut line is absent and other criteria must influence choice.

Physiography influences environment, and it might be argued that the latter was far more important in delineating settlement areas. Recently Vierck has applied this theory to England by comparing the distribution of cemeteries with areas of agriculturally attractive soil. He argues that such areas would have been demarcated by woodland, waste, and marsh (Davies and Vierck 1974, 241ff.), but his identification of these features, and so his deductions of exclusive settlement areas from them, is open to criticism. He based his maps on the Ordnance Survey Map of Dark Age Britain (1935), which took geology as its principal guide, especially the occurrence of heavy clays as evidence of woodland, though he did introduce some modification in the light of more recent research. In the Upper Thames Region he maps relatively little woodland, though he describes far more in the text (Davies and Vierck 1974, 276-7, fig. 5), and this poses the question of how real are the subdivisions in settlement within the Upper Thames Region which he proposes. Nevertheless, the idea of an environmental approach is important and requires further comment on its feasibility.

Environmental archaeology is a relatively new science, so there is very little evidence yet available from excavations for the actual environment of

the Upper Thames Region during the Late Roman and Early Saxon periods. The only relevant and published material comes from the Roman villa at Shakenoak, which had a later Saxon occupation level (Shakenoak I, 114-6; III, 162-3; IV, 138-41, 145-66; it lies just south-west of site 109 on Fig. 51). R.J. Woodell suggested, on the basis of the animal bones and received vegetational history, that there was a change from cattle-dominated husbandry in the Roman period to sheep- and pig-dominated husbandry, associated with a regeneration of scrub, in the Early Saxon period (Shakenoak III, 156-161). The only primary evidence for this theory - the analysis of the animal bones - was subsequently shown to be erroneous (Shakenoak IV, 145-152), and was not in any case supported by the molluscan evidence (Shakenoak III, 162-3). At present, molluscan and faunal remains indicate that, though oak woodland was not far distant (Wychwood), the immediate environment was open pasture with hedgerows beside a damp stream-bed; in the Late Roman period the increase in sheep over cattle and decrease in red deer suggested a further decrease in woodland at that time. Further information from this site and from Barton Court Farm (Abingdon IV, site 4; v. CBA 9 NL, 6, 1976, 64-5) will improve knowledge, but for the time being environmental evidence can be deduced only from general premises - namely, geology, soil-types, place-names, and the records of natural resources in Domesday Book - and is consequently crude.

Current knowledge of the extent of land exploitation during the Late Roman period demonstrates that the incidence of heavy clay can no longer be used alone as an indication of forest (Ordnance Survey 1966, 7; Taylor 1974, 6); Vierck's resurrection of the equation of clay and woodland involves him in some special pleading which I do not find convincing (Davies and Vierck 1974, 253-270). Domesday records of woodland should give some guide to the amount still in existence in 1086, especially where combined with place-name evidence. Where this indicates woodland in the same places which have Late Roman settlement, there is no need to invoke the theory of forest regeneration,

for which there is little positive evidence (pace Davies and Vierck 1974, 258). Rather Vierck's idea of 'parkland' might be emphasised; it suggests a scattering of woodland within settled areas, which would have been an agricultural asset rather than a social barrier. This is probably the true nature of much of the broad belt of woodland indicated to the north of Oxford on Fig. 51A, though some of it was certainly more dense forest. The distribution of wooded districts and marshes on that map has been based on Domesday Book and place-names (Darby and Campbell 1962, 138-286, figs. 57, 69, 83; Darby and Terrett 1954, 1-54, fig. 13; Darby and Welldon Finn 1967, 1-66, figs. 9-10; Arkell 1942).

Culture, geography, and environment have helped to provide a working hypothesis of the boundaries of the Upper Thames Region, but it should be emphasised that the result is by no means definitive and merely represents the current stage of my opinions. I am sure that in the future modifications will be necessary and that there will be debate over the inclusion or exclusion of individual sites. I have catalogued and mapped only those sites which fall within my definition of the Region, though I shall discuss those which are peripheral. Very few of the latter fall within the rectangle of my maps and nearly all are minor or dubious sites the omission of which barely affects the overall picture.

The area which I call the Upper Thames Region in Early Saxon times comprises most of the former counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, excepting their northern and eastern extremities respectively, and parts of Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire (Figs. 51-53). It is composed of a series of rock-formations aligned south-west to north-east and bedded at a slight angle, which produces the characteristically scarped scenery of the region. Through the centre runs the River Thames from its headwaters just west of Cirencester down as far as Henley, which properly should be described as being in the Middle Thames Valley. The Thames and its tributaries divide

the geological features of the area into a great variety of local habitats; the most significant distinction is the extensive area of drift deposits east of the north-south line of the Cherwell and Thames, which make it far less attractive for settlement than the area to the west (Martin and Steel 1954, Chs.1-7).

Anglo-Saxon settlement was concentrated in the Thames Valley itself where the tributary rivers, especially at their confluences with the Thames, had deposited terraces of gravel over the inhospitable Oxford Clay. These provided well-watered and drained calcareous soils which supported open agricultural land with patches of woodland and scrub. The Thames west of Oxford has been pushed by the northern tributaries up against a ridge of limestone (the Corallian Ridge) running west to Faringdon; here therefore the gravels are on the north bank, while the Oxford Clay remains exposed on the south bank, producing marshy conditions hostile to settlement. Further large deposits of gravel occur south of Oxford at the junction of the Ock and Thame with the Thames. Archaeology demonstrates that the gravel terraces had always been densely occupied (Benson and Miles 1974a); by 1086 the area between Abingdon and Dorchester had the highest recorded population in the entire Region (Darby and Campbell 1962, fig.81). Domesday records imply, however, that the west Oxfordshire bank of the Thames was not a major arable area, deriving its prosperity more from an abundance of varied grazing land (ie. pasture, meadow, and woodland; Darby and Campbell 1962, figs.65,69,70,71). Certainly woodland extended from the south-eastern edge of the Cotswolds dip slope into the areas of dense Early Saxon occupation at the confluences of the Windrush, Evenlode, and Cherwell with the Thames.

The Corallian Ridge is capped by Plateau Gravels around Boar's Hill and Cumnor Hirst, west of Oxford, and by Greensand near Faringdon. The woodland in the former part has been planted recently (Harding 1972,7), but a number of - ley place-names suggests that originally there was woodland (Arkell 1942,

9-11), or at least poor heath vegetation. The central section was poorly drained and place-names, especially mor- names, imply rough open vegetation (op.cit., 11-12). Although Dr. D.W. Harding has argued for the importance of this ridge both for settlement and as a routeway in the Late Iron Age, evidence for Roman and Early Saxon settlement is sparse; whether there was continued exploitation of this area must remain an open question, though by 1086 there was a number of villages on the spring-line on the northern edge of the scarp (Darby and Campbell 1962, 246, fig. 81).

To the south of this ridge is the Vale of the White Horse; composed of clays overlying Greensand, it too was poorly drained with many marshes. It seems to have attracted little Early Saxon settlement, though again by 1086 there was a line of villages on the Upper Greensand spring-line (loc.cit.). In East Oxfordshire the geological formations are far more complex with outcrops of limestone and sand interspersed by clay and drift deposits. The peat bog of Otmoor was obviously inimical to settlement, and to the south there was much woodland, including Royal Forest. Although the overall population figures for this district are high in Domesday Book, closer inspection suggests that much was still thinly settled (op.cit., 196; cf. fig. 67 with figs. 64 and 68).

This central corridor is bounded by higher ground which forms the drainage basin of the Upper Thames. It is the drainage basin which has primarily influenced my choice of boundaries. I shall now discuss these border districts in a clockwise direction beginning in the west. The exact source of the Thames is a matter of parochial loyalty, but it lies near Cirencester. Only one Anglo-Saxon cemetery lies west of there: it is a late sixth/early seventh-century cemetery secondary in a barrow at Chavenage, and has produced one saucer brooch, four flat annular brooches, and three crescent-shaped pendants with strictly Anglian parallels (Meaney 1964, 90).

North of Cirencester the limestone Cotswolds dominate the landscape.

On the north-west the scarp, representing the Thames/Avon-and-Severn watershed, is bold; on the north, east of the Evenlode Valley, the limestones are more dissected and the scarp above the Warwickshire Stour and at Edgehill near Banbury is less sharp, though it still affords imposing views. The scarp as far north as the head of the Coln in the west and also around the head of the Stour in the north carried woodland in 1086. Here therefore is a clear boundary excluding the sites of the Avon and Stour Valleys on geographical, environmental, and also cultural grounds. Some of these sites, which will be frequently cited for parallels to Upper Thames material in Part II, do lie close to the base of the scarp: for example, on the north-west Bishop's Cleeve and Beckford A and B in Worcestershire, and in the Upper Stour Valley, Stretton-on-the-Fosse. Four sites, lying on the crest of the scarp and on or north of Vierck's Angle/Saxon boundary (the northern edge of my maps), have also been excluded. A poorly recorded cemetery, apparently in part secondary to a prehistoric monument, is known from Rollright, Long Compton, Warwickshire (Meaney 1964, 260); the only distinctive artefact recorded was a moulded ring (?an Anglian moulded annular brooch). Equally little is known of the site at Blockley, Worcestershire, which has produced a few cremation urns, two weapon-graves, and two small-long brooches. The other two sites have produced nothing to distinguish them from those in the Upper Thames Region, but I have excluded them on the grounds of geographical consistency. The cemetery on Broadway Hill began in the later fifth century and is the only pre-sixth century site which I have omitted from the marginal areas (Cook 1958); Hornton, north-west of Banbury, has produced one female grave of the mid sixth century (below, pp. 52, 167-8). I have also omitted Tadmarton from above the west bank of the Cherwell, since nothing is known of the skeleton with spearhead found there (VCH Oxon I, 359).

The Cotswolds watershed encloses the entire valleys of the Churn, Coln, Windrush, and Evenlode within the Upper Thames Region. Their dry valleys and the plateaux would have offered well-drained fertile soil: Iron Age settlement is represented primarily by fortifications (Ordnance Survey 1962), and in the Roman period there was determined exploitation of the area with clusters of wealthy villas on the high ground north of Cirencester and in the vicinity of Wychwood, as well as some settlement along the western tributaries of the Cherwell. Curiously, the triangle of land between the Fosse Way, Akeman Street, and the Windrush appears to have been almost devoid of Roman settlement, as it was of Early Saxon (Figs. 51, 51A), though it was not noticeably underpopulated in 1086 (Ordnance Survey 1956; Darby and Terrett 1954, 24). The lower half of the dip slope of the Cotswolds is cut by river gorges and was covered by extensive woodland; the Royal Forests of Wychwood and Woodstock represented the core of this, but Domesday Book indicates that the area further south and east was also well wooded. As has already been noted, this seems to contradict the evidence of Roman and Saxon settlement, and the rate of colonisation is an outstanding problem. Hwiccewudu, first recorded in a charter of AD 840 (BCS 432), must have been of real significance in our period, though in which direction lay the territory of the sub-kingdom of the Hwicce, which it commemorates, is a matter of debate.

At the Cherwell geography becomes of little use because of the nature of the watershed here; the Cherwell actually rises far north in Northamptonshire. My chosen boundary at this point - the Oxfordshire/Northamptonshire county boundary - is not so arbitrary, for it coincides with a real cultural change between Saxon and Anglian areas (above, p. 7); while the high ground, on the tail of which there is a line of cemeteries (nos. 154, 153, 132, 15), marks the major watershed between the Cherwell and the headwaters of the Ouse. The limestones east of the Cherwell are covered by drift deposits, especially Boulder Clay, producing flatter terrain. Iron Age, Roman, and

even Early Saxon settlement was very restricted, but the modest overall population and relative absence of woodland by 1086 suggests later Anglo-Saxon development of the area (Darby and Terrett 1954,394; Darby and Campbell 1962, 158,206). The headwaters of the Rivers Ray and Thame indicate the Thames/Ouse watershed in the Vale of Aylesbury, thus including the sites around Aylesbury, most of which lie on low outcropping hills, which are raised above the more marshy land at the foot of the Chilterns. The site at Mentmore, just within the confines of my maps and in line with the River Thame, is over the watershed and so is excluded; the only recorded artefacts from there are one saucer brooch (BM 55,1-1,1 : one of two with the same registration number, but identifiable from the BM Accession Register as the one with zoomorphic ornament) and a seventh-century buckle-plate.

The southern boundaries of my Region are more arbitrary because it is impossible to examine the early settlement of the heartland of the Upper Thames Valley without considering in equal detail the similarly early settlements in the western half of the Middle Thames Valley and in the Lambourn Valley. So, while it has been possible to adhere to geographical definitions east of the Thames, these have had to be stretched somewhat to the west. I have catalogued sites in the Thames Valley as far downstream as Henley. Beyond that point there are few sites in the Middle Thames Valley, and, apart from the early seventh-century princely barrow-burial at Taplow, which is far too complex an assemblage to have been dealt with in the detail accorded the rest of the catalogued sites, these are poorly documented. There are two sites at Cookham, in the sharp south-western angle of the Thames near Marlow; nothing is known of one, and a knife and two shield bosses are all that survive from the other. A cemetery at Maidenhead and a second site at Taplow, where the Thames leaves the margin of my maps, are equally ill-represented.

North of the Middle Thames the Chilterns presented wooded and hilly terrain. By Domesday there were many villas along the spring-line at the foot

of the sheer scarp and their attached woodland may have been on the scarp slope or on its crest where the few Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are situated. The dip slope was also wooded and Iron Age and Roman settlement was restricted there (Branigan 1967). Only two Early Saxon sites are known from the Wye Valley (a late seventh-century gold pendant and ?sword from a possible secondary burial in a barrow at High Wycombe, and a cremation urn at Loudwater (Meaney 1964, 58-9)) and they have been excluded. Even in the eleventh century settlement of this area was sparse, and Eddius' reference to the 'deserts of Ciltine' is quite intelligible (Life of St. Wilfred, ch. 42). On the Berkshire bank of the Middle Thames, east of the Kennet confluence, this poor environment was continued by an extension of the chalk, and further south the Bagshot Sands and London Clay supported extensive forest (Darby and Campbell 1962, 284).

West of the Thames the scarp of the Berkshire and Marlborough Downs represents the watershed of the Upper, but not the Middle, Thames. The thin soil of the Downs had long supported open country which has preserved evidence of prehistoric and Roman use. By Domesday, however, it was the spring-line at the foot of the Lower Chalk shelf, below the main scarp, which was most attractive to settlement. The foundation date of these settlements may be inferred from the equivalent line of Early Saxon burial sites. South and west of this line there is little early Saxon settlement, except in the partially wooded Lambourn Valley, and I have therefore decided not to extend my catalogue to include the few remaining sites north of the Kennet Valley. The lower Kennet Valley was anyway marshy, with woodland scattered over the tail of the chalk dip slope. To the south of the Kennet the dense woodland of Eastern Berkshire extended westwards, especially south-east of Mildenhall in Savernake Forest. Indeed, Domesday Book records woodland pertinent to the Kennet Valley villages as far upstream as Avebury. Beyond the Marlborough Downs the clays of the Vale of the White Horse were

interspersed only by hillocks of limestone; the poor quality of this area is reflected by the extent of the Royal Forest of Braydon west of Swindon (site 145) and by a low population in 1086. The southern fringe of the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs, despite its intensive use in the prehistoric period and the Roman road from Silchester to Bath with its various roadside settlements, was in environmental terms of marginal character; and on the chalk ridge south of the Kennet lies the man-made boundary of Wansdyke.

The few sites from this area which I have omitted to catalogue may not anyway add much of significance to the corpus as a whole. The nature of three is in doubt. Barbury Castle, the site of a battle recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle sa 556, lies on the high scarp of the Marlborough Downs and therefore, according to my definition, within the Upper Thames Region. But the only certain Anglo-Saxon objects from here are two un-associated spearheads (AM 1955.364a,b; the ironwork in Marlborough College quoted as Saxon (Meaney 1964, 265) would seem to have been misidentified, for it has now been published as an Iron Age hoard (WAM, 58, 1963, 394-402)). Notices of skeletons found during the last war say nothing of accompanying artefacts (Meaney 1964, 265), but Professor C.F.C.Hawkes informs me that Mr. Alexander Keiller, who was called to the site after the discovery, was told of associated ironwork being thrown away. A sub-biconical pot comes from an unknown context at Preshute, Temple Down, on the dip slope of the Downs, while a burial of a woman with an iron finger ring at Hungerford, lower down the Kennet, could be Roman or Saxon (op.cit., 276-7; 47-8). Certain sites come from the Kennet Valley. The secondary cemetery at West Overton is sixth-century (WAM, 59, 1964, 68-85; Evison 1965, 40, fig.21^{2a}). Of the three sites around the Roman road-station of Cunetio (Mildenhall), a single male grave on the road above Mildenhall is undatable, but a site close to the village has produced one grave with late sixth-/early seventh-century saucer brooches and a pin, and one similar unassociated brooch, while the female skeleton found halfway down a Roman well-shaft at Poulton Downs was apparently associated with an identical pin-type (Meaney 1964, 270

-2). Close to the headwater of the Kennet at Yatesbury there are two records of burials in barrows : one consists of two secondary 'Final Phase' graves, the other can be neither definitely located, nor identified as Saxon (op.cit. 279).

In Volume II, I have catalogued 168 burial sites which fall within this definition of the Region. I have drawn on a wide range of documentation for them: besides published sources, I have used Ordnance Survey records and archival material in museums, especially in the Ashmolean Museum, but I have not; for example, combed nineteenth-century newspapers for references. So my list need by no means be complete: it is instructive, for example, that in 1956 Joan Kirk's list, which covered a much larger area than mine, comprised 92 sites and the difference between this total and my own is not made up simply by subsequent new excavations, but by the discovery of references to much older finds.

The site names which I have used are normally those which have become accepted in the literature of the subject, regardless of whether they are parish, town, village, or more minor names. However, I have rationalised the nomenclature of some sites, especially where they are close together; it seemed simpler to locate them by a single, often major place-name, and to identify them individually by an upper case Roman numeral (thus Berinsfield has become Dorchester VI). In the catalogue the sites are arranged alphabetically by these site names and are numbered consecutively with arabic numerals; these numbers are used on Figs. 51-53².

Only 113 Anglo-Saxon burial sites can be unequivocally recognised; that is, there is definite evidence of one or more burials with grave-goods of a type normally described as 'Anglo-Saxon'. This definition involves both cultural and chronological criteria, and, at this stage in the argument, the questions which they beg must be left aside. But since in this area no cemetery entirely composed of unaccompanied burials has yet been shown by C¹⁴ dating to belong fully to the Early Saxon period, identification by grave-goods is the only method possible. Quite a number of these sites are

represented by only one or two graves, but it is rarely possible to prove that these are genuinely isolated burials rather than a chance discovery from a more extensive cemetery. Two of the sites are certainly primary barrow burials, and two others probably are.

There are seven sites, all discovered during the eighteenth or nineteenth century, which are known from records of skeletons found with weapons or other ironwork, but from which no material has survived. These are listed as probable sites, since, despite some unlikely descriptions of 'helmets' or 'horseshoes', the early Anglo-Saxons were the only inhabitants of this country who regularly buried their dead with iron weapons.

There are a further 48 uncertain sites, which I have identified according to various criteria. Usually they have been listed either because records state or suggest the existence of a Saxon cemetery, which cannot be corroborated, or because of artefacts recovered from the site. Examples catalogued on the latter criterion are most open to debate. Where their identification rests on weapons or brooches, especially on several, there is a strong likelihood that a cemetery is represented, since such items are rare on settlements. Individual metal items constitute more dubious evidence; several spearhead types present particular problems because they cannot be decisively distinguished from Roman or later Saxon forms. Items such as stray knives or beads are even more difficult to date closely, and are quite likely to be found on settlement sites as well as burial sites. But pottery sherds present the greatest dilemma, since they could represent either funerary or domestic pots, and, after all, cremation urns must have been made in settlements. So I have been more selective with the pottery: I have included sites only if they have produced large decorated sherds, since these are more likely to represent cremation urns than domestic pottery. Thus, I have included uncertain sites at Lambourn and Little Wittenham, but excluded East Hanney, which has produced only a very small sherd with a decorated boss

(comparable Buckelurnen sherds are known from both Abingdon I and a presumed settlement site within the town of Dorchester). There are a few sites which have appeared in previous gazetteers (especially in the Victoria County Histories, Arch., 71, 1920-1, 227-65, Kirk 1956, and Meaney 1964), but which lack valid evidence to justify their continued inclusion.

Finally, there are a few finds or records of finds which lack a proper provenance, but which must be included since there is either an explicit record of a burial, or the objects are sufficiently distinctive to suggest that they have come from burials. They are numbered in a continuous sequence by lower case Roman numerals, but are catalogued alphabetically according to the provenance ascribed to them (eg. near 'Abingdon', in 'Dorchester', near 'Oxford', 'Oxfordshire'). Obviously, they have not been mapped, and the unlocated site at Chinnor II (no.39) has also had to be omitted from the maps.

So far my discussion of the potential value of the cemetery material has been sanguine, but its usefulness is modified considerably by circumstances of discovery and recording. The great majority of sites has been discovered accidentally as a result of the intensification in industrial activity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; gravel quarrying is the most important cause, but stone quarrying, railway and canal construction, and building works are also contributory factors. Coincidentally, the nineteenth century witnessed the burgeoning of learned national and local antiquarian societies, so that these accidental discoveries were now noted and published, and sometimes led to deliberate rescue excavation. There are few sites recorded before 1840, and though this may partly reflect pre-industrial land use, it is probably also due to the lack of antiquarian interest and particularly of the means for publication. Since barrows are frequent only in the marginal areas of the region, deliberate antiquarian investigation of them has played a less significant role, though a number of sites have been

found by barrow-diggers.

Since 1840 each decade has seen the discovery of between five and ten new cemeteries, the rate of discovery rising on only three occasions. By far the largest number were recorded between 1850 and 1870 (36 sites, though not all were recognised as Anglo-Saxon) and this was primarily because of three men. David Brown has already drawn attention to Stephen Stone's key role as an early scientific excavator (in a lecture to CBA Group 9 Conference, 1973), but equally worthy of comment is John Yonge Akerman, who was secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London between 1853 and 1860 and subsequently lived until 1873 in retirement at Abingdon. Akerman recorded sites, collected material, and conducted a number of excavations including those at the major sites of Brighthampton and Long Wittenham; although none of his plans survive, he did generally record the position of objects in the grave, retained the objects in their numbered grave-groups, and acquired anatomical evidence of the sex and approximate age of the skeletons. Professor Rolleston of Oxford, who worked during the 1860's and 1870's, was more concerned with anatomical and anthropological data than with archaeology, so that the sites with which he was involved have much less value. There were lesser rises in the rate of discovery in the 1890's, mainly due to railway construction, and in the 1930's. Although the latter decade coincides with the beginning of Leeds' Keepership at the Ashmolean Museum, surprisingly only two of the new sites were the result of his excavations. Nevertheless, E.T. Leeds has been the most important contributor to knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons in the area: throughout his life he was concerned with the study of this subject, undertaking in his more active years major excavations (notably at Sutton Courtenay and Abingdon I) and later encouraging his junior staff at the Ashmolean Museum to continue the recording and analysis. Despite the growth of post-war interest and expertise in archaeology, the rate of discovery of cemeteries has remained unchanged: the

creation of archaeological units for rescue excavation in the 1970's has undoubtedly raised the quality of the evidence, but curiously has not yet caused an increase in quantity (only four new sites have been added this decade). This is probably because discovery must still be the accidental by-product of other interference with the soil, for cemeteries are rarely detectable on aerial photographs.

Since most of the evidence has been discovered accidentally, a certain part of it has always and inevitably been destroyed in the process. A greater loss has been incurred by the haphazard and often inadequate recording of these finds; relatively few sites have been excavated by people who met the best archaeological standards of their own day, let alone those required by modern scholarship. The salvage of grave-goods has generally been poor and in only a minority of cases have they survived in grave-groups; since discovery much of the material has had a chequered history in private collections and museums. Perhaps the most salutary facts are that there are only seven sites with more than forty recorded graves and only another eleven with over ten recorded graves; for only eight of these is there any sort of grave plan, of which only two show more than forty graves, and in both cases the entire cemetery has not been excavated. Although there is evidence of grave orientation, grave structure, and the spatial relationships of graves and their contents, there is not sufficient for it to be used in a really meaningful way. Thus both policy and practicality have led me to concentrate on the grave-goods themselves, and though I shall comment, for example, on the function and social and ritual significance of some items, my main concern is chronology.

NOTES

1. The only person to attempt a comprehensive survey of grave-goods and sites was G.Baldwin Brown in his remarkable work of 1915. His perception of problems is notably keener because of his broad base, and his writing still has value, though his chronology is inevitably out-of-date on many points.
2. Site 124 was inadvertently misplaced on the maps, so its true position is indicated by the point of the arrow.
- 2a. I doubt whether the Fowler Type E penannular brooch can be used as evidence of fifth-century date for grave IV, and the ten amber beads favour rather a sixth-century dating (below, pp. 202 - 206).

PART TWO : THE GRAVE-GOODS

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION : TYPOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology is founded upon grave-goods, and the chronology of grave-goods is inferred from their typology. Typology is far from an exact science, and in recent years scholars have become most concerned with its philosophy and methodology. They have examined both the process of establishing typological series and their use in dating, though they have often generated fierce debate rather than constructive agreement¹. It is quite plain that however aware scholars are of the inherent fallacies in their own or others' techniques, the system itself cannot be abandoned, for without it there would be no chronology at all. Typological dating can be judged only on the merits of its use for any given body of material.

It has been assumed generally that typology is concerned with the formal development through time of any given kind of object. Thus Professor Wilson (1959,115) has written of dating by typology as an 'interpolative technique', since intermediary stages in any formal development must lie in time between the beginning and end of the process. This method was used, for example, by Nils Åberg on Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches (Åberg 1926). Now, whatever the theoretical problems of such a technique, it does require that the type in question was undergoing active formal development, and this is rarely true of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts. Few of them fall into 'evolutionary' series, analogous with biological species (which, of course, underlie the original concept of archaeological typology); rather, each kind of artefact, such as brooches or spearheads, can be subdivided into groups of identical or similar items, but without any necessary links between these groups apart from those characteristics common to that kind of object. Therefore dating cannot be by interpolation, but must be based on

the association of examples of each sub-group with other objects, normally in the closed context of a grave. In using this method of 'dating by association', it is assumed that in any given period only certain objects were produced, and hence that they will occur in burials most frequently together. It is assumed further that these relative phases of production and burial can be inferred from a comparison of grave-assemblages. Where there are sufficient grave-groups with sufficient constantly recurring types of object, these phases can be reconstructed with statistical validity by the use of computerised programs of seriation. Where such comprehensive analysis is impossible, the hitherto standard 'A + B = B + C' form of 'dating by association' remains the only possibility, despite its inherent weaknesses and the potentiality of circular argument. Unfortunately, the corpus of material from the Upper Thames Region is suitable for the latter method only, and so the chronology which it can support must be correspondingly modest.

Ultimately, 'dating by association' relies on certain fixed points, and in historical periods this has meant, in practice, fixed points expressed in absolute dates. Continental scholars have tended to present their chronologies in periods (Ger. Stufen), but they have always provided these with approximate dates anno domini, which become essential if the archaeology is to be discussed in terms of documented history. I consider that, if anno domini dating is to be introduced, it might as well be used alone; in fact, it need express no more real meaning than artificial periods, and it can be used with just the sort of flexibility that crude 'dating by association' requires. The criticisms levelled by Professor Almgren (Wilson 1959) - the low percentage of objects with datable associations, the 'heirloom' and 'time-lag' factors in the burial of objects, and the errors of dating by compound association - can be more easily accommodated by using round centuries or half-centuries (or their equivalents) than by complex periods and sub-periods

(as for example in Schmidt 1961).

There are no absolutely datable fixed points in the Upper Thames Region corpus, so any chronology must be established by association with material from elsewhere. Indeed, the archaeological chronology of Western Europe in the Migration Period is hinged on very few such points. The most precise are burials of persons with known death-dates, which provide a terminus ante quem for the manufacture of the grave-goods; since these burials are usually of people of the highest status, they tend to contain a rich assemblage of objects, and hence represent the first point in chains of association for a wide range of artefacts. There are only two definite burials of this type: that of Childeric, King of the Franks, who died in 481/2, is the lynch-pin of the entire chronological edifice, while that of St.Cuthbert, who died at Lindisfarne in 687, is of marginal value because of the strictly ecclesiastical nature of his grave-goods. There are two other graves, which, though lacking a precisely recorded date of burial, may be fixed within a relatively narrow period of time. Queen Arnegunde of the Franks was buried at St.Denis about AD 560 - ?570, calculating from the known date of birth of her son and the estimated age of the skeleton. The great ship-burial at Sutton Hoo must be dated sometime after the purseful of coins was assembled, which is now thought to be probably about AD 620 - 625 or possibly AD 620 - 630, and, on general numismatic and historical grounds, before the full 630's. Strictly, there is only an approximate terminus post quem for the burial, but the circumscribed period in which burial must have taken place and the nature of the burial itself have led to the hypothesis that this is the grave of Raedwald of East Anglia, whose death Bede records in 625 or 626 (Bruce-Mitford 1975, 578ff., 683ff.).

Fixed points may also be provided by objects with intrinsic dates of manufacture, which can establish termini post quem for burial. In practice this involves coins, which, at this period, offer a notoriously imprecise

method of dating, because coin-circulation was poor and most coins can be assigned, at best, only to the reign of an emperor or king. Nevertheless, it is coin-dating which builds a framework between the other fixed points.

At the beginning of the fifth century coin production in Gaul and its export to Britain ceased (Kent 1961); so it becomes impossible to date with precision, if at all, any archaeological feature in the fifth century. Even in the fourth century coins have a limited value, since bronze coins, especially in Britain, retained their currency throughout the century, and potentially well into the next. However, the occurrence of often freshly minted late fourth-century silver and gold coins in some wealthy graves in northern Gaul does permit some definition; these help to provide a fixed period for the production of a series of objects, especially jewellery and belt-fittings, found both in North Germany and occasionally in England (Böhme 1974, 151-152). The dating of Anglo-Saxon pottery is more tenuous, since it relies on compound associations: pots are linked typologically with examples in North Germany, which are 'dated' by rare associations with metalwork, normally brooches, which in turn have been 'dated' by the infrequent occurrence of an example either in a datable Gallic grave, or, less satisfactorily, with imported Roman material in a North German grave (cf. Dr. John Morris' comments in his review in Med.Arch., 18, 1974, 225-232). Thus, in England Anglo-Saxon chronology before the time of Childeric depends on limited and basically open-ended coin-evidence and on often precarious chains of typological associations.

In 1935 Professor Joachim Werner's Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde set out a chronology for Merovingian Europe from the time of Childeric, which was based on the occurrence in graves of Byzantine or local barbarian gold coins. These coins could rarely be dated precisely and usually permitted only a broad terminus post quem, but they did suggest a framework which German scholars, especially Professor Kurt Böhner in his work on the

Trier district (Böhner 1958), have subsequently been able to elaborate. Since Kent had strong contacts with the Merovingian world, the Merovingian framework can be extended, at second-hand, to it. Links between Kent and the rest of England are few, but they do provide some vital struts in the chronological framework of other regions, though once more dating is by compound associations. These Merovingian contacts led in the late sixth and seventh century to a greater importation of gold into southern England, with the result that there are a few graves with coins at this period. Before the middle of the seventh century gold coinage was being minted in England, and the end of the century, which saw the end of burial with grave-goods coincides with the striking of the primary series of sceattas (Rigold 1960). These coins do not have explicit dates and their chronology is a matter of numismatic research; recently, the gold content of seventh-century coins has been used as a crucial guide to their date, and attempts have been made to apply the method to jewellery (Hawkes, Merrick and Metcalf 1966; Brown and Schweizer 1973). Thus, although the archaeological chronology of the seventh century lacks real fixed points, it is far better understood than the fifth or sixth centuries because of this numismatic background.

NOTES

- 1 I do not think that methodology should be a principal concern of this thesis, and I have neither made an extensive study of the vast range of literature on the subject, nor do I intend to cite this in my bibliography. I shall comment on individual uses of typology and dating in relation to specific artefacts in subsequent chapters. I have found Doran and Hodson 1975 one of the most relevant commentaries on these aspects of the so-called 'New Archaeology', and especially on the theory of numerical taxonomy, which underlies most modern ideas on typology. Wilson 1959, which drew on the work of Professor Bertil Almgren, is still a most apt and succinct critique of typological dating, and is the only study which specifically refers to Anglo-Saxon archaeology.

Chapter 2 : THE BROOCHES

Introduction

Brooches are of fundamental importance to the study of Anglo-Saxon material culture; occurring in large numbers and in a wide variety of types, they have always provided the backbone of the archaeological chronology of the period. They deserve lengthy treatment.

Since there is little advantage in proliferating nomenclature, I have generally retained the terminology, however curious, established by previous writers; but where brooches seem to defy the classification hitherto accorded them, I have naturally made adjustments. The discussion of the production, chronology and connections of the individual types, which follows, will expose in detail the nature of the Upper Thames Region brooch-corpus. A tabulation of the proportional representation of each type does, however, present an instantaneous picture of the region's dress fashions - a cultural identikit, so to speak - which would be even more revealing were similar analyses available for comparison from other areas (e.g. East Anglia, Kent). Further insight is supplied by analysis of the manner in which these brooches were worn.

Table 1 supplies this evidence. The count is based primarily on recorded finds, except for the single brooches, most of which are known from museum collections, and differs slightly therefore from the number of brooches dealt with in the classificatory section, where only extant or illustrated brooches can be considered.

The overwhelming preference for round brooches and the relative lack of interest in bow brooches is amply demonstrated (Fig. 1). Although cast and applied saucer brooches together account for forty per cent of the brooches, the largest single form is the disc brooch. In general, these brooches were worn in pairs on the shoulders or breasts,

presumably fastening a tunic-like dress. Normally, the pair was made to the same basic design, but in default of that, differently designed brooches, or even on rare occasions, different brooch-forms were used. It is interesting that a far greater percentage of the plainer brooches (disc, annular and small-long) were worn in non-matched pairs than the higher class, relief-cast gilt brooches. The one Saxon brooch type not worn in pairs was the great square-headed brooch; this was the principal choice of the few rich females who had a set of three brooches, wearing it in the centre of the chest with two round brooches at the shoulders. The occurrence of only seven three-brooch sets among 223 brooch-graves compares remarkably with the Anglian tradition of three- and even five-brooch sets. Little can be said about the incidence of single brooches, since the original context of so many of those now in museum collections is unknown. The large number of single penannular, pre-Saxon and miscellaneous brooches is due to their occurrence in purses or on necklaces, rather than in a primary position.

Brooches are almost exclusively a female ornament. Seven skeletons who had brooches, from Abingdon I and Blewburton, have been identified anatomically as male, and a further three graves included disc brooches and spearheads (Dorchester IIIa, 2; Dorchester VI, 150; Reading I, 3). There must be some doubt about the accuracy of the anatomical sexing, especially for Blewburton 13, which also had a string of beads. However, the occurrence of only penannular, disc and small-long brooches, and the incidence of six single brooches (three certainly worn on one shoulder), as against four pairs, might suggest a different function for brooches worn by males; possibly, they were cloak-fastenings.

TABLE 1 : Incidence of Brooch Forms in Graves

	Number	Percentage	Pairs	Non-matched pairs	Paired with other brooch form	Single*	Pair in set of three	Single in set of three	Two in set of four
Cast Saucer	157	25	110	4	6	31	4	2	-
Applied Saucer	94	15	56	4	6	23	2	1	2
Disc	179	28	106	18	4	48	2	1	-
Button	15	3	12	2	-	1	-	-	-
Penannular	25	4	8	-	1	14	2	-	-
Annular	28	4	6	8	3	8	-	1	2
Great Square-headed	12	2	-	-	1	8	-	3	-
Small Square-headed	8	1	4	-	2	1	-	1	-
Small-long	71	11	36	10	2	23	-	-	-
Cruciform	7	1	2	4	1	-	-	-	-
Others	25	4	8	-	4	13	-	-	-
Roman / Iron Age	10	2	-	-	2	6	2	-	-
TOTAL	631	100	348	50	32	176	12	9	4
GRAVES	223	-	174	25	16	-	7		1

* This includes all brooches, whether they were worn or found elsewhere in the grave.

i. CAST AND APPLIED SAUCER BROOCHES

By far the most popular brooch-form among the womenfolk of the Upper Thames settlements was saucer-shaped, and maybe the variety and ingenuity of the decoration used on them is responsible for their continued attractiveness, as objects of study, to several recent scholars. Although saucer brooches were made in two distinct ways, in all these previous studies they have been discussed as one class because of their similar concave or saucer profile and affinities in their decoration.

In 1912, E.T. Leeds made saucer brooches the theme of his first major essay into the problems of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. He listed some 219 cast and 177 applied saucer brooches, some of which he gathered into groups according to their ornament. In his subsequent article of 1933 he was able to define further groups, but at no stage did he attempt a systematic corpus or classification. Nevertheless, he gave the subject a number of convenient descriptive terms, such as 'floriated cross' or 'running dog-legs', which I shall continue to use.

The only attempt at a systematic survey was made by Margaret Saunders in her unpublished B.Litt. thesis for Oxford University (1958)¹. She defined 12 major classes divided among 4 over-groups (geometric designs of continental origin, brooches derived from Kentish garnet-inlaid disc brooches, zoomorphic designs, and composite or medley designs); two classes fell into no group. The information which she gathered has been an invaluable aid to my researches, but I feel unable to adopt her system wholesale: narrative text and classified gazetteer do not always agree, so that I have been doubtful about her actual opinions, while I disagree with her grouping of brooches with complex and zoomorphic decoration.

Two briefer contributions have been made by John Morris and Martin Welch. The former commented at length on the saucer brooches from Mitcham (Bidder and Morris 1959, 78-95), primarily on those with a

continental ancestry. Welch (1975) takes issue with Morris over the interpretation of one particular group of applied brooches.

There is an obvious need for an up-to-date corpus of these brooches and a rigorous attempt at their classification and interpretation. In its absence, I can suggest only a system of classification which explains the brooches from the Upper Thames. My debt to all these previous writers will be obvious and I see no reason to dismiss many of their definitions and conclusions, but, of necessity, I shall introduce some new methods of approach.

It seems to me essential to distinguish clearly between the two varieties of saucer brooch, cast and applied, since the different methods of manufacture are quite basic. Conclusions may still be drawn, and with greater clarity, about their corresponding role in dress-fashion or place of manufacture.

I shall discuss the manufacture of the cast saucer brooch later and at some length (pp. 37-50). Here it should just be noted that such a brooch is remarkably compact and robust with few structural weak points, unlike, say, cast bow brooches; it could therefore have had a long life, and a greater gap between date of manufacture and date of burial might be expected than for many other artefacts. However, the degree of wear is rarely sufficiently obvious, or associated objects so closely datable, that any anachronism can be detected. Cast saucer brooches are vital to any establishment of a chronological framework in the Upper Thames because of their numbers and varied ornament, but they cannot be regarded as very sensitive indicators of date.

The manufacturing method of applied saucer brooches, or applied brooches for short, was fairly simple. Such a brooch was a composite construction of sheet bronze, except for the few cases where a cast base was used. The flat or concave backplate had two axially-placed slots in

it, through which the lugs of the pin-holder and catch passed to be fastened flat like paper-clips; cemented to the upper surface was a very thin piece of foil bearing repoussé decoration; a separate strip could be soldered to the edge as a rim, or rarely a rim was beaten up in one piece with the backplate. The repoussé decoration was produced with the aid of a model of bronze or possibly wood or bone (cf. Capelle and Vierck 1971), so that a considerable number of identical brooches could have been produced. The prospect that such useful series of identical brooches might be found in graves is vitiated by their exceptionally fragile nature. Completely preserved brooches are rare; one suspects that fragmentary brooches or ones which lacked their decorative foil were treated by the unskilled excavators of so many of the Upper Thames cemeteries with far less care than they bestowed on the substantial cast saucer brooches. This fragility would suggest, however, that applied brooches were fairly short-lived. It might follow, on the one hand, that they were produced at a correspondingly greater rate than was necessary for cast brooches, though the bias against the survival of applied brooches has meant that current figures for the two forms of saucer brooch do not bear this out; on the other hand, burial of antique specimens is far less likely and applied brooches may be regarded as far more reliable guides to the date of a grave.

A. Cast Saucer Brooches

The principal means of classifying cast saucer brooches (hereafter referred to as saucer brooches for short) must remain, as for Leeds, that of ornament. There are additional features, however, which might be brought into the argument: I intend to examine the diameters of brooches and some aspects of their manufacture, though without any attempt at an exhaustive study.

As Leeds noted (1912, 160), the construction of a saucer brooch is

very simple with little scope for development, apart from variation in size. The ornament, on the contrary, is most varied and it would appear impossible, not to say inadvisable, to attempt to place the brooches in a typological sequence on this basis alone.

The arrangement of saucer-brooch ornament does not have a fixed form which might be susceptible to a method of numerical analysis, unlike, for example, the garnet-inlaid disc brooches of Kent (cf. Avent 1975). Nevertheless, it is possible to outline the most common features of their design-structure. The simplest brooches bear one principal motif or design, together with the virtually standard central dot, boss or ring within a ring or rings, and outer border ring(s). Such an arrangement may be called single field (e.g. Group 1, Pls. 1-5). Some brooches have a more elaborate border, such as pellets, zigzag line or stamping of the flat area between the edge of the cast relief ornament and the rim, but this is always a narrow band and such brooches are to be seen as primarily single field (e.g. Group 4.1, Pl. 8). Where two panels of equal width occupy the brooch, it may be described as a bipartite field (e.g. Groups 2.2 - 2.4, Pls. 6-7), simple central motifs and dividing and border rings once again being excluded from consideration; but where the standard central boss or ring is replaced by a broader, bolder element (e.g. a central mask, as in Groups 1.4.2 and 13.1, Pls. 5b, 17a&b), then I think that this should be taken as one half of a bipartite field. By extension, a tripartite field has three panels of decoration, a quadripartite four. In general, earlier brooches have, at most, two fields, whereas later ones tend to complexity.

I have divided the brooches into 18 groups, groups 1-9 accounting for those brooches with either a single field or a central and dominant motif in combination with a border band or panel; groups 10-18 are more complex and I shall explain the reasoning behind their combination at the

appropriate point. In each group I have endeavoured to include all those brooches which seem to be related by their ornament, but the many expressions or variants of that ornament are dealt with by allotting such sets of brooches, or in many cases, single brooches, to a sub-group. In this way, though the groups as a whole may be challenged, each variant is explicitly isolated and can be treated separately. Since, as I have said, there is no typological evolution, there is no logical reason for my choice of order of the groups; in fact, in my initial groups I have closely followed Saunders, progressing generally from simple to complex brooches.

Fluctuations in the diameters of saucer brooches have been noted by previous writers, though none of them attempted to quantify their evidence. Saunders suggested that the smallest brooches belong to the beginning of the sixth century while the most widely accepted observation is that of the emergence of very large brooches at the end of the sixth century (Leeds 1933, 246; Bidder and Morris 1959, 93). By plotting the diameters of 157 brooches from Upper Thames cemeteries I have produced some quite helpful results (Fig. 2a). The diameters range from 28mm to 83mm, with a mean diameter of 46mm, but a median and modal value of only 43mm; half fall within the range 39mm to 49mm, and three-quarters measure 49mm or less, occupying a range of 22mm compared with the other one quarter which occur within a range of 34mm. In mathematical terms, the distribution-curve shows marked positive skewness (Moroney 1951, 47&8); in archaeological terms, it may imply that the size of the brooches which form the long 'tail' of the histogram is a diagnostic feature.

When the diameters of brooches are plotted against their ornamental classification (Fig. 3), it will be seen that each group does have a specific size-range, sometimes very narrow. Not all sub-types within a group will correspond, but in general the size-ranges both substantiate

the defined groups and have some chronological significance. Groups 1 - 3.2.1, which include all the earliest brooches, fall within the range 28mm - 48mm. Groups 3.2.2 onwards, though in cases contemporary with some of Groups 1 - 3.2.1, are, on the whole, later in date, with most of Groups 10 - 18 dating from the middle and second half of the sixth century. These range from 37mm upwards, with brooches over 53mm falling exclusively in Groups 10 - 18 or their closely related sub-groups 3.2.2 and 4.2. Leeds's original surmise on the dating of very large brooches is amply justified, but quantification allows more precise evidence to be used beside the artistic criteria for a better understanding of the brooches. This will be amplified in the course of the discussion, particularly that relating to Groups 10 - 18.

An even more potent aid to interpretation would be a sound knowledge of how such brooches were made. In England there is barely any evidence for bronze-casting, and none at all for the casting of saucer brooches². Until workshops are discovered, inferences can be drawn only from the objects themselves and from continental evidence.

Evidence from mainland Europe at this date is meagre. A very few moulds are known, all two piece, for the casting of simple, relatively plain items (Capelle and Vierck 1971, 54-6)^{2a}. The existence of metal models, usually bronze, from which a clay mould would have been made, is the only evidence for the manufacture of items with more complex cast decoration. A large number of moulds could have been produced with the agency of such models, which, in turn, would have been used to cast many, more or less identical objects. Since the bronze model was itself cast, an original prototype must have been carved from wood, bone, clay or wax, and parallel use of models in such less durable substances for direct production is quite possible. Vierck publishes only five models which

were used for casting (Capelle and Vierck 1971, nos. 8-10, 13-14), against some thirteen comparable models for repoussé work; in the absence of alternative information, he was persuaded by other circumstantial evidence and the obvious suitability of 'ready-made' durable models for small-scale metalworking activity that bronze-casting in Migration Period Europe was principally carried out by itinerant craftsmen.

Excavations on the island of Helgö in Uppland, Sweden, the heart-land of the kingdom of the Svear, have produced quite contrary evidence. There, a series of large workshops has been uncovered, apparently active during the sixth century with extensive trading contacts in the Baltic and Scandinavian worlds. Thousands upon thousands of disused and broken clay moulds for every conceivable item of their material culture have been found. Full publication of the technological aspects of the workshops is still awaited, and even then there are bound to remain crucial areas of ignorance. The Helgö moulds were either two, or more, piece-moulds, which had been formed around a model, thus corroborating the basic technique evinced by the continental models³. No metal models have been found at Helgö and one must presume that models were made from perishable substances. Holmqvist seems to suggest that reproduction of models would have been possible by using wax in a clay mould, so that as models wore out, they could be replaced by near identical ones (Holmqvist 1972, 24)⁴.

The evidence from Helgö and from the rest of Europe suggests two quite discrete ways in which English cast saucer brooches might have been produced: by wandering craftsmen calling for a period at certain settlements, or in permanent workshops, whence they were traded by unknown methods. There seems to me to be one feature of the saucer brooches themselves which might offer some clues to this problem. The almost universal custom of Saxon women was to wear a pair of brooches, one on

either shoulder; the mixing of different patterns or quite other brooches was rare, but the discovery of a pair of truly identical brooches is equally rare. Is the discrepancy between each member of a pair the result of the manufacturing process, and can the discrepancy help to reveal what that process was ?

There is no reason why saucer brooches were not cast from a two-piece mould: their backs are plain except for the two lugs, which would have been cold-worked to form pin-attachments, and there is nothing complicated about their upper sides. Such a two-piece mould might serve for a number of castings, but three factors could produce slight variations in the final castings: differential casting, where the bronze failed to fill the matrix evenly; subsequent alterations made in cleaning the cast (e.g. variation in the number of digits in a parallel-line block or pellet border); and possible repair of the mould between castings. It is difficult to believe that substantial repairs would have left no trace in any subsequent casting and that a new mould was not preferable.

Clay moulds must have had short lives: at Helgö the complicated multiple piece-moulds for relief brooches do not seem to have survived their first casting (personal information from Mrs. Sonia Hawkes). Production relied, in fact, on a series of clay moulds made from one model. This would increase the potential sources of discrepancy between final products: after removal of the model, the still unbaked mould could be touched up; repair work might be necessary before or after firing; and the processes of shrinkage of the clay during drying and firing could produce alterations in the size and alignment of individual parts of the pattern. Actual alteration of the pattern would be most easy in cleaning an unfired clay mould, but again one queries how extensive that could be without being visible.

If non-durable material was used for the models, these, too, would

eventually need replacement. In a workshop several models of the same type might have been in use at once, but how closely did workmen copy models ? Faithful copying could have produced no greater deviation from the prototype than might be caused by the casting process itself; but it is well known that Dark Age jewellery often appears as a close copy of some other object, except for a few vital points, which, to our eyes, look like incomprehensible blunders, but which to the craftsman might either have been of no consequence or deliberate. The same intended pattern could be carved with subtle alterations in the number, direction and style of the component motifs.

Relating actual differences on the brooches to the above postulated circumstances is not easy. No experimental work has been done to test the degree of difference each stage might cause, nor can I claim any scientific basis to the following analysis, which is principally based on visual examination of photographs.

There are 57 known pairs of saucer brooches in the Upper Thames, but since both brooches have not survived in every case and because the new material from Dorchester VI is not, at the time of writing, available for this sort of examination, only 47 pairs can be taken into consideration. I have distinguished five categories of variation:

1. Differences of a) size and b) angle or alignment of motifs, quantified subjectively on a scale 1 to 5 (minimal to maximal).
2. Differences in the number of digits in a motif (e.g. dots/wedges in a central rosette, lines in parallel-line blocks, pellets or zigzag points in a border); the number of affected motifs is recorded.
3. Alterations to one part only of the design, the cause and significance of which may vary.
4. Alterations of design at several points, again of variable

significance; the number of affected motifs is recorded.

5. Total difference in arrangement and/or design.

In the light of the discussion of the probable manufacturing procedure, categories 1 to 3 could occur where the various casts were derived from a single model, though extreme variation under category 3 might occasion some doubt. Categories 4 and 5 may, in general, indicate the use of different models. This leads to a classification of each pair according to the likelihood of their deriving from the same model:

1. Total similarity: same model and probably same mould.
2. Slight differences due either to differential shrinkage or finishing of moulds, or finishing of casts: same model.
3. Greater differences, particularly including those of category 2 which are not obviously attributable to finishing of the casts: probably same model.
4. One or more significant difference, especially in categories 2 and 3, the cause of which must be left undecided.
5. Many substantial differences which probably indicate a different model, though this must remain unproven until it is known how extensively moulds could have been altered.
6. Conclusive grounds for assuming separate models.

Errors of judgement are most likely to have affected classes 3 to 5, but, unless I am guilty of gross and pervasive error, the following results are worth consideration:

Table 2 : TABULATION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PAIRS OF BROOCHES*

GROUP	GRAVE	1a	1b	2	3	4	5	CLASS	PLATE
1.3	Abingdon I, B102							1	4a
1.3	Brighthampton 56							1	4b
6.1	Fairford AM 1961.96-7							1	12a
16.2	Bassett Down DM30-1							1	20b

GROUP	GRAVE	1a	1b	2	3	4	5	CLASS	PLATE
1.1.2	Cassington I, 2	1	1					2	1c
1.1.2	Long Wittenham I, 111		2					2	2a
1.3	Abingdon I, B34		1					2	4c
1.4.1	Fairford 4				* ¹			2	5a
1.4.3	Brighthampton 4	1						2	5c
2.2	Broughton Poggs 16	2	2					2	6a
2.3	Cassington I, AM 1942.145	2	2					2	6d
4.5	Abingdon ii, AM 1909.479				* ²			2	9c
4.6	Abingdon I, B6	2	2					2	10a
11.1	Long Wittenham I, 123	3						2	15a
12.3	Long Wittenham I, 71	1	1	1				2	16d
15.1.2	Brighthampton 23	1	1	1				2	19e
16.2	East Shefford BM 93,7-16,43/4	2	2					2	20ai
1.1.3	Long Wittenham I, 53	4	4					3	2d
2.3	Brighthampton 46	3	3	1				3	6e
3.3	Bishopstone I, Ay.M H1-2				* ³			3	7e
4.1	Frilford I, 155	2	2	1				3	8c
4.4	Frilford I, 5	3	3					3	9d
4.6	Fairford AM 1961.100-1	3	3					3	10c
5.2	Bassett Down DM32-3	3	3					3	11b
6.1	Filkins 8			2				3	12b
6.1	Long Wittenham I, 162			1				3	11e
6.1	Long Wittenham I, FD38-9	2		1				3	12c
10	East Shefford 51			1		7 ⁴		3	14a
10	Long Wittenham I, 121	5	5 ⁵					3	14b
13.3	Cassington I, 7	2	2	1				3	17d
14.4	Abingdon I, B31	4	4	2 ⁶				3	18d
1.2.1	Frilford I, 143				* ⁷			4	2e
2.4	Kemble I, LM M.7747	5	2		* ⁸			4	7a
4.2	Fairford 7	2	2	3	* ⁹			4	9a
11.2	'Near Oxford'	4	4	2 ⁶				4	16a
10	Fairford BM/LM			1		2 ¹⁰		5	14c
13.1	Fairford AM 1961.98-9	5	5	5	* ¹¹			5	17a
8	Long Wittenham I, 46						*	6	13e
8	Fairford 15						*	6	13c
11.4	Wheatley 14						*	6	15b

GROUP	GRAVE	1a	1b	2	3	4	5	CLASS	PLATE
13.2	Coleshill						2 ¹⁰	6	17c
14.2	Aston Remenham BM 1932,3-9,12	5	5	1		2		6	18c
16.1	East Shefford BM 93,7-16,41/2	4	4	1		2		6	20a ii
16.3	Ashendon						*	6	20c
16.4	Abingdon I, B5						*	6	21a
18	Dorchester vi, RM						*	6	22a

NOTES

1. A line joining either side of the running scroll device on one is not continuous on the other, being the innermost of the four parallel lines; this is probably a result of final cleaning.
2. The only difference is the removal of half a chevron line at one point, due to cleaning of mould or cast.
3. The pot-hook borders differ markedly at one point; since the shape and size of the rest of the ornament is so well matched, I presume it was caused at the mould-making stage.
4. Although several discrepancies are noted, all are minimal and could have arisen in casting and subsequent cleaning.
5. Both brooches appear very rough; differences in size and angle of motifs might be the result of poor casting and unequal cleaning.
6. Although the pellet borders differ in size and number of digits, could this be the result of extensive recutting of the cast? If so, the other discrepancies need not imply different models. The 'Near Oxford' pair has the same score as the Abingdon pair, but is classified as 4 because the differences are less easily ascribed to differential casting or cleaning.
7. The two brooches are absolutely identical except for the enigmatic triangle on one. If they do derive from one model, the triangle must have been removed from either one mould or one cast.
8. Apart from some variation in motif size and the 'insertion' of a fifth

radial element in one, they are well matched. Could such an 'insertion' result from repair to a damaged mould ?

9. These are strikingly alike; the three cases of unequal digits in the 'fish-scale' motifs may be due to final cleaning. Yet at one point the designs of the outer panel deviate totally; on one the zigzag is slightly misaligned at this point and the central field is more ovoid. Are these indicative of a careful workman remaking this part of a damaged mould ? or were there two models made by a very skilled man, who nevertheless did not follow his exemplum completely ?
10. If drastic remodelling of moulds was possible, then this pair may be explained in such terms. The Coleshill pair differ in similar, but more extreme ways and I think must be explained by the use of different models.
11. Although both brooches present an identical design, they exhibit so many differences in size, angle and number of elements and motifs that I can barely believe that these are due to the manufacturing process.

Table 3 : TABULATION OF SIMILARITIES BETWEEN BROOCHES FROM DIFFERENT FINDS
ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA OF TABLE 2

GROUP	GRAVE	1a	1b	2	3	4	5	CLASS	PLATE
7	Fairford BM 58,3-3,1							1	13a
	'Winchester' (BM)							1	13b
17.1	Fairford (Fareham M)							1	21c
	Bidford (Worc. M)							1	-
1.1.2	Sonning								1b
	Cassington I, 2	2	2					2	1c
	Andover Area III, G								-
1.1.3	Wheatley 20	2	2					2	2c
	East Shefford XVIII								2b
1.3	Abingdon I, B102							2	4a
	Brighthampton 56								4b

*¹

GROUP	GRAVE	1a	1b	2	3	4	5	CLASS	PLATE
2.2	Broughton Poggs 16	1	1					2	6a
	Broadway 1								-
4.1	Fairford BM 1929,7-15,1								8b
	Long Wittenham I, FD 37	2	2					2	8d
	Dorchester VI, 77 ²								8eiii
1.4	Brighthampton 4								5c
	Aston Remenham BM 1932,3-9,3				* ³			3	5d
6.1	Fairford AM 1961.96-7								12a
	Sutton Courtenay I, 1	2	2	1 ⁴				3	12d
	Long Wittenham I, 162								11e
6.1	Filkins 8								12b
	Brighthampton CXIII			1 ⁵				3	11d

NOTES.

1. Whereas the Abingdon pair has 39 pellets in the border, Brighthampton has 38, but both have two lugs for the pin-holder and their rims are broken at the same point as if caused by a casting fault, suggesting that they were made in one mould and the differences are due to finishing.
2. Since the Dorchester brooch is unconserved, I put no certainty on this.
3. On both brooches the scrolls are identical, even including the three very tiny scrolls at one point, but they differ markedly in finish. Is this due to differences in the mould ? Is the Aston Remenham brooch the product of a worn mould or model, hence its softened lines ?
4. These brooches are so similar that it would be incredible that they were not derived from one model; the discrepancies in the nature of the central rosette may be due to manufacturing.
5. Only one of the Filkins pair matches the Brighthampton one and that differs in the digits in its central rosette.

Of the 47 pairs, only 4 are absolutely identical; 18 almost certainly, and 32 probably, derive from one model respectively. Only 6 pairs from classes 1 and 2 show no category 1 variation, which might indicate that they also came from the same mould. If this is correct, it implies that techniques employed at Helgö were also used in England: moulds normally produced only a single cast. Nine pairs certainly, and 11 pairs probably, derive from different models⁵, while a decision is impossible about the 4 remaining pairs. Expressed in percentages, these figures are more revealing: between 68% and 77% come from the same model, and between 32% and 23% from separate models (depending on the true circumstances of manufacture of the 4 undecided pairs). Different models, then, were used to make about one quarter of all brooch pairs, a figure which is unexpectedly high.

Even more remarkable is the correlation between these statistics and the brooch groups. Nine of the 11 pairs from different models are in Groups 10 - 18. Indeed, among the 19 pairs analysed out of the 23 in those groups, 9 derive from the same model, 9 from different models, and one is uncertain. In other words, the proportion of pairs from different models rises to approximately half. It may not be a coincidence that 3 of the 4 pairs whose degree of variation puts them in the uncertain class, 4, are in Groups 10 - 18 or groups closely related to them (see Table 4).

Groups 10 - 18 are a highly heterogeneous set of brooches, each pair exhibiting remarkable originality of design, yet all sharing features which relate them one to another. Consequently, series of brooches with the same pattern are uncommon and the discovery in different graves of brooches made from the same model is most rare. Groups 1 - 9, on the contrary, are characterised by several series of simply patterned brooches, and it is these groups which provide nearly every example of brooches made from the same model, but found in separate graves. In Table 3 I have used

the same criteria as for Table 2 to try to recognise these brooches. Ten individual models can be identified, involving 9 groups and 23 pairs or single brooches from in and around the Upper Thames Region.

This evidence might suggest a significant difference in the methods of manufacture of Groups 1 - 9 and Groups 10 - 18. It is difficult to account for this by some purely technological change: there is no formal difference between the brooches in each set which might justify such an explanation. It is true that 5 of the 11 'non-matching' pairs from different models are exceptionally large, but the other 6 are of average or only just above average size, so that the correlation is not precise enough to warrant the conclusion that an alternative method was needed to make very wide brooches. Nor is it reasonable to invoke a change of fashion: deliberate mis-matching may be intelligible in late twentieth-century fashion, but it is surely anachronistic to suspect Saxon women of such whimsical tastes ! Besides, if it were so, far more sets of utterly different brooches might be expected.

The explanation may lie in the organisation, rather than the technology, of production. If pairs of brooches were acquired from an itinerant smith using metal models, one would expect them to exhibit minor variations only, as a result of mould-making and casting. The very purpose of a durable model would mean that a craftsman would need no more than one of each design; besides, it would have been both cumbersome and dangerous for him to carry a very large selection around with him^{5a}. It would seem most unlikely that the pairs of 'non-matching' brooches were made by such a craftsman.

It is much more probable that they were made in a workshop where production on a large scale necessitated the use of several models for each 'house' pattern. Some variation would have been almost inevitable in the ornament of secondary models, whoever had carved them. However, the

consistency in size of both individual pairs and some series of brooches made from different models suggests that some sort of template was used to regulate the basic size of the model. If all the casts of each pattern were stock-piled together, there would have been a fair chance of making up a pair of brooches which, in fact, were derived from different models. The fact that 43 of the 47 pairs exhibit some difference implies that Saxon women could hardly have had the concept of identical brooches, and the degree of difference shown in a pair from separate models is most unlikely to have troubled them. Even when deliberately scrutinising these brooches, it has occasionally taken me some time to spot the difference !

If there are grounds for thinking that at least half of the brooches of Groups 10 - 18 were made in workshops, then it is logical to assume that all brooches in those groups were. The interrelationships of the artistic motifs on these brooches is best explained also by their manufacture within workshops.

The fact that series of brooches made to the same pattern are rarely found among Groups 10 - 18 does not contradict the theory of workshop 'mass-production': on the one hand, the greater the number of designs produced, the lower the chance, statistically, of more than one pair being found, especially bearing in mind the small percentage of total output which must be known today; on the other hand, workshop production, with the accent on variation, probably involved models made from non-durable substances, so that, though a large number were produced, the numbers from each model would probably have been less than from a bronze model.

The statistics of pairs made from different models have led me to reject the hypothesis that brooches of Groups 10 - 18 were made by itinerant craftsmen. As a corollary, such a rejection cannot be made for Groups 1 - 9, and since I have hinted that there is some chronological division between the two sets, it might be thought that here is evidence

for a transition from itinerant to permanent production at the very time, in the second half of the sixth century, when the kingdom of Wessex was emerging as a prosperous and powerful political unit. This conclusion is unwarranted. A number of groups in both sets overlap in date, so that one would have to envisage both methods of production operating concurrently, but there are more compelling reasons for believing that, in fact, the majority of all brooches in the Upper Thames Region were the products of local workshops.

It is noticeable that many of the brooches in Groups 1 - 9 are peculiar to the Upper Thames Region; the few examples elsewhere may easily be accounted for as 'strays' from the Region (e.g. 1.1.2, 1.1.3, 1.4, 2.2-4, 4.1, 6.1). Moreover, the degree of correspondence between some of these groups argues positively for a single source for them (e.g. 4.1 and 6.1; ?1.4, 13.1 and 16.1). It could be said that these reflect the itineraries of individual craftsmen, but the direct connection of six grave-finds from Groups 1-4 with Groups 10-18 (Table 4) implies that the workshops responsible for the latter drew their inspiration directly from types already manufactured in the Region, if, indeed, they were not the same workshop ! Group 6.1, a seven running dog-legs motif with zigzag border, may provide another point in the argument: 14 very similar brooches are known, made from five different models. Are these to be interpreted as the work of five itinerant craftsmen, each with his version of a model designed by one of them ? Or is it not more probable that these brooches were produced in a single workshop ? If so, then Group 4.1 was made in the same workshop.

A final point in favour of the existence of workshops is the considerable number of brooch pairs which show differences resulting probably from cleaning of either mould or cast. In a workshop, different men might have been employed on different stages of the manufacture, so that, through

misunderstanding of a master craftsman's original design (particularly easy when working with a negative mould), alterations would have occurred. An itinerant craftsman, on the contrary, should normally have performed every stage himself, so that his products would have been less vulnerable to discrepancies of this kind.

In this discussion I have referred to the existence of workshops in the plural; there are no grounds for thinking that a single Upper Thames workshop was involved, nor can any individual workshops be fully identified. All these points will be alluded to and elaborated in the subsequent stylistic and chronological analysis.

Classification

GROUP 1 : Running Scroll Brooches

Group 1.1 : Five running scrolls

The most popular design for both cast and applied saucer brooches on the continent was one in which five connected, or running, scrolls formed the dominant motif with only the simplest central and border features. The applied version does not seem to have been produced in England, but cast ones were made in abundance.

The continental cast brooches were executed in quite sharp 'chip-carving' with well rounded and evenly spaced scrolls, just as on the applied brooches; they are an excellent example of the enthusiastic adoption by Germanic peoples during the fifth century of the scrollwork used on Late Roman metalwork. These points and the fact that five-scroll applied brooches can be dated within the period AD380-450 (Böhme 1974,28) have led previous writers to date the beginning of the cast variety from the fifth century. Morris even argued that almost all these brooches were of fifth-century date (Bidder and Morris 1959, 81-3), but his criteria may be challenged: he assumed contemporaneity of applied and cast types,

even in England; he did not distinguish the various styles of execution among the brooches; and several of the dates which he ascribes to associated material are suspect. Saunders, recognising the survival of the type well into the sixth century, argued for an extended period of production.

It is notable that there are very few continental cast saucer brooches, especially of the types found in England, whereas there is a very great number of applied brooches (Böhme 1974, 350-4, lists 106 applied brooches, but only 24 cast saucer brooches from the continent), which might suggest that the production of cast brooches was only just beginning at the time of the major migrations to England. Contemporaneity of cast and applied varieties cannot be substantiated because very few of the former on the continent have associated grave-goods. Only the pair from Altenbülstedt, with central square motif and scrolls projecting from the corners, can be dated to the early fifth century on the basis of the associated fixed-plate buckle and comb with marginal decoration (Böhme 1974, 30). Of the five saucer brooches with five running scrolls, the brooch from Alphen grave 4 is the sole example with associated finds: a broken bow brooch with five knobs on its headplate was likened by its excavator to Kühn's Type 21 of the second half of the sixth century (Roes 1955, 9, 21), and three cylindrical millefiori beads must also indicate burial well within the sixth century (below, p. 209). Another example, from Gross-Gerau, came from a Merovingian-period grave (Böhme 1974, 28).

In England, despite far more brooches, it is equally difficult to provide evidence for their fifth-century date. One distinctive group is localised in Sussex and Surrey; its members exhibit the deep 'chip-carving' and neat scrollwork of the continental cast brooches, and the use of dots or triangles between the outer edges of the scrolls, as on the applied variety, as well as cross-stamping of border rings. The style was used

for both five- and six-scroll brooches, which in England are contemporary, though the latter do not occur on the continent. Only Alfriston grave 60 (Griffith and Salzmann 1914, Pl.VII,3), with a glass beaker of transitional Late Roman/Dark Age form (Harden 1956, 137, 158), can be assigned to the fifth century. High pin-catches, as found on the six-scroll brooches from Alfriston 15 (Griffith and Salzmann 1914, 32), were taken by Saunders as a continental and, therefore, fifth-century feature. The pair from Alfriston grave 87 are unlikely to have been made before about AD500, however: the central red glass settings were probably in imitation of garnet-inlay jewellery, while the associated openwork girdle-hanger with a triskele of serpents is a continental type dating, at the earliest, from the first half of the sixth century (Renner 1970, 62,65, 73). Likewise, a pair from High Down grave 2 were found with three sixth-century small square-headed brooches (Wilson 1958, Pl.3,3, Pl.4,6).

Other brooches with good scrollwork, but not of the Sussex/Surrey type, were also buried during the sixth century, and some may have been made then. The pair from Great Chesterford grave 2 was associated with a Leeds Type B1 great square-headed brooch, datable to the sixth century, and some amber beads; the grave had disturbed another containing a spearhead of Swanton Type H2, implying that grave 2 could have been dug well on in sixth century (Swanton 1974, 109, 196). The Hornton pair, with a great square-headed brooch (below, p.167)⁶, and six-scroll pair from Barrington 'A' grave XI, with another, of Leeds Type A3, and a silver ribbed bracelet, were both buried probably in the middle decades of the sixth century.

The Sussex/Surrey group may represent the earliest production centre in England of five-scroll brooches, active from the second half of the fifth century, but stylistic and chronological evidence implies that the same basic design was being made in several other districts and at varying periods; manufacture must have continued well into the first half of the

sixth century.

Before discussing the Upper Thames examples in the light of these conclusions, Margaret Saunders's theory that brooch diameters became smaller in the early sixth century, thus presenting a means of differentiating fifth from sixth century brooches, needs examination. She did not specify her evidence, but she did derive support from comments made by Fritz Roeder in his study of continental saucer brooches (Roeder 1927, 35). Roeder's 'early' and 'late' groups have not survived Böhme's reconsideration of the material: the very small brooches from Altenbülstedt of Roeder's 'late' group, for example, are probably early fifth-century in date. Quantification of the diameters of Upper Thames brooches (Fig. 3) demonstrates not only the generally small size of five-scroll brooches (Group 1.1), but the consistent size of respective sub-groups; the near contemporary six-scroll brooches (Group 1.2) are larger in order to accommodate the extra scroll. It is more likely that a workshop, active in the area during the late fifth and early sixth century, was specialising in a range of small brooches, so that, though in this case the correlation of size and date is correct, it cannot be applied as a dating criterion to all saucer brooches.

1.1.1 : With well executed scrollwork and deep 'chip-carving'

Abingdon I, B60 (Pl. 1a).

This brooch, its pair being lost, is the only five-scroll brooch from the Region which resembles continental examples and the Surrey/Sussex group. The best parallel to it is that in Alphen grave 4 which has similar stamped round the edge, but whereas the treatment of the outer strands of the coils on the latter is characteristically continental, this is not so on the Abingdon brooch. The burial date of the Alphen brooch is a useful counterbalance to suggestions that such well made brooches must be fifth century. The Abingdon brooch could have been old when buried since

its pin-catch had been refitted with a bronze rivet, and the associated 114 amber beads and one rock crystal bead would be surprising in a pre-sixth century context (below, p.202-7)

1.1.2 : With weakly executed scrollwork

Abingdon I, B100 (Pl. 1d), Cassington I, 2 (Pl. 1c),
Sonning (Pl. 1b), Long Wittenham I, 111 (Pl. 2ai),
Dorchester VI, 42.

The majority of scroll brooches in the Region have fairly shallow relief and slack and irregular scrolls, with the outer edge of each scroll extended in an elliptical tongue to join the outer border ring. This construction occurs in a far less emphatic form on some continental brooches, for example those from Heeslingen (Böhme 1974, Taf.21,3). Among published examples of five- and six-scroll brooches, these characteristics appear otherwise only on ones from Kempston (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl.XLVII), Alfriston 65 (Griffith and Salzmann 1914, Pl.VII,4), Bidford (Humphreys et al. 1923, Pl.XIII,2e), Alfriston 90 (Griffith 1915, Pl.XXIII,2) and Broadway (Cook 1958, fig.9,13).

The brooches from the first three finds listed are virtually identical, except that the Abingdon brooch is slightly larger. An unstratified brooch from Andover, Portway East, excavated by Miss Alison Cook, was probably made from the same model as both the Cassington and Sonning brooches. The Abingdon brooch was paired with an identically executed six-scroll brooch; the Cassington grave contained 36 amber beads, one of rock crystal and two of glass, and an iron purse ring full of items of scrap metal and glass. Among the last was a broken strap-end from a Late Roman military belt (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 63), but in such a condition and context it can have little value as an indication of date (pace Bidder and Morris 1959, 82); the other grave-goods are consistent with a date of burial in the sixth century.

Instead of the central dot and ring of the above three, the Long Wittenham pair has a small boss, and its two border rings make it slightly larger; the scrolls have lost all semblance of rotundity. Its associations are important: a necklace of 104 amber beads and a few of glass, bone and jet, and a collection of items in the lap probably representing the contents of a purse. Among the latter was a fourth-century strap-end (Hawkes 1972, 148 n.10), which can have no relevance to the date of burial, especially since the purse also contained the worn lower half of the foot of a continental bow brooch of Kühn's 'Hahnheim' Type. This may have been manufactured during the first half of the sixth century (see below, p.187), but it is unlikely to have reached its final context until substantially later.

The Dorchester pair has now been cleaned to reveal a border of 'light-and-shade' comparable with that used on my Group 15.1 brooches; the association of this motif with five running scrolls may indicate that it first made its appearance earlier than has hitherto been thought, though I still do not think that it could date from much before AD500 (below, p.65). The association of 17 small amber beads with the Dorchester brooches probably indicates a sixth-century date.

1.1.3 : 'C'-scrolls

Dorchester VI, 73, East Shefford XVIII (Pl. 2b), Wheatley 20, (Pl. 2c), Long Wittenham I, 53 (Pl. 2d).

These six brooches, the smallest of all scroll brooches, do not have true running scrolls: single coiled hooks project inwards from a five-lobed outer ring, with tiny elliptical pellets set between the outer sides of the coils and the border ring. A similar brooch, except for its cross-stamped border rings, was found at Droxford (Proc. Hants. F. C., 5, 1906, 173), while a pair from Andover, Portway East, grave 41 combined weak

running scrolls with elliptical pellets. The elliptical pellets appear to be a Wessex adaptation of the Sussex/Surrey dots and triangles (see also Group 1.3).

The associated grave-goods are too meagre to offer much help: East Shefford XVIII contained an 'anseate' brooch, which may date from the early sixth century (below, p. 133), 9 amber, 1 rock crystal and 2 jet beads, while 12 glass beads and 1 of rock crystal were found with the Long Wittenham pair. These brooches might all be products of the late fifth century, but equally they may date from the early sixth.

The evidence for the date of five-scroll brooches in the Upper Thames Region does not warrant the belief that their manufacture began much before AD500, and it continued throughout much of the first half of the sixth century.

Group 1.2 : Six running scrolls

1.2.1 : With deep 'chip-carving' and well rounded scrolls

Frilford I, 143 (Pl. 2e).

Whereas the brooch from Abingdon I, B60 was the largest of the five-scroll brooches, these, comparable in quality, are the smallest of the six-scroll brooches. They are unique in the Region; their style and the inclusion of a little triangle between the outer sides of two scrolls on one brooch link them with the Sussex/Surrey group, for example the pair from Alfriston 46 (Griffith and Salzmann 1914, Pl.VII). They have two lugs to hold the pin-axle, and the long pin-catch might indicate a fifth-century date. They could be exports from a South Saxon centre, and since their gilding shows little wear, they might have been buried during the second half of the fifth century.

1.2.2 : With weakly executed scrolls

Abingdon I, B100 (Pl. 1d), Eynsham I, AM 1971.1053

(Pl.3aⁱⁱ), Filkins AM 1909.497a (Pl. 3b), Dorchester VI,

54 (Pl. 3d), Oxfordshire xi, BM 84,5-20,9 (Pl. 3c).

This group corresponds in style with Group 1.1.2. The first three brooches listed are very similar indeed; the other two are larger with excessively elongated scrolls and two border rings (cf. Long Wittenham 111). They are very similar to a brooch with three border rings from Bidford grave 82 (Humphreys et al. 1923, Pl.XIII,2e).

The only associated items were with the Dorchester brooch: a bronze-bound bucket and a large, facettted rock crystal bead, which suggests that burial was not before about AD500 (below, p.206). This is consistent with the occurrence of brooches of Groups 1.1.2 and 1.2.2 in Abingdon B100 and the theory that five- and six-scroll brooches were contemporaneous.

Group 1.3 : Seven Running Scrolls

Abingdon I, B102 (Pl. 4a), Brighthampton 56, (Pl. 4b),
Abingdon I, B34 (Pl. 4c).

The first two finds, to which a newly excavated example from a grave at Abingdon IV (Barton Court) may be added⁷, are so alike that they may have been made in one mould: four of the five have damaged rims, which might have been the result of faulty casting. An identical pair comes from grave 2 at Bidford-on-Avon (excavated by S. Bell in 1971). The Abingdon B34 pair differ slightly in size and style. The elongated scrolls of the latter and the elliptical pellets on all of them link them with other local scroll brooches, and suggest that they too may be Upper Thames products.

Other seven-scroll brooches are known, mainly from the south-east of the country and from the continent. Apart from its size (61mm), the lost Issendorf brooch, with fluid spirals and egg-and-tongue border, is close to the style of early fifth-century continental brooches (Böhme 1974, Taf. 23,11). A pair from Mucking II, grave 639, and another from Orpington grave 44 (Tester 1968, 146) have the neat scrolls and triangular wedges of the

Sussex/Surrey five- and six-scroll brooches; the former was found with a pair of girdle hangers of unparalleled form with relief full-face masks with curled eyebrows; a similar pair, with marginal Style I ornament, came from another grave there, and these are unlikely to date before the first half of the sixth century. The other examples do share features, especially elongated scrolls, with the Upper Thames series (Higham, Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl.LIX,2; Harmignies, Böhme 1974, Taf.92,11; Singleton, Nr. Chichester, Sussex, stray find, reused as a pendant, Chichester Museum). A brooch from Dover, with its wide rim, raised central stud marked by a cross and largish size (55mm), can be linked to brooches of my Groups 10 - 18, implying a date around or after the mid-sixth century.

The Brighthampton grave contained a bucket with simple, bifurcated handle-escutcheons, which is not closely datable. The Barton Court grave contained two gilded and silvered cast bronze belt appliqué^s representing an S-shaped creature with head and tail (leg). In form and technique they compare with the series of appliqué^s, including eagles, fish, crosses and interlace ornament, from Buttsale (Eastry) in Kent (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl.XXIV,2), which can hardly imply a date before the late sixth century. The S-shaped design is reminiscent, however, of Merovingian and Scandinavian brooches of the sixth century (e.g. Salin 1904, 83-4). The Bidford pair was accompanied by 32 amber beads and 46 of glass, including metal-in-glass and miniature veridian green types, which all suggest a sixth-century date.

Some of the Group 1.3 brooches may not have been buried until the second half of the century, especially given the stylistic links with Groups 1.1.2, 1.1.3 and 1.2.2 of that date.

Group 1.4 : Eight or more running scrolls

1.4.1 : Eight scrolls

Fairford 4, (Pl. 5a).

The design of this pair is a puzzle: did the artist intend a series of four S-scrolls or eight running scrolls or neither ? Despite the sharp relief, the ornament is uneven and apparently confused. A segment of four parallel lines breaks the circle of scrolls, a motif possibly related to the parallel-line blocks found on brooches of Groups 10 - 18 (see below, p. 82). From this, six scrolls run clockwise; the first bears a coiled excrescence, which may, as Saunders suggested, be the only example of the acanthus scroll on English saucer brooches, or may, together with the parallel lines, merely be infilling an incomplete nine-scroll design. The inversion of the seventh scroll may further testify to the artist's ineptitude. The small triangles between the outer edges of the scrolls link the brooches with the traditions of the mainly fifth-century five- and six-scroll brooches, and if the little coil is an acanthus scroll, might signify a fifth century date for the pair. But acanthus scrolls do occur in sixth-century contexts: Saunders herself cites the strap-end from East Harnham where the motif is combined with three crouching animals in Salin's Style I (WAM, 52, 1948, 345-9). Moreover, the three concentric centre-rings are not found on five- and six-scroll brooches, but do occur on a ten-scroll brooch from Mitcham grave 61 referred to below.

1.4.2 : Nine scrolls

Fairford (lost; Pl. 5b).

Regrettably this brooch is known only from nineteenth-century engravings; that in Akerman 1855, Pl. 19, is slightly less than life-size, but the brooch can hardly have been much over 37mm in diameter, which is small in comparison with other multi-scroll brooches. Nevertheless, it must surely be closely related to the Fairford 4 pair: the circle of

scrolls is again interrupted, this time by what looks like a four-fingered human hand. Haseloff has drawn attention to the stylistic primacy of anthropomorphic elements, including arms and hands, in the late fifth-century development of Salin's Style I (Haseloff 1974, 9), though the device must have continued in use, since it is difficult to believe that the pair of drinking horns from the early seventh-century burial at Taplow was made in the late fifth century, despite Leeds' observation that it had at some time been renovated (Leeds 1936, 75-6). The best parallel, which I know, to the Fairford motif, however, occurs on one side of the small silver buckle found between the two Dark Age road surfaces at Cadbury Castle (Alcock 1972, Pl.78). In turn, other motifs on this object have many affinities with brooches in my Groups 10 - 18, among which are brooches with a central mask comparable to the Fairford one.

All these points suggest that this brooch, and therefore the Fairford 4 pair too, belong to the middle third of the sixth century rather than to its beginning. The large polyhedral glass bead and 54 amber beads from Fairford 4 would support such a date.

1.4.3 : Eleven scrolls

Brighthampton 4 (Pl. 5c), Aston Remenham BM 1932,3-9,3 (Pl. 5d).

These two finds are remarkably similar and I suggest that despite differences in the nature of their relief they could have been made from the same model, or even mould. A brooch very like the Aston one, but with the inner ring cross-grooved and the outer edge stamped with semicircles, was found in Beckford 'B' grave 8 (Birmingham Museum loan collection), where it was associated with a large foil-less applied brooch (dia. 63mm), almost certainly a sixth-century zoomorphic type (below, p.101), and a pin with rod-like projection above the openwork round head, a type found especially in Wessex and in association with very large saucer brooches

of the late sixth century. The tiny brooch from Mitcham grave 61 (dia. 35mm) (Bidder & Morris 1959, Pl.VIII) has ten scrolls executed like those on the Group 1.4.1-2 brooches, rather than the tight scrolls of Group 1.4.3, but its relationship to them would seem evident. It, too, was found with a pair of large, foil-less applied brooches (dia. 57mm).

All brooches of Group 1.4 appear to date from the sixth century; close dating is impossible, but no violence would be done to the evidence if it was suggested that they were made around or just before the middle decades of that century. It may also be relevant to the location of workshops that six of the eight brooches come from sites in the upper Upper Thames or Cotswold Region, while the other two come from on or near the Thames itself (below, p.99).

GROUP 2 : Brooches with central square and swastika or whirligig design

Group 2.1 : Square and four scrolls

Long Wittenham I, 5 (Pl. 5e).

There is no parallel to the design of this brooch among saucer brooches; the general pattern recalls the Altenbülstedt pair, and a similar brooch from Luton (Austin 1928, Pl.XXVIII, 3) adds triangles between each C-scroll. A more precise parallel occurs on the disc on the bow of a bow brooch from Skane, Falster, Denmark (Bakka 1958, 27), where the scrolls run anticlockwise; the design is repeated without a central dot on the headplate. This brooch is in the Nydam style and may date from about the middle of the fifth century (Haseloff 1974, 6). A swastika with coils, but no central square, was used on a strap-end from Scania, presumably of this period (Salin 1904, fig.392). This was indeed the time when spiral decoration was most popular with the Germans, and there is nothing against the date being applied to the Long Wittenham brooch; the associated glass beads, two blue and one green, would be quite in accordance. The motif, with, and without, a central square, does occur

on great square-headed brooches' headplates of Leeds' Types A3 and B3 (e.g. Leeds 1949, nos.14-15a, 19, 71, 74) which must be of a later date, but the motif on some variants of Type B3 is much closer in style to the swastikas of saucer brooch Groups 2.2-4, to which the Long Wittenham brooch is formally related. The primacy of the latter need not be upset, though whether it was made in this country or was an import must remain unknown.

Groups 2.2 - 2.4

Despite the formal correspondence between the Long Wittenham brooch and the remainder of the group, no real connection can be maintained in the light of their distinct features. All are uniformly small with bipartite fields. The inner motif of either a boss surrounded by a four-armed whirlingig or a square boss, or ring, within a second square, from which spring legs with sharply bent knee-joints, is combined with a particular geometric outer panel. The distribution of the type is primarily Upper Thames Valley and Cotswolds though there are two from Sussex, two from West Kent and one from the continent; manufacture might have been within the Upper Thames Region.

2.2 : Inner leg swastika and outer 'egg-and-tongue' panel

Broughton Poggs 16 (Pl. 6a), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,47
(Pl. 6b), Long Wittenham I, BM 62,6-13,115 (Pl. 6ci).

All these brooches were made to the same specification, but none is from the same model. In the centre of the Broughton Poggs pair is a round boss, while the others have square bosses; the 'egg-and-tongue' border on the Broughton Poggs and East Shefford brooches has raised arches and tongues, but the Long Wittenham one is in the negative with hollow 'eggs' and 'tongues'. The motif is one of the classical designs of Late Roman metalwork (e.g. Haseloff 1973, Taf.V), but it was used only sporadically on saucer brooches: for example, Issendorf seven-scroll cast brooch and 'Mahndorf' Type applied brooches (Böhme 1974, Taf.23,11,7,7), Krefeld-

Gellep grave 1426, applied five-scroll brooch (Pirling 1974, Taf.116,3), and Reading I, 4 applied brooches (Pl. 26a). It cannot therefore be a certain guide to date, though its use beyond the first half of the sixth century is unlikely. A brooch from Broadway grave 1 (Cook 1958, fig.4,1-2) was probably made from the same model as Broughton Poggs 16; it was found with a relatively unworn buckle of Hawkes type Ia, which might indicate a fifth-century date of burial (Hawkes 1974,387; below, p.246). The most important dating evidence comes from Kent: a brooch from Orpington grave 39, with identical central device, but beaded or zigzag border, was described as similar to another from Horton Kirby (Tester 1968,143), which was associated with a 'six-hearts' floriate cross applied brooch of early or middle fifth-century date (Meaney 1964,134; below, p.104). This must indicate that these brooches were first manufactured during the fifth century, and that their leg motif can have no connection with Salin's Style I.

2.3 : Inner whirllig and outer radial bars

Abingdon I, B118 (Pl. 6fi), Cassington I, AM 1942.154 (Pl. 6d), Brighthampton 46 (Pl. 6e).

The Abingdon brooch was found with a floriate cross-and-mask brooch (Group 3.3.1), 22 amber beads and 1 rock crystal, and a scales pan, which may imply burial during the sixth century. Six beads accompanied the Brighthampton pair, which are marginally different in design from the other two. An unstratified brooch from Selmeston, Sussex, combines the radial bar border with the central device of Group 2.2.

2.4 : Inner whirllig and outer basketwork panel

Kemble I, LM M.7747 (Pl. 7a).

Although the centre is identical with that of Group 2.3, the outer panel is a 'line-and-strap' motif with double-point stamps on alternate ribs, a design very comparable with basketwork panels on brooches of

Groups 10 - 18 (Fig. 4).

Theories on the origin and date of basketwork have varied. Leeds suggested that it was inspired by the use of 'light-and-shade' borders on Kentish metalwork, particularly on garnet-inlaid disc brooches, implying a date of the second half of the sixth century (Leeds 1933, 245-6). Saunders argued for a seventh century date, and that the motif may also have originated in the parallel-line blocks which make up some Style I animal bodies. An origin in the Kentish 'light-and-shade' is unlikely on chronological grounds, and it is notable that saucer brooches which owe their design directly to garnet-inlaid brooches do not employ basketwork (Table 4). What the source was is uncertain: alternate parallel-line blocks may have emerged concurrently as features of zoomorphic art and geometric borders. Good examples of the former occur on Leeds' Type B4 brooches from Herpes and Sarre (Leeds 1949, nos.83-4), datable to perhaps the second quarter of the sixth century on the basis of their headplates. What Leeds regarded as a cast derivative of 'light-and-shade' - long horizontal bars divided by several short vertical ones - may indeed lie behind these parallel-line blocks, Erä-Esko has plausibly suggested that the motif is the successor of the Late Roman 'egg-and-tongue' (astragal) motif (1965, 20, no.8). Such long-and-short bars occur on the Dorchester VI, 42 saucer brooches of Group 1.1.2, datable to about AD500 or a little later, and on a great square-headed brooch from Linton Heath grave 9, itself a variant of one with 'line-and-strap' basketwork from Chessel Down (Leeds 1949, nos.8-9, Type A2).

The best parallel to the Kemble pair, including the double-point stamps, is a small disc brooch from Sarre grave 94 (Arch. Cant. 6, 1864, 174, Pl.VI,5). It is a type which occurs, with variant border patterns, in both southern England and on the continent during the first half and middle of the sixth century (Werner 1961, 38, nos.176-9)⁸; the Sarre

brooch, associated with some gold braid, is more likely to be mid sixth-century (Crowfoot and Hawkes 1967, 71). Similar brooches, or imitations of them, also occur as mounts on the bows of great square-headed brooches; a disc very like the Sarre brooch surmounts a Leeds' Type B1 square-headed brooch from Ipswich grave 29 (Leeds 1949, no.41). Another B1 brooch, from Brooke (Leeds 1949, no.65), bears a disc like Werner's nos. 177-8, while a B4 from Tuxford has a disc like variants known from Bifrons and Horton Kirby (Leeds 1949, no.89).

True basketwork appears on great square-headed brooches themselves mainly in the second half of the sixth century^{8a}, but the Chessell Down brooch mentioned above probably belongs to the first half of the sixth century.

It is thus difficult to find good examples of basketwork, even of the 'line-and-strap' variety, before the full sixth century, and probably before the central quarters of that century, and equally difficult to find pre-sixth century examples of 'long-and-short' bars, the most likely antecedent of basketwork. Yet the remarkable similarity of brooches of Groups 2.2 - 2.4 might suggest that they were produced within a short period, and it has already been suggested that Group 2.2 was a fifth-century development. So is the Kemble brooch also fifth-century, and is it evidence of the pre-sixth century emergence of basketwork? I think not. The whirligig motif persisted for a long time: it occurs on the sixth-century Leeds' B3 great square-headed brooches from Offchurch and Cherbury Camp (Leeds 1949, no.72; Pl.46a) in just the same form as on Groups 2.3 and 2.4. It seems more likely that the basic pattern of whirligig and border was introduced in the fifth century, but that a number of different ranges were produced over a long period; the Kemble brooch could represent one of the later ranges, in which the new motif of basketwork had been incorporated, and might still date within the first half of the sixth century.

GROUP 3 : Floriolate Cross

This motif was first used on applied brooches; in England it was principally a feature of brooches found in Surrey and Sussex (below, p.104). It is rarer on cast brooches, where it is generally combined with other elements, and, while examples still come from Surrey and Sussex, the greatest number now come from the Upper Thames Region, with outliers in areas like Kent.

Group 3.1 : Cross and omega

Long Wittenham I, 186 (Pl. 7bi).

This brooch is unique. Superficially it resembles floriolate cross-and-heart brooches, and so is grouped with them, but its design might equally contain stylised plant motifs, such as are common on Late Roman metalwork, in which a central pointed leaf is flanked by inward or outward turning scrolls (Haseloff 1973, Taf.II,3, IV). Exact parallels are rare: Haseloff publishes one from Italy (1973, Taf.II,2). Two applied brooches from Alsópáhok in Hungary are also comparable (Alföldi 1926, Taf.6,5-6); they belong to a group of brooches whose designs derive from Late Roman metalwork, and therefore, fortuitously resemble some English applied brooches. Whether the maker of the Long Wittenham brooch was drawing on this tradition for his inspiration or was freely adapting more common scroll forms is uncertain. The triangles at the bases of the omegas suggest a link with the Sussex/Surrey area and endorse the implied fifth-century date.

Buried with the brooch was an applied brooch of Group 2.2 (below, p.106) which was current during the early and middle years of the sixth century. The omega brooch is broken and the rim badly worn; its owner died an old woman so that its manufacture might well have been in the later fifth century and burial in the first half of the sixth.

3.2.1 : Floriolate cross-and-masks

Abingdon I, B118 (Pl. 6fii).

This brooch represents the most common variant of the floriolate cross motif on cast brooches: the four hearts have been replaced by full-face, outward-looking masks. A similar brooch comes from High Down and a smaller one from Croydon (Leeds 1933, Pl.XXXVI,g,f). Only the Abingdon brooch was associated, with a Group 2.3 saucer brooch. The probability that they were contemporary types is supported by the dating of the next, more developed groups, and the fact that the Abingdon brooch appears stylistically earlier than those.

3.2.2 : Floriolate cross-and-masks with a border panel

This group has an identical centre to the previous, but the addition of a border and consequent increase in diameter makes them distinct.

3.2.2.1 : With basketwork border

Dorchester VI, 107 (Pl. 7c).

The central motif is closest to the Croydon brooch cited above, with its lop-sided cross and double cheek-bars. The brooch as a whole is paralleled by one from Horton Kirby in Kent, except for digital differences in the basketwork (Leeds 1912, Pl.XXV.5). The fully developed basketwork panel links it to Groups 10 - 18; the chronological implications of basketwork, already discussed, favour a date in the central quarters of the sixth century, while the associated great square-headed brooch (below, p.170) would be consistent with such a date.

3.2.2.2 : With zoomorphic border

Sutton Courtenay IV, RM 99.60 (Pl. 7d)

The exceptional wear on this brooch obscures the ornament. The outer panel of 'Mr. Chad' masks and dog-legs relates directly to borders used on Group 10 - 18 brooches, especially the Cassington Hut 3 one, and so to saucer brooches in imitation of garnet-inlaid disc brooches of Avent's

Type a.2. A date in the second half of the sixth century seems assured.

3.3 : Floriolate cross and 'pot-hooks'

Bishopstone I, Ay.M H1-2 (Pl. 7e).

These brooches are executed with unrestrained boldness: a square with dots emphasises the centre, the compartmentalised hooks in the border spring at random from either side, and a probable blunder has allowed an extra coil to creep into a space between the arms of the cross. A very close parallel, without this blunder, was found in grave 39 at Lyminge (Warhurst 1955, Pl.VIII,1) together with a very worn pair of small square-headed brooches suggestive of a date around or after the mid sixth century.

GROUP 4 : Brooches with central or principal five-point star motif

The motif of a sharp five-point star was developed on applied brooches during the first half of the sixth century and had its greatest currency in the middle decades of that century (below, p.106). These applied brooches are most consistent in style, in contrast to the cast brooches which employ the motif. One group only is self-evident, and that is a direct translation of the applied brooch pattern, but the two cannot be related to one production centre: the applied brooches have a remarkably wide distribution, from Yorkshire to Sussex, while the cast version is limited to the Upper Thames and the south and east Midlands, a distribution which also differs in emphasis from those of the groups already considered.

Leeds and Saunders attempted to classify the cast brooches in two distinct ways. Leeds divided what he called 'weak' stars on the basis of their border (zigzag, punched, beaded or plain rings); Saunders differentiated between types of star (sharp stars, free-standing stars with blunt points and straight to curved arms, and stars with concave arms attached to the outer edge). Both schemes ignore 'muling' of star and border elements, or other transgressions. The extremes of star type are

recognisable, but many sharp stars have arms which join or break the outer border, thus blunting the points ! I propose to discuss the distinctive group with zigzag border first and to associate a few brooches as sub-types with it. The remainder are grouped together; they share no special features with one another or brooches elsewhere and the creation of sub-groups might have suggested significant divisions which do not exist. In fact, each brooch is its own sub-group.

4.1 : Free-standing 'weak' stars with zigzag border

Brighthampton 40 (Pl. 8ai), Dorchester VI, 77 (Pl. 8iii),
Fairford BM 1929,7-15,1 (Pl.8b), Frilford I, 155 (Pl. 8c),
Long Wittenham I, FD37 (Pl. 8d).

In size and design these brooches are remarkably similar and three may come from a single model; only the Frilford pair is noticeably smaller, and the arms of its star quite curved. One production source is most likely and perhaps the four brooches from outside the Region, all from the south-east Midlands (Luton, Finedon, Islip, Irchester; Saunders 1958) reflect a specific export. The Brighthampton and Dorchester brooches were found with crude versions of Kentish small square-headed brooches, which might indicate a date in the middle third of the sixth century (below, p.173).

4.2 - 4.5

The following are related in some way to Group 4.1.

4.2 : Sharp star with inner zigzag and outer zoomorphic border

Fairford 7 (Pl. 9a).

The inner part of these brooches is identical in conception to Group 4.1, though the quality of the product is much higher. The outer border consists of dog-legs and 'fish-scale' motifs, either profile heads or hips. A pair from Stretton-on-the-Fosse grave 1 (Warwick Museum) match them in size, quality and design, except that triangular stamps replace the area

occupied by the outer border. The Fairford border has strong links with motifs used on brooches of Groups 10 - 18. Stylistically, these brooches could have been made in the same milieu as Group 4.1, but at a date when larger multi-field brooches were in fashion. The associated objects - a claw beaker of Harden's 'degenerate type' (Harden 1956, 140), a large amber amulet and many amber and glass beads - would all suit a date of burial in the middle decades of the sixth century, or even later, which is a little later than the date suggested for Group 4.1.

4.3 : Weak star and basketwork border

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,45 (Pl. 9b).

Although the star on this brooch is more irregular than those so far mentioned, I think it does relate to Group 4.1. It has one border, which is partly basketwork, partly pseudo-zoomorphic, the latter being paralleled by the parallel-line blocks on Long Wittenham I, 71 (Group 12.3) and Aston Remenham (Group 14.2). In general layout it matches the Fairford 7 pair, and the two together correspond in their relation to Group 4.1 as Group 3.3.2 did to 3.3.1.

4.4 : Weak star and punched annulet border

Frilford I, 5 (Pl. 9d).

In size and the character of its free-standing star, this brooch is identical with Group 4.1, and a similar date would be reasonable, but for the implication in J.Y. Akerman's report of the grave (PSA, 2nd s., 1865, 137) that a sub-Roman buckle was found with it (Evison 1968, fig.3,d). The objects now in the British Museum have not retained the association, and even if it were correct, it need not prevent date of burial being well within the first half of the sixth century.

4.5 : Star with semicircular arms and zigzag border

Abingdon ii, AM 1909.479 (Pl. 9c).

The correspondence of this pair in basic design and size to Group 4.1

is counterbalanced by the very different style and the central hole, presumably for a lost setting. It looks like an alternative interpretation of the same pattern.

4.6 : Other five-point star brooches

Abingdon I, B6 (Pl. 10a), Kemble I, LM M.7748 (Pl. 10b),
Filkins 13 (Pl. 10d), Fairford AM 1961.100-1 (Pl. 10c).

The nearest parallels to the stark design of the Abingdon pair are two brooches with more irregular stars and triple border ridges, one from Nassington grave 13 (Leeds and Atkinson 1944, 106, Pl.XXIII), the other from Bidford (Humphreys et al. 1923, Pl.XIII,2b); the former was found with a Kentish-type buckle plate with central stud and Style I animal ornament, sheet bronze versions of 'omega' sleeve clasps and 46 amber and 34 glass beads, which together suggest burial within the first half of the sixth century.

The other finds are distinct, but have a certain affinity, including a geographical one. The Kemble brooch has a central pentagonal boss and star with straightish arms; the Filkins pair are similar except the arms of the star are very curved and the double-point stamps on the border rings match those on the Kemble pair from Group 2.4; the Fairford stars are yet more irregular and the three border rings have punched dots. A brooch from Barrington 'A' (Leeds 1912, Pl.XXVIII,3) compares with the Kemble stars, while another from Leighton Buzzard is like the other two finds (VCH Beds I,187). Only Filkins 13 has associated material (some amber beads) in this group, but the link of the double-point stamps may endorse their likely contemporaneity with Groups 4.1, 4.4 and 4.5.

GROUP 5 : Other star-like designs

Two pairs are grouped together here for convenience. Their designs are superficially star-like, but as Saunders argued, they have greater

connections with brooches included in my Groups 10 - 18.

5.1 : Seven-point star

Wallingford 1 (Pl. 11a).

The starfish pattern of this pair is unparalleled. A sevenfold element is rare on saucer brooches, occurring only on the Blewburton/Fairford Group 2.3 applied brooches and the running dog-leg cast brooches of Group 6.1. The motif between the arms may be more revealing; the triangular wedge and three parallel lines recall motifs of Groups 10 - 18, especially as used to form rosette centres, as on the brooch from Bidford and its twin from Fairford (Group 17.1, Pl. 21c). The hexagonal marigold with triangles between each pair of petals on a brooch from Emscote may also be relevant (Antiq. J., 5, 1925. Pl.XXIX,2). A date in the second half of the sixth century is plausible.

5.2 : Four-point star

Bassett Down DM 32-3 (Pl. 11b).

Saunders paralleled the layout of this pair with an applied brooch from Duston (Leeds 1912, Pl.XXVII, 7), which, in turn, she thought was based on Kentish plated disc brooches. In fact, only two brooches from Avent's corpus (Avent 1975, nos. 147,151) have layouts which in essence might reduce to the design on the Bassett Down brooches and, if true, would imply a date of manufacture in the early seventh century.

The closest parallel is a brooch from Chavenage (JBAA,4,1849,53) on which a concave-sided square makes a four-point star, the points being flat triangular wedges reminiscent of wedges used in Groups 10 - 18. Another example is on a repoussé foil from Fairford 2, possibly a shield ornament (Pl. 67c); this grave is probably fifth-century, or early sixth at the latest, in date. There is no reason for this pattern to have anything to do with Kentish brooches, though the size of the Bassett Down brooches would link them with brooches of the middle and later sixth century⁹.

GROUP 6 : Running or radial leg designs

Group 6.1 : Seven running dog-legs and zigzag border

Abingdon I, C29 (Pl. 11c), Brighthampton CXIII (Pl. 11d),
Fairford AM 1961.96-7 & 102 (Pl. 12a), Filkins 3 (Pl. 12e)
& 8 (Pl. 12b), Long Wittenham I, 162 (Pl. 11e) & FD38-9 (Pl.
12c), Sutton Courtenay I, 1 (Pl. 12d).

These fourteen brooches are remarkably alike and a minimum of five models may account for their manufacture. The only variation is in the number of wedges in the central rosette, not always due to different models, and in the execution of the legs, some having webbed feet, others not. The engraving of the Filkins 3 brooch appears to show a flying bird at the centre, which is rather improbable; it could be a 'Mr. Chad' mask, but that would leave the 'topknot' unexplained.

The hip-bars on the unstratified Long Wittenham pair are strongly curved, a feature found also on one of the only two non-Upper Thames examples of the group, from Selmeston in Sussex (information from M.G. Welch). There, the semicircular affect is emphasised by pellets, recalling another peculiarly Upper Thames group, the Blewburton/Fairford applied brooches (below, p.107). The interconnection of localised groups is further underlined by the zigzag border line, found elsewhere only on Group 4.1; while the leg motif could have been derived from that of Groups 2.2 - 2.4.

Besides the Selmeston pair, the only other example is from Northfleet in West Kent; but a variant type with single hip-bar and no zigzag border occurs at Haslingfield (Leeds 1912, fig.11,d), Ewell (Antiq. J.,13,1933, 303), Hanwell (Sharpe 1919, Pl.facing 131) and Andover Portway East, grave 35. Both groups represent Saxon areas, one primarily the Upper, the other the Lower Thames.

Stylistically, Group 6.1 should be more or less contemporary with Group 4.1 and later than Groups 2.2 - 2.4, that is around the middle of the

sixth century. None of the associated finds would gainsay this and the stratigraphical position of Abingdon C29, found undisturbed above grave B31 with a pair of brooches of Group 14.3, could extend their period of use well into the second half of the sixth century.

6.2 : Other brooches with radial leg pattern

Abingdon I, B32 (Pl. 13d).

Other brooches with radial leg pattern do not form consistent groups; only two or three of any one style are known. Their distribution is more widespread, however, with most examples coming from the Midlands; only one is known from the Upper Thames Region.

The Abingdon brooch was badly cast, and while four legs spring from the centre, the fifth has its hips to the outside. It was found with 38 amber beads, indicating a sixth century date. The best parallel for its fleshy legs is on the six-leg brooch from Mentmore (BM 55,1-1,1), though they are more schematic. A similar pair from Mucking II, grave 615 incorporates bull's-eye stamps to make the pattern more like six heads than legs; they had iron rivets capped by silver discs through the centre, like the raised studs of sixth century applied brooches (Curr. Arch., 5,1975,78, top left).

Four radial leg brooches from the Midlands may date to the middle or later sixth century - a pair from Bidford grave 88 with central garnet (Humphreys et al. 1923, Pl.XIII, 2f) ^{and} and a single from grave 178 (Humphreys et al. 1924, Pl.LVIII, 3b), and another from Luton grave 41 (Austin 1928, Pl.XXVII, 3-4) found with a Leeds' Type B6 great square-headed brooch - which corresponds with the date established for Group 6.1. All radial leg brooches could date from this period.

GROUP 7 : Single field of two Style I creatures

Fairford BM 58,3-3,1 (Pl. 13a).

This unstratified brooch is the sole example of a clearly identifiable group found in the south Midlands at Alveston grave 5, Kempston, Luton (Austin 1928, Pl.XXVII,1-2), Market Overton (Arch.,62,1911,487) and Shefford (Leeds 1912,Pl.XXVIII,8). There is an identical brooch to the Fairford one in the British Museum, said to have been obtained in Winchester (Pl. 13b). Since Fairford, above all Upper Thames cemeteries, suffered from indiscriminate grave-robbing and the sale of artefacts to antiquaries¹⁰, it is not impossible that the 'Winchester' brooch is the original pair to the Fairford one. There is another brooch of this group, but lacking a stamped border, in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, which might also be an Upper Thames find since, among the very few Anglo-Saxon items in the collection, there are two from Standlake: Pitt Rivers had obtained another Fairford brooch for his Farnham Museum (below, p.97).

Erä-Esko has analysed the creature on these brooches as a quadruped (1965,fig.41), but I am not sure that he is right: the two parallel-line blocks do not look like limbs, while the little coil on the flat rear wedge might be a vestigial hind-leg or a tail. The sharply coiled beaks suggest birds. Both Leeds (1936,69-71) and Vierck (1970,359) have pointed to the occurrence of such creatures in the repertoire of Anglian England in the second half of the sixth century. Vierck has further emphasised their association with Scandinavian styles, especially that of the D-bracteates, and with insular bracteates derived from both C- and D-types. The Alveston brooches are very crude versions, with button-brooch-like centre studs riveted on to them; they were found with a lavish great square-headed brooch of Leeds' type B8 (Leeds 1949,no.116). There is every indication that these saucer brooches were a product of an Anglian milieu of the middle or second half of the sixth century.

GROUP 8 : Bipartite field with one panel of zoomorphic ornament
and one of pot-hooks

Fairford 15 (Pl. 13c), Long Wittenham I, 46 (Pl. 13e).

The respective position of the panels is different on each of these, but they do form a group. Curiously, all four brooches were made from individual models.

The animal bodies are composed of triple strands. One Fairford brooch uses these in simple straight blocks for neck and trunk, but the other has extra blocks and they are arched to imitate interlace; the Long Wittenham animals have even more interlaced bodies, just as on some applied brooches (e.g. Blewburton 12, Pl. 27b). Kendrick called this 'Fusion Style' (1934, 73) because of its links with Style II, but it can have no chronological value, since it appears fully formed on the headplate of the early sixth-century great square-headed brooch from Bifrons grave 63 (Leeds 1949, no.2). The animal heads vary, but agree in their open jaws and triangular ears, suggestive of dogs. They are distinctive among English Style I animals, recalling creatures on Late Roman metalwork and in the 'Quoit-Brooch' style (e.g. Kendrick 1934, fig.1,i-iv); one example does occur on the Bifrons grave 41 square-headed brooch (Leeds 1949,no.3).

The pot-hooks also receive differential treatment: one Fairford brooch has them springing from a centre line and running in opposite directions, the other has them springing from the border rings; an outer clockwise ring of pot-hooks is combined with zigzag on the Long Wittenham pair. These geometric elements link them with the next group, which can be dated broadly to the first half of the sixth century; the zoomorphic elements would not counter such a date, making these the earliest cast zoomorphic saucer brooches in the Region.

GROUP 9 : Tripartite field with zigzag rings and radial bar border
Oxfordshire xi, BM 84,5-20,10 (Pl. 13f).

This brooch belongs to a widely scattered group. Identical brooches, but for the replacement of the middle panel by tightly coiled running scrolls, come from Linton Heath grave 76 (Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology) and Harnham Hill grave 12 (Akerman 1853, Pl. XII). The former was found with a small crystal bead and a pair of cast bronze wrist clasps and the latter with 19 blue glass beads. Other examples come from Chatham (Leeds 1912, Pl. XXV, 1), Newnham and Kempston (Saunders 1958).

Radial bar borders are not datable, but do occur notably on Group 2.3, while zigzags have been observed especially on Groups 4.1 and 6.1. Individual pot-hooks were noted on Group 3.4 and small running C-scrolls are a feature of Leeds' Type A3 great square-headed brooches, especially those from Holywell Row grave 11 and Rothley Temple (Leeds 1949, nos. 11, 12), probably made before the mid sixth century. Leeds' Type B1 brooches also have comparable scrollwork. Dating evidence is thus diffuse, but a date of manufacture within the first half of the sixth century is sensible.

GROUPS 10 to 18

Nearly all the brooches so far considered utilised one primary motif which made possible the definition of fairly self-contained groups. The remaining brooches, to which frequent reference has already been made, are different. They employ a very wide range of motifs, set in composite patterns, with the result that the 'muling' of both individual motifs and entire panel designs is most common. The interrelationships which these represent make it impossible to establish logically consistent groups.

Some division of the brooches is essential to facilitate discussion; I propose to use what might seem a quite arbitrary system based on the arrangement of the ornament. In fact, no more transgressions of group

boundaries emerge than from any other classification: some groups are reasonably self-contained, for example Groups 11 and 12, which correspond to some of Saunders' Kentish-derivative series; others consist of more disparate brooches. The system does have value in emphasising layout as an important characteristic of these groups and the interrelationships between brooches which this produces.

Ornament arrangement can be defined by two major features: the number of fields and the number of axes (that is, theoretical radial divisions of the field; a cross, for example, would have four axes)¹¹. In practice, up to four fields were used and axes can be reduced to none, three, four, or five plus, making a theoretical 16 classes. Since there is a marked tendency for a low number of fields to be used with limited axial division and for multi-axial brooches to have several fields, only half this number are actually illustrated by the Upper Thames corpus.

The interrelationships of ornament and other features between brooches can now be described both visually and verbally within this framework. Table 4 tabulates the most significant features.

The larger size of brooches in these groups is brought out in the first two columns, where, first, all brooches of average or above diameter (46mm), and second, those one standard deviation or more above average (58mm) are recorded. Seventy-six per cent are average or above and forty-three per cent are above one standard deviation. The reason for this increase in size needs explanation. The exceptionally large brooches, which share many features with Kentish disc brooches, might be thought to be in imitation of composite brooches, made in Kent during the seventh century. Not only would this theory strain saucer brooch chronology, but, if it were so, the large brooches ought to form a distinct section in the diagram of diameters; instead, there is a continuous, if spasmodic, increase in size, which suggests an internal development. Cruciform brooches also increase in size at this

GROUP	GRAVE/FIND	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	
10.1	East Shefford 51	2																																								
10.2	Dorchester VI, 102	2																																								
10.3	Fairford LM/BM	2																																								
10.4	Long Wittenham I, 121	2																																								
11.1	Long Wittenham I, 123	2																																								
11.2	'Near Oxford'	2																																								
11.3	Kingsey	1																																								
11.4	Wheatley 14	2																																								
12.1	Standlake I, 19	1																																								
12.2	Dorchester VI, 22	1																																								
12.3	Long Wittenham I, 71	2																																								
13.1	Fairford AM 1961.98-9	2																																								
13.1	Oddington	2																																								
13.2	Coleshill	2																																								
13.3	Cassington I, 7	2																																								
14.1	Aston Remenham BM 82,2-20,1	1																																								
14.2	Aston Remenham BM 1932,3-9,12	2																																								
14.3	Abingdon I, B31	2																																								
14.3	Bishopstone I, Ay.M 20.80	1																																								
14.4	Cassington II, 5	2																																								
14.5	Dorchester VI, 63	2																																								
14.6	Wheatley 26	1																																								
15.1	Fairford U/S (lost)	1																																								
15.2	Brighthampton 23	2																																								
15.3	Long Wittenham I, 95	1																																								
15.4	Cassington, Hut 3	1																																								
16.1	East Shefford BM 93,7-16,41-2	2																																								
16.2	East Shefford BM 93,7-16,43-4	2																																								
16.3	Ashendon	2																																								
16.4	Abingdon I, B5	2																																								
16.5	Stone	1																																								
17.1	Fairford (Fareham M.)	1																																								
17.2	East Shefford BM 93,7-16,46	1																																								
18.	Dorchester VI, RM	2																																								
16.2	Basset Down DM 30-1	2																																								
Totals		58	44	25	19	24	13	2	8	15	26	9	20	10	2	1	5	4	5	4	4	15	7	18	4	7	2	1	11	6	1	4	11	12	6	7	6	3	6	9	10	1
Related brooches from other groups																																										
1.4	Fairford (lost)	1																																								
2.4	Kemble I, LM M.7747	2																																								
3.2.2.1	Dorchester VI, 107	1																																								
3.2.2.2	Sutton Courtenay IV	1																																								
4.2	Fairford 7	2																																								
4.3	East Shefford BM 93,7-16,45	1																																								
Totals		8	5	1	0	6	2	0	1	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	

TABLE 4 : TABULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF GROUPS 10 TO 18 AND RELATED BROOCHES

Column

1	No. of brooches in grave	
2	Diameter of 46mm or more	
3	Diameter of 58mm or more	
4		1
5	No. of fields	2
6		3
7		4
8	No axial arrangement	
9	Three axes	
10	Four axes	
11	Multi-axial	
12		Triangular
13		Trapezoidal
14	Wedges	Semicircular
15		Lozenge
16		Nicked
17		Chevrons
18	Wedge-and-bar central 'rosette'	
19	Solid 'light-and-shade'	
20	Basketwork	
21	Basketwork element	
22	Parallel-line block	
23	Parallel-line block with zoomorphic function	
24		With hair
25	Full-face masks	With moustache/eyebrows
26		'Vimose'
27		'Mr. Chad'
28		'Helmet'
29	Profile mask	'Vimose'
30		Elemental/degenerate
31	Dog-leg	
32	Other legs	
33	Cross	
34	Petals	
35	Pseudo-interlace	
36	'Fish-scales'	
37	Punched border rings	
38	Pair derived from same model	
39	Pair not derived from same model	
40	Number of models uncertain	

period, so either there was a change in fashion, or, more likely, access to greater quantities of metal became possible as stable conditions increased prosperity.

Columns 12-32 catalogue the three most frequent types of ornament and the principal variants of each motif (see also, Figs.4-5): wedges, basket-work and its variants, and Style I animal ornament.

Twenty-eight different brooches (48%) have some form of flat wedge or non-circular setting; triangular ones are by far the most popular. I am sure that Leeds was right when he suggested that these flat wedges were imitating garnets, particularly those of the garnet-inlaid disc brooches of Kent, first manufactured about the middle of the sixth century (Leeds 1912,192; Avent 1975,62). Some brooches specifically emulate these Kentish brooches in their design; more general copying and adaptation of garnet inlays may have been taken up by Saxon craftsmen at the same time. Circular, square and lozenge-shaped settings, or imitations of them, were not unknown before this date on non-Kentish artefacts; triangular settings were rare, though they do occur, perhaps as a fortuitous by-product of dividing a diamond-shaped panel, on the footplates of great square-headed brooches, notably Leeds' Type B1, some B3 brooches and, with real garnets, on the Herpes B4 brooch. Their function is so different, however, from those on the saucer brooches, which far more faithfully reflect the spirit of the Kentish disc brooches, that they are an unlikely source of the motif.

Even if it can be accepted that disc brooches were the essential forerunners of saucer brooches with wedges, there remains the major problem of where this development took place, since hardly any Kentish disc brooches have been found west of the River Medway, let alone in the heartlands of Wessex, where they could have served as exempla. It is tempting to imagine that it occurred in East Kent, in workshops making disc brooches, but there

is very little evidence. It is true that of the seven saucer brooch finds from East Kent, four are of types corresponding to my Groups 10 - 18¹², and one of these, from Faversham, is closely based on disc brooches of Avent's Class a.2 (Alcock 1971, Pl.19,b; below, p.85). But these saucer brooches are so few that one would have to argue for a production mainly for export; this is most implausible since not only would one expect far more examples from the immediately ^{adjacent} Saxon areas of West Kent, Essex and Surrey, but it would require that Kentish craftsmen were capable of working in a basically alien style. It is more likely that the saucer brooches were made in the Saxon homelands as a result of the interchange of artistic ideas. The evidence for the exchange of objects is sparse, though the saucer brooches in Kent can reasonably be interpreted as 'exports' from Saxon production centres, and the movement of craftsmen remains an attractive alternative. If, then, saucer brooches containing wedges were copied ultimately from Kentish disc brooches, their manufacture cannot predate the middle of the sixth century.

The chronology of basketwork has already been discussed: it is unlikely to have been used extensively before the middle decades of the sixth century. This terminus ante quem non may be applied to the 15 brooches exhibiting the motif. An even greater number have some variation of basketwork - solid 'light-and-shade' or parallel-line blocks - whose chronology cannot be so firmly established. I shall suggest that the motif of small wedges and parallel lines, similar to the 'light-and-shade' border motif, but usually used as a central element, might owe more to the general stimulus of Kentish garnetwork, and so could be an indication of later sixth-century date.

Few brooches have complete Style I animals; instead, zoomorphic ornament is either totally indecipherable or consists of disembodied head and leg elements. By far the most popular form of head was the abbreviated eyebrow-

and-nose mask, named after a wartime cartoon as 'Mr. Chad'. The chronology of English Style I has yet to be established and it would be both subjective and begging the question to infer that degenerate and dislocated ornament was late in the sequence; but the evidence of motif combinations indicates a definite correlation between these zoomorphic elements and brooches which can be dated to the second half of the sixth century.

The repetition of motifs like crosses, pseudo-interlace, 'fish-scales', petals, glass settings and nicked wedges is less frequent. Many motifs do, however, appear on great square-headed brooches, especially those found in the south Midlands, though the lack of a secure chronology for them opens the way to circular arguments. I shall draw attention to all these points in the detailed discussion and to internal evidence for date, though surprisingly few of the saucer brooches have significant associations.

The basic premise, that all these brooches are interrelated, carries two corollaries: one, that they must be bracketed within a single date-range, which is broadly the second half of the sixth century (only a few can be specifically placed before or after this period), and two, that they share some important element in their place of manufacture. I think that the most sensible explanation of the variety and experimentation of their ornament is that they were produced in a workshop milieu. One lone craftsman would be more likely to produce stereotyped designs, whereas several men together, though operating within certain conventions and responding to the same artistic stimuli, would be liable to encourage each other in the creation of novel designs. This certainly would seem to have been the case at Helgö where a similar phenomenon has been observed among the relief brooches produced there (Holmqvist 1972, 259).

This does not mean that I consider all the following brooches were made in one workshop. Although the Upper Thames has a very large number

of these brooches, and some can be shown to relate to other specifically Upper Thames products, a substantial number have been found all over the Midlands and a few are scattered among the counties south of the Thames. A priori, it is just as difficult to classify the non-Upper Thames brooches, as to do so for those within the Region, and so regional workshops cannot be detected. In fact, as I shall suggest, there is a strong probability that a large number of Groups 10 - 18 were made in one workshop in the Upper Thames area.

GROUP 10 : Single field, no axes and degenerate animal ornament
 East Shefford 51 (Pl. 14a), Dorchester VI, 102 (Pl. 14d),
 Fairford LM M.7728 (Pl. 14cii) & BM 1926,7-7,1 (Pl. 14ci),
 Long Wittenham I, 121 (Pl. 14b).

These brooches are characterised by the use of zoomorphic head, body and leg elements without any decipherable animal being represented, though sometimes two or more chasing creatures seem to be intended. They are not, therefore, very alike in detail, nor can precise parallels be found from outside the region; they express a mode of ornament, rather than being the products of one obvious centre.

The Fairford brooches may contain chasing animals; they compare well with the border of the Coleshill brooches (Group 13.2, Pl. 17c), a brooch from Longbridge (VCH Warks I,258,fig.2) with central garnet, and the middle panel of headplates on B3 great square-headed brooches (Leeds 1949, nos.71-74). The East Shefford pair may be compared with more legible ones buried around or just before the middle of the sixth century in the rich grave 28 at Alfriston (Griffith and Salzmann 1914, Pl.VI,3), and with the large brooches from Wheatley 14 (Group 11.4, Pl. 15b). One 'helmet' head and a foreleg can be seen facing anticlockwise on the large Dorchester pair; its weakly-curved leg elements are like those on the Long Wittenham brooches.

The latter have several parallels on border panels, for example of Group 14.3 (Pl. 18).

The Dorchester pair, was found with a great square-headed brooch (below, p. 167), a heavy bronze buckle with shield-on-tongue, two shoe-shaped rivets and 92 amber beads, which all suggest a date of burial about the middle of the sixth century. Other evidence is compatible with such a date for the whole group, which is thus contemporary with zoomorphic saucer brooch Groups 6 and 7.

GROUP 11 : Single field and three axes

Groups 11 and 12 include all brooches whose layout is certainly derived from garnet-inlaid disc brooches, but the somewhat impoverished animal ornament of the originals has been translated into more vigorous Anglo-Saxon styles. It is interesting that the best parallels in the disc brooch corpus for details of the saucer brooch ornament are those which Avent found unclassifiable. There is good reason to suspect that these were created in imitation of the saucer brooches; interchange of artistic ideas was two-way.

11.1 : Imitating Avent Class a.2

Long Wittenham I, 123 (Pl. 15a).

Class a.2 garnet-inlaid brooches have simple animals with an oval head, parallel-line block body and one leg; those on the Long Wittenham pair are more developed with square, open-jawed heads, neck-bar and four legs. The only parallel is the Faversham brooch mentioned above (p. 82). The 49 amber and 2 glass beads and the stamped silver bracelet of Anglian type found with the Long Wittenham pair suggest a date about the middle or later sixth century (Kennett 1970, 27-8).

11.2 : Imitating Avent Class a.3

Oxfordshire xi, 'Near Oxford' (Pl. 16a).

The simple oval back-to-back heads of the prototype are here turned into

splendid 'helmet' heads separated by composite pillars. Only among Avent's sub-class a.3.5 are similar trapezoidal elements between the heads found; one is unprovenanced, but the other, from Howletts grave 5, may have been found with a rectangular Style I-and-garnet buckle plate and a button brooch, which might imply a date before the middle of the sixth century (Avent 1975, II, 26; below, pp. 148, 251). The best parallel for the 'hand-like' pillar on one of the Oxford brooches is, however, on a Class a.5 brooch from Faversham which Avent dates to c.600 (Avent 1975, 46). Good parallels for the saucer brooch form come from two Warwickshire sites - Stretton-on-the-Fosse grave 13, associated with 19 amber beads and an enormous, faceted rock crystal amulet, and Marton (Leeds 1912, Pl. XXVIII, 5) - and an unprovenanced brooch in the British Museum (1925, 10-17, 4).

11.3 : Three chasing animals with diamond wedges as heads

Kingsey, Ay.M 1.60 (Pl. 15c).

There are three animals on this brooch: the heads are flat lozenges, the bodies strips of pellets between contour lines, two round the centre and one to the outside of the brooch, and the legs number between three and five, in one case two being set back-to-back with a triangle between them.

It is related to a series of saucer brooches and discs, most of which have petal-shaped settings of glass and three crouching animals. The brooches from Petersfinger grave XIX, found with a pendant ornamented in Style I, do have cast lozenges, but a disc from grave XLIXb at the same site has the glass petals (Leeds and Shortt 1953, Pl. VI, VII) as do brooches from Duston and Emscote (Antiq.J., 5, 1925, Pl. XXIX, 2) and a disc from Rowley Hill (Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc., 57, 1965, 144-5). These widespread examples probably represent an adaptation of the formal garnet-inlaid disc brooch pattern to suit more familiar chasing-animal scenes.

11.4 : All-over zoomorphic elements with three border wedges

Wheatley 14, (Pl. 15b)

The zoomorphic ornament has already been cited as a comparison for the East Shefford pair of Group 10; even closer are the foot panels of some B6 great square-headed brooches, especially that from Haslingfield (Leeds 1949, no.98). The other distinctive feature of this pair is the basal nicking of the wedges, which appears, almost like a trade mark, on a few other brooches from the region (below, p. 97). The Wheatley finds demonstrate that such brooches continued in manufacture until perhaps the early seventh century: besides 15 amber and 2 rock crystal beads in the grave, there was an iron buckle with triangular plate (Pl. 65c) and an unparalleled pin with affinities to Irish ring-head and disc-head pins (Pl. 56b).

GROUP 12 : Single field and four axes

12.1 : Four wedges and S-motif

Standlake I, 19 (Pl. 16c).

Besides its size and nicked triangular wedges, the principal feature of this brooch is the vigorous S-motif, probably a leg rather than a serpent. Parallels to it are found on the Cadbury Castle silver buckle (above, p. 60), a garnet-inlaid disc brooch of Avent Class a.1.2 of the last quarter of the sixth century and another, unclassified brooch from Gilton (Avent 1975, nos 21 and 138), and in the foot-terminal of a small square-headed brooch from Mucking I, grave 99. The motif recurs, with parallel-line dividing blocks, on the loop of the shield-on-tongue buckle with an imitation Style I-and-garnet plate from Petersfinger grave XX (Leeds and Shortt 1953, Pl. VI). The buckle could have been made before the mid sixth century, but a Swanton Type C3 spearhead in the grave probably implies that burial was not until the second half of that century. Similar parallel-line blocks with dog-legs occur on headplates of B6 great square-headed brooches. The only early

parallel is an S-spiral which forms a leg on an animal with parallel-line block body on the footplate border of the A1 square-headed brooch from Chessel Down (Leeds 1949, no. 6). While this may indicate the origin of the motif, all other evidence weighs against it having any bearing on the date of the Standlake brooch. It came from a probable double-burial, which also included a Swanton E4 spearhead of late sixth- or seventh-century date.

12.2 : Four wedges and 'Mr. Chad' masks

Dorchester VI, 22 (Pl. 16b).

The outlining of the masks, emphasising their rotundity, makes it possible to view this brooch as an imaginative adaptation of an Avent Class a.3 brooch. This can be understood better by comparison with the 'Near Oxford' pair (Group 11.2), though it is a moot point whether the Dorchester brooch was inspired by the 'Near Oxford' ones, to which it is closely related in diameter and the use of double punches on the border rings, or whether both were made as individual responses to the stimulus of the Kentish patterns. On the Dorchester brooch, the garnet inlays have been suppressed and the trapezoidal pillars removed from between the profile heads, which thus confront each other to form a full-face mask, to be placed between the masks as imitation inlays. It is evident that four-wedge saucer brooches need not have been copied from Kentish brooches with four inlays.

12.3 : Four wedges and triple blocks of parallel lines

Long Wittenham I, 71 (Pl. 16d).

Superficially, this pair has twelve parallel-line blocks; in fact, in each set of three, two are divided by a 'T' and the third curtailed off by a , to produce geometric versions of a 'Mr. Chad' mask and a web-toed dog-leg. Could this be a schematic transformation of the head and leg motif found either on brooches of Avent Class 2.8 or 2.9 or as a border on brooches of my Group 15.3 (Pl. 19g) ? A ladder motif occurs once in the Kentish corpus,

as part of an intermediary setting in an unclassified four-garnet brooch from Ozingell (Avent 1975, no. 141), so the Kentish prototype is very distant. Similar parallel-line elements are used on Group 14.2 (Pl. 18c).

GROUP 13 : Bipartite field and three axes

13.1 : Central mask and three chasing Style I animals

Fairford AM 1961.98-9 (Pl. 17a); Oddington, Glos. (Pl. 17b).

Together with another pair from Bishop's Cleeve, Worc., which has identical animal ornament but a glass setting replacing the mask, these form a specifically western Upper Thames/Cotswolds group. Their animal ornament is best paralleled by the Petersfinger grave XIX brooches mentioned above (p. 86); the dividing lines serve the same purpose as the lozenges or petals of the Petersfinger series. Vierck has drawn attention to other brooches with chasing animals and dividing bars, which he regards as belonging to the second half of the sixth century (Vierck 1970, 357). The central mask links this group with the Fairford nine-scroll brooch (Group 1.4.2, Pl. 5b) and the East Shefford pair (Group 16.1, Pl. 20a ii). Its exact origin is uncertain, but comparable masks are used on early sixth-century button brooches and in the footlobes of great square-headed brooches. There is a good case for believing that all these saucer brooches with central masks are the products of one centre.

13.2 : Central triaxial motif and degenerate zoomorphic border

Coleshill (Pl. 17c).

Triaxial elements are not common on brooches. A similar motif appears on the lateral footlobes of a great square-headed brooch from Tveitane, Norway (Bakka 1958, fig. 41), and another from Richborough (Leeds 1949, no. 5), demonstrating its use around the turn of the sixth century; that it continued in use is shown by a bow brooch from Sør-Trøndelag (Hougen 1967, fig. 55) and a pair of imitation Kentish small square-headed brooches from Abingdon I,

B117 (Pl. 47c). The zoomorphic border associates the Coleshill pair with Group 10, especially those from Fairford. The great square-headed brooch in the Coleshill grave could imply a date of burial around the middle of the sixth century (below, p.¹⁶⁷).

13.3 : Central trefoil and basketwork border

Cassington I, 7 (Pl. 17d).

Three flat trapezoidal wedges, like those on the Dorchester VI, 22 brooch (Group 12.2), are set between three petals. The same basic motif occurs on Groups 14.3 and 14.4 and seems to be a development of patterns based on garnet-inlaid disc brooches. The other features are self-explanatory.

GROUP 14 : Bipartite field and four axes

14.1 : Central mask and zoomorphic border

Aston Remenham, BM 82,2-20,1 (Pl. 18a).

This brooch is similar to Group 13.1, but its style and border are distinct. The central mask has broad cheek muscles instead of the double bars of Group 13.1, and the hair is continuously ribbed. The outer panel consists of four full-face masks: two with long brows and down-turned moustaches, and two stereotyped versions of Bakka's 'Vimose' type (1958,36ff, figs.26-31), current on Style I objects of the late fifth and early sixth century. Quadrupeds crouch between the masks: on the right-hand side of what looks like a parallel-line bar (cf. Groups 13.1, 14.4, 15.4) is a profile 'Vimose' head, the two lower bosses, though not consistently outlined, presumably representing an open jaw and indicating that the creature faces anticlockwise; on the left-hand side are two dog-legs divided by a pellet-filled body, as on the Kingsey brooch (Group 11.3). If it can be accepted that the profile heads face clockwise, then the dividing bars become neck bands and complete animals emerge between the masks. The 'Vimose' mask may suggest an earlier date for this brooch and the possibility that it was

not an Upper Thames product; whether it inspired production of Group 13.1 or whether the latter was an independent creation is an open question.

14.2 : Central four wedges/masks and basketwork/masks border

Aston Remenham, BM 1932,3-9,1-2 (Pl. 18c).

The central motif most resembles the design of Dorchester VI, 22 (Group 12.2). Despite suggestions that radially set masks are derived from the floriate cross motifs (Bidder and Morris 1959,89), the resemblance between the eyeless masks on one of these brooches and a floriate cross is quite superficial. The paired 'ladder' motifs of the border lack a real dividing 'T', but do resemble those on Long Wittenham I, 71 (Group 12.3), while the masks of the outer border are closest to those of the Dorchester VI, 22 brooch.

14.3 : Central quatrefoil and border of leg and basketwork elements

Abingdon I, B31 (Pl. 18d), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 20.80
(Pl. 18b).

Although not identical, these two finds were made to the same pattern. They belong, in fact, to a group of Midlands brooches which are all variations of a single pattern. Two from Market Overton have central raised studs (PSA,22,1908, Pl. facing 52); a pair from Bidford-on-Avon grave 35 (Humphreys et al. 1923,Pl.XIV,1) has six petals and wedges at the centre, and a border of parallel-line blocks (?disintergrated zoomorphic border); a new find from St. Andrew's Hospital, Northampton, has a central four-point star, raised stud, and border of legs, radial parallel-line blocks and solid horizontal blocks (Journal of Northampton Museum and Art Gallery, 10, 1974, 13-17). The fact that in the same basic motif the number of petals may vary between three, four and six, and that the wedges are often deliberately outlined, suggests that these motifs were derived from Kentish garnet-inlaid brooches, not the quatrefoils which occur on Leeds' B1 and A3 great square-headed brooches. Patterns like 'marigolds' (e.g. the Emscote brooch; above, p. 86) and rosette centres (Groups 14.5 and 15.1-2; below p. 92, Pl. 19)

could be variations on the same theme. A late sixth-century date on stylistic grounds is confirmed by the Bidford grave, which contained 96 amber and glass beads and a triangular-plated iron buckle with silvered bronze, dome-headed rivets of the very late sixth or seventh century.

14.4 : Central quatrefoil and twisted strand border

Cassington II, 5 (Pl. 19a).

The central motif links this pair with the above group. The S-shaped triple strands of the border may represent the torsos of Style I animals, as on Long Wittenham I, 46 (Group 8, Pl. 13e), or be imitation interlace; they also have affinities with the 'fish-scales' of the Stone brooch (Group 16.5, Pl. 21b).

14.5 : Central four wedges/radial bars and pseudo-guilloche border

Dorchester VI, 63 (Pl. 19b).

The lack of a ring between the two fields is unusual. The centre is related to the rosette motifs of Groups 15.1 and 17.1, and the border may be compared with that on a large brooch from Mildenhall, Wilts, which would belong to my Group 13 (AM 1935.335).

14.6 : Central cross and basketwork border

Wheatley 26 (Pl. 19c).

The central cross incorporates four triangular wedges and may be compared with those on Group 16.4 and 16.5 (Pl. 21a-b). The best parallel is a crude brooch from Leighton Buzzard, now in the British Museum, where the border consists of five 'line-and-strap' elements, thus resembling the terminal disc of the Chessel Down A2 great square-headed brooch (Leeds 1949, no.8), which has a fine central cross. The basketwork on the Wheatley brooch is fully developed, however, so that the Chessel Down example need not lower the chronology.

GROUP 15 : Bipartite field and multi-axial

15.1 : Rosette centre and 'light-and-shade' border

Fairford (lost; Pl. 19d), Brighthampton 23 (Pl. 19e).

Engravings of the Fairford brooch depict a sharply carved eleven-point rosette with a border of long plain ridges divided by triple radial bars. With its solid cast version of what Leeds called 'light-and-shade' (above, p. 64), the Brighthampton border motif would appear much the same. Its rosette, however, is composed of six small wedges and double radial bars; in essence, it is comparable with the border, but, on analogy with the central motifs of Groups 14.3 and 14.5, I suggest that it was inspired equally by patterns based on garnet-inlaid brooches. A precise parallel comes from Beckford, and Saunders (1958) cites two more from Alveston and Evesham; the example from Mitcham grave 222 is similar (Bidder and Morris 1959, Pl. VII). The central motif was used on single-field brooches from Beckford A, grave 23, Kingston-by-Lewes Museum, unstratified, and Guildown grave 210 (Lowther 1931, Pl. XIV). These brooches are thus concentrated in the Avon and western Upper Thames valleys, with two outliers in Surrey.

15.2 : Two panels of basketwork

Long Wittenham I, 95 (Pl. 19f).

This brooch may be a variant of the above group, but its centre consists of six blocks of double radial bars, four of horizontal lines and two triangular wedges divided horizontally in two, and an outer panel of pure basketwork. This illustrates how easily the wedge/parallel-line 'rosette' motif, solid 'light-and-shade', and basketwork could be merged, and underlines the problems of distinguishing the origins of each.

15.3 : Central hexagon filled with radial lines and border of masks and dog-legs

Cassington, Purwell Farm East Site, ?Hut 3 (Pl. 19g).

This brooch is exceptionally worn and damaged¹³, but the discovery of a

similar one in grave 38 at Beckford B assists in its interpretation. The latter has a raised central stud, and presumably one originally filled the hole in the Cassington brooch. The border of the Beckford brooch is divided into six by two triple-strand bars (cf. Group 14.4, Pl. 19a), one pair of 'fish-scales' (cf. 16.5, Pl. 21b), one motif like  (cf. 14.3, Pl. 18b,d), one like  and one like  (cf. both on 11.2, Pl. 16a); in each compartment are a mask and dog-leg. The dividing elements on the Cassington brooch cannot be discerned from the photograph. Unlike the Beckford brooch, three of its masks have a tiny triangle beneath the curling moustache and triple-line blocks break the ring between the two panels, so that the points of the inner hexagon seem to issue from the mouth of each mask. This may be a version of the so-called 'Fire-breathing' deity found on artefacts datable especially from the second half of the sixth century (Vierck 1967, 109ff). The double-C scroll masks are most common on Saxon great-square-headed brooches and applied brooches of 'Kempston Cross' type (below, pp. 110, 159). The border as a whole was used on the floriate cross-and-masks brooch from Sutton Courtenay IV (Group 3.2.2.2, Pl. 7d) and might be an adaptation of the head/leg motif of garnet-inlaid disc brooches of Avent's Class a.2.

The Cassington brooch exemplifies, par excellence, the interrelationship of motifs and designs not only on saucer brooches of Groups 10 - 18, but also on other, presumably contemporary, brooch-forms. Manufacture was probably in the second half of the sixth century, but disposal might have been much later.

GROUP 16 : Tripartite field and four axes

The six finds of this group fall into two integrated sub-groups.

16.1 : Central mask, panel of parallel lines and masks, outer panel of six dividing bars, triangular wedges and 'fish-scales'.

East Shefford, BM 93,7-16,41-2 (Pl. 20aii).

It will be noticed that I have selected the middle panel of this pair as the indicator of the number of axes; the decision is of no import since the affinities of the brooches are blatant. The central mask links them to Groups 1.4.2 and 13.1 (Pls. 5b, 17a-b); the middle panel compares with the outer border of the Aston Remenham pair (Group 14.2, Pl. 18c), the middle panel of the Ashendon pair (Group 16.3, Pl. 20c), and provides a direct 'die-link' with Group 16.2 (Pl. 20ai); the addition of an extra element to the parallel lines on one brooch, giving the mask a beard, produces a basketwork block as on the border of Group 14.3; the outer panel is self-evident, the 'fish-scales' linking to brooches of Group 16.5, and may be a very debased version of the back-to-back heads of Groups 11.2/12.2 (Saunders 1958).

16.2 : Central boss, panel of parallel lines and masks, outer basketwork panel.

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,43-4 (Pl. 20ai), Bassett Down DM 30-31 (Pl. 20b).

The two pairs are not identical and the masks of the middle panel spring from a border ring which does not exist on Group 16.1, but there can be no doubt about the connection of all three pairs. Stylistically, there is a good case for their production in the same centre which produced Groups 1.4.2 and 13.1, but, whereas the latter are specifically western in distribution, these are all from the Berkshire Downs. Possibly the difference results from the way the brooches were sold; the idea that they represent the itinerary of a craftsman who developed his patterns as he went has already been dismissed (above, pp. 47-50).

16.3 : Three basketwork panels, the middle set with four glass inlays and masks

Ashendon (Pl. 20c).

Three variants of basketwork are used on this pair, including the so-called 'line-and-strap' at the centre, and double-basketwork, as on Group

16.4, on the outside. Red glass settings occasionally appear on saucer brooches, but Wheatley 14 is the only other pair in the Upper Thames corpus to have them extant. The middle panel may be compared with Aston Remenham (Group 14.2) and Groups 16.1-2.

The date of this pair is complicated by the possibility that it was associated with an Irish ring-headed pin of late seventh-century date at the earliest (below, p.195). The evidence for association is, however, poor, and burial with brooches at that date would be most unusual. Nevertheless, typology might favour manufacture in the early seventh century and, though the gilding of the brooches was still fresh, their pin-attachments were broken; their life could have extended to the end of the century.

16.4 : Central cross and two panels of double basketwork interspersed by triangular wedges
Abingdon I, B5 (Pl. 21a).

The central cross has been noted on the Wheatley 26 brooch (Group 14.6); a double outlined cross occurs on a brooch from Kempston (VCH Beds I, Pl. facing 180,7) of Group 16.5, and another member of that group, from Puddlehill (Beds.Arch.J.,1,1962,Pl.IV,6), provides the best parallel for the two staggered rows of wedges. A round millefiori bead in the Abingdon grave gives a terminus post quem of about the middle of the sixth century (below, p. 209).

16.5 : Central chequered cross, panels of basketwork and 'fish-scales' divided by four triangular wedges
Stone (Pl. 21b).

The general layout and individual motifs of this brooch are repeated on three other finds, two already mentioned, each time in a novel way. The Kempston brooch has a central cross and two panels of pseudo-rope pattern divided by four triangles; the Puddlehill brooch has a triaxial centre

composed of three 'fish-scale' elements, the three arms between having nicked ends, a middle panel of triangles and basketwork, and an outer of 'fish-scales', both divided by wedges with basal nicks; a pair from Faversham¹⁴ has the middle panel replaced by a broad milled ring and the centre contains four 'fish-scales', making a Celtic cross. It might be deduced that all these brooches with crosses had Christian significance, but the use of a threefold element on the Puddlehill brooch for the four on the Faversham pair implies that a cross was not uppermost in the maker's mind.

That these are all the products of one centre, or even one man, is most likely: Stone, Puddlehill and Kempston form an approximate line running north-east from Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire. The nicked wedges, which link to brooches from Wheatley, Standlake and Dorchester (Groups 11.2, 12.2, 18), allow the line to be extended west to the Thames. A further point of interest is that the Faversham pair, surely 'exports' from the Upper Thames Region, inspired a local craftsman to adapt the ornament for a grotesque garnet-inlaid disc brooch which Avent suggests might date from c.600 (Avent 1975, no.137, unclassified).

GROUP 17 : Tripartite field and multi-axial

17.1 : Central wedge/radial line rosette, panel of parallel-line blocks, panel of 18 chevrons alternately hatched

Fairford, Farnham M. (Pl. 21c).

The central and middle motifs have already been discussed (see Groups 5.1, 14.3 and 15.2). The outer panel finds a number of parallels, for example, the East Shefford brooch below, a pair of button brooches from Kempston (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLVII), a large saucer brooch from near Cambridge with central five-part 'line-and-strap' ornament, and the head-plate border of a crude C3 great square-headed brooch from Haslingfield

(Leeds 1949,no.139). Apart from the button brooches, these all imply a later sixth century date for the main usage of the motif. An exact parallel to the brooch was found at Bidford (Leeds 1912,Pl.XXV,8); it is the only certain instance, which I know, of brooches of Groups 10 - 18 being made from the same model and found in separate graves.

17.2 : Centre panel of four legs, middle panel of five legs and parallel-line blocks and outer chevron band

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,46 (Pl. 21d).

The central stud is filled with red enamel, a feature which is unusual, but not unknown, on Anglo-Saxon jewellery, for example on some B8 great square-headed brooches (Leeds 1949,nos.112-5). The leg panels recall that on Group 14.3 and on headplates of some B6 great square-headed brooches (Leeds 1949,nos.95-8).

GROUP 18 : Quadripartite field and multi-axial

Dorchester vi, RM (Pl. 22a).

The guilloche panel on this pair is unusual; it is far more competent than the pseudo-interlace or guilloche of Dorchester VI, 63 (Group 14.5). Good parallels occur on some continental bow brooches of the second half of the sixth and early seventh century (Kühn 1965, nos.29,9; 35,7; 44,8), and the strap-end from the seventh-century barrow at Asthall (Fig. 18c).

One wedge of the chevron border on one brooch has its base nicked, which links it with other brooches with this feature. In fact, as the many cross-references should have made apparent, a particularly close association is evident between the Dorchester brooches and the following: 'Near Oxford' and Wheatley 14 (Group 11), all of Group 12, Cassington I, 7 (Group 13.3), Aston Remenham (Group 14.2) and Groups 16.3-5. Wide rims, Kentish-influenced designs, especially wedges, nicked wedges, and basketwork are their characteristic motifs; they include the largest of all brooches and

a high number of pairs derived from different models; for some of them, a seventh-century date of burial is apparent. I propose that they are the final products of an Upper Thames workshop making saucer brooches during the second half of the sixth century (Fig. 6, Set A).

Other brooches, of Groups 10 - 18, which a priori have affinities with these, could well have come from the same workshop (e.g. Groups 14.3-4). In fact, a majority of the Upper Thames brooches of these groups are sufficiently interrelated to imply not only that they 'share an important element in their place of manufacture' (above, p.83), but also that there is a reasonable case for their manufacture in a single place.

Another set of linked brooches has been defined, which is peculiar to the western Upper Thames and the Berkshire Downs (Groups 1.4.2, 13.1, 16.1-2 and, on the grounds of distribution, possibly all of 1.4), a distribution which is quite distinct from the large brooches described above (Fig. 6, Set B). They also are consistently smaller in size, which might either suggest that they are an earlier issue of the same workshop or products of a separate workshop sited nearer their distribution area.

Half a dozen finds, which have been classed on the basis of their primary motif in Groups 1 - 9, have secondary features which demonstrate equal ties with Groups 10 - 18 (see Table 4). They provide vital evidence for the continuous existence of workshops in the region, since they are links between the postulated workshops of the second half of the sixth century and whatever centres produced the specifically Upper Thames designs of Groups 1 - 9 from the turn of the sixth century onwards.

No such workshops have been located, but if production was on the scale implied, then strong powers of protection and supervision would have been necessary. Sites close to the political heart of the area are most likely and Dorchester must be one most attractive candidate. Brooches of Groups

10 - 18 which exhibit few interrelating features may not be products of the workshops advocated above; they might have been made in other centres, for example in the Midlands.

B. Applied Saucer Brooches

Twenty-two sites have produced 94 applied brooches, of which only 50 retain their decorated foil. In addition there are 5 unattached rims, two occurring as pairs, and 6 unattached pin-fittings; there can be no certainty that the latter represent extra brooches and are therefore omitted from any computations. Applied brooches form 37% of the total saucer brooch corpus. In 1912, Leeds' corpus for the entire western region produced 68 applied brooches out of 229, that is 29.5%. The increase in percentage is not great, but if well over one third of Upper Thames saucer brooches are of the applied variety, it implies that they were not such an unimportant adjunct of dress as Leeds thought. Understanding of them is not hindered by a general shortage of examples, but by the shortage of fully preserved brooches; where typology depends primarily on decorative features, such a lack has serious consequences.

Attempts to analyse non-decorative features unfortunately suffer in the same way from statistical deficiencies: it is remarkable that 75% of brooches with decorative foils occur in pairs, but only 50% of those without foils; that 34 finds with foils have grave-associations and 12 do not, but only 19 foil-less finds have associations and 18 do not; and that whereas 13 out of 40 brooches with foils have applied rims, only 3 out of 34 without foils do.

Fig. 2b plots the diameters of 86 brooches and 4 rims for which measurements were available; their range of 39mm means that their incidence is erratic and it cannot be compared with the cast brooches. Correlation with the decorative elements on foils suggests that there is a marked division

between larger brooches (over 48mm) with zoomorphic or anthropomorphic designs (Group 3), and smaller brooches, which are either continental or have geometric designs (Groups 1 - 2) (Table 5). The division is not exact, and there is a lack of brooches with foils in the 45-48mm range. The predictive value, especially for date, for brooches without foils is reduced by the fact that Group 3.1 are dated to the fifth century. Nevertheless, there is a strong possibility that any backplate over 60mm originally had sixth-century zoomorphic ornament: this could date the brooches from East Shefford 4 and Filkins AM 1909.496. The pair from Long Wittenham I, 3 (Pl. 22bv), at 53mm diameter, are a little smaller, but they have central raised studs, which also appear to be a sixth-century feature.

My attempts to correlate other non-decorative features - rim-type (applied, hammered-up or non-existent), backplate profile (flat or concave), and the incidence of white metal on the upper surface of the backplate - have met with little success: most brooches are concave and now rimless, though one suspects that many originally had rims. More unusual features are too infrequent to warrant conclusions. These methods might be more productive if used on the entire corpus of applied brooches.

So, for the Upper Thames corpus, ornament remains the only means of analysis, with the consequent neglect of nearly half the brooches. Moreover, the designs are remarkably heterogeneous^e, and few form distinct groups.

GROUP 1 : Brooches of continental type or with continental prototypes

1.1 : Five-armed whirling and zigzag border

Dorchester II, (Pl. 23a).

There are two well known continental parallels to this brooch from the terp site at Jouswier and from a cremation in an urn of Plettke Type A6 from the cemetery at Wehden; the latter implies a date in the late fourth or early fifth century (Böhme 1974, 26, 28). The Dorchester pair have long, slender pin-catches, an early continental feature. The grave contained

the backplate of another brooch, the white metal on its upper surface producing a cross pattern, and a small perforation at the centre possibly linking it to continental applied disc and saucer brooches which held central rivets rather than to the tutulus brooches (cf. Böhme 1974,349,no.31). All other items in the grave were late Roman and it may reasonably be dated to the early fifth century.

1.2 : Five running scrolls (Böhme's 'Krefeld Type')

Abingdon I, B106 (Pl. 23ci).

The design on this brooch consisted of five even running scrolls with an elongated 'tail' springing from the outside of each scroll to shadow the outside of the next one. Such an arrangement is common to many continental scroll brooches of applied and cast type (Böhme 1974,26). No other five-scroll applied brooches are known from England, so this is probably an import. It was found with the non-functioning parts of two imported Germanic tutulus brooches. The grave may also be dated to the early fifth century.

1.3 : Three S-spirals

Frilford I, 159 (Pl.23b).

The foils of this pair are now in many unreconstructable fragments, but it is certain that their original diameter was 32mm. The strands of the coils are narrow and tiny dots occur both between the strands and the outside edges of each coil. The surviving fragments cannot come from five-scroll brooches, but from ones with six scrolls in three S-spirals (Fig. 14n). Böhme named this the 'Lippspringe' type from a find at that site, which dates from the early fifth century (Böhme 1974,26,28). The Frilford brooches may be presumed to be imports of similar date, possibly from the Low Countries or Westphalia, where all other examples of the type have been found.

1.4 : Floriated cross motif

Long Wittenham I, 108 (Pl. 23d), Wallingford 15 (Pl. 24a).

Brooches with four heart-shaped motifs or a floriate cross have been

discussed by Leeds (1933,246-8), Morris (Bidder and Morris 1959,86ff) and Saunders (1958); the first two suggested that production dated from the sixth century, the last that it began in the late fifth. Welch (1975) has now produced convincing evidence of the interrelationship of three variants of the style from Surrey and Sussex (Guildown 123, Mitcham 201, Billingsgate; Guildown 123, High Down U/S; Mitcham 205) which can be dated on the basis of continental parallels to the first half of the fifth century. He hesitates to ascribe other floriate cross applied brooches to this group, except for one from Luton, despite the fact that the members of his group were not identical.

The Long Wittenham brooch is very similar to them, especially to the Guildown 123/Mitcham 201 variant: it matches in size, the use of dots within the hearts and the combination of hearts and cross in one (pace Welch's denial of this, 1975,92). The curved sides of the hearts are like those on the six-heart brooches from Guildown 123 and High Down. There is no reason to consider the Long Wittenham brooch a continental import and it is a moot point whether it is a product of Welch's Surrey/Sussex centre or some other milieu. It should date from the first half of the fifth century, though burial might have been later. The other brooch in the grave lacks a decorative foil; though identical in size, it may not have been in design since its rim is applied, whereas the floriate cross brooch has a hammered-up rim.

The fragments from Wallingford 15 probably represent a four hearts design like that on the brooches from Westerwanna 489 (Böhme 1974,Taf.47,13); there is no evidence for a separate central cross as on a High Down brooch (Leeds 1933,Pl.XXXVI,e). There seems little reason to date them later than all the others so far mentioned. Welch suggested a date of deposition towards the end of the fifth century on the basis of the associated grave-goods; the associated annular brooches are not closely datable (below, p.144-5),

and burial could have been anytime during the second half of the fifth century.

1.5 : Three backward-glancing sea-lions

East Shefford XXIV (Evison 1965, Pl.17b).

Miss Evison was first to draw attention to two North French finds whose principal decoration is virtually identical to the East Shefford pair (1965,69-70). Böhme has called them the 'Muids Type' after the pair from that site. The East Shefford pair lacks a border and so is markedly smaller than the other examples, but it can hardly be anything but an import from a Frankish milieu. Another pair, just like those from Sigy, was found in a disturbed grave at Mucking II, and there is another from Kempston (Evison 1972,n.23). On stylistic grounds, Evison's date of manufacture of the first half of the fifth century can be accepted, but burial could have been later, since the East Shefford grave included a cone beaker of 'Kempston' type (below, p.362).

1.6 : ?Böhme's 'Mahndorf Type'

Abingdon I, C26 (Fig. 14m).

A minute fragment of the foil from an applied brooch can be recognised as one of Böhme's 'Mahndorf Type': a central flat stud is surrounded by two rings, and the outer border is demarcated by a beaded ring and possibly consists of 'egg-and-tongue' motif; the main field consists of four crude animal masks alternating with four beaded annulets. Böhme would date these brooches to the early fifth century (1974,28); the Abingdon brooch was associated with an equal-armed brooch and found in a pot with unusual decoration (below, pp.184, 350).

- Group 2 : Radial or star ornament
2.1 : Six radial lines and 'V's
 Harwell 1 (Pl. 24bii).

Both Saunders and Morris argued that the design of this brooch was derived from that of the sixfold floriate cross brooches; its size, double milled border and milled radial lines are also comparable. Actually, it finds no parallels among other saucer brooches: the nearest which I know is from Beckford B, grave 31, which has a cast base and a foil disc with 6 or 7 radial lines and triangular wedges, and a central depression, possibly for a setting; coincidentally, it measures 36mm in diameter.

The objects attributed to grave 1 include this brooch and a Kentish-style small square-headed brooch, which would acceptably fit an early or mid sixth-century date, but also a Bl spearhead, a tiny bronze buckle with rectangular plate and a seax-shaped knife, which suggest a male grave of the seventh century. It is possible that the latter items rightly belong with the very damaged grave 2, which was found above grave 1.

- 2.2 : Five-point sharp stars

East Shefford BM no nos. (1-2) (Pl. 24c), Long Wittenham I, 186 (Pl. 7bii).

Martin Welch discusses the entire series of applied brooches with stars in his forthcoming publication of the six-point star foil from a Grubenhause at Portchester Castle (Antiq.J., 1969, Pl. XXVI, b). There is no obvious continental antecedent for this motif: David stars, eight- and eleven-point stars are known, but not five- and six-point ones. The typological relationship between five- and six-point stars is therefore a moot question; Welch suggests that the latter are the earlier, mainly because of the stylistic parallels with the sixfold floriate cross brooch from

Guildown 123.

Many of the five-point star brooches are remarkably similar to each other, with weak, crimped zigzag and repoussé dot borders, though minor variations and their generally fragmentary nature make it impossible to recognise die-links. Others are more diverse, the zigzag may be sharp and linear, or omitted altogether. Their distribution is very broad, so that no centre of production is apparent. Associated grave-goods suggest that burial took place during the sixth century: none justify a date at the beginning of that century - the very worn quoit-brooch from Lyminge grave 10 can have no dating value (Warhurst 1955, fig. 6, 5) - but Welch argues that some were deposited within the first half of the sixth century (Lackford 50.234, Lethbridge 1951, fig. 17; Guildown 116, Lowther 1931, Pl. XII, 1). Others seem to have been buried at the middle or even in the second half of the century: Sancton 2012 with wrist-clasps of such a date (Myres and Southern 1973, 34) and Staxton grave 1 with long amber-bead necklace, wrist-clasps, girdle hangers and cowrie shell (Hull Museum Publications, 195, 1938, Pl. 1-2).

On these grounds, the three Upper Thames examples may have been made either in the first half (?second quarter) or middle of the sixth century.

2.3 : Seven-point arched star

Blewburton Hill 2 (Pl. 25b), Fairford AM 1961.92-3 (Pl. 25a),
LM M.7730 (Pl. 25c).

These five brooches were made from a single model and are unique to the Upper Thames Region. The use of pellets within contour lines links them to Group 2.2, but otherwise there is little connection, and as I remarked in discussing Group 5.1 cast saucer brooches, a sevenfold division of the field is rare. There is a striking similarity to a pair of saucer brooches from Selmeston, Sussex, with seven running dog-legs; it has arched and pellet-filled hip-bars. Group 6.1 saucer brooches, to which this pair is

connected, are also peculiar to the Upper Thames Region, but during the mid sixth-century, and they might post-date, rather than be contemporary with the applied brooches. Nor can another comparable brooch - an eight-arc applied brooch from Dunapentele in Hungary - be truly relevant, since it is yet another example of the parallel development of applied brooches from Late Roman prototypes in two widely separated countries (Alföldi 1926, Taf.7,6). The most important indication of date is the association of a fifth-century type Hawkes IA buckle with the Blewburton brooch (below, p. 246). The group might be later fifth or early sixth century.

GROUP 3 : Brooches with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic designs

3.1 : Six masks

Fairford 1 (Pl. 25d), BM 1909,3-9,1 (Pl. 25e), Reading I, 4 (Pl. 26a).

Although the Fairford 1 pair has now disintegrated, and interpretation must rely on the original engraving of it, these five brooches appear as a closely connected issue.

Opinions about their stylistic relations and their date have varied widely, however, and they still present problems. There are no continental examples of the type, but there are some from England; so they are probably insular products. An exact parallel to the unstratified Fairford brooch was found in grave 249 at Mucking I together with another variant of the design with concentric rings of dots at the centre and no border. The masks on the brooch from Luton grave 40 (Austin 1928, Pl. XXVIII, 1) are similarly 'owl-like', but there are eight of them. Six masks reappear on two brooches from Nassington grave 6 (Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXIII, a, 0) and Kempston (VCH Beds I, fig. 13), but they are of more complex character.

Apart from the masks, there is no zoomorphic ornament on these brooches. The border of the Nassington brooch involves a tendril or confused scroll design; the Reading and Kempston brooches have devolved variations of an

'egg-and-tongue' border, found in more classical form on the Issendorf seven-scroll cast saucer brooch and on the late fourth or early fifth-century 'Mahndorf Type' applied brooch with four rosettes and wolf or lion masks (Böhme 1974, Taf. 7, 7; 11, 4-5). The plait border of the Fairford and Mucking brooches is more of a puzzle: although common in a more rectilinear style on Roman mosaics, it occurs on no Late Roman metalwork of which I am aware, and only once among saucer brooches, on the applied pair from Muirs (above, p. 105, Group 1.5); plaitwork is otherwise a feature of Style II ornament. The links between these border designs and continental brooches with zoomorphic or mask motifs, especially of the 'Mahndorf Type', led Evison to argue that the Fairford/Reading type was intimately connected with early fifth century continental forms; she suggested that the masks were leonine, not human (Evison 1965, 70).

Masks are most frequently found as part of Style I ornament on sixth-century objects; this fact has led other writers to regard these applied brooches as sixth-century (Leeds 1933, 243; Bidder and Morris 1959, 89; Saunders 1958). But the fact that so many elements of Style I, including masks, were derived from those current on Late Roman metalwork (Haseloff 1974) means that not only can it be in some cases almost impossible to distinguish such elements in their Late or sub-Roman form from their Style I forms, but also that such elements could have continued in use during the fifth century in areas outside North Germany and Scandinavia. Whether the Fairford masks are lions is as immaterial as it is doubtful, but Evison is right that such masks do not have to post-date the advent of Style I in England. Schematic masks occur on Late Roman and 'Quoit-Brooch' style objects, often within lobes and probably representing Oceanus between sea-beasts (e.g. Haseloff 1973, fig. 3); more abbreviated masks with curled eyebrows, as on the Nassington brooch, and even occasionally 'Mr. Chad' masks of the Reading/Fairford/Mucking/Luton type, also occur (e.g. Haseloff 1973,

figs.17,49,9). The masks of the Kempston brooch do look more like figures of the Germanic mythological world; a good general parallel appears on the foot of a square-headed brooch from Möre, Romsdal, Norway (Hougen 1967, fig.18), and the mouth is found repeated on a buckle from Blekinge, Sweden (Salin 1904, fig.498). Similar masks occur on late fifth-century buckle plates from Belgium, which Böhme suggests might be evidence of an independent continental development towards Style I (Böhme 1975, 305-7).

Since all other imported applied brooches may be dated from the early fifth century, the lack of continental examples of this group may imply that it should be dated later than the middle of the fifth century; the Kempston masks suggest that at least some variants of the pattern were influenced by artistic developments taking place in North Germany in the later fifth century. None of the features of these brooches would be out of place in the second half of the fifth century, and, presuming that all are more or less contemporary, that is the best date for their production. It has been suggested many times that radial mask designs were derived from the floriate cross motif; if the sixfold pattern is an adaptation of the Guildown 123 type, then a date after the mid fifth century would be most suitable. Finally the Mucking brooches were found with a bronze penannular brooch of Fowler Type C (below, p.136) and a buckle with ribbed loop; a similar buckle, in iron, was found with the Reading pair (Pl. 63e). These buckles would seem to be primarily a fifth-century variant of inlaid buckles (e.g. Evison 1965, Pls.5,b; 6,c).

3.2 : 'Kempston Cross' Type

Dorchester VI, 130, Frilford I, AM 1909.491 (Pl. 26b).

Whereas Morris attributed the origin of the design on these brooches to the floriate cross motif (Bidder and Morris 1959, 89), Saunders thought that the influence of Kentish garnet-inlaid disc brooches with four settings was more important. Whatever the source of the inspiration, the date and context

is clear. The most recent published lists of the type disagree in both detail and in total number, but there must be nearly 40 brooches of this pattern known, all but eight coming from Kempston or other sites concentrated around Cambridge and the south-east Midlands (Saunders in Musty and Stratton, 1964, 100-1; Kennett 1971^b). Several different models can be detected and the brooches must represent a considerable output from some milieu in the south-east Midlands. The Upper Thames pairs, like the two from Winterbourne Gunner, must be exports from this centre.

The use of Style I elements on the brooches and the grave-associations of three of the pairs (Barrington 'B', grave 75, Camb.Ant.Soc.Comm., 5, 24, Linton Heath grave 9 and St. John's, Cambridge, Kennett 1971^b, where a later sixth century date is preferred, though the Linton Heath great square-headed brooch is probably earlier) would support a date of manufacture within the middle decades of the sixth century.

3.3 : Brooches with two or three chasing animals

Brighthampton 22 (Pl. 26c), Blewburton Hill 12 (Pl. 27b), Abingdon I, B119 (Pl. 27a), Bishopstone no no. (Pl. 28b), Frilford I, 145 (Pl. 27c), Hampnett 2 (Pl. 28c).

All these brooches utilise zoomorphic ornament in Salin's Style I, but apart from the recurrent central boss or inlay and pellet border, they differ widely in design and no subdivision is possible. Nor do they find many parallels among the much larger corpus of zoomorphic applied brooches of the East Midlands, so it is uncertain whether they should be regarded as local products or as imports. Analysis is further frustrated by the amazing range of motifs used in English Style I which have, as yet, defied effective categorisation and chronological subdivision.

None of the animals on the Upper Thames applied brooches are fully coherent: the best are on the Blewburton Hill pair, which have an exact

parallel from Little Paxton (Tebbutt and Lethbridge 1962, Pl. III.a), followed by those on the Abingdon I, B119 and Bishopstone brooches. The Frilford animals are abbreviated and their heads are placed in unanatomical positions, while a random number of legs are allotted to the backward-glancing creatures of the Brighthampton brooches. The Hampnett brooch is paralleled by a pair found in grave 11 at Beckford A together with a great square-headed brooch of Leeds' Type B3 and 44 amber beads, which may have been buried towards the middle of the sixth century, and by another brooch from Duston (Baldwin Brown, Pl. XLVII, 2).

The Abingdon brooches were found with a heart-shaped cloisonné buckle-plate of probably continental origin and late fifth or early sixth-century date. The Brighthampton pair was buried with a knife in a fine sheath ornamented with stamps in the style of British Late Roman belt-equipment (below, p. 331); its condition is good and it is unlikely to have survived very late into the sixth century. Production of zoomorphic applied brooches clearly began when Style I first reached the area, possibly at the start of the sixth century, but it continued well into that century.

3.4 : Brooches with all-over zoomorphic patterns or designs too fragmentary to be identified

East Shefford XXI (Pl. 28a), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 19.80 (Pl. 28e), II, Ay.M 13.05 (Pl. 28d), Wheatley 19 (Pl. 29c), Long Wittenham I, 80 (Pl. 29a), Reading I, 7a (Pl. 29b).

The ornament of these brooches is of a more interlaced character, without obvious animals, but the pellet-filled bodies are matched on Group 3.3 and need not indicate any later date. Legs are visible on the East Shefford pair which might indicate the presence of animals, but none are discernible on the Bishopstone brooches. The others are too

fragmentary for comment, though the Wheatley brooch's border is comparable with that on one from Barrington 'A' (Leeds 1912, Pl.XXVII,5) and to the Bishopstone (no number) brooch of Group 3.3.

C. Summary

There is little evidence for the manufacture of saucer brooches in the Upper Thames Region before the second half of the fifth century. The few brooches datable to that century are nearly all imports, either in the early fifth century from the continent, or from production centres in Surrey/Sussex and elsewhere. The earliest local products might be Group 2.2 cast brooches and applied brooches of Group 3.1, though in general there is little evidence for a substantial output of applied brooches and most of these could be imports. Production of cast brooches becomes really established about the start of the sixth century and continued at a steady, or even increasing, rate until the early seventh century. I have suggested that this production primarily took place in workshops in the area.

In the early part of the period links with the Saxon settlements south of the Thames are notable: these areas might have provided the exempla for some Upper Thames designs (eg. running scrolls, floriate cross), while they received in turn various scroll-brooches and dog-leg brooches of Group 6.1. The West Midlands (Cotswolds/Avon Valley) area also had early contacts with the Upper Thames in terms of exported brooches. Contact with the East Midlands came later: the earliest exported type was the Group 4.1 cast star brooches, the two areas sharing generally in the use of star-designs. Later the Midlands used brooches with designs like Groups 10 - 18 and probably imported many specifically from the Upper Thames Region; exports of these types to Saxon areas south of

the Thames are as numerous as for earlier groups, but appear less in comparison with the exports to the Midlands. Imports to the Upper Thames from the Midlands are few, the mid sixth-century Group 3.2 applied brooches and Group 7 cast brooches being the most certain examples.

These results contrast strongly with the deductions which Leeds made in both 1912 and 1933 from saucer brooches. The connection between the Upper Thames and the East Midlands was not an early or inherent feature, but something that developed during the middle decades of the sixth century; connections with Sussex, Surrey, Kent and now, through recent excavations, south Wessex, appear far more durable and significant.

NOTES

1. I am most grateful to Mrs. Saunders, now Mrs. Morris, for her permission to consult and utilize her B.Litt thesis.
2. Crucibles do occur on settlement sites, for example at West Stow, and a mould fragment for a great square-headed brooch has been found at Mucking (Med.Arch.,18,1974,Pl.XXXIII). A failed and unfinished casting was found at Woodeaton (below,p.214). The saucer-shaped disc, a stray-find from Abingdon I, lacks evidence of any pin-attachment, and might conceivably be a model (Leeds and Horden 1936,Pl.IV).
- 2a. A second article by these authors, which is plainly of importance to my discussion, was published too late for its conclusion to be incorporated in my text: T.Capelle and H.Vierck, 'Weitere Modeln der Merowinger-und Wikingerzeit mit einem Beitrag von Wilhelm Winkelmann, Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 9, 1975,110-142.
3. Holmqvist 1972,20, seems to imply that the cire perdue method was also used, whereas Arrhenius 1973,27, considers that only multiple piece-moulds were involved. The distinction is important and one must await clarification.
4. His meaning is not clear: at first he suggests that artistic creativity would lead to the production of totally new models, but his subsequent comments imply that an original wax model was used to make a mould in which a secondary wax model was cast; any damage incurred to the original model would be repaired before further casting and the secondary model would also need touching up, so that slightly different casts would be produced by the original model, before and after its use in the mould, and from the secondary model. I assume that these models were for multiple piece-moulds, not for cire perdue, which would be equally feasible from his description, though in that case

the original model would not have produced an actual casting before it had been used to reproduce secondary wax models !

5. Since writing this, the pair from Dorchester VI, 102 (Group 10) has been cleaned, and shown to come from different models (Pl. 14d).
- 5a. Mrs. Sonia Hawkes has pointed out to me that without some means of magnification, a normal-sighted person would have found it very difficult to execute the intricate and minute ornament characteristic of the period. Near-sighted people would have been ideal craftsmen, but most vulnerable to attack if they were wandering the country alone bearing large quantities of bronze ! The smiths' graves of Dark Age Europe imply their high warrior status (Werner 1970), but if these men were short-sighted, could they have efficiently wielded their weapons, or would they have needed a bodyguard ? And if this bodyguard was provided by some patron-chieftain, was it worthwhile travelling from settlement to settlement ? Kings and important land-owners did move from vill to vill and might have had craftsmen in their retinue, but are such men the same as those who are envisaged as the itinerant suppliers of humble villages ? If so, the degree of political control and the existence of permanent centres, albeit periodically used, is no different from a true workshop !
6. Pace Bidder and Morris 1959, 83, n.1, both the record of excavation (VCH Oxon I, 359) and the British Museum Accession Register imply that one grave was involved. Mrs. Leslie Webster knows of no other documents in the British Museum relating to this find.
7. I am most grateful to Mr. T. G. Hassall and Mr. D. Brown for information of this find.
8. I am most grateful to Mrs. Hawkes for drawing my attention to this series of disc brooches; she would accept Werner's dating of the

continental examples for the English ones too.

- 8a. eg. Finglesham E2 (Chadwick 1958, Pl. IVA), Alveston grave 5 (Leeds 1949, no. 116), Black Patch, Pewsey, 21 (Type B6), Norton (Type B4, Leeds 1949, no. 90), Kempston (Type C3, Leeds 1949, no. 141). Basketwork on continental bow brooches is certainly a late feature (eg. Kühn 1965, Types 28, 29, 30, 35, 41, 42 and 45).
9. Saunders quotes also the brooch from Marston St. Lawrence grave 13 (Arch., 33, 1849, Pl. XII, 6), but this belongs to a group of brooches with strong affinities to disc brooches and its association with a well coiled five-scroll brooch might imply a date of late fifth or early sixth century.
10. eg. Letters from Captain Abbott to Sir John Evans concerning finds from the 1860's (AM Archives). The Fairford material is now in at least six museums, reflecting the dispersal.
11. In many cases the axial element occurs in one field only, so my classification is not totally comprehensive.
12. I know of 15 saucer-brooch finds from Kent, most of which are cited by Saunders.
13. I have not been able to study the brooch itself, but have made use of photographs sent by the excavator, Mr. Brian Arthur, to Miss Freda Berisford for use in her B.Litt. thesis (Berisford 1973, Pl. I).
14. I am most grateful to Mr. John Musty of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments for permission to examine these brooches, which are in his care.

ii. DISC BROOCHES

Previous scholars have made little attempt to study disc brooches: Leeds (1945,49-52) and Baldwin Brown (1915,275), realising the difficulty of establishing a typology and ignorant of the precise origins and chronology of the brooches, dismissed them in a few paragraphs. Yet with 179 known examples, they are the most common single brooch-form in the Upper Thames Region; to ignore them would be to ignore a substantial proportion of the female graves and an essential item of the material culture in the area. When Leeds compiled his lists (1945,49), 50% of all disc brooches came from the Upper Thames Region, and the proportion may be even higher now. It is reasonable to assume that the Region was a major production centre of the brooch type.

Study of disc brooches is nevertheless fraught with difficulties and I can hope to illuminate only some of their history in this chapter. To facilitate this, I have divided the brooches among seven major pattern groups, but it must be admitted that their extremely simple and undistinguished form makes the compilation of logical and consistent groups extraordinarily difficult; unlike groupings of other artefacts, it is not often possible to extend knowledge of the date or significance of one member of a group to the rest of the group. But though the brooches must be treated essentially as individuals, a general picture of their chronology does emerge and consequently a better understanding of their role in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology.

Disc brooches were made from cast bronze with simple lugs, cast-in-one with the brooch, for the pin-attachments. Their size is strikingly consistent: Upper Thames examples range in diameter between 26mm and 45mm only, with 80% falling within one standard deviation of 4mm of the mean of 36mm (Fig.7a). Examination with the naked eye suggests that about half the

brooches had a white metal surface (45% appear 'tinned', 42% do not appear 'tinned' and 13% are not in a condition to permit visual assessment); laboratory examination might increase the proportion of 'tinned' brooches. It is clear from correlation of 'tinning' with my seven pattern-groups that white metal was more often used on the more lavishly ornamented brooches, notably those with bull's-eyes and stamps (viz. Groups 2, 4-7); only 18% of plain brooches appear 'tinned' (Fig.7b).

The decoration was added to the brooches after casting and before 'tinning'. Patterns were made up from incised concentric circles and arcs, often drawn with a compass, bull's-eyes (some may be stamps, but others are clearly drawn free-hand), and stamps, mainly dots, annulets, crescents and, more rarely, triangles and other designs; sometimes the edge of the brooch was nicked or crimped. Since such elementary embellishments could be combined in an infinite number of ways, the chance of different craftsmen achieving the same pattern is quite high, especially where the pattern is simple. It is this fact which prevents the establishment of a firm typology; it also means that any sub-division of the brooches is based on rather subjective criteria and that boundaries between brooch groups cannot be treated too rigidly.

The origin of the disc brooch is still obscure, but there is every reason to endorse Leeds' suggestion that it developed from Romano-British brooches. There is no pre-migration continental model for the disc brooch; not dissimilar brooches, often with a central boss, do occur in the Merovingian world, but they are interpreted as cheap imitations of the cloisonné disc brooches of the sixth and seventh centuries (eg. Böhner 1958,110). Disc brooches of English type have now appeared in fifth-century contexts in the cemetery of Vron (Somme), but the quantity of Anglo-Saxon material at this site might imply that these too were imports (Seillier 1976,41-2).

Likewise, disc brooches from Augerum and Ryd in Sweden could be imports or local copies (Arrhenius 1960,176-7).

Romano-British brooches, especially the 'plate' variety still await detailed study and, at the moment, their chronology has little support from reliably stratified and dated finds. Collingwood (Collingwood and Richmond 1969,299) suggested that the majority belonged to the second century, but there is no reason why some cannot be earlier (Chitty 1975,55) and many clearly continued in use throughout the fourth century. Circular and oval brooches with raised central boss or cone and a surrounding flange divided by ribs into concentric panels decorated with stamps and niello are dated to the fourth century (eg. Boon 1974,fig.19,1; Richborough IV,121,no.63; Hull 1967,60,no.237); the arrangement of their ornament bears a definite relationship to that of the Anglo-Saxon disc brooches, but the raised ribs and centre are quite different (eg. Pl. 30bii, Pl. 62b,e).

Until a series of well-stratified Roman brooches is published, the process of development to the Anglo-Saxon disc brooch must remain an hypothesis. Mrs. Janet Webster has pointed out to me that such disc brooches are relatively rare in Roman Britain compared with their incidence in the Danubian area, and it is possible that they are imported. Disc brooches, however, were made during the early fifth century, for there are two examples, from Higham and Faversham in Kent, among the output of the sub-Roman 'Quoit-Brooch Style' workshop. Stylistically, these are closer to the Romano-British varieties (Hawkes 1961,54), though their overall appearance is flatter and approaches the plane nature of the Anglo-Saxon type. Although they are much grander pieces of jewellery (they are much larger) than either the Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon versions, they do provide a vital link in form and date between the two series.

Although the decoration of Anglo-Saxon disc brooches differs from that of Romano-British and 'Quoit-Brooch Style' examples, its roots lie in Late

Roman metalworking techniques. Bull's-eyes, stamps, nicked edges and even the rather rough casting of the disc brooches are a feature of Late Roman military belt-equipment. Such simple techniques continued to be used by the Germanic peoples during the Dark Ages for items of lesser value: in England, for example,, small-long brooches were made in this way, and in Germany, during the later fifth century, Rhineland workshops created a 'cheap' form of the saucer brooch with concentric circle and bull's-eye decoration, which bears a striking resemblance to the English disc brooch (Böhme 1974,30, 'Krefeld-Gellep Type'). The ornament of flat annular brooches, themselves probable derivatives from Quoit brooches in the middle and later fifth century (below, p. 142), is also concentric, with annulet, crescent and triangle stamps.

On the basis of associated finds, it is apparent that the chief period of use of disc brooches in England was the century between about AD450 and 550. A substantial number has been found in the Upper Thames Region and elsewhere south of the Thames in fifth-century contexts and a number of those with sixth-century objects show evidence of extreme wear and repair; a few might even be interpreted as early fifth-century products (eg. Dorchester VI,8, Minster Lovell 3), coinciding with the initial period of the 'Quoit-Brooch Style' workshops. At the other end of the time scale, few brooches are found with objects of the second half of the sixth century: among the latest, which I know, are Girton grave 71 (with late Åberg Group IV cruciform brooch, moulded 'Anglian' girdle hanger, wrist clasps and long amber necklace), Mitcham grave 116 (with a fragment of a Leeds' Type B6 great square-headed brooch) and Long Wittenham I, 95 (with a saucer brooch of my Group 15.2).

In the Upper Thames Region, disc brooches were a major feature of female fashion for those generations who succeeded the first immigrants with their imported brooches, and they continued to be worn during the

period when the earlier series of cast saucer brooches were being made in the area. If, as Leeds pertinently suggested, the development of the disc brooch from Late Roman and sub-Roman forms parallels the development of the flat annular brooch from the quoit brooch, should it be regarded as a British or a Saxon cultural trait ? In actual form and in decoration, it was an innovation, reflecting Late Roman traditions only in the way that all Germanic objects of the fifth century manifest a Roman inheritance. An unusual flat applied brooch from Long Wittenham I, 75, has its upper foil decorated in an identical manner to disc brooches of my Group 3.2, which suggests a close association between makers of applied and disc brooches (below, p. 191, Pl. 55e). It is difficult therefore to estimate whether they were made by Britons, successors of the 'Quoit-Brooch School', to Saxon order, or whether by Saxons who took over, or copied, sub-Romano-British workshops, and thus acquired their basic skills from Britons. Certainly the fact that Saxons of southern England adapted a brooch form current among the native population, rather than developing their ancestral brooch-forms (and in the Upper Thames Region there is little evidence for local manufacture of Germanic brooch-forms before the later fifth century), implies a substantial Romano-British contribution to so-called early Saxon material culture.

Whether this process occurred in all areas using disc brooches, or whether the developed brooch-form was transferred from the Saxons south of the Thames to the people of Middle Anglia and Cambridgeshire, where it enjoyed a definite popularity, just as seems to have been the case with the flat annular brooch, remains a problem. The dearth of properly published, associated grave-groups from these areas has made it difficult to pursue this question, but clearly it requires elucidation; disc brooches were, after all, a key artefact in Leeds' hypothesis of the close relationship

between Cambridgeshire and the Upper Thames.

Detailed Classification and Chronology

GROUP 1 : Undecorated

Blewburton 3, Dorchester VI, 5, 35, East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 66 (Pl. 30a ii), Filkins LM M.7561 (lost), Frilford I, 116, Fairford 32 (lost), LM M.7735, Long Wittenham I, 6, 95, 110, 129 (Pl. 30b i).

In two cases, Long Wittenham 95 and 129, the pin attachments had been repaired by boring holes through the disc; the latter brooch had, in fact, two bore-holes, suggesting a repeated extension of its active life, and the associated Romano-British oval brooch, worn at the throat, rather than being permissible as evidence for a very early date, may, more likely, represent an ad hoc replacement of a lost or broken second brooch. The Long Wittenham 95 brooch was buried with a Group 15.2 saucer brooch of the second half of the sixth century, but its manufacture must have been much earlier. Dorchester VI, 5, with 13 amber beads, is also more likely to be a sixth-century burial. At Marston St. Lawrence grave 2, a brooch of Group 1 was combined with one of my Group 4.2.

GROUP 2 : Single decorative motif at either centre or border

2.1 : Central bull's-eye

Long Wittenham I, 79, 84, FD 43-45 (Pl. 30c).

Since all five brooches are badly corroded, additional decoration could be obscured. The Edinburgh pair have unusually thick pin-holders and high pin-catches, the latter being interpreted as a fifth-century feature on saucer brooches (above, p. 52). A comparable pair come from Guildown grave 81, where they were found with two large amber beads (Lowther 1931, Pl. XV, 1). The Long Wittenham 84 pair was also found with three amber beads and has a circle of punched dots around the central bull's-eye.

2.2 : Nicked edge

Abingdon I, B75 (Pl.30d), Aston Remenham BM 1932,3-9,4, Long Wittenham I, 58.

The brooches from the latter two sites are identical in size; the Long Wittenham grave may be sixth-century since it contained a necklace of 15 amber and 3 glass beads. The Abingdon pair is not a proper pair, the larger one having been pierced through to repair the pin fittings and the smaller pierced through on two occasions and its edge showing much wear and erosion; the necklace from this grave included 22 amber beads, 3 'pearl' beads and one each of glass and chalk, again suggestive of a sixth-century burial, though the brooches must have been made much earlier.

2.3 : Border stamps or bull's-eyes

Brighthampton 48 (annulets), Dorchester VI,8 (dots) (Pl.31ai), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,67 (small bull's-eyes), Long Wittenham I, 78 (5 bull's-eyes) (Pl.31b), 125 (V's), Filkins AM 1909.494 (triangles).

In each case the stamp used is different, though comparable stamps recur in more complex arrangements on other brooches. The only grave to contain a datable associated object was Dorchester VI, 8; this is an unusual equal-armed brooch, which nonetheless may date from the early fifth century. The very large lump of amber and two small amber beads also in the grave would be uncommon at such a date, but need not preclude a fifth-century date.

GROUP 3 : Incised concentric circles and arcs

3.1 : Concentric circles

Abingdon I, B53, 70 (Pl. 32ai), 76 (Pl. 32ciii), Brighthampton 45, Cassington I, AM 1942.145, Fairford AM 1961.106, Long Wittenham I, 134, 163, Minster Lovell 3 (Pl. 31cii), Oddington.

In most of the brooches the central hole is deep or even perforated

and appears to have served as the pivot for the compass, though some of the brooches have clearly had their circles incised free-hand, perhaps following compass-drawn guidelines. The earliest grave would seem to be Minster Lovell: besides containing a Late Roman, propeller-shaped belt-stiffener, a Roman melon bead, one of jet and seven of glass, and a set of toilet implements with facettled stems, which by themselves cannot be grounds for an early date, there was a knife with long narrow tang (Fig. 140) of a kind found in Lower Saxony in the fourth and early fifth centuries (Böhme 1974, 128, especially Westerhamm grave A, Taf. 44, 8, and Westerwanna 1319, Taf. 51, 13). Such a knife could hardly have had a very long life and this grave may date from as early as the first half or middle of the fifth century.

Both pairs from Abingdon 53 and 70 were fairly worn: the latter was associated with a twisted bronze wire bracelet - a form common in the Late Roman period - and the former was accompanied by a necklace of 86 amber beads and 2 glass beads, which suggests burial in the sixth century, though manufacture of the brooches could well have been much earlier.

3.2 : Concentric circles and nicked edge

Abingdon I, B59 (Pl. 32di), Dorchester IIIa, 2, East Shefford XIII.

The East Shefford pair show a combination of free-hand and compass-incised circles; the associated necklace of over 120 amber beads and 8 glass ones should imply burial in the sixth century. The single brooch from Dorchester IIIa, 2, was accompanied by a spearhead of Swanton's Type L of the later fifth or earlier sixth centuries. There were no good datable associations with the Abingdon pair, though the necklace contained a number of Roman items. A comparable brooch was found at Stretton-on-the-Fosse with 4 tiny amber beads and 9 of glass. Manufacture of Group 3.2 may well have begun in the later fifth century.

3.3 : Concentric circles and hexafoil

Long Wittenham I, FD 46 (Pl. 32b).

This is a most unusual brooch on which the craftsman has shown his knowledge of the simple property of the arc of the radius of a circle. In addition, there is a central bronze rivet, possibly for a setting. A pair of brooches from Ewell in Surrey (Antiq.J.,13,1933,303) have a free-hand version of the same pattern.

GROUP 4 : Central or sole ornament of quincunx of bull's-eyes or dots

The design of one central and four equidistant surrounding dots or bull's-eyes is very common on disc brooches. The bull's-eyes can be single or double and may be combined with a variety of border designs.

4.1 : Quincunx of deeply punched dots

Abingdon I, B36 (Pl. 33a), Long Wittenham I, 171 (Pl. 33b).

Both pairs are very similar, though the shadow of a surrounding rim to the stamp on the Long Wittenham pair suggests that the same stamp was not used. The latter was found with a necklace of 24 amber beads and one of rock crystal, implying a date of burial in the sixth century; the 8 blue discoid beads with the Abingdon pair cannot be closely dated.

4.2 : Quincunx of single or double bull's-eyes

East Shefford IX, Filkins AM 1909.495a, Frilford I, BM 67,2-4,9 (Pl. 33ci), Wheatley 10.

The bull's-eyes on each pair are different and the two Wheatley brooches do not make a proper pair. The East Shefford grave may be a sixth-century burial since it included a necklace of 28 amber beads.

4.2.2 : Double quincunx

Brighthampton 16 (Pl. 33d).

The central hole is surrounded by four bull's-eyes with four more set near the edge. The brooches are very worn and their only associations were

two amber beads.

4.3 - 4.9 : Quincunx with border

Incised circles, stamps and crimped edge are used individually and in combination.

4.3 : With crimped edge

Long Wittenham I, 65 (Pl. 33ei).

The only association was an iron buckle with tinned and stamped rectangular, sheet bronze plate, which may be relatively early (below, p. 249). A similar brooch was found in Stretton-on-the-Fosse grave 52.

4.4 : Border of stamped annulets

Long Wittenham I, 47, Minster Lovell 3 (Pl. 31ci).

The Minster Lovell brooch has had its pin replaced with stapled attachments pushed through the disc, as on applied brooches. Since the grave is undoubtedly fifth-century (above, p. 125), this brooch must have been made quite early in that century. A brooch found in grave 229 at Mitcham is very close to these two, but has stamped crescents on the border; it was found with a long hair pin similar to the type found on the continent in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (Bidder and Morris 1959, Pl. XI, XV; Böhme 1974, 35-9). There is therefore significant evidence for this type of disc brooch being a very early form.

4.5 : With linear border

Dorchester VI, 49, Harwell 4 (Pl. 34d), Long Wittenham I, FD 42.

Each brooch in this group is different: the Dorchester brooch is unconserved, but a fine double circle is visible round the central bull's-eye and one or two around the edge, the Harwell pair has a single border circle and the Long Wittenham brooch a double circle. The Harwell pair were found with a necklace of 7 plain and 9 polychrome glass beads.

4.6 : With crimped edge and stamped border

Hampnett 5 (Pl. 34e), Long Wittenham I, 12,165 (Evison 1968,fig.4b).

The stamps used on these brooches are respectively hour-glass notches, bull's-eyes and annulets. Long Wittenham 165 was associated with a bronze buckle of degenerate Hawkes Type IA, which may date from the fifth century (below, p.247). The other Long Wittenham brooch was paired with one of Group 7.1.

4.7 : With linear and stamped border

Abingdon I, B26, Fairford BM 53,6-3,1 (Pl. 34a), Lower Heyford AM 1893.198a (Pl. 34b), Long Wittenham I, 29 (Pl. 34c).

All this group are roughly made and have annulet stamps of comparable size. The Abingdon pair has dots in the central quincunx, while the Long Wittenham brooch has annulet stamps at the centre and bull's-eyes added to the border. The other two brooches are identical in size, design and the inferior quality of their casting and ornament; both show much wear and the Lower Heyford brooch, one of a now lost pair, has had a new hole bored through the pin-holder lug. A smaller and neater brooch of the same pattern was found with a disc brooch corresponding to my Group 5.1 in grave X at Petersfinger (Leeds and Shortt 1953,Pl.V).

4.8 : With crimped edge, linear and stamped border

Abingdon I, B14 (Pl. 34gi).

This pair of brooches combines features of Groups 4.6 and 4.7. The two brooches are not a proper pair, the subsidiary bull's-eyes on one being smaller than all the other bull's-eyes. The crescent stamp is, in fact, a double annulet stamp used at a tilt. The best parallel to this pair, and to Group 4.7, was found in a well (Pit 135) at Portchester Castle, stratified in the silt between a level containing a fifth-century purse-mount and layers containing sixth-century stamped pottery (Antiq.J., 52,1972,74-5,Pl.XVIIIa); it has bold double bull's-eyes not only at the

centre but also in the border. A date in the late fifth century for the Abingdon pair would be quite acceptable, since it was found with three pots, including one with a pedestal foot, long oval bosses and rosette stamps (below, p.356).

4.9 : Variant Form: Quincunx and stamped border with concave-sided square
Blewburton 4 (Pl. 34f).

The basic pattern of this pair is a quincunx of bull's-eyes, but the addition of a rectilinear element is a novel touch, though a comparable design is found on a brooch from Dorchester VI, 150, which has not been classified. The brooches came from an allegedly male grave and were found with a double-sided bone comb of average length.

Lost: Lockinge II. Pair with five bull's-eyes.

GROUP 5 : Central and surrounding bull's-eyes (5 and over)

5.1 : As above

Abingdon i, Bishopstone II, Ay M.14.05, Dorchester VI, 60, Long Wittenham I, 150 (Pl. 35ai), 151,187, Reading I, 3 (Pl. 35c).

The number of surrounding bull's-eyes varies between 5 and 10. The brooch from Reading is worn and was found in a man's grave with a spearhead of Swanton's Type H2 datable from the later fifth and sixth century. Long Wittenham 150 was associated with 34 amber beads, grave 151 with 2 amber and 4 polychrome beads and grave 187 with 2 amber, 1 of crystal and 3 of glass; the first should be a sixth-century burial and the last is unlikely to be very much earlier.

5.2 : Central bull's-eyes surrounded by 13 overlapping bull's-eyes
Long Wittenham I, 31 (Pl. 35b).

5.3 : Central and surrounding bull's-eyes with stamped border

Brighthampton 51 (Pl. 35d; annulets), Fairford AM 1961.107 ('S' stamp and dots round central bull's-eye).

The Brighthampton pair was associated with a great square-headed brooch

(Variant 5) probably dating from about the second quarter of the sixth century.

5.4 : With nicked edge

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,65 (Pl. 30ai), Fairford AM 1961.108-9, Long Wittenham I, 68, 166 (Pl. 35e).

The Long Wittenham brooches have borders respectively of an incised circle and small stab marks. There are no datable associations.

GROUP 6 : With complex stamped designs

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,59 (Pl. 30aiv), 60 (Pl. 30av), Long Wittenham I, D (Pl. 36a), 52 (Pl. 36b), Stratton (Pl. 36c).

These brooches are distinguished by the use of multiple circles of stamps or by uncommon triangular stamps. The Long Wittenham 52 pair has only two rings of stamps around a central bull's-eye, but its double-outline triangular stamp is rare on disc brooches. A similar, but smaller and more equilateral stamp was used for the border of a brooch from Orpington grave 51, where it was associated with a 'Quoit-Brooch Style' buckle; since the buckle had a secondary pin, it may have been some time before it was buried, possibly in the second half of the fifth century or even later (Evison 1968, 243-4, fig.2b). The Long Wittenham 52 brooches were found with 24 blue discoid beads and 15 other glass beads.

The other brooches have incised concentric lines and at least three concentric rings of stamps. The brooches from East Shefford are not a true pair: one has a central ring of circle-on-triangle stamps (Pl. 30aiv). The other and the pair from Long Wittenham D may be compared with brooches from Mitcham grave 16 (Bidder and Morris 1959, 98, Pl. XI) and Bidford (Humphreys 1924, Pl. LVIII, 3a). The most interesting brooch is that from Stratton: there are exact parallels from Harnham Hill grave 11 (Akerman 1853, Pl. XII, 10) and Orpington grave 4, which was associated with another disc brooch of my Group 7.7 and a bronze kidney-shaped buckle loop of

probable fifth-century date (Tester 1968,136). Very similar is another brooch from a probable early sixth-century burial at Bifrons grave 6 (Arch.Cant., 10,1876,fig. facing 303). The triangle stamp with three internal dots occurs on other disc brooches from Winterslow Hut, Wiltshire (Salisbury Museum) and High Down grave 16, as well as on the B2 great square-headed brooch from Alfriston grave 28. These parallels suggest that this type was manufactured in the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries, and probably by the Saxons living on or south of the Thames.

GROUP 7 : Various central and border designs

My final group is an heterogeneous composition of all patterns with more than the minimal ornament defined under Group 2; they consist basically of central plus border motifs not accommodated by Groups 3 - 6. The elements of their patterns are just the same as for Groups 2 - 6 and in some cases their resemblance to brooches classified in other groups is very strong. Nevertheless, within Group 7 there are some very distinctive sub-groups.

7.1 : Central dot or bull's-eye and annulet-stamp border

Fairford AM 1961.104-5 (Pl. 36d), Frilford I, 142, Long Wittenham I, 12.

The border on the Frilford brooch is incomplete and the Fairford pair have a double bull's-eye at the centre. The Long Wittenham brooch was 'paired' with one of Group 3.1.

7.1.2 : Variant with border of 'Z' stamps between incised lines

Wallingford 21 (Pl. 36e).

7.2 : Central bull's-eye and incised line border

Dorchester VI, 77 (Pl. 8eii), Wheatley 27 (Pl. 36f).

These brooches can be seen as simple versions of Group 3, except that the lines are deep and broad. The Dorchester brooch was found with a saucer brooch of Group 4.1 and a diminutive gilt bronze square-headed

brooch suggestive of a date within the first half of the sixth century. The Wheatley grave must also be sixth-century since it contained a necklace of 61 amber beads and 16 of glass, and, among a collection of oddments in a toilet chest, there was a fragment of a rectangular sheet-bronze wrist clasp (Fig.17).

7.3 : Central dot or bull's-eye and nicked edge

Blewburton 13, Brighthampton 29, East Shefford 46 (Pl. 30aiii), Wheatley 38 (Pl. 38a).

The first pair listed are different from the others: the brooches are very small and have a central dot, while the nicks on the edge are gathered into 2 or 3 groups. They were found with some glass beads, now lost. The others lacked datable associations, though the very high pin-catch plates on the Wheatley pair may indicate a date of manufacture in the fifth century.

7.4 : Central bull's-eye, punched dot border and nicked edge

Abingdon I, B93 (Pl. 37av), 113 (Pl. 37bi), Blewburton 17.

These brooches form a very distinctive sub-group to which a few variant types may be added. The Abingdon 113 pair was found with 6 amber beads and a small pin with two spangles on a ring, which are not closely datable. The other Abingdon grave, however, contained fragments of a bronze-bound bucket including triangular pendants decorated with a mask and scrolls. Such buckets belong to the sixth century (Evison 1969,166) and this one, with running scroll ornament, may be earlier rather than later in the century.

7.4.2 : Variants

Eynsham I, AM 1971.1057 (roughly scored, off-centre circle; Pl. 3aiii), Frilford I, 91 (no central feature), AM 1886.1438 (border of stamped semi-circles).

All the above bear a marked resemblance to Group 7.4.1, which would

seem to outweigh their individual features. The unstratified Frilford brooch has both a very high pin-catch and holder, which may be uncertain evidence for its fifth-century date (on continental saucer brooches of the fifth century the extra length is normally confined to the catchplate).

7.5 : Two concentric rings of punched dots

Fairford AM 1961.103, Filkins 5, Long Wittenham I, 33 (Pl. 38b).

The Fairford brooch has a central dot surrounded by punched dots and an outer incised border ring; the Filkins one has a **triple** central bull's-eye; the Long Wittenham pair has a central dot and ring of dots, and an outer border of dots.

7.6 : Central dot or bull's-eye, median incised line with or without stamps, and border stamps or nicked edge

Abingdon I, B7 (Pl. 38c), Long Wittenham I, 35 (Pl. 38di), 100 (Pl. 38e), Bishopstone II, Ay. M 15.05 (Pl. 39a), Wallingford RM (Pl. 39b).

Rather than all being the same, these brooches are interrelated by a number of elements. The last two listed are identical brooches and may be compared with one from Bidford (Humphreys 1924, Pl. LVIII, 3c). The others bear some resemblance to the brooch in grave 116 at Mitcham (Bidder and Morris 1959, Pl. XI), which was found with a purse containing a fragment of a Leeds' Type B6 great square-headed brooch, indicating a probable date of burial in the second half of the sixth century. The necklaces in Abingdon B7 and Long Wittenham 100 have curiously similar compositions: a single crystal bead was combined with a number of blue discoid beads (18 and 11 respectively) and a few of amber (5 and 2 respectively). The latter had, in addition, three large cylindrical beads with overlaid herringbone pattern, which may be of mid to late sixth-century date. Despite the variation in this sub-group, there is a possibility that all are of sixth-century date.

7.7 : Combination of concentric incised circles, which are often wide and deep, as if moulded, and annulets or bull's-eyes

Abingdon I, B76 (Pl. 32ci), Dorchester vii, BM 1920,11-23,5, East Shefford BM 93,7-16,58, Frilford I, 35 (Pl. 39c), Oxford III. (Pl. 39e).

The Abingdon brooch was 'paired' with one of Group 3.1, while the Oxford example had had its pin-catch reinforced with a strip of metal; it was buried with 23 glass beads, including 8 blue discoid and 9 polychrome. The second disc brooch in the probable fifth-century grave 4 at Orpington is related to this group (above, p.130).

Unclassified

None of the following brooches can be satisfactorily included in any of the above groups. The pair from Abingdon I, B78 (Pl. 39d), may be compared with Group 4.3 and with brooches from Bidford (Humphreys 1923, Pl.XII,1); they were found with 14 amber beads and 7 'pearl' beads, which probably indicate a sixth-century burial. The brooch from Dorchester vii, BM 1920,11-23,6, may be compared with Group 7.1. The Dorchester VI, 150 one has a most unusual design with its central diagonal cross in a square and ribbed border; it was found with a hump-backed knife and a miniature spearhead. The brooches from East Shefford, BM 93,7-16,68, and Hampnett 4 (Pl. 39f) share the pattern of a central annulet stamp with border of the same stamp, together with cross-arms of stamps; the Hampnett pair has a central bronze stud, like that in the Long Wittenham FD46 brooch (Group 3.3). The brooches from Abingdon I, B29, Kemble I and Long Wittenham I, 140, are lost and so could not be classified.

iii. PENANNULAR BROOCHES

Penannular brooches were worn in the British Isles for over a thousand years, from the Early Iron Age right up to the Late Saxon and Viking period. Although they have attracted considerable attention from scholars, a satisfactory explanation of their history remains elusive. The most recent study, which covers all forms of the brooch known from Anglo-Saxon graves in the Upper Thames Region, is by Mrs. Elizabeth Fowler (1960,1963); for convenience I shall follow her typology. The specifically British nature of the penannular brooch and its longevity, especially in simple forms, present difficult problems of chronology and, when the brooches are found in Anglo-Saxon contexts, raise the contentious issues of survival, continuity of manufacture and the interrelationships of the two nationalities.

Fowler Type Aa: Blewburton 16 (Pl. 40c)

Mrs. Fowler ascribed this brooch to her group A3, but its slightly expanded terminals, with three transverse grooves rather than proper ribs, and long humped pin are more characteristic of her type Aa. It lacks the piriform tip to the pin of the latter type, but may be compared with the Aa brooch from Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943,fig.86,1). Its date of manufacture should precede in the later pre-Roman Iron Age ^{pace} (Fowler 1960,155-7) and it may well have been recovered by its Saxon owner from the hillfort in which the cemetery lies. The grave itself had been disturbed; the other contents came from a central position and consisted of items from a purse or girdle-collection.

Fowler Type A3iv: Fairford 4

This pin-less brooch served as one of two metal rings ornamenting a long amber bead necklace; its owner also wore a pair of saucer brooches of Group 1.4.1, datable to about the middle of the sixth century. The manufacture

of Type A3iv seems to have been confined to the first century AD (Fowler 1960,175) and there is a good parallel to the Fairford one from Phase II at 'The Lunt', Baginton (Trans. Birm. and Wark. A.S., 85,1973,73,no.27,fig.22).

Fowler Type C

This simple form is the most common penannular type to occur in Saxon graves, though the use of iron wire or a flat strip of bronze for the hoop helps to distinguish Anglo-Saxon from most Roman examples (Leeds 1945,44-6; Savory 1956,52-3; Fowler 1963,114). There are 16 examples from Upper Thames graves. The four made of flat bronze strips with iron pins (a pair from Long Wittenham I, 18, one from Fairford 48 (Pl. 40biii) and a fragment from East Shefford, BM 93,7-16,82) have no datable associations, nor is it known from which part of the grave they came. Pairs of iron brooches were found in three graves: Abingdon I, B61 (one on each shoulder), B95 (a male with brooches by the right ear, possibly having slipped from the right shoulder) and Blewburton 14. The brooches from the last have become confused (? exchanged) with those in Blewburton 1, which was said to have contained one iron Type C penannular and one annular, but now has two penannulars. Single iron brooches were found at the waist of the skeleton in Brighthampton 7, on the breast in Brighthampton 25 and East Shefford XII, by the left ear of another male skeleton in Abingdon I, B103, and unstratified at Bassett Down DM 29. The East Shefford grave contained a buckle of probable fifth-century date (below, p.247), but Abingdon B61 is a sixth-century grave (below, pp. 199, 205).

Fowler Type D4 and H4: Long Wittenham I, 3 (Pl. 22biii,ii)

Fowler would date D4 brooches, with their incipient zoomorphic terminals, to the early part of the Roman period (1960,167-8). The Long Wittenham example was one of a number of items in a purse. Another fragment among these was identified by Fowler as a member of her H4 group. In fact, the

only brooches with zoomorphic terminals of this kind are found among the Late Roman pseudo-penannular brooches, known from occasional continental finds (Evison 1965, 48-9, Roes 1965; W. Nowothnig in Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte, 39, 1971, 126-43); they should not be included in Fowler's H series. Anyway, it is most unlikely that the Long Wittenham fragment came from such a brooch: it might be from a piece of Late Roman military belt-equipment (cf. Evison 1965, Pl. 18c, 3b) or an escutcheon from a bronze-bound bucket. The grave itself was probably dug during the sixth century since it contained a pair of large applied brooch backs with raised centre studs.

Fowler Type D6: Longcot (Pl. 40di)

This brooch hoop was found with a glass pin-head and a series of silver wire rings and beads in a grave of the seventh-century 'Final Phase' type; it probably ornamented the necklace, rather than functioned as a brooch. D6 brooches were manufactured mainly during the early Roman period (Fowler 1960, 176).

Fowler Type D5/E: Brighthampton 25 (Pl. 40a).

This brooch had been converted for use as a child's bracelet, one terminal lying above the other. A Type F brooch was similarly adapted in the sixth-century grave 6 at Bifrons (Arch. Cant., 10, 1876, fig. opp. 303). Fowler put the Brighthampton brooch as D5, while acknowledging its E-type features. There would seem little doubt about its full zoomorphic nature, though the terminals are unusual: the longitudinal line dividing the 'ears' and the grooves demarcating the back of the head of the beaked animal head make it possible to see another head facing the reverse direction. Type E cannot be dated closely: it had its main currency during the Roman period.

? Fowler Type D7: East Shefford BM 93,7-16,69 (Pl. 40ei)

This small cast brooch has a flattish hoop with terminals of triangular longitudinal section and rectangular transverse section; the ornament of transverse grooves includes triple grooves across the terminals, which may be related to the triple 'castellations' of Fowler's Type D7, manufactured from the end of the Roman period and through the Dark Ages (1963,113). Alternatively, this is a novel type, almost certainly manufactured during the Saxon period. A comparable brooch, with a broader hoop, was found at High Down (Wilson 1958,Pl.3,9).

Fowler Type Fl: Abingdon II

This brooch is well known as one of the few Type F brooches from England and as a member of a closely related group of brooches from southern and western Britain (Fowler 1963,104-5). The dating of this type is highly controversial; Fowler suggested a beginning in the fourth century, which is reasonable on the evidence presented, though finds from recent excavations may help to refine the chronology. The suggestion that the Abingdon brooch came from an Anglo-Saxon grave rests on slender evidence (see Catalogue); it could just as well be a stray find from the Roman levels of the town. I do not wish to beg the question of its date and context, but the possibility of a burial source is worth consideration.

Fowler Type G: Fairford 31 and AM 1961.113 (Pl. 40bi,ii)

A pair of Type G brooches is recorded from Fairford 31 (not with saucer brooches, as stated by Fowler 1963,140), but only one of them is extant; whether the unstratified brooch 1961.113 is the second brooch or a third one from another grave is uncertain. They belong to a distinctive group of brooches which were used in western areas of Britain from the Late Roman period onwards (Savory 1956,53-4; Fowler 1963,107-9).

It is important for an interpretation of the significance of penannular brooches in Anglo-Saxon graves to distinguish between those which were actually worn as brooches, and especially those worn in the Saxon manner, one on each shoulder, and those which were antique or scrap items converted to a secondary function. In the Upper Thames Region, only brooches of Types C and G have survived in pairs or been recorded in positions reflecting their use as brooches. Several of the other types occur as appendages to necklaces, as scrap items in purse collections and, in one case, converted into a bracelet (ie. Types Aa, A3iv, D4, D6, E); some of them are types which were manufactured many centuries before the arrival of the Saxons. They could not conceivably have been acquired from their original owners, nor is there anything distinctly British about their secondary function (contra Fowler 1963,114). They must be considered together with other pre-Saxon and contemporary, but alien, items from Anglo-Saxon graves (below, pp. 237-243); they may have been the fruits of accidental or deliberate investigation of ancient sites by either Saxons or Britons, and they may have been part of some sort of 'trading' in scrap metal.

The Abingdon II Type F brooch cannot be included in the argument because of its unrecorded context; not can the possible D7 brooch from East Shefford because it lacks both a context and any known parallel. This leaves only Types C and G which might be considered as evidence for direct acquisition from British owners or manufacturers, or for actual Britons living within Anglo-Saxon communities, or for the adoption of a British brooch form by Saxon craftsmen. The number of penannular brooches from the Upper Thames area is regrettably too small to permit statistical comment, though it raises questions about what might distinguish Britons who were buried in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, which more data might answer. At the moment, it is a moot point whether the 8 Type C and 2 Type G brooches, which occur in pairs, represent an unusually low percentage of the corpus of 26 brooches in comparison with the proportion of pairs of other brooch-forms,

and hence that penannular brooches were not worn according to the normal Saxon mode; or whether the number of pairs should be reckoned as a percentage of Type C and G (19) only, in which case it is low, but not so low, given the fact that iron penannulars may well have been frequently overlooked in pre-modern excavations, to warrant conclusions about the 'racial' affinities of the wearers. Another tantalising fact, which may also be due to chance, is that two of the skeletons with Type C brooches were males; compared with the proportion of other brooch-forms found in male graves, this is high, and the fact that the brooches were found in both cases on one side only of the body suggests their use as cloak fasteners, a function well-attested among the Celts.

The Fairford 31 brooches are the only example of Type G brooches being worn as a pair, though one at Harnham Hill grave 53 was 'paired' with an 'anseate' brooch (below, p. 188). Since Fairford is a westerly site within the Region, it is likely that these were acquired from the neighbouring British community, amongst whom this type was most popular.

The origin of the Type C brooches is still obscure. Only they occur in large numbers in Saxon graves and in pairs; their forms and their distribution are different from the Iron Age and Early Roman Type C brooches, most being found in the North and the Midlands, with the Upper Thames as the most southerly area of concentration, in contrast with the distribution of the earlier Type C brooches (pace Fowler 1963, 114; cf. Leeds 1945, fig. 28 with Fowler 1960, fig. 9; new finds do not alter the picture). Fowler has argued that the chronological hiatus between the two periods of production can be bridged (1963, 114-117); certainly one must envisage most Type C brooches from Anglo-Saxon graves as products of the second main phase of production. Whether the workshops remained in British hands or whether the manufacture of Type C brooches was taken over by Saxons from Late/Sub-Roman craftsmen, as they seem to have taken up the manufacture of flat

annular brooches from the sub-Roman 'Quoit-Brooch' workshops, is open to debate. Type C iron penannulars were being buried in fifth-century graves in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, for example, graves 249 and 979 at Mucking¹, and East Shefford XII. Whether the production of Type C was primarily fifth-century, and hence must be considered in connection with concepts of co-existence with Romano-Britons, remains to be proved. Burials at a later date are documented: for example, Abingdon I, B61, Holywell Row grave 39 (Lethbridge 1931,21) and Nassington grave 14 with an Åberg Group IV cruciform brooch. Fowler even lists some which ought to be seventh-century, though three of the cases are dubious (Middleton-by-Youlgrave, Castle Bytham and Fimber).

As Fowler noted (1963,117), penannular brooches, of whatever type, cannot be used as indications of date; nor, I think, can they yet be interpreted as evidence of actual Britons retaining their distinctive British customs within a Saxon community. They may, however, be another example of the absorption of Romano-British elements and of Britons into Anglo-Saxon culture.

NOTES

1. Mr. W.T. Jones kindly informs me that he would regard all graves with penannular brooches at Mucking as fifth-century.

iv. ANNULAR BROOCHES

In the absence of any comprehensive study, it is difficult to discuss the annular brooches of the Upper Thames Region in more than a selective and preliminary way, especially because, as the 28 examples indicate, the brooch-form was not a primary element in the material culture there. Indeed, the role of annular brooches in the dress of Upper Thames women appears quite different from that of their standard brooch-forms, the saucer and disc brooches. Only 6 brooches occur in matching pairs, ten in non-matching pairs, and a further three were probably used to make up a 'pair' with another brooch-form; the nine single brooches are mostly unassociated finds. There is one example - Blewburton 14 - of the characteristic Anglian custom of wearing a set of three brooches: one annular brooch was combined with a pair of penannular. It is interesting that where annular brooches form part of a threesome in the Anglian areas, the annular brooch is normally a singleton (Vierck 1970,361-2). Few of the Upper Thames brooches come from well recorded graves, but there is a remarkable shortage of examples which were worn definitely on the shoulders or breasts; the two in Wallingford 15 had some other function, for the woman used applied brooches for her dress. All these points imply that annular brooches were not integral to Upper Thames Region culture; rather it would appear that they were acquired from other areas, where fashions and brooch-forms were different, and were utilised by Upper Thames women in an ad hoc manner.

If the typology of annular brooches is still to be written, some of the stages in their development can be distinguished. The origin of the form seems to lie in the large silver quoit brooches produced during the earlier part of the fifth century in Kent (Haseloff 1974,5), which themselves were a particular British development of the native penannular brooch and a brooch-form used sporadically all over Late Roman Europe (Evison 1965,46-49; Roes 1965). Miniature variants were produced in tinned

bronze with a V-shaped pin slot flanked by two ball-headed rivets and simple stamped and incised ornament; they are known from Jutish and Saxon areas south of the Thames (Hawkes 1961,46). About half a dozen flat annular brooches with comparable ornament have now been found at Mucking, one with the riveted pin-stops; that from grave 643 was found with a locally made equal-armed brooch, and the one in grave 355 was accompanied by an applied brooch with 10 running scrolls and 31 blue discoid beads. Both of these may have been buried during the fifth century and indicate the development during that century of the flat annular brooch from quoit-brooch origins. It is still a plausible theory that other varieties of flat annular, including a cast form, often with bull's-eye decoration and ridged pin-slot were evolved from the same source (Leeds 1945,48).

The annular brooch was in fact most popular, not in these southern Saxon regions, but in the Anglian areas of the north and east, where it took two distinctive forms: round-sectioned and moulded brooches, which may be directly related to the penannular brooch tradition, and flat annular brooches with narrow hoops. The latter are mainly included in Leeds' group g (1945,48), though an analysis of the ratio of the width of the hoop to overall diameter provides a more pertinent means of distinguishing them than his simple measurement of hoop width (see Fig.8). Whereas most Upper Thames annular brooches have widths between 25% and 33% of their diameters, a sample plot of brooches from Holywell Row in Suffolk demonstrates that most of their widths are between 10% and 21% of diameter. Further, the narrow Anglian type has only simple linear or restrained stamped ornament, whereas the broader Upper Thames varieties utilize more stamps and also bull's-eye decoration. New finds concur with Leeds' dating of the narrow type to the 'full sixth century': cruciform brooches of Åberg's Groups IV and V are frequently associated with them. Whether this distinct Anglian form was evolved in the sixth century from the broader form derived from quoit

brooches or was an independent introduction requires research. A few annular brooches are known from Scandinavia (Vierck 1970,361; Evison 1965,48), but they hardly seem sufficient to justify a Scandinavian source.

These various 'phases' of development have helped to divide the Upper Thames brooches into eight groups.

A. 'Flat' Annular Brooches

I use the term 'flat' to describe the narrow rectangular-section of the hoop, not the overall profile, which may be flat or convex.

1. Quoit-Brooch derivative:

Abingdon I, B50 (Pl. 41a).

This pair is the sole Upper Thames example of the series of small brooches defined by Mrs. Hawkes. The brooches originally had iron rivets as pin-stops, but no pins are recorded. The arcade and triple dot ornament is a common Late Roman motif, used, for example, on Spangenhelme and lead coffins, and which continued in use on fifth-century bronze-bound vessels and the later Merovingian Spangenhelme (Klumbach 1973,Taf.1,12; Chenet 1935,60; Evison 1965,22; De Paor 1961). Two exact parallels to the Abingdon pair were found at High Down (Wilson 1958,Pl.3,7). These brooches were perhaps produced towards the middle or during the second half of the fifth century. The Abingdon pair is very worn and fragmentary, and now lacks pins, so it is possible that its burial was later: it was found with 7 amber and 6 'pearl' beads.

2. Convex-profile, tinned, sheet-bronze brooches

Abingdon I, B80 (Pl. 41bi), Fairford AM 1961.111,112 (Pl. 41ci-ii), Wallingford 15 (Pl. 24aiii).

Apart from the shared features implied in the heading, these brooches all have broader than average hoops, with ratios of 30%-33%. Their ornament is restrained: incised concentric lines on the Abingdon brooch, repoussé dot border on Fairford AM 1961.11 and light dot and double point stamp borders on Fairford AM 1962.112 and Wallingford respectively. None of them had evidence of a pin-slot, but a comparable brooch from Kingsworthy 77 does have the pin-slot and ball-headed stops of the quoit-brooch type:

it was found with a D-section, tubular belt-attachment and a girdle-hanger with Style I ornament, which should place date of burial in the early sixth century. The Wallingford grave is unlikely to have been buried later than AD500, on the basis of its floriate cross applied brooches (above); the Abingdon grave was stratified below an undisturbed urn, C52, which is probably sixth-century (below, p.351). Although evidence is not plentiful as yet, this group of brooches, with its formal affinities to the quoit-brooch tradition, may perhaps represent burials of the later fifth or earliest sixth century.

3. Other Broad Annular Brooches

This group is rather heterogeneous, since without further studies of annular brooches from elsewhere, it is difficult to produce valid typological divisions. The brooches can be in thin, presumably sheet, metal or may be thick and cast; they utilize stamped and bull's-eye ornament.

3.1: Without Pin-slot

Fairford AM 1961.110 (Pl. 4lciii), Long Wittenham I, ?133, Wallingford 15 (Pl. 24aiv).

All three brooches are small; the Wallingford and Fairford ones are tinned, the Wallingford and Long Wittenham ones ornamented with stamped borders of 'Vs' and crescents-and-annulets respectively, and the Fairford one with bull's-eyes. The grave-context of the Long Wittenham brooch is doubtful; grave 133 certainly contained a small-long brooch (below, p. 176). The Wallingford grave belongs to the second half of the fifth century, which implies that these simple flat annular brooches without pin-slots had already been evolved; the Mucking finds would confirm this. But they probably continued in use through the sixth century: the brooch from the later sixth-century grave 116 at Mitcham (Bidder and Morris 1959, Pl.XII) is not significantly different, except for its combination of bull's-eyes and stamps, from those under discussion.

3.2: With Pin-slot

Abingdon I, B85 (2) (Pl. 4lbii-iii), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,70,71, 72 (Pl. 40eii-iv), Fairford BM/LM (Pl. 42a), Frilford I, BM 67,2-4,10 (Pl. 33cii), Standlake I, 19 (Pl. 4ldi), Wheatley 12 (Pl. 42b).

All but the East Shefford 93,7-16,70-71 brooches have ridge-sided V-shaped pin-slots; the two exceptions have the ridges, but no slot, and no. 70 has two other ridges at 40/c and 80/c to the pin-ridges. Apart from the Frilford specimen, on which no decoration is visible, the others are all well ornamented with stamps and bull's-eyes. The Wheatley, Standlake and one of the Abingdon brooches are stylistically similar in their use of cross-hatched triangular stamps. The Standlake example comes from a grave datable to the very end of the sixth or even the beginning of the seventh century (Dickinson 1973^b,250), while the Abingdon example was associated with a long bone comb, which typologically is akin to those characteristic of the seventh century (below,p.217). The Abingdon brooch was, however, 'paired' with another of thin metal with a pin-slot and random pin-prick decoration. There seems little evidence at the moment for regarding the cast, lavishly decorated brooches as later than the others: one with stamps, bull's-eyes and a ridged pin-slot was found in Bifrons grave 16 with a small radiate-head brooch of probable early sixth-century date (Arch. Cant.,10, 1876,305; below,p.189).

4. Narrow 'Anglian' Type

Abingdon I, B114 (Pl. 42di), Filkins 4 (Pl. 42e).

These three brooches stand out as a discrete cluster on the graph (Fig.8) coinciding with the ratios of the Holywell Row brooches. The narrowed pin-hinge bar, instead of a perforation for the pin, the light stamping of the Filkins brooches and the slightly raised ridges on the Abingdon brooch are also typical of the Anglian series. There is little doubt that these are imports from some Anglian area during the sixth century.

B. Round Section Brooches

5. Bronze

5.1: Continuously Ribbed: Upper Swell II, 1 (Pl. 42c).

This neat pair of brooches is unusual; it is reminiscent of the continuously ribbed hoops of Fowler Type G penannular brooches, rather than the normal Anglian moulded annular brooches. A larger pair from Empingham II, grave 105 (Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester, special exhibition of December 1975) provides a good parallel; it was found with an Åberg Group IV cruciform, indicating a sixth-century date.

5.2: Triple Moulding: Abingdon I, B114 (Pl. 42dii).

This brooch is more typical of moulded annular brooches, with the pin held between double ridges and two other 'beads' set at 40/c and 80/c to it, and triple grooves decorating the intervening spaces. A brooch from Bifrons grave 17 is somewhat similar (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XXXVI, 11). Since this brooch was found with one of Group 4, it presumably dates from the sixth century.

6. Iron: Blewburton 1, 3, 14.

Iron annular brooches are known from Anglian cemeteries (eg. Holywell Row grave 52) and would seem to be a cheap alternative to the bronze versions and closely related to the iron penannular brooches. It is interesting that all three Upper Thames examples come from the same site and that in two cases they were combined with iron penannular brooches. Blewburton 3 was reported as a male grave and also contained a plain disc brooch. Obviously, such annular brooches are undatable.

v. BUTTON BROOCHES

Mr. Richard Avent is preparing a corpus of button brooches for publication in connection with the find from South Cadbury hillfort. I am tremendously grateful to him for allowing me to use his data in this discussion of the fifteen examples from the Upper Thames Region; any errors of fact or interpretation are my own.

Button brooches are diminutive versions of cast saucer brooches, varying in diameter between about 13mm and 35mm, with the majority between 15mm and 21mm. Apart from a few unusual examples with simple crouching animals, the standard ornament is a human face. Avent distinguishes three principal classes of mask: ordinary or round masks in which all facial features are clear (normally triangular hair panel, T-shaped eyebrow and nose, eyes, cheek bars and open oval mouth); stylized masks in which features depart from this facial verisimilitude and are even omitted; and simplified masks in which all facial elements are lost. Brooches of the first class are truly 'button-sized', but those of the second, especially those from the Upper Thames Region, are larger and correspond in diameter to the smallest local classes of saucer brooch, particularly my Group 2.2 - 2.4 of the later fifth and earlier sixth century.

Button brooches were developed during the late fifth century and continued in popularity throughout the first half of the sixth century. The inspiration for their development has still to be demonstrated, but it clearly involved the fusion of the cast saucer brooch form with a particular artistic motif: the contemporary occurrence of comparable masks on the lobes and bow-discs of English and Scandinavian great square-headed brooches ought to be relevant. Their distribution, however, is purely Saxon and Jutish and includes only two sites from the Midlands north of the Upper Thames Region. The regional distribution of the different classes suggests their production in several workshops: the first and third classes occur

primarily in East Kent, Sussex, the Isle of Wight and either side of the Thames estuary, while the second class, which was probably in imitation of the first, is more frequent in Wessex.

I. Brooches of Avent's Ordinary Class

Abingdon I, B51 (Pl. 42f), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,57 and 64 (Pl. 42g).

There are no exact parallels for these brooches and neither pair conforms to the standard pattern of Class I. The Abingdon pair has its eye-brow/nose/moustache elements fused in owl-like fashion and the pentagonal nature of the frame has been emphasised by straight mouth- and cheek-lines. The closest parallel comes from Mucking II, grave 90, associated with another button brooch of Avent's simplified class and a worn equal-armed brooch of Böhme's early fifth-century 'Sahlenburg' type (Alcock 1971, Pl.18). Burial of the Mucking grave may have been in the late fifth century; the Abingdon pair was found with a pot with pedestal foot and three lugs, which in England appears to be a sixth-century type.

The flat stamped rim of the East Shefford pair is unparalleled. The mask may be compared with those on brooches from Alfriston grave C (Griffith and Salzmann 1914, Pl.V,10), Bifrons (Maidstone Museum KAS 620.1954C), Droxford (PSA,19,1902,127-8,fig.2) and Herpes-sur-Charente (de Baye 1892, Pl.VIII,fig.36).

II. Brooches of Avent's Stylized Class

1. Crude, plain mask: Brighthampton 1 (Pl. 43a).

This brooch **looks** like a rough and asymmetrical attempt at the standard **Class I** masks. It was probably made from the same model as one of two button brooches in Kingsworthy grave 80; the other was of Class I type. Six discoid blue glass beads and a toilet set were found with the Brighthampton brooch, so only a general later fifth/earlier sixth-century date can be suggested.

2. With vertical hair:

Abingdon I, B66 (Pl. 43b), Long Wittenham I, 20 (Pl. 43c).

There is no mouth on the Abingdon masks and that on the 'low-browed' Long Wittenham brooch is reduced to a single rough line. There are no proper parallels for these, but vertical hair panels occur occasionally on Class I masks (eg. on one of the brooches from the early or mid sixth-century Tumulus II at Chatham Lines, Leeds 1913, fig. 20) and more often with Class II masks, such as those from Harnham Hill grave 40 (Akerman 1853, Pl. XII, 3).

The second brooch in the Long Wittenham grave has a high forehead, high cheeks and buckle-like mouth. It is related in design to the mask on the perforated saucer-shaped disc from Mitcham grave 128 (Bidder and Morris 1959, 80, Pl. VII) and to those discussed in connection with the Group 3.1 applied brooch from Kempston (above, p. 110); they occur on objects datable to the late fifth and early sixth century.

3. With vertical hair and raised arms:

Long Wittenham I, Ab.M (Pl. 43d).

Either side of the inverted V-shaped moustache and triangular mouth are arms, composed of V-shaped bars, terminating in mitten-like hands. An absolutely identical pair was found in grave 546 at Mucking II, and a variant form was found as a stray on the site of Silchester (Boon 1959, Pl. III, C1).

4. 'Mr. Chad' Masks:

Brighthampton 49 (Pl. 43e), Broughton Poggs AM 1909.489 (Pl. 43g), Dorchester VI, 18 (Pl. 43f).

This group is peculiar to the Upper Thames Region and the Midlands and may be a local product. 'Mr. Chad' masks are common on Upper Thames Group 10 - 18 saucer brooches of the middle and later sixth century, though they are not known before then (above, p. 83). The neatest pair is that from Dorchester 18, for which there is an exact parallel at Kempston (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLVII, 1) except that the latter has a chevron border similar to those on my Groups 17.1 and 17.2 saucer brooches (above, p. 97-8). One

of the Dorchester brooches has a repaired pin-catch and its date of burial was probably sixth-century on the basis of the associated 20 amber beads and tubular brush. The Broughton Poggs pair is cruder; a single brooch from Beckford B grave 73, found with 9 amber beads, may have come from the same model. Yet another model was used for the Brighthampton 49 pair found with an ivory purse-ring and large, faceted rock-crystal amulet; these are interesting for the inversion of the pin-axis on one, possibly because the mould was keyed by a ridge and groove, not fixed pegs. Typological and contextual evidence suggests that this group was produced in the sixth century.

vi. GREAT SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES

The only classification of great square-headed brooches was devised by Leeds in 1949. Although it remains an invaluable aid to research, its inadequacies have been exposed by new finds, new criteria for classification, and improved knowledge of brooch-manufacture and overall chronology. I am therefore faced with a dilemma: the Upper Thames Region examples cannot be discussed intelligibly without an adequate framework, and that framework needs major reassessment; yet with only twelve brooches to discuss, this is hardly the place for such a reassessment.

The real difficulty in analysing great square-headed brooches is two-fold. Although their basic form remains stable, their ornament is incredibly complex: the upper surface is divided into a number of zones, which were freely decorated with individual motifs. This, and the fact that only a fraction of original output has been discovered, has meant that groups of brooches with identical or nearly identical patterns are most rare. Leeds' Types A3 (19-25), B1 (41-58), B3 (71-75) and B6 (95-99) come nearest to the normal canon of similarity within a typological group. However, individual motifs are often repeated on more than one brooch, and it is these 'die-', or motif-, links which form the brooches into an almost indivisible chain. The combination of diversity and interrelationship has already been met on my Groups 10-18 saucer brooches, and is paralleled even more pertinently by the moulds for relief brooches from Helgö. It might imply that English great square-headed brooches were also made in workshops: the extent of interrelationship of most brooches might suggest that all were made in a single workshop, but the distribution of some distinctive types, such as Leeds' Types B1 and A3 in East Anglia, or B3 (71-75) in the Avon Valley, might indicate regional workshops.

The other difficulty is that surprisingly few brooches come from well-

associated graves, despite the expectation that they would be found in the richer burials. This is important, since chronology must be based on dating by association, not, in the first instance, on expected development or degeneration of the art-styles. Leeds paid little attention to this method, though several of the brooches in his corpus come from usefully documented contexts; they can be supplemented now by a number of important new finds.

I intend to analyse the Upper Thames brooches by starting with the individual motifs of their ornament, but the intellectual complexity of this approach demands some working hypotheses. I shall continue to use Leeds' corpus numbers of 1949, and also his typology, where they serve as a convenient short-hand reference system, and I shall make a few generalisations, by way of introduction, though they must suffer from inherent academic weakness.

In 1949 Leeds argued that in the late fifth century the great square-headed brooch was introduced independently into Kent from the continent, and into East Anglia from Scandinavia. Current opinion is that the Kentish brooches are in fact Danish in origin (Bakka 1958; Chadwick 1958, 45-57; Haseloff 1974, 11-15); while published grave-groups can support a date for Leeds' initial East Anglian type (B1) only within the full sixth century, which suggests that their origin requires reexamination. In Kent, both a large and, especially, a small form were produced throughout the first three-quarters of the sixth century; many were made of silver and could be ornamented with niello and garnets. The motif-links between Kentish and other great square-headed brooches suggest that the production of the latter was substantially stimulated and influenced by Kentish workshops. The brooches found in the Isle of Wight are virtually indistinguishable from those of East Kent, and should be treated as part of a single 'Jutish school'. Among the Kentish links with brooches from Saxon and Anglian areas, which Leeds noted, particular attention should be given to those

with his groups B2, B3 and B6; these are characteristic of West Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and Wessex, and also the Avon Valley, and account for nearly all the Upper Thames examples.

Six brooches are particularly important in establishing the links between the 'Jutish school' and the products of Anglian and Saxon workshops. First, there are three silver brooches found, and presumably made, within the area of the 'Jutish school', whose ornament is very closely related to Anglo-Saxon brooches: these are Leeds' Types A2 from Chessel Down, Isle of Wight (8), and B4 from Sarre grave 159, Kent (84) and Herpes-sur-Charente, France (83 ; a site with a marked 'Jutish' element, Leeds 1949,53-4). Second, there are three silver brooches from outside East Kent and the Isle of Wight: Leeds' Type A3 from Suffolk (13), a very similar brooch from a new site at Empingham I, Rutland (Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester 1968.158(13)), and another new find from Dartford in West Kent (Wilson 1956, Pl.I). Since all other great square-headed brooches in Anglo-Saxon regions are of bronze, is it legitimate to regard these as intrusive ? Leeds argued that this fact, together with marked stylistic affinities, did constitute grounds for thinking that the Suffolk brooch was made in a Jutish area (1949, 20); Wilson thought that the use of niello on silver indicated that the Dartford brooch was a Jutish product (1956,191). If these silver brooches are Jutish exports, then they are crucial evidence of the range of the Jutish repertoire, and of links with the repertoires of other areas. If this hypothesis is not acceptable, then their technical quality and some of their motifs may still have been derived from the 'Jutish school': movement of craftsmen, rather than of objects, may be more relevant.

Analysis of Motifs

In Fig.9 I have illustrated the eleven basic ornamental zones of a great square-headed brooch (cf. Holmqvist 1972,fig.58); the only common variation is in the number and position of the headplate zones. I have

listed the fifty-six different motifs found in these zones on Upper Thames brooches in Table 6. Behind any combination of motifs, or pattern, must lie a model, which could have produced a number of similar brooches; I shall call this basic unit a variant. Since two brooches are rarely of the same pattern, each brooch represents a separate variant, though there are examples of series of closely related variants. The Upper Thames brooches have been numbered from Variant 1 to 12, and a comparison of the different motifs on each of these is set out in Table 7. The history of these motifs will now be discussed.

Table 6 : LIST OF MOTIFS USED IN ZONAL ORNAMENT OF UPPER THAMES REGION

GREAT SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES (see Fig. 9)

Motif No.	Zone	Description
1	1	Semicircle-and-triangle
2	1	Curled-moustache masks, three along top, two at sides
3	1	Masks in rectangular lappets
4	1	Cat-like masks, four along top, two at sides
5	1	Cat-like masks, two along top, two at sides, marginal quadrupeds
6	1	Ovolos and dots with leg-elements in upper corners
7	1	Raised masks in upper corners
8	1	Plain knobs
9	2	Two descending animals
10	2	Two descending animals at sides, two confronting along top
11	2	Two descending animals at sides, two heads facing along top
12	2	Two descending animals at sides, two ascending at upper corners, one in centre
13	2	Two ascending animals
14	2	Parallel-line blocks and dog-legs
15	2	Interlacing strands
16	3	Whirligigs and dog-legs separated by masks
17	3	Two masks and legs in boxes
18	3	Mask and square

Motif no.	Zone	Description
19	3	Row of dots
20	3	Plain rectangle
21	3	Basketwork
22	3	Parallel-line blocks and dog-legs
23	3	Two facing rampant animals and ellipse
24	3	Ellipse and zoomorphic ornament
25	4	Plain and grooved
26	4	Zoomorphic
27	5	Upper mask immediately below bow
28	5	Upper mask parallel with jaws of downbiting animal
29	5	Cross-strap
30	6	Quadruped
31	6	Leg and body elements
32	6	Basketwork
33	6	Parallel-line elements
34	7	Strong profile (horse-like)
35	7	Squat, weak profile
36	7	Tongue
37	7	Leg of rampant animal
38	7	Eye of rampant animal
39	7	Angular neck band
40	8	Contracted animal (semilegible)
41	8	Contracted animal (illegible)
42	8	Basketwork and leg elements
43	8	S-scrolls, parallel-line and leg elements
44	8	Triangular wedges and animal border
45	8	Plain with randomly stamped annulets and pseudo-cable border
46	9	Round masks
47	9	Pear-shaped masks
48	9	Conical studs
49	9	Embryonic knobs
50	10	Mask
51	10	Conical stud
52	10	Animal head
53	10	Zoomorphic 'bib'
54	10	Pseudo-rope 'bib'
55	11	Niello-type interlocking triangles
56	11	Stamps

Table 7

Tabulation of motifs on great square-headed brooches from the Upper Thames Region (see Table 6)

A. Headplate Zones

1. Outer Panel

On the Upper Thames brooches geometric motifs are rare. The only definite example is the semicircle-and-triangle border (Motif 1) of the Cherbury Camp brooch (Variant 6; Pl. 46a). This motif characterises five other brooches of Leeds' Type B3 (71-2, 74-5, and a new find from Beckford A grave 11). It is found commonly on Kentish garnet-inlaid square-headed brooches of the middle quarters of the sixth century (Leeds and Chadwick 1957, figs. 3a, 4a, c; Warhurst 1955, Pl. XII), and, without the triangles, on a silver great square-headed brooch of Leeds' Type A1 from Chessel Down (6). It appears earlier on a silver brooch, probably Jutish, from Barrington B, Cambridgeshire (Chadwick 1958, 46, Pl. VB), and on a brooch from a cremation of the first half of the sixth century at Lackford 50.234(12A). It was probably adapted from the disc-and-triangle motif used on some of the earliest Scandinavian brooches with Style I and on one Kentish brooch (Haseloff 1974, Pls. IIIb, c, IVb; Hougen 1967, fig. 17; Leeds and Chadwick 1957, fig. 3c). It is more reasonable to assume that the motif reached the Avon Valley during the sixth century from a Jutish area in England, rather than directly from Scandinavia. On some of the Scandinavian brooches the upper corners contain masks or quatrefoils, but on some of the B3 brooches these are replaced by whirligigs, a motif used elsewhere on the headplates of B3 brooches and the Dartford brooch, and on the footplate of the Barrington B brooch.

Motif 6 on the Dorchester VI, 107 brooch (Variant 9), continuous ovolos with dots between, might be a modification of the semicircle-and-triangle border, or even of the classic egg-and-tongue on the Finglesham D3/Engers type (Chadwick 1958, Pl. II, VE). Equally, it might be a stylisation of the very popular mask borders; the zoomorphic (?) elements in the upper corners might endorse this, and the border of the Brighthampton 51 brooch incorporates a wavy-line element with the masks (Pl. 45b).

By far the most popular motif for outer borders is, however, a row of masks; it occurs on my Variants 1-5 and 7-8. Leeds was mistaken in dismissing it 'as irrelevant as the bobbles of Victorian tablecloths' (1949,2), for it is an important link between many brooches. The most consistent version consists of three masks with curled moustaches set along the top of the headplate and two set down the sides (Motif 2). This occurs most clearly in openwork on the Dartford brooch; the corners are formed from V-shaped serpents with two eagle-heads which bite on either side of an oval motif. The Dorchester VI,102 brooch (Variant 1, Pl. 44a) differs from this only in that the serpents' heads have become eye-and-eyebrow types, and the openwork is reduced to a set of perforations. On Leeds' B2 brooch from Alfriston grave 28 (66), the openwork has solidified and the serpent disappeared. The same border recurs, with or without the perforations, and with a profile eye-and-eyebrow head in each corner, on Alfriston grave 43 and unassociated, Guildown grave 116 (Leeds' B2,68-70), my variant 2 from Coleshill (Pl. 44b) and North Luffenham (Leeds' B unclassified, 124); the same layout, but with three perforations in the upper corners and separated masks, was used on the brooch from Hornton (Leeds' B6,101). Curled-moustache masks occur as borders, but in a different numerical arrangement, on many more brooches (eg. Leeds' Types A2 (7), A2 (9-10), B3 (77-78), B6 (102) and B7), as well as on the mid sixth-century 'Kempston Cross' applied brooches of Cambridgeshire and the foot-terminal of many A3 brooches from the same area.

Other variations of the mask border are less numerous. Variants 7 and 8 from Abingdon I, C11 and Fairford AM 1961.86 (Pls. 47b, 46b) belong to Leeds' Type B6, on which the masks are confined within rectangles (Motif 3); some of these masks have curled moustaches. Cat-like masks with ovoid corner masks (Motifs 4,5,7) occur on Variants 3, 4, and 5 from Fairford 20, Hampnett D and Brighthampton 51 (Pl. 45), and on a bronze brooch from Chessel Down (79). The back-to-back quadrupeds with wavy-line bodies set outside the

the masks on the Brighthampton brooch are, so far, unique.

Motif 2 appears almost exclusively on brooches from Saxon areas south of the Thames, and is probably represented on the mould fragment from Mucking (Med.Arch.18,1974,Pl.XXXIIIA); Motif 3 also has a strong Saxon connection (below, p.170). Are these Saxon creations? Leeds argued that mask borders were an insular development from the semicircle-and-triangle motif of his B3 brooches. Mask borders do, however, occur on early Scandinavian brooches: for example, later fifth-century brooches from Bratsberg, Falkum and Sjøtvet in south-east Norway (Hougen 1967,figs.67,20,21) and later brooches from Jaeren, Norway (ibid.,fig.36) and Brunflo, Sweden, and moulds for Variant R222 at Helgö (Holmqvist 1972,233,fig.87). Three brooches from the Jutish areas in England also have mask borders: the Chessel Down brooch cited above, and the two Leeds' B4 brooches from Sarre grave 159 and Herpes (83-84), which have a central full-face mask with curled moustache. Clearly, exempla could have been available for mask borders, but whether the Jutish examples are sufficient from which to derive the considerable Anglo-Saxon corpus must be debatable; conceivably, they illustrate a reverse influence. The Dartford brooch is, however, truly a bridge between the Jutish and Saxon 'schools' both geographically and stylistically, and its primacy in the Motif 2 series cannot be gainsaid.

2. Middle Panel

All motifs are zoomorphic and appear to be derived from the 'Juto-Kentish' repertoire, though their range is broader than Leeds suggested (1949,91,fig.2). Motif 10, two descending animals at the sides and two confronting along the top, has the most obvious Kentish affinities. It is used in a legible form on Brighthampton 51 (Pl. 45b), and on two East Anglian brooches, Leeds' Type B8 from Little Wilbraham grave 28 (112) and A3 from Rothley Temple (12); the latter is closely related to the brooch

from Holywell Row grave 11 (11), whose two pairs of descending animals in the headplate zone 2 are matched on the early Kentish brooch from Bifrons grave 63(2). A less legible version of Motif 10 occurs on Dorchester VI, 102. The off-centre vertical bars with U-shaped lines, one enclosing two bosses, on either side are of note: they appear more recognisable as confronted animals on Leeds' Type B2 brooches from Alfriston grave 28 and Mitcham (67,66), and quite perfectly as confronted 'Vimose'-headed quadrupeds, with ascending creatures at each side, on another early sixth-century Bifrons brooch from grave 41(3). A cruder use of the design occurs on the brooch from Sarre grave 4 (S4). Motif 12 is an elaboration of this: an extra animal has been inserted at the centre-top, and the animals are compartmentalised.

Two descending animals (Motif 9) occur on Fairford 20 and Cherbury Camp with varying degrees of legibility (Pls. 45a, 46a); it is the standard motif of Leeds' Type B3. Two ascending animals (Motif 13) are used on the Coleshill brooch (Pl. 44b) and Dorchester VI, 107, and may be compared with those on Leeds' A3 series (19-28). Two descending animals occur, for example, on Kentish brooches from Sarre and Herpes (Åberg 1926, figs. 125, 128).

Leeds' Type B6 (see Variants 7 and 8, Pls. 47b, 46b) is characterised by completely schematic patterns of parallel-line, leg, head and basketwork elements (Motif 14). This dissolution of Style I can be seen also on Dorchester VI, 102.

3. Inner Panel

The five-part inner panel of Leeds' Type B3 (Motif 16; Cherbury Camp, Pl. 46a) is paralleled in a remarkable way by the seven-part middle panel of the Dartford brooch, where greater space allows quadrupeds to be added to the leg-elements and scroll whirligigs. A simpler version of a mask dividing two whirligigs occurs on some of Leeds' Type A3 (eg. 15, 15A), and

an even more simplified versions (Motifs 17 and 18) on Brighthampton 51 (Pl. 45b) and Dorchester VI, 107. The whirligig on the Cherbury Camp brooch, like that on the Offchurch brooch (72), is just like those on my Groups 2.3 and 2.4 saucer brooches. The contiguity of probable production areas might suggest that the motif was transferred from one to another; but the combination of the whirligig with other motifs, and the occurrence of such combinations in the Avon Valley and East Anglia, whose brooches otherwise are little related, might suggest a common source. Again, the Dartford brooch would appear of prime importance.

Motif 19, on the Coleshill brooch (Pl. 44b), links its headplate design again with East Anglia: compare it with the row of squares on Leeds' A3 from Tuddenham (25). Motif 20, a plain rectangle, on Fairford 20 (Pl. 45a) is surely an imitation of stone-inlay, and, with the flat triangle below its bow, may well have been copied from a brooch like Sarre grave 159 (Leeds' Type B4, 84).

The dissolved Style I elements of Fairford AM 1961.86 (Pl. 46b) are standard to Leeds' Type B6 (Motif 22). The basketwork of Dorchester VI, 102 (Motif 21; Pl. 44a) is probably related, since basketwork occurs with Style I elements in zone 2 of the Luton brooch (95) and a new find from Black Patch, Pewsey, grave 21. The only other examples of it are on Leeds' Types A3 from Little Wilbraham grave 6 (26) and B4 from Norton (90).

I have designated Motifs 23 and 24 on East Shefford BM 93,7-16,31 and 32 (Variants 10 and 12, Pl. 47ai,ii) as zone 3, though they have only two headplate panels. They compare with the bipartite headplate of the Hornton brooch (101), especially in the presence of a semicircular or elliptical protuberance on the lower part of the panel, and with the middle panel of Dorchester VI, 107. Variant 10 and Hornton probably portray rampant animals, and the three 'leg' elements on Variant 12 may have been intended to be the same. All are poor versions of a favourite Kentish motif, in which a mask

divides two contorted or rampant animals (cf. Leeds nos.3,5; Chadwick 1958, fig.17); on two brooches, from Bifrons grave 64 and Stodmarsh, an ellipse divides the centre (Åberg 1926, figs.138-9), and a round cheeked mask on Leeds' B3 brooch from Chessel Down (79) may fulfill the same function.

B. Footplate Zones

5. Dividing Bar

Most dividing bars of Leeds' B series have a mask or geometric protuberance immediately below the bow. This feature occurs lower down, parallel with the jaws of the downbiting beasts, only on Leeds' Type B5 and an oft-mentioned group of brooches from Saxon areas: Dartford, Alfriston grave 28, Dorchester VI, 102, Brighthampton 51 and Fairford 20. The Dorchester VI, 107 brooch has a cross-strap below its mask, as on Leeds' Type A2; on that from Chessel Down, there are lateral cross-straps too, and lateral cross-straps appear on two closely related brooches, the silver Suffolk brooch (13) and a pair from Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Leeds 1949,14).

7. Downbiting Animal Heads

In this zone, many of the Upper Thames brooches incorporate a leg and/or an eye at the base of the jaws, a tongue between the jaws, and an angular neckline more customary to Salin's Style II (Motifs 36-39). Leeds rightly connected the first motif with the fusion of the rampant and downbiting beasts on some Kentish square-headed brooches (1949,46). The leg-and-eye motif occurs at its clearest on the B3 brooch from Beckford A grave 11, but it recurs in a simpler form on the other related variants of this series (71-75; Pl. 46a), the Dorchester VI, 107 brooch, and on a B4 brooch from Duston (85). The eye motif alone was more popular: it occurs on Leeds' A1 pair from Guildown grave 206 (7), the Dartford brooch and its close relations, Dorchester VI, 102 (Pl. 44a), Alfriston 28 and Mitcham, and my Variants 2

and 3 from Coleshill and Fairford 20.

The tongue between the jaws occurs on the same brooches and among the same Leeds' types as the leg and eye motifs (Leeds 1949,94). The angular neckline is restricted to the three primary brooches of Leeds' Type B4 (Herpes, Sarre 159 and Duston), three of Leeds' B3 brooches with mask borders (Coleshill, Pl. 44b, Northampton and Stapleford, 77-78), and the Dartford/Dorchester VI, 102/Alfriston 28 series. All four motifs would seem to have a definite Kentish link, but to have been developed within Saxon workshops.

8. Foot panels

Most foot panels contain zoomorphic ornament, and are related to the motifs used on the Dartford and Leeds' B2 series. They vary from the clarity of the Dartford or Bidford-on-Avon (71) brooches to the meaningless pattern of the Abingdon I, C11 fragment (Pl. 47b). On some, heads appear in the apex of the triangle, in others feet, so whether all represent one pattern is uncertain.

The Coleshill and Fairford 20 brooches (Pl. 44b, 45a) have central triangular wedges; they are bounded by ascending animals on the former, but by a jumble of zoomorphic elements on the latter. Both are variations of the foot panels of Leeds' B4 brooches: they have masks in the lobes, like the Duston example (85), and very squat, rounded downbiting animals, like the Sarre 159 brooch (84).

The most unusual footplate is on Dorchester VI, 107. Its plain centre triangles are randomly stamped with annulets like those on the 'Kentish'-style A3 brooch from Rothley Temple (12). They may occur on a damaged and hitherto unique brooch from Newnham (40), which also provides parallels for the pseudo-cable border, the squat downbiting heads, with confused linear representation of the leg and eye motifs (Motifs 37, 38), the cross-strap and the small round lateral lobes. Leeds thought the last feature linked

the Newnham brooch with his Type B3 (1949,32-33); certainly the Dorchester headplate has many parallels with that type. Pseudo-cable does occur on a B3 brooch from Offchurch (72).

9 and 10. Foot lobes

The most consistent feature of Upper Thames brooches, and of the Saxon Types B2, B3 and B6 generally, is the use of masks in the foot lobes, especially in the terminal (Motifs 46, 47, 50). Masks were used on other English brooches, and on ones in Scandinavia, but the round button-brooch type and pear-shaped masks of the Upper Thames examples are distinctive. The pear-shaped masks are related especially to the B4 brooch from Duston and the B2 series; on the Dartford brooch they are detachable, perhaps like the lost fittings of a B6 brooch from Haslingfield (98).

The addition of a 'bib' to the terminal lobe (Motifs 53-54) seems to be an invention of the B3 workshop. The pseudo-rope design of the Cherbury Camp brooch (Pl. 46a) is a poor version of the scrolls on the Bidford and Beckford brooches. Scroll bibs occur otherwise only on two probably late brooches, which combine features of Leeds' B1 and A3 brooches (Leeds 1949, 40,59,59A).

C. Frameline (Zone 11)

Tiny interlocking triangles, just like those used for niello inlay on silver brooches (eg. Dartford), occur on the Cherbury Camp brooch (Pl. 46a). They appear on a few other ^{bronze,} brooches: ^{silver,} Leeds' Type A2 from Chessel Down (8); Type B2 from Mitcham (67) and B6 from Luton (95). More frequently, the niello is imitated by triangular or annular stamps: in the Upper Thames Region, Cherbury Camp, Dorchester VI, 102 and 107 are stamped, and other examples are Leeds' Types A3 (11,16,23,28), B2 (Alfriston 28), B3 (75 and Beckford A,11), B4 (87), B7 (104,106) and unclassified (122). Nearly all these types have strong Kentish links. By contrast, stamping on Anglian B1

and A4 types is primarily in rows along the headplate, not as ornament on the frameline.

Typology and chronology of the Upper Thames Region brooches

My analysis has made plain the extraordinarily complex interrelationships of great square-headed brooches, and the fact that Leeds' classification has taken account of only a portion of them. Nevertheless, some brooches, classed by Leeds as Types B2, B3, B4 and B6, have been cited more often than any others. The majority of these come from areas occupied by Saxons, and probably represent the output of one or more Saxon workshops. Some of the brooches are Jutish, and many of the motifs used on the Saxon brooches can be traced to the 'Jutish school'. Although the position of the Dartford brooch in the series may be debated, this body of motifs as a whole may provide a better means of defining the great square-headed brooches than Leeds' classification.

I have refrained so far from burdening the text with chronology. It is now time to consider the specific relationships and date of the Upper Thames Variants within the general 'Saxon school'. In fact, there is a remarkable homogeneity about the associations of most of the brooches already quoted in comparison: applied brooches with star, 'Kempston Cross' and zoomorphic motifs, saucer brooches with five or six running scrolls, and designs of my Groups 10 - 18, cruciform brooches of Åberg Group IV, stamped silver bracelets, pearl-edged bronze bowls and even gold braid, all suggest burial within the middle two quarters of the sixth century, or a little later. As Leeds noted (1949,100), none of the Upper Thames brooches need belong, stylistically or contextually, to the earliest sixth century; but none have been found in demonstrably very late contexts (eg. with my latest saucer brooches), and I think that they went out of fashion at approximately the same time as in Kent.

Variant 1: Dorchester VI, 102 (Pl. 44a)

This brooch belongs to none of Leeds' types, but is intimately related to the two brooches from Dartford and Alfriston grave 28: all three come from rich graves and provide a key point of reference for a series of motifs which are common to many Upper Thames brooches and their closest variants (Motifs 2,16,28,36-39,47,50,55-56).

The Dorchester brooch was found with belt-equipment of the middle of the sixth century (below, p.252) and saucer brooches of Group 10, which might belong to the middle or later sixth century. The only object known to have been associated with the Dartford brooch was a pearl-rimmed bronze bowl, which, though known from fifth-century contexts on the continent and in England, is most frequently found in rich graves of the middle and later sixth century. A similar bowl was found in Alfriston 28 together with a pair of saucer brooches with degenerate Style I ornament like that on my Group 10. These grave-goods consistently suggest that the three great square-headed brooches were buried around the middle of the sixth century or a little later. Stylistically, the running scroll motif of zone 3 on the Dartford and Alfriston brooches could make them earlier than the Dorchester brooch, since it is characteristic of the earliest Style I square-headed brooches (eg. Engers, Chadwick 1958, Pl.VE; Bifrons 63(2)); their Style I ornament is also fully coherent.

Variant 2: Coleshill (Leeds' Type B6,103; Pl. 44b)

Leeds classed this brooch, with those from Hornton (101) and Marston St.Lawrence (102), as a seventh-century version of his Type B6. All display versions of Motif 2, and the dates of burial of brooches with the same version of Motif 2 as the Coleshill brooch are comparable with those established for the primary version of Motif 2 on the Dartford/Dorchester/Alfriston series (above, p.159): Alfriston grave 43, another rich burial,

included a pair of small square-headed brooches of Kentish type, Guildown grave 116 a pair of applied brooches with five-point star, and Hornton a pair of saucer brooches with five running scrolls, which might indicate burial around the middle of the sixth century or even earlier (cf. pp. 172, 107, 52). East Anglian versions of the motif also occur on brooches which were buried after the first quarter of the sixth century, at least: Linton Heath grave 9 (9) contained a pair of 'Kempston Cross' brooches, and Tuddenham (10) a pair of late Åberg Group IV cruciforms.

The foot of the Coleshill corresponds to those of Leeds' primary B4 series (83-85); their headplate design is used on buckles of the early and middle sixth century (below, p.251).

Stylistically, there is no reason why the Coleshill brooch should not belong to the middle decades of the sixth century. The Group 13.2 saucer brooches associated with it would well suit such a date.

Variant 3: Fairford 20 (Leeds' Type B3,80; Pl. 45a)

This brooch is linked to Variants 1 and 2 through its imitation of some features on the primary B4 series, its possession of the 'tongue' and 'eye' motifs in zone 7, and pear-shaped masks in zone 10. Zone 1 of the headplate links it specifically to Variants 4 and 5, and to a brooch from Chessel Down (79); that brooch has footplate frame cast-in-one with the footplate, which copies the applied frames of Alfriston graves 28 and 43 and Finglesham E2 of the middle quarters of the sixth century.

Variant 4: Hampnett D (Leeds' Type B3,81; Pl. 45c)

The few surviving fragments suggest that this brooch should be closely related to Variant 3, though given the variety in ornament of these brooches it would be rash to be too assertive. The associated pot has been classified with other sixth-century examples of Myres' stamped panel style with pendent triangles, though its simplicity means that it also has affinities with pots with chevron patterns of continental ancestry (below, p.353).

Variant 5: Brighthampton 51 (Leeds' Type B3,76; Pl. 45b)

This brooch is linked to Variants 3 and 4 by its headplate outer panel, and by its headplate inner panel to Variant 6. The middle panel of its headplate and all its footplate link it to Variant 1 and its close relatives, Dartford and Alfriston 28. Manufacture before or during the middle decades of the sixth century is likely.

Variant 6: Cherbury Camp (Leeds' Type B3,73; Pl. 46a)

Leeds questioned the authenticity of the provenance of this brooch because it is the sole Upper Thames example of a series of closely related variants from the Avon Valley; there is no evidence to substantiate his doubt. The zone 1 ornament of this series - semicircles-and-triangles - could have been adopted at any time in the first half of the sixth century. The distinctive zone 3 ornament, however, links this series to the Dartford brooch and to some of Leeds' Type A3, subgroup c; associations of the latter - silver stamped and ribbed bracelets, 'Kempston Cross' applied brooches, cast 'omega-shaped' wrist-clasps and Illingford-Lackford pottery - belong to the same period as the Dartford brooch.

Two of Leeds' B3 brooches had grave-associations, which confirm this dating: a pair of applied brooches with degenerate Style I, like that from Hampnett 2 (my Group 3.3), was found with Beckford A grave 11, and a pair of saucer brooches with six leg-elements (cf. my Group 6.2) was in Bidford-on-Avon grave 88 (71).

Variants 7 and 8: Abingdon I, C11, Fairford AM 1961.86 (Leeds' Type B6, 99,97; Pls. 47b, 46b)

These belong to another distinct series of variants, which can be set out as a chain of 'nearest neighbours' (not as a typological development): Fairford, Black Patch, Pewsey, grave 21, Mucking II, grave 942, Luton grave 41 (95), Abingdon, Haslingfield (98) and Market Overton (96). A cremated brooch from Mitcham (100) has some features distinctly different from this

series, and should probably not be included. The Abingdon brooch, despite its condition, appears to be made from the same model as the Luton brooch, and the Mucking brooch, from an unurned cremation and still under conservation, looks remarkably similar.

The distribution of the series is very wide, but is predominately Saxon. Its motifs are most closely linked to Leeds' Types B2 and B3, and also to saucer brooches of my Groups 10 - 18, especially in its use of schematic Style I and basketwork. The series may be marginally later than those already discussed, though the one associated example, Luton, with a pair of saucer brooches with radial-leg design (cf. my Group 6.2), falls within the same chronological horizon.

Variant 9: Dorchester VI, 107 (CBA Group 9 Newsletter, 6, 1976, 68)

This is an interesting addition to the great square-headed brooch corpus: its headplate is related to the Juto-Saxon tradition (above, p. 158, 161-2), while its footplate is closest to two brooches from East Anglia. It was found with a saucer brooch of Group 3.2.2.1, which is unlikely to be earlier than the middle of the sixth century.

Variant 10: East Shefford BM 93,7-16,31 (Leeds' Type B3, 82; Pl. 47ai)

Most of this brooch's ornament is unique, though the headplate does have strong links with developed Kentish brooches.

Variant 11: East Garston (Pl. 46c)

This bow fragment corresponds exactly in pattern to that of the large brooch from Norton (Leeds' Type B4, 90), though it was made from a different model; whether the rest of the brooch had been the same cannot be known. The motifs on the Norton brooch suggest that it is very late in the great square-headed brooch sequence (Leeds 1949, 59).

Variant 12: East Shefford BM 93,7-16,32 (Leeds' B unclassified 123; (Pl. 47aai))

This brooch is unique and its individual elements can be paralleled

among a diverse body of material. I have suggested that its headplate ornament is related to Kentish square-headed brooches, though the inspiration for the knobs is less clear: loose knobs, subsequently cast in one with the headplate, were a feature of early continental and Scandinavian bow brooches, but, except on the cruciform brooch, were never part of the English repertoire. Despite Leeds' reluctance to accept the theory, they may be more closely connected with the mask borders of B6 brooches.

The exceptionally long bow resembles the long bows of the earliest Kentish square-headed brooches (Chadwick 1958,47); the terminal animal head is like those on earlier cruciform brooches; the graceful downbiting heads recall those of Leeds' Type B1 and their possible Scandinavian prototypes; and the overall profile, apart from the narrow headplate, is similar to that of the sheet silver and earliest cast bow brooches of Scandinavia (eg. Hougen 1967, figs.8,9a,17,18). All these features invite comparison with the very Scandinavian-style brooch from Faversham (Leeds and Chadwick 1957,20,fig.3c). Manufacture of the East Shefford brooch within the first half of the sixth century is possible.

A possible disc from the bow of a great square-headed brooch: Long Wittenham I, FD 41 (Pl. 46d).

This tiny disc compares well with those on some English square-headed brooches: it has no means of attachment, but the abraded reverse surface suggests that it might have been torn from something to which it had been soldered. It is decorated with a contracted animal like those on the lateral lobes of some of the series related to Variant 6 (71,74-75). It may be compared also with the Helgø variant I.3 clasp buttons (Holmqvist 1972,106ff.).

vii. SMALL SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES

E.T. Leeds discussed briefly small square-headed brooches of Kentish type found outside Kent (1945,63-6), most of which appear to be copies, not original Kentish brooches, but they cannot be thoroughly understood without a full analysis of the Kentish corpus. Mr. David Leigh is in the process of doing this very thing and I am grateful to him for showing me his data and for helpful discussions. The Kentish brooches were produced during the first three-quarters of the sixth century (their overlap with the initial series of garnet-inlaid disc brooches is amply demonstrated, Avent 1975,126).

Only eight examples come from the Upper Thames Region, all of gilt bronze, crudely made, and generally very small.

The largest and best made is East Shefford BM 1903,2-14,2 (Pl. 47aiii), which is in the same reddish porous metal as my Variant 12 great square-headed brooch from that site. The upward coils at the lateral corners of the footplate are unusual, but appear on a pair from High Down (Worthing Museum 3427-8). The leg-element central headplate panel of the East Shefford brooch is slightly different from that on the High Down pair; but the latter's headplate and square foot-finial with a leg in it recur on a brooch from High Down grave 2, and the headplate, ribbed bow panels and a modification of the foot-finial appear on another pair from Mucking I, grave 99 (Jones and Jones 1975,fig.59). High Down 2 contained a pair of five-scroll saucer brooches and a pair of small square-headed brooches with cruciform foot, Mucking 99 a pair of button brooches, a large amber and glass bead necklace and a round-bodied glass bowl; both graves may belong to the first half of the sixth century. The occurrence of these brooches in Saxon contexts and the lack of good parallels from East Kent suggests that they are local products.

The brooches from Abingdon I, B117 (Pl. 47c) and Brighthampton 40 (Pl. 8aii) are cruder in execution and are almost entirely geometric in

ornament. They belong to Leeds' largest group of this class (1945,102, aii). The motif in the foot-lobes of the Abingdon pair is similar to that on the great square-headed brooch from Goldstone Cop Street (Leeds 1949, no.5). The Brighthampton brooch was paired with a Group 4.1 saucer brooch.

The other three Upper Thames brooches are diminutive. The tiniest, from Dorchester VI, 77 (Pl. 8ei), has a subdivided lozenge centre to the footplate, similar to the tradition of Kühn's 'Hahnheim' brooches, and a slack 'Mr. Chad' mask in the centre of the headplate. It was buried with a Group 4.1 saucer brooch and a Group 7.2 disc brooch.

The brooches from Brighthampton d and Harwell 1 (Pl. 24bi) belong to Leeds' group b, with cruciform bar on the foot and rectangular finial. The general design is common on Kentish brooches (eg. Åberg 1926,fig.152). Similar brooches come from High Down grave 2 and Orpington grave 41 (found with a button brooch) and are especially close to the Harwell example.

These brooches come from richer graves and the available associations give a remarkably constant pattern, reflecting the dress-accoutrements of the earlier and middle sixth century. Refinement of the Kentish chronology would pay dividends for these Saxon brooches.

viii. SMALL-LONG BROOCHES

'Small-long' is the odd, but accepted, name for simple bronze bow-brooches on which the decoration is confined to moulded ribs, facets and stamps. Primarily found in Anglian areas, notably South Cambridgeshire, they often form a set of three or five brooches with a great square-headed or cruciform brooch, of which they are probably diminutive adaptations. Only a selection of the great variety of types found in the Anglian areas occurs in the Upper Thames, and here they were always worn in pairs.

E.T. Leeds has proposed a detailed typology for them (1945, 4-44, 88-106), but discrepancies within his work and the current emphasis on using precise type-groups and associated grave-groups for chronology, rather than evolutionary typologies, makes a new analysis essential. Regrettably, the problem cannot be solved here, for the Upper Thames brooches are but a minor and unrepresentative sample of the class, and the relative lack of well-published material from the Anglian areas makes the task of compiling a sensible typology impossible.

The difficulty is increased by the lack of directly obvious continental antecedents. Comparable brooches are found in Thuringia, Mecklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and even southern Scandinavia (eg. Tischler 1954, 95-9; Mildenerger 1959, 100ff; Schmidt 1961, 126). Very few are precisely like English examples, and these have often therefore been interpreted as English exports; the formal divergence of the others naturally makes it hard to derive the English series from them. Nevertheless, individual forms of headplate or footplate do link some brooches, and the English development must be seen against this general North Germanic interest in simple, small bow-brooches probably made in imitation of the larger cruciform and (?) square-headed brooches. Few of the continental brooches come from well-dated contexts, though it is likely that most belong to the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries; likewise, few English examples come

from obviously early (fifth-century) contexts. If the English series were derived from the continental, then it was not part of the initial phase of settlement, and may be compared with the secondary reception from the continent of square-headed brooches; if it were an independent response to the need for diminutive versions of large bow-brooches, the development still need be no earlier than the later fifth century.

In view of the problems, I shall discuss the Upper Thames brooches only briefly. Their grouping is primarily for convenience.

I. Square-headed brooches

Leeds said that brooches with square-heads were one of the more common sub-types, especially in South Cambridgeshire. In the Upper Thames Region they are the great majority. He divided them further on the basis of straight or concave-sided headplate, panelled headplate, long or short foot and type of foot terminal. I shall make only two basic distinctions: between those with parallel-sided and those with lozenge-shaped footplates. Distinction on the basis of terminal is difficult within the former group: the transition from fully triangular to crescent-shaped is blurred, and many brooches have concave-sided, round-cornered triangular terminals. Variants among the latter group are more obvious.

1. Parallel-sided foot

1.1 : With triangular terminal

Bishopstone I, Ay.M 22-3.80 (Pl. 48a), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,36 (Pl. 48bii), Fairford AM 1961.90 (Wylie 1852, Pl.VI,2), Long Wittenham I, 63 (Pl. 48di).

These brooches are not all of the same type: the Bishopstone pair has a panelled headplate, the Fairford brooch is very squat. Leeds regarded triangular terminals as an early feature. The association of the brooch in Long Wittenham 63 with another of Group II.3 might suggest that it was relatively early in the sequence too, but the association in Little Wilbraham

graves 173/174 of a simple Group IV cruciform brooch with a good parallel for the Bishopstone pair demonstrates continuity into the sixth century (Neville 1852, 24, Pl. 1).

1.2 : With rounded triangular or crescent-shaped terminal

Abingdon I, Bl8 (Pl. 48c), Dorchester VI, 58, 91 (CBA Group 9 Newsletter, 6, 1976, 68), East Shefford XVI, BM 93, 7-16, 35 (Pl. 48bi), Eynsham I, AM 1971.1054 (Pl. 3ai), Fairford 55/56 (Pl. 54aiii), Filkins AM 1909. 495 (Pl. 49c), Long Wittenham I, 133 (Pl. 49a), 152 (Pl. 49b).

Again, this group is not one specific type, though its members do have more in common. Fairford 55/56 and Eynsham are interesting, for they have similar proportions, headplates, faceted bow and moulded foot, but their terminals are slightly different. Leeds was probably correct to ascribe crescent-shaped terminals to the sixth century. This is the most likely date for Dorchester 91, with its necklace of 16 amber, 3 'pearl' and 3 blue drawn beads; the pedestal pot from East Shefford XVI with rectangular panel-style decoration would not contradict such a dating (below, p. 357).

The brooches from East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 39-40 and Fairford (Wylie 1852, Pl. VI, 1) have lost their lower footplates.

2. Lozenge-shaped footplate

2.1 : 'Long' brooches with raised stub on pointed terminal

Brighthampton 57 (Pl. 49gi), Fairford AM 1961.87 (Pl. 49f), Long Wittenham I, 104 (Pl. 49d), 142 (Pl. 49e).

The footplate terminal is a variation of the moulded finial found on some English small-long brooches (Leeds 1945, fig. 23a, b, and below, p. 18) and, more especially, on many of the continental brooches with lozenge-shaped footplates. Especially close to our group are some Thuringian brooches dated by Schmidt to the late fifth and early sixth centuries (1961, 126, Taf. 35c-d). The plain and polychrome glass-bead necklaces from Brighthampton 57 and Long Wittenham 142 are not good indicators of date, but the parallel

between the pendant in the former grave and a chape from Barrington A (below, p.214) might suggest a date of burial in the late fifth or early sixth century. Two recent finds suggest a similar dating: a pair from Andover grave 25, very like the Upper Thames group, was found with a very worn flat annular brooch of 'derivative Quoit-Brooch' type, and another, with square-ended moulded finial, was found with a round-walled stamped bowl of possibly late fifth-century date in Great Chesterford grave 148 (Evison 1969^a, fig.2).

2.2 : 'Long' brooches with sharp-angled footplate and straight terminal

Abingdon I, B3 (Pl. 50b), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,33-4 (Pl. 50a).

Apart from their bows, these brooches are very similar, and noticeably distinct from examples such as East Shefford AM 1935.345 (Pl. 50di). Leeds cites another from Luton grave 28 (1945, fig.23c).

2.3 : 'Long' brooches with various terminals

Cirencester II, Cor.M B.430 (Pl. 50e), Dorchester VI, 104 (2) (CBA Group 9 Newsletter, 6, 1976, 68).

This group and the next are more heterogeneous. Though different, these three brooches share elongated footplates and other interrelated features. The Dorchester grave included an amber and 'pearl' bead necklace, probably indicative of sixth-century date. The one with concave-sided head from there is exactly like a pair from Bidford-on-Avon (Humphreys et al. 1923, Pl.XIII,1).

2.4 : 'Short' brooches with various terminals

Bishopstone I, Ay.M 21.80 (Pl. 50c), Blewburton 5 (Pl. 50g), East Shefford AM 1955.345 (Pl. 50di), Frilford I, 106 (Pl. 50f), Wheatley AM 1883.38 .

All these brooches are noticeably squat in comparison with Group 2.3, though their terminals and other features differ in no significant way. None of the Upper Thames brooches have truly diagnostic associations.

The Blewburton brooch may be compared with the pair from Bidford-on-Avon grave 47, found with an amber-bead necklace (Humphreys et al. 1923, Pl. XIII,1).

3. With 'cello-shaped' footplate

Brighthampton 13b (Pl. 51a), Frilford I, 129 (Pl. 51b).

Though varying in profile, these brooches share the uncommon vertical ribbing of their bows. Presumably they are simple copies of relief-cast square-headed brooches (not necessarily Kentish small square-headed brooches, Leeds 1945, 63; a brooch from Brunnheim, Sweden, is an excellent miniature of Scandinavian square-headed brooches, knobs and all !, ibid. fig.27,b). Other examples are known from Mucking II, grave 906, Guildown grave 113, and Linton Heath grave 72; the Group V cruciform brooch and serpentine openwork girdle-hanger with the last-named, and the amber-bead necklace with the Brighthampton brooch endorse a sixth-century dating.

II. Leeds' 'Cross Potent' and 'Cross Pattée' Types

Leeds adopted heraldic terminology to describe the substantial series of brooches with segmented or notched headplates, but the analogies are cumbersome and his proposed evolutionary scheme doubtful. The variety of forms, both on the continent and in England, must be the result of adapting cruciform brooch headplates, and it is uncertain whether this was an orderly development. Not surprisingly, they are uncommon in the Upper Thames Region and most must have been imports from Anglian districts. Although I have utilised Leeds' terminology for convenience, it, in no way, signifies acceptance of his typology.

1. 'Cross Potent'

Fairford AM 1961.88 (Pl. 51di), Long Wittenham I, 158 (Pl. 51c).

The Fairford brooch has a triangular foot with raised bar along the base, a feature found on a number of 'cross potent' brooches (Leeds 1945, fig.8a,c; below, Group II.3). The other brooch is broken and excessively

worn. Leeds regarded these as early in the overall sequence: there is one continental example, from a cremation at Quelkhorn (Leeds 1945, fig. 1h; the Krefeld and Quelkhorn brooches have been muddled, cf. Grohne 1953, Abb. 41a, b, and Pirling 1966, 169, Abb. 16.10). Another brooch, with spatulate terminal and obviously very old at the time of burial, was found in a probable sixth-century grave (on the basis of its beads) at Bidford-on-Avon 156. But brooches with rounded triangular (not crescentic) feet from Little Wilbraham grave 6 (with an A3 great square-headed brooch) and Barrington B grave 82 (with an early Group V cruciform brooch) demonstrate the existence of the type in the full sixth century.

2. 'Cross potent derivative': crenellated headplate

Fairford AM 1961.89 (Pl. 51dii).

The footplate form links this brooch with Groups II.1 and II.3, but I know of no parallel for the headplate.

3. 'Cross potent derivative': square-topped with lateral upper notches and basal notches

Blewburton 19 (Oxon., 10, 1945, 93), Dorchester VI, 83, Long Wittenham I, 63 (Pl. 48dii), 96 (Pl. 51e).

This is very distinct group and three of the grave-finds have brooches with raised terminal bar. Leeds pointed to the predominance of districts south and west of Cambridgeshire in their distribution (1945, 22) and they might be a local product. It is interesting that similar headplates occur on brooches from Perlberg (Körner 1938, Taf. 12, 5-6), though those have the rounded ribbed bow characteristic of 'small-long' type brooches there, at Mahndorf and at Liebenau (Grohne 1953, Abb. 41; Genrich 1964, Abb. 2, 1); they probably date from the fifth century.

4. 'Cross potent derivative'/'Cross Pattée': square headplates with indented corners and corner perforations

Fairford AM 1909.492 (Pl. 54aii), Wallingford 11 (Pl. 52aii).

Leeds classed the Fairford brooch as 'cross potent derivative', group ci (1945,94), yet it is difficult to differentiate between it and its close parallel from Rothwell (ibid.,fig.10e) and the broader of the Wallingford brooches (ibid.,23). The latter Wallingford brooch differs only in having basal notches rather than indented basal corners and perforations. There is a substantial number of continental brooches with headplates with indented upper corners and perforations and basal notches (Leeds 1945,6), which are clearly related to both the brooch-forms of this group. Some of them occur on brooches with ribbed bows, and many must be fifth-century products. With the Wallingford pair was a necklace containing one rock crystal bead, 12 of amber and 48 of glass, and a 'long-boss' accessory bowl, which suggest a date around or just after the turn of the sixth century.

5. 'Cross pattée derivative': square-topped headplate with basal notches

Broughton Poggs AM 1909.490 (Pl. 52c).

This pair is an outlier of a type found in purely Anglian areas (Leeds 1945,26). Fifth-century cruciform brooches in Denmark and England exhibit similar headplates (Vierck 1970,361). However, a similar brooch was found in Little Wilbraham grave 28 with a B8 great square-headed brooch (Neville 1852,15,Pl.10).

III. Trefoil-Headed Brooches

Abingdon I, B46 (Pl. 52d), AM 1934.235 (Pl. 52b), Brighthampton 20, Filkins AM 1909.497 (Pl. 53a).

Leeds argued that this type of small-long brooch was derived from cruciform brooches of the beginning of the sixth century, which may explain their rarity in the Upper Thames Region. Vierck has drawn attention to a comparable and contemporary development in Sweden, on the basis of a brooch from Tolleby (Vierck 1970,365). Leeds put the three Abingdon brooches into his primary phase, and the broken foot of the unstratified Abingdon brooch

precludes its accurate analysis. He put the other two pairs later because of their disproportionate headplates and crescent-shaped terminals, though the Filkins ones are really shouldered and sub-triangular. The 48 amber beads with the Brighthampton pair do suggest a sixth-century date, as do the associated grave-groups cited by Leeds (1945,104).

IV. Miscellaneous Types

1. Pincer-headed brooch

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,37 (Pl. 53bi).

This brooch belongs to a distinct class which includes examples from High Down grave 12, Luton grave 22 and Barrington A (Leeds 1945, fig.23g,h; Austin 1928,Pl.XXX,3). Some have the raised stubby finial of Group I.2.1 brooches, others have moulded finials, which are the probable forerunners of the former type. The patent parallels of the headplate form with the pincer-headed relief-cast brooches of Thuringia reinforces the close connection of this type with that area (cf. Schmidt 1961,128-130,Pl.40,m-u). A priori, they should date from the later fifth or earlier sixth centuries.

2. Square headplate with three knobs, long bow and lozenge-shaped foot

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,38 (Pl. 53bii).

Find-place and general appearance suggest a link with the above brooch, though the headplate is different and finds no North Germanic parallels. It could be a simple expression of a cruciform or other brooch with three-knobbed headplate. There is a parallel from Little Wilbraham grave 68 (Neville 1852,Pl.2).

3. Square headplate, spatulate footplate

Long Wittenham I, 164 (Pl. 53c).

I know of no parallel for this pair, though Leeds postulated a derivation from some Kentish bow-brooch type (1945,38).

4. Non-zoomorphic cruciform brooch

Bishopstone I, Ay.M no no. (Rec.Bucks.5,1878,Pl.II,5).

Åberg drew attention to brooches intermediate between cruciform and small-long brooches (1926,58); because of its size, I include this brooch here. Åberg illustrates a brooch from Glen Parva with full-round detachable knobs, which was buried with a Group I cruciform brooch. It is uncertain whether the Bishopstone brooch had lateral knobs originally and its general simplicity makes its date uncertain.

ix. MINOR AND MISCELLANEOUS BROOCH TYPES

1. Stützarmfibel

Dorchester VI, 64 (Pl. 53d).

This brooch, found with a bronze chain and a few pendants and beads, belongs to the class of brooch known in Germany as stützarmfibel. Its headplate-like 'yardarm' is a diagnostic feature of one of Böhme's sub-groups of this form, which he would date to c. AD 380-420 (1974,13-14). The distinctly trapezoidal foot of the Dorchester brooch makes it a unique specimen among the sub-group, though it cannot be a member of Böhme's other ~~sub-group with~~ broad trapezoidal foot (1974,10-11). Böhme illustrates and lists a number of eccentric types (Taf.116,2-3,346), so there must have been quite a range of forms within the basic series. There is little doubt that the Dorchester brooch was an import, probably buried during the first half of the fifth century. Six such brooches are known from elsewhere in England; the only other from a closed context, Mucking grave 987, would also appear to be an early fifth century burial (Jones and Jones 1974,31).

2. Tutulus Brooch

Abingdon I, B106 (Pl. 23cii-iii).

Fragments of two tutulus brooches were found upside down on the shoulder of the female in this grave. One piece is a base plate, without evidence of pin-attachments, and is too small to have belonged to the other fragments. These consist of a 'pie-crust' rim, a straight-sided tutulus dome and a strip of bronze which fitted vertically between the rim and the dome. The top of the dome is sealed by a disc and had evidently lost its central pin and upper segment. The fragments do not accord with any of the tutulus-brooch types discussed by Böhme: most are sheet metal, with high, concave-sided tutuli, and lack the vertical strip. Parallels for the rim come from Westerwanna graves 454, 1654 and 1782 (Böhme 1974,Taf.47,10; 52,19; 53, 11). Running-scroll ornament is also rare, though it does occur on

Böhme's late fourth-century 'Issendorf' type, which includes Westerwanna 1782. Since none of these brooches has survived cremation complete, it is not impossible that the Abingdon one is a variant type, retaining the profile of the earlier 'Dienstedt' and 'Ortbrook' types. Abingdon B106 is the grave of an early fifth-century immigrant; she may well have brought her tutulus brooch fragments with her as treasured antiques.

3. 'Three-knobbed' or 'Mahndorf' Brooch

Fairford AM 1961.91 (Pl. 54ai).

This is a fine example of Grohne's Group 1 dreiknopffibel, found in Saxony, especially at Mahndorf, the Lower Elbe area and Mecklenberg during the fifth century (Grohne 1953, 126-7). High Down grave 26 contained the only other known English specimen (with an oval, not shovel foot); its association with a derivative quoit-brooch type flat annular brooch and a 'Quoit-Brooch style' buckle is good evidence for its probable importation in the early or middle fifth century. It is a great pity that the Fairford brooch was unstratified.

4. Equal-Armed Brooches

Abingdon I, C26, Dorchester VI, 8 (Pl. 31aii).

The bow fragment from Abingdon belongs to Böhme's 'Nesse' type, the largest variety of equal-armed brooch, and may date from any time in the fifth century. There is no precise parallel for the Dorchester brooch, but it is related in size and general profile to Böhme's 'Sahlenburg' type. Besides two examples with relief ornament (Sahlenburg grave 19 and Mucking grave 90), there is a plain brooch from Aalden (Böhme 1974, Taf.58,4) with ribbed bow and milled border-lines to the arms, which is close in style to the Dorchester brooch; the Aalden brooch lacks the animal heads at the base of the bow, and the heads at the ends of the arms curve inwards, almost touching each other, suggesting that the curved 'link-arms' of the Dorchester brooch are formalised animal heads. Böhme hesitated to date these brooches

too closely: manufacture could have been as early as the first half of the fifth century.

Besides these two grave finds, mention should be made of the well-known, worn silver brooch of Böhme's 'Dösemoor' type found in Hut X at Sutton Courtenay: date, towards 500 till towards 550 (cf. p.344).

5. Cruciform Brooches (Fig. 10)

There are seven certain cruciform brooches from the Region: the brooch from Bishopstone I is discussed under small-long brooches and the 'cruciform' brooch recorded from East Shefford 3, said to have been 63mm in length, gilt and found with amber beads, is lost and of unidentifiable type. Åberg's classification of 1926 (Åberg 1926,28ff) remains the only published analysis of the earlier cruciform brooches and must be used in conjunction with Genrich's study of the continental origins of the form (Genrich 1953).

a. Proto-cruciform brooches

Abingdon I, Bl22, Dorchester I, 2.

The brooch from Dorchester is too well-known to require discussion: it has given its name to the first cast stage of the cruciform development (Genrich 1953,39-42). It may well have been brought, together with an applied saucer brooch, from the continent around the of the fifth century by its owner, possibly a relative of the Germanic warrior buried next to her.

The Abingdon brooches, found in 1942, but not given to a museum, are less well-known. They belong to Genrich's 'Witmarsum' phase, characterised by a small square headplate. Whereas the larger 'Witmarsum' brooches have rudimentary animal-head foot-terminals, the smaller are often simply facettled. Both the Abingdon ones are small, but while one has a facettled foot and long pin-catch, the other shows more development with its winged headplate, short pin-catch and animal-head foot. Genrich dates this phase

to the early fifth century. The associated 20 glass beads of the Abingdon two would not contradict this.

b. Åberg's Groups I and III

East Shefford X, Frilford I, 138.

The Frilford pair is one of the simplest of the cruciform series proper in England (cf. Åberg 1926, figs. 48, 49). Genrich suggested a date around the middle decades of the fifth century for the emergence of this form on the continent (his 'Borgstedt' phase) and without more work on the English series and significant associations for the Frilford grave, it is difficult to be more specific about date.

East Shefford X contained two cruciform brooches, one a more developed version of Group I (Åberg 1926, fig. 52; there is no basis to Leeds' criticism of Åberg's enumeration of the East Shefford brooches, Leeds 1933, 240n), the other an early example of Group III (Åberg 1926, fig. 64). They were found with a large glass whorl, a toilet set and a plain rounded bowl. The former brooch is worn and a date of burial around AD 500 is probable.

Although early cruciform brooches are not as numerous in the Upper Thames area as in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk (v. Myres 1969, Map 8), they are not insignificantly represented, given the overall small numbers of the type. The Upper Thames examples contrast strongly with the lack from Saxon areas further south (East Shefford is the most southerly Saxon site). Equally, the area is distinct in the absence of sixth-century forms of the brooch, unlike the Anglo-Saxon districts further north and east (Leeds 1933, 240).

6. Radiate-headed brooches

a. Cassington II, 1 (Pl. 54b).

Dr. Hayo Vierck has identified this pair as a copy of South Scandinavian brooches produced around and just before AD 500 (Vierck 1970, 366). Only two other English sites and one in Lower Saxony have produced examples and it

seems improbable that they are local products rather than imports from Scandinavia.

b. Kühn's 'Hahnheim' Type: Long Wittenham I, 111 (Pl. 2aiii).

Despite its fragmentary nature, this piece can be identified as the foot of a 'Hahnheim' brooch, ^{a product of the Middle Rhine/North France region} (Kühn 1965, 151-161). Kühn distinguished two groups, one of the earlier, the other of the later sixth century, on the basis of their headplate ornament. Although the bow-form is constant throughout the series, the foot shows much greater variation. Parallels for the slim, clear animal head of the Long Wittenham fragment occur in both sub-groups (eg. Kühn's nos. 12/3, 5, 7, 35, 36, 38). Even if the Long Wittenham brooch was one of the earliest of the series, it is unlikely, as an import, to have reached its final condition and context until much before the mid sixth century, the approximate date of burial for the other English examples (Chatham Lines and Lyminge 16).

7. S-shaped brooch

Iffley (Pl. 54c).

This is an unexpected continental import to find in the Upper Thames Region: it is a Lombardic brooch of the sixth century. The few imported Frankish S-shaped brooches and the plainer English copies are discussed by Teresa Briscoe (1968).

8. Bird Brooch

Fairford 53 (Pl. 54d).

Bird brooches have been discussed by Mrs. Sonia Hawkes in connection with the pair from Finglesham grave D3 (Chadwick 1958, 42). She argues that 'perching' bird brooches with internal Style I ornament and garnet settings were a Kentish adaptation of the mid sixth century of the continental 'rampant' bird brooch. There are other plain bronze bird brooches besides the Fairford one, which may be simple versions of the Kentish brooches,

possibly also made there. Both those from Sarre (BM 93,6-1,224) and Great Chesterford grave 68 (BM) have bird-of-prey beaks, but the Fairford one is more like a benign duck; Speake has remarked that its closest parallel is the duck on the Sutton Hoo purse-lid (Speake 1974,95).

9. 'Anseate' Brooches (so spelt by Baldwin Brown for more normal 'ansate')

East Shefford XVIII, BM 93,7-16,73 (Pl. 55a), Frilford I, BM 67, 2-4,8 (Pl. 55b).

These three brooches belong to a small and heterogeneous group found in southern England. Their superficial similarity to the small equal-armed brooches of the late Merovingian and Carolingian world (Fr. fibule ansée) explains the transference of name (Baldwin Brown 1915,27-2), though the latter rarely include triangular-armed brooches and are properly symmetrical, unlike the English group, and are far too late in date to have any connection (cf. Werner 1961,51-2,Taf.47).

The best parallel for the unassociated East Shefford brooch is from Mitcham grave 138 (Bidder and Morris 1959,Pl.XII). A comparable brooch, with knobs at the corners of the armplates, was in the rich mid sixth-century grave 43 at Alfriston, and a similar, but plainer, example, with disc terminals, was in grave 29, together with a button brooch of Avent's Class I and a long dome-headed pin (Griffiths and Salzmann 1914, Pl.V,5-6). Another ornate brooch, with bird-headed creatures taking the place of the knobs, was found with a wheel-made bowl in Lyminge grave 24 (Warhurst 1955, Pl.VIII,4). Plain brooches with bull's-eye or stamp decoration, similar to the other two Upper Thames finds, are known from Harnham Hill grave 53, associated with a Fowler type G penannular brooch and amber beads (Akerman 1853,Pl.XII,5) and High Down grave 62 (Worthing Museum). The associated objects of these brooches, including the Group 1.1.3 saucer brooch, 9 amber and 2 jet beads, and 1 of rock crystal, from East Shefford XVIII, suggest

their currency during the early and middle years of the sixth century. The small equal-armed brooch from Luton is quite different in profile from those discussed and may be connected with true continental anseate brooches (Austin 1928, Pl. XXXII, 4).

There are no immediately apparent continental parallels. The basic form is represented in the Late Roman, enamelled brooch from Abbeville (Erä-Esko 1965, fig. 15), but it is too distant in time. The series of small equal-armed brooches known from Scandinavia and Middle Germany are comparable in time, but not in form (Schmidt 1961, 130-1), though the connection of these from the latter area with diminutive semicircular-headed brooches is suggestive of a parallel development from a common source of inspiration.

This source is most likely to be the multifarious series of small semicircular and triangular-headed bow brooches which were made in the late fifth and especially sixth century in the Merovingian world. Unlike the English development of small-long brooches, the continental use of small bow brooches did not lead to the large-scale production of fixed types; but Werner has drawn attention to some examples and to the presence of comparable brooches in England (Werner 1961, 23, 57, Fundliste 4). It is noteworthy that these continental brooches emphasise the armplate corners with scrolls, stylised animal heads or knobs, just like the English 'anseate' brooches, and that they may be plain or relief-decorated. One of them - from Krefeld-Gellep grave 863 (Pirling 1966, Taf. 73) - is plain with punched dot borders and bull's-eyes in the roundels at the corners of the armplates; it is very similar to the Frilford 'anseate' brooch and to the brooch from Bifrons grave 12 (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XXXV, 6), which Werner numbers among the English variants of his continental group. The other English examples are relief decorated, but all occur in the same areas as the 'anseate' brooches (Bifrons, Harnham Hill grave 13, Chessel

Down (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XXXV, 7, 620), Petersfinger grave XXV (Leeds and Shortt 1953, Pl. V)). Werner sees these as local variants, but in the present state of knowledge, it is difficult to distinguish imports from local copies. If they are locally made, then it would be easy to interpret the 'anseate' brooches as a further adaptation.

10. 'Maltese Cross' Brooches

? Fairford, LM M.7737, Wallingford 12 (Pl. 55c).

The Upper Thames has produced three examples of this unusual brooch-form. The Fairford brooch is lost and only known from a museum-card illustration. Among a number of idiosyncratic brooch-forms produced by the Avon valley cemeteries is another 'Maltese Cross' brooch from Bishop's Cleeve. It has four leg-elements in the central lozenge, and plain disc projections, one of which is pierced; it was found with five amber beads and a disc ornamented with two fine, ribbon-bodied Style I animals. Whereas its arms recall great square-headed brooch footplates, those of the Wallingford pair are like the terminals of the more advanced cruciform brooches; if these large brooches were the source of inspiration, a date in the middle or later sixth century is probable. The associations of both graves would be consistent with this.

11. Composite 'disc/saucer' brooches

A few brooches are muled versions of applied saucer brooches and disc brooches, which are best regarded separately from their 'parent' series. Some were discussed by Mrs. Saunders under her group 4.

a. Cast saucer-shaped backplate and cast upper disc

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,48-9 (Pl. 55d).

One of these brooches has a rim riveted on, and both are ornamented with punched crescents, dots and annulets, and have a yellow glass stud at the centre. But for the ornament, they might be interpreted as similar to Böhme's 'Liebenau' type with its sheet backplate and cast frontplate.

Saunders cited the belt-set from Mitcham grave 45 (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl.LXXV,1) as a parallel for the decoration and suggested that the ornament indicated sub-Romano-British workmen adapting their own disc-brooch to a Saxon form. The only comparable brooch which I know comes from Beckford B, grave 74, and it is not exactly the same, having a sheet bronze disc, roughly stamped with concentric rings of crescents, set into a thick sheet-metal saucer. It was found with a great square-headed brooch comparable with the later examples of Leeds' Group B1 and was presumably buried in the later sixth century. Without better parallels from good contexts, it is hard to pass judgement on the East Shefford pair.

b. Flat sheet bronze backplate, upper disc ornamented like a disc brooch

Dorchester VI, 125, Long Wittenham I, 75 (Pl. 55e); ?East Shefford VII, Standlake I, 19 (Pl. 4ldii).

The Long Wittenham brooch is decorated just like a disc brooch of my Group 3.2, and the Dorchester one also has concentric rings. Examples from Beckford B, grave 61 and Alveston (Meaney 1964,263) have all-over bull's-eye decoration; another, from Emp^oingham II, grave 79 (Jewry Wall Museum, Leicester, special exhibition December 1975) has a border of bull's-eyes and a central raised stud. The discs from the other two graves listed were found in non-functional positions and without backplates, but the similarity of the latter to a large applied brooch with simple repoussé bosses from Barrington 'B' (Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography) does raise the possibility of their inclusion.

Again, the datable examples come from sixth-century contexts, but stylistic links with disc brooches make fifth-century manufacture a possibility. They appear as simple versions of the applied brooch, but their relative rarity suggests that there was not much incentive to produce muled brooches, and that production was generally confined to defined types.

12. Garnet-inlaid composite brooches

Milton North Field 12, V. & A.M M.109-1939 (Avent 1975,Pls.73-74).

All commentators have agreed that these brooches, with their bronze framework, Style II filigree animals and simple rectangular and honeycomb cloisonné, are among the latest of their type, datable from the second quarter of the seventh century. Richard Avent discusses them in greater detail in his recent survey of garnet-inlaid brooches (1975,55,60-65).

I would endorse his opinion that, despite their bronze composition, they were made in Kent. Despite the highish gold content of the brooch from grave 12 (Brown and Schweizer 1973,180), the stylistic links of both brooches to Avent's classes 1.2 and 4.1, the dating evidence for those and their connections to other brooches, indicate a date of manufacture towards the middle of the seventh century. Material probably found at the same time at Milton (sugar-loaf shield-boss, broad seax) would be consistent with burial in the middle or later seventh century.

Chapter 3: PINS

Dress-pins are normally found on the breast, but they are rarely elaborate, and the great majority survive as no more than fragments of iron. The next most common form consists of ten iron and six bronze pins with simple looped heads (eg. Pl. 32diii). The following discussion deals therefore with the limited number of distinctive types.

a. Small pins from cremations

Abingdon I, C9, 28, 55, 63, 82, Long Wittenham I, q (Fig.16g), x, oo (Fig.16f), Reading I, 6.

Like the toilet items from cremations (below, p.220), pins are also small, generally under 75mm in length and sometimes under 35mm. All the complete specimens have knobbed heads: most are conical or polyhedral just like Roman pins; the iron pin from Abingdon I, C55 has a spherical bronze head. Several occur with miniature combs or toilet implements which may suggest a generally early dating (below, p.216); only one was with a distinctive urn, the fifth-century Buckelurne of Abingdon C82.

b - c. Pins related to Late Roman continental types

Böhme has discussed the long facettèd hair-pins found in late fourth- and fifth-century continental graves (1974, 35-9): some have solid knobbed heads, others loops surmounting the head for a wire-ring and lunulate or tab-shaped spangles. No such pins are known from the Upper Thames Region, though similar ones have been found at other English sites, notably Alfriston, where they continue to be buried into the sixth century. A number of pins from the Region may, however, be related in style to these hair-pins.

b. Pins with facettèd or grooved stems and perforated heads

Abingdon I, B61 (Fig.11a), 106 (Fig.15e), Brighthampton 17 (Pl. 56a), Kemble I, LM M.7741 (Fig.15d).

These pins, especially the Kemble pin with its simple nicked edges

and grooved stem, are very like the decorated toilet picks (below, p.224) except in size: the Abingdon B106 pin is as small as those normally found in cremations, while the others are longer than average for picks. The three recorded from graves are faceted in a more complex fashion than toilet picks: below the flat polygonal head of the Abingdon 106 pin is a grooved, rectangular-section piece; the alternate ribbed and faceted moulding of B61 is just like continental pins (eg. Böhme 1974, Taf.73, 11-12) and there is a biconical knob below the flat pronged head of the Brighthampton pin. The latter two have wire-rings and spangles and the Brighthampton pin is closely comparable with examples from Leagrave, Beds. (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl.CXXX, 2) and Mitcham grave 229 (Bidder and Morris 1959, Pl.XV). Since this type is found on the continent in Merovingian graves (Böhme 1974, 39), these examples do not have to be fifth-century; Abingdon 106 is certainly early fifth-century, but B61 is more probably early sixth-century.

c. Pins with solid-knob heads

Brighthampton 18 (Fig.11b), 58, Wallingford 15 (Fig.11c).

The Brighthampton 58 pin is very slender with a grooved conical head, possibly related to Roman forms. The others are solid and short with biconical and hour-glass knobs respectively; the ribbing of their upper stem may help to associate them with the hair-pin type. The Wallingford grave is definitely fifth-century. A plain stemmed pin with mushroom head decorated with radial scores, from a rubbish pit at Frilford, is close to Böhme's 'Wijster' Type, but may have nothing to do with the graves there.

d. Pins with projections above the perforated head

East Shefford III, Fairford BM 1929, 7-15, 4 (Fig.11d), Standlake I, 19 (Fig.16j).

The first two listed have well-demarcated projecting rods and wire-rings through the perforation. The biconical pot associated with the East Shefford

pin seems related in style to fifth-century facettèd carination bowls, but other parallels for the pin-type indicate a later date. One from Beckford B, grave 8 was found with a Group 1.4 saucer brooch and a large applied brooch; another from a grave at Mildenhall, Wilts, was associated with a very large saucer brooch of late sixth/early seventh-century type (WAM,6,1860,259), and the nearby find from a well at Poulton Down is unlikely to be very early in the Saxon settlement (WAM,53,1950,220-2). The Standlake pin is less like the foregoing group; its head is more an elongated lozenge with notched edges and it might be a pick. Its discovery with a very late saucer brooch corroborates the general late dating of the pin-type.

Structurally, the long pin from Wheatley 14 (Pl. 56b) is similar, except that the projecting rod has become a disc with central boss and stamped pattern like a sun-symbol. There is no precise parallel for it, though it does have affinities with Irish ringed racquet pins and wheel-headed pins, which, however, are mainly later in date than the Wheatley one (Laing 1975, 326, where an English inspiration for the racquet pin is suggested). It seems that Saxon models may be more relevant; the disc head may owe something to stamped gold and silver scutiform pendants of the sixth and seventh century. It was presumably buried during the early seventh century.

e. Celtic Pins

?Ashendon (Pl. 56c), Cassington I, 3.

Fowler has suggested a fourth- or fifth-century date for the enamelled pin from Cassington (1963,120-2,fig.2,3), though its precise position in the Celtic pin-series is unsure. It was buried with a long shield-grip which is unlikely to pre-date the sixth century.

One report only of the grave discovered at Ashendon in 1817 (Arch.J., 7,1859,87) implies that an Irish ring-headed pin(or pseudo-penannular brooch) was found; no other notice reports it, nor do the Stowe Collection records, now in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, refer to an

association. The chronology of this pin-type is debated, but ^arecent opinion is that it is unlikely to be earlier than the late seventh century (Stevenson 1974,31-8). Although its Upper Thames provenance is unsubstantiated, it should not be lightly dismissed in view of the occurrence of other Irish objects in late seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials.

f. Other seventh-century pins

Characteristically seventh-century are tiny, round-headed pins, often of silver and often worn in pairs, linked by a chain or thread, as union pins (Meaney and Hawkes 1970,36-7). Two sets from Long Wittenham II, 3 (Pl. 56d) and 7, are of this type: those from grave 3 have a further typical feature, spear-shaped 'hipping' of the lower stem; while only one of the grave 7 pair survived, it does have part of its silver chain. Single slightly larger pins are also known, both with wire-rings, from Stanton Harcourt 2 and 12, the former round-headed and bronze, the latter oval-headed and silver. Two more bronze round-headed pins come from Standlake I, 19 (Fig.16h-i), an early seventh-century grave, and one from East Shefford BM 93,7-16,104; the latter may not be seventh-century since no material of that date is known from the cemetery.

Another form of pin commonly used for union-sets is the spiral-headed type; a pair was found at Bourton-on-the-Water 7 (Pl. 56e) with a hump-backed knife, and a singleton with a similar knife at Broadwell 2. There can be no doubt of their late dating (Hawkes 1973b,283-5).

A small bronze pin with spherical knob and midshaft swelling from Lewknor 2 may be a late type (Fig.16k). Certainly seventh-century are two with added knobs: a wooden one on an iron shaft from Adwell Cop 1 and a glass head on a bronze shaft from Longcot.

One silver and one unidentified pin are recorded by Akerman from probably 'Final Phase' graves at Milton II.

g. Other Pins

A triple-looped pin from Abingdon I, B53, a 'horned' perforated pin from East Shefford XXI, and a rather pick-like pin, with almost thistle-profiled head, from Brighthampton 56 are all sixth-century, but do not belong to well-known types. The headless thin pins from Bishopstone I, Ay.M 30-31.80 (Pl. 60biii-iv), are puzzling: the former is broken at both ends and has midshaft ribbing, the latter seems perfect and has no head and a slight bend in the shaft. Some continental hair-pins resemble these, except in size (eg. Böhme 1974, Taf.57,14). Closer may be the Middle and Late Saxon pins which seem to have had organic material for heads (Shakenoak III, 70-2).

h. Needles

Abingdon I, C11, 55, 82 (Leeds and Harden 1936, Pl.III, IV), Chadlington 5.

Bronze needles were found in three cremation urns at Abingdon, two associated with pins, the third with a fragment of bronze which is either another needle or a pin. The only other needle is iron, from the late seventh-century grave 5 at Chadlington. The burial of needles would seem to be more associated with the rite of cremation than with inhumation.

Chapter 4: FINGER RINGS, BRACELETS AND TORCS

Finger rings and bracelets are uncommon jewellery worn only by women. Both show a remarkable persistence of Roman types and bracelets in particular appear to be most common in the fifth century. Since both were worn much more widely during the Roman period, they may represent a cultural trait which was passed directly from Romano-Britons to Anglo-Saxons, albeit in a limited way.

Finger Rings

1. Romano-British

Abingdon I, B106(2) (Fig. 15f), Cassington II, AM 1945.123, East Shefford 36 (Fig. 11f), Frilford I, 138, Long Wittenham I, 100 (Fig. 11e), Wheatley 28.

The only ring which was certainly worn on a finger is a lost iron one of unknown shape from Frilford. The Abingdon ones were probably on a necklet and the Long Wittenham one, which anyway was far too large for a woman, was in the lap. The three bronze rings - Abingdon and Long Wittenham with enamel settings and East Shefford with a central hole probably for a setting - and the iron ring from Abingdon are all annular with expanded bezels; the other two extant are of iron wire with coiled-knot bezel. All are typically Roman (v. Myres and Green 1973,98) and the Cassington ring could have come from a Roman grave. Of the datable graves, Abingdon and Frilford are early fifth-century, Long Wittenham and possibly Wheatley sixth-century.

2. Bronze Spiral Rings

Dorchester II, VI, 21, East Shefford BM 93,7-16,80, Frilford I, BM 67,2-4,14, Lockinge II, Minster Lovell 3, Reading I, 13 (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, Fig. 14b).

The rings may be made of wire or ribbon, either plain or decorated with linear designs. Dorchester II, Minster Lovell and Reading all date from the early or middle fifth century, while Lockinge, with a pair of disc brooches, and Dorchester VI, 21, with another ring of silver, might be sixth-century.

3. Silver and silvered rings

Plain annular silver bands: Brighthampton 22 (Fig. 11g), Fairford 7, Wheatley 14; Silvered bronze annular band: Fairford 4; Stamped spiral ribbons: Abingdon I, B53 (Fig. 11h), Cassington I, 7 (Fig. 15g), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,109 (Fig. 11k), Fairford AM 1961.135 (Fig. 11l); Other spiral rings: Dorchester VI, 21, Long Wittenham I, 71, 111(2) (Fig. 11i,j); Lost: Abingdon I, B3, B53, B61.

There is a very interesting change in fashion in finger rings in the sixth century. Silver, and in one case silvered bronze, replaces the bronze and iron rings of the earlier period, and annular bands appear as well as various types of spiral ring. Since these rings occur with rich females, who often had saucer brooches, their dating is well substantiated: Brighthampton 22 contained large Style I applied brooches of perhaps early or mid sixth-century date and Long Wittenham I, 111, with Group 1.1.2 saucer brooches, may be no later; Fairford 4, with Group 1.4 saucer brooches, may date from the middle of the century, and Fairford 7, Cassington 7, Long Wittenham 71 and Wheatley 14 all included brooches of Groups 10-18 of the second half of the sixth century or later. There seems every reason to extend this sixth-century dating to Abingdon B53, with disc brooches, and B61 with penannular brooches. Stylistically, a sixth-century date is also indicated for the ribbed and stamped rings, which must be related to the similar Anglian bracelets with which they are sometimes found (eg. Holywell Row grave 11, Lethbridge 1931, fig.2).

Bracelets

Bracelets are found almost exclusively with children. Since they are consequently small, it is possible that similar rings, which now have no grave-association, originally served as bracelets. Bracelets were particularly common during the Late Roman period and the smallness of many has led to the assumption that they too were worn primarily by children (J. Webster in Cunliffe 1975,209); if so, a significant continuity of custom into the Saxon period is indicated. Moreover, during the fourth century the custom of depositing a pile of bracelets in a grave had some currency, most notably at Lankhills (Antiq.J.52,1972,95), and it is possible that the three bracelets from the early fifth-century grave at Dorchester II represent a continuation of the custom.

The bracelets found in Anglo-Saxon graves are nearly all of Roman type and where datable come from fifth- or early sixth-century graves. The Dorchester II bracelets, one of bronze wire and two cast with deep-rib decoration are Late Roman (cf. Cunliffe 1975,fig.111,31); so too is the bracelet with deeply grooved terminals and hook-and-eye fastening from Long Wittenham I, 127 (Fig. 12a), and another without fastenings from Fairford, AM 1961.118 (Fig. 12d). Another common Late Roman form was made of two twisted bronze wires, of which one example is known from Abingdon I, B70 (Pl. 32aⁱⁱ; cf. Shakenoak IV,fig.54,193); other rings of this construction are known from Saxon contexts, but seem too small even for an infant (below, p.229). Bronze wire bracelets with sliding knots were more common prior to the fourth century; there is an example from Fairford, LM M.7734 (Fig. 15m).

Plain iron wire (East Shefford XVII), cast bronze (Fairford 41), and sheet bronze ribbon (Reading I, 4) are undiagnostic; the last comes from

a late fifth-century grave.

Only three bracelets have stamped decoration. The two of bronze come from children's graves and have ornament of Roman style: three rows of annulets decorate the one from Abingdon I, B94, while that from East Shefford 5 (Fig. 12b) has a series of patterns including crescent-and-dot and crude acanthus-style scrollwork.

The one adult to wear a bracelet was the only one to wear one of definitely Anglo-Saxon manufacture. Together with the Group 11.1 saucer brooches of mid or late sixth-century date in Long Wittenham I, 123, there was an imported stamped and ribbed Anglian silver bracelet (Pl. 57c); these were popular with contemporary rich females in East Anglia and the Midlands (Kennett 1970, 27-8).

Torcs

A plain spiral of silver ribbon around the neck of the girl in Long Wittenham I, 30, and fragments of U-sectioned sheet bronze with an eyelet hole for fastening from beneath the chin of the girl in Abingdon I, B61 (Pl. 57d), may be torcs.

Chapter 5: NECKLACES AND NECKLETS

Necklaces are very common in graves of women and children: nearly two hundred have been recorded and there are another thirty or so unassociated strings of beads. But there are obstacles to their study: excavation records are rarely sufficiently detailed to permit exact reconstruction of the strings, nor absolute guarantees that the strings have survived intact and uncontaminated (the unassociated strings, in particular, cannot be treated as genuine assemblages); the virtual lack of published studies on beads in England makes it difficult to collect parallels from other regions; and to work out the associations of each bead-type would require a sophisticated computer program. My discussion is therefore limited in scope, and I consider in most detail those items which appear at the moment to be important for chronology.

Items from necklaces - beads and pendants - are normally found around the body and head and it is usually assumed that they were strung in a festoon between the two brooches worn on either shoulder; but since some graves may contain a single brooch or none at all, their owners must have worn their string of beads around the neck. The majority of graves contain only a handful of beads, often just one or two, which would have required only a simple cord or thong, but Becker (1953,141) has suggested that strings of more than fifty would have needed to have been separated into rows. The recently excavated string of 92 amber beads from Dorchester VI, 102, was in three rows, and it is possible that two plates, one of bronze, the other of iron, found next to one of the brooches in Abingdon I, B53, were spacer-plates (Fig. 13b).

1. Amber

Amber beads have been found in well over one hundred graves. They are usually small (less than 20mm x 10mm) and simply shaped; sub-

rectangular, wheel- and wedge-shaped beads are most common, and there are many which have no real shape at all. Highly polished beads are rare, and so too are small elliptical ones (eg. East Shefford XIII, Pl. 57a; Wheatley 27).

In a study of ten bead-graves from Holywell Row, Lethbridge argued that amber only became common there in the second half of the sixth century, and he suggested that its likely origin was the coast of East Anglia (Lethbridge 1931, 75). This dating is much too narrow for general application, since it is easy to demonstrate the use of large quantities of amber throughout the sixth century; and objections may be made to Lethbridge's small sample and his criteria for distinguishing early from late sixth-century graves. Nevertheless, the idea that amber did have a confined period of use - the sixth century - is worth examination.

Amber is rarely found in Roman contexts (Chapman 1975), and evidence for its use among the Germans on the continent is variable. Böhme, in his study of the fourth- and fifth-century Germanic graves between the Elbe and the Loire, states that amber beads were not common in necklaces (1974, 41). However, he does refer to the use of amber, both for single pendants and whole necklaces, throughout the Germanic world, especially by wealthy females; and he rightly comments on the problem of negative evidence created by the practice of cremation. In many Merovingian cemeteries, amber is scarce (eg. Böhner 1958, 82; Pirling 1966, 160; 1974, 84), but where it does occur, it is a feature of the sixth century (La Baume 1967, 48; Christlein 1966, 71).

These data, therefore, provide a somewhat ambiguous background to conclusions which can be drawn from the Upper Thames Region in particular, and, possibly, from England as a whole. In the Upper Thames, 82 of the 113 graves with amber beads can be dated on grounds which involve no recourse

to a circular argument dependent on the dating of amber (amber was used for finer dating in the discussion of brooches). Only two of these are definitely fifth-century: Dorchester VI, 8, which on the basis of its equal-armed and disc brooches, is by far the earliest, contained only two beads, though one is the largest single piece of amber yet found in the Region, a rough lump 40mm x 25mm, and might have had an amuletic, rather than purely ornamental, value; Fairford 1, dated to the late fifth century by its Group 3.1 applied brooches, contained an unknown number of beads. Dorchester VI, 83 and Long Wittenham I, 96 contained Group II.3 small-long brooches and eight and one amber beads respectively; they may be late fifth-century burials.

This absence of amber from certain fifth-century graves is not due to a lack of fifth-century graves with necklaces: several can be cited and they all contain glass beads only (Abingdon I, 122, Dorchester VI, 64, Long Wittenham I, 5, Minster Lovell 3, Reading 13, Wallingford 15). As far as I know, this picture is true of the rest of England. Nor are the distinctive figure-of-eight beads, found in early continental graves (Böhme 1974,42), known in the Region or, I think, in England generally.

In the seventh century a new fashion for necklaces was introduced which meant the end of large assemblages of both amber and polychrome glass beads (Lethbridge 1931,75; Leeds 1936,99). Three or four amber-bead necklaces come from 'Final Phase' cemeteries in the Upper Thames and may, therefore, be seventh-century: Yelford 17 and Standlake I, 23 contained single beads only, but Standlake I, 10 had a larger string of very small beads. The very large string from Standlake, PR 69/8386, may come from the same site, though it would be unusual (Dickinson 1973^b,249).

The vast majority of amber-bead necklaces come from graves datable somewhere between the mid fifth and the earliest seventh century.

Thirty-six¹ of these can be dated more closely by their associations - most saucer brooches, button brooches, relief-cast square-headed brooches, millefiori beads, silver finger-rings, etc. - to the sixth and earliest seventh century. The associations of the other 39 graves² - disc, small-long and Groups 1.1, 1.2, 2.3 and 3.3.1 saucer brooches - preclude distinction between the second half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century.

There are, however, certain instructive differences between the beads in each group. Although in both groups, the vast majority of graves (18:21 respectively) contain no more than ten, and generally no more than five, beads, the average number of beads in the first group is 30, but in the second only 15. This is explained by the fact that smaller necklaces (11 - 40 beads) predominate in the second group (9:13 respectively); but the ratio is dramatically reversed for necklaces of over 40 beads (8:3). Now, by definition the second group includes graves which could date anywhere between AD 450 and 550; statistically, a significant number of these must be sixth century, so it follows that taking the two groups together, the majority of amber-bead necklaces must come from sixth-century contexts. Moreover, very large necklaces are clearly to be associated with definite sixth-century graves and it could therefore be argued that the three graves with over 40 beads from the late fifth-/early sixth-century group are, in fact, sixth-century. The number of beads should not be the sole criterion, since a smaller necklace of large-sized beads could, of course, represent the same quantity of amber as a larger one of small-sized beads. Analysis of the far fewer graves with larger beads (over 20mm x 10mm) gives equally decisive results: of the fifteen datable graves, ten³ are definitely sixth-century and five⁴ are either late fifth- or early sixth-century. Again, those five could, in fact, be sixth-century, especially given that three contain necklaces of 36, 34 and 61 amber beads.

This does not mean that amber was not used in the fifth century: the few certain fifth-century examples, the continental evidence, the occurrence of amber sword-beads in the fifth century (notably Brighthampton 31), and the fact that a number of graves are ambiguously dated must contradict such an idea. But given the considerable evidence for the use of large and small quantities of amber in the sixth century, it is unlikely that widespread use of amber began much before AD 500. The chronological application of this conclusion will be apparent in my discussion of the brooches and other material. It also counters Lethbridge's argument for an East Anglian source for the amber: namely, a relatively short period of intensive use. The possibility of a Scandinavian (Baltic) source must be reconsidered, particularly in the light of the fact that the very late fifth and the sixth century is the period when Scandinavian elements manifest themselves in the insular culture, especially of the wealthier classes.

2. Rock Crystal

Abingdon I, B7, 60, 102, 118, Abingdon IV, 2, Brighthampton 23, Cassington I, 2, East Shefford XVIII, Frilford I, 145, Long Wittenham I, 7, 53, 171, 187, Wallingford 1, 11 (Fig. 13e), 12, 16, Wheatley 14.

Rock crystal beads usually occur singly, and there are never more than two in a necklace. They are nearly always squat biconical, spherical or plano-convex in shape, and often are very worn; the two from Wheatley 14 were originally faceted, but by the time they were buried they had worn almost smooth. Like amulets of rock crystal, they occur primarily with wealthy sixth-century females (Hinz 1966; below, p.234): only one of the eighteen graves (there are also six unassociated examples) lacked brooches and thirteen contained relief-decorated and gilded brooches; and only one necklace contained no amber beads, while seven or eight had over twenty of them. None of the graves can be dated independently to the fifth century,

but six definitely and seven probably are sixth-century; eight may be either late fifth- or early sixth-century, though of these, Abingdon I, B60 with 114 amber beads is much more likely to be sixth-century and there is a probability that a further three with over 20 amber beads each also are.

There would appear to be a definite chronological and sociological link between amber and rock crystal, though the evidence might suggest that the latter had a more restricted period of use than the former: in the Upper Thames Region, at least, not many of the examples were buried during the second half of the sixth century.

3. Other non-vitreous beads

Apart from amethyst, which is found solely in seventh-century graves (Longcot, Standlake I, 8 and Yelford 16; below, p.237), there is little chronological distinction between these beads.

Beads of jet form a small, but interesting group. The jet industry was well established in Roman Britain, and all or some of the Anglo-Saxon examples might be Roman. The flat rectangular bead from Abingdon I, B46 (Fig. 13d) can be easily paralleled from Roman contexts (Lawson 1976, fig.2,15). Other flat square or circular beads are known from Long Wittenham I, 111, Minster Lovell 3 and Wallingford 15, while three graves contained faceted examples: those from Abingdon I, B3 are very worn, but the one in Brighthampton 22 is quite sharp (Fig. 13c).

Bone beads are usually simple cylinders or plano-convex buttons (Abingdon I, B53, Brighthampton 17, Dorchester VI, 64, 118, Long Wittenham I, 111, Wheatley 27) and the one of ivory is a truncated cone (Abingdon I, B66). Other materials represented are chalk, limestone, lead, baked clay and stone.

Simple small tubes of metal also served as beads. All are of bronze. (Abingdon I, B51, 75, Blewburton 5, Dorchester VI, 64, Frilford I, 155, Harwell 4, Long Wittenham I, 52) except the six of silver from the rich

sixth-century grave, Fairford 7 (Pl. 57b), and one from Wallingford 11 (Pl. 52ai). It is interesting that Mucking grave 843, a grave comparable in wealth and date with Fairford 7, produced some even finer, parcel-gilt silver tubes; this may be further evidence of the increased use of silver in that century.

4. Glass Beads

To discuss glass beads profitably would require a complete thesis on its own, though undoubtedly the resulting information on manufacture, origins, distribution and chronology, would prove invaluable. Since I feel unable to undertake such a colossal task, I shall comment on only a few bead types which have caught my attention during superficial study. I have already commented on some Upper Thames beads, mainly miniature and seventh-century types, in connection with those from Standlake I,²⁴ (Dickinson 1973^b, 251-4).

The range of bead types is immense: truncated discs and spheres, cylinders, bicones, cubes, lobed and segmented beads occur in a wide variety of plain translucent or opaque colours, and frequently are decorated with marvered polychrome trails, most often interlaced lines with dots between, but also zig-zags, vertical and horizontal lines and spots. It is generally assumed that most beads were imported from the same Frankish glasshouses which produced the vessels, but it is possible that the simpler forms were manufactured in England from scrap material (v. Koch 1975, 495-6). Many types are developments of forms known in the Roman period: for example, the ubiquitous translucent dark blue discoid beads, which can occur in vast numbers (eg. 135 in Wallingford 15). Faience 'melon' beads also occur with some frequency (eg. Abingdon I, B59, C38, Brighthampton 49, Fairford AM 1961. 166, Filkins AM 1909.495b, Longcot, Lower Heyford AM 1893.202, Minster Lovell 3) and may too have continued in manufacture.

Most beads appear to have been manufactured and used over a long period of time. The following, which are mostly continental imports, have a narrower time-range and may therefore help the overall search for a chronological framework.

a. Millefiori beads

The exact source of millefiori beads is debated, but it is most likely to be somewhere within the Mediterranean area: they are particularly numerous in Southern Germany, where they occur most often in burials of the second half of the sixth century (Koch 1975, 495ff). In England they are rare, and only two are known from the Upper Thames Region. One, from the very late sixth or early seventh-century grave, Abingdon I, B5, (Leeds and Harden 1936, Pl.VI), is a large blue cylinder set with discs of concentric green, yellow, and red glass. The other is an octagonal-section cylinder of green glass with red-and-white discs and white stars set in it, and red overbands at each end (Fig. 13f); it comes from an unassociated string from Cassington I, AM 1942.157, which also contained other later sixth-century imported beads, though there is no guarantee that these are genuine associations. The bead type is well paralleled in Germany, for example at Köln-Müngersdorf and Marktoberdorf (Christlein 1966, 72).

b. Reticella or herringbone-overlaid beads

Large cylindrical or drum-shaped beads with a central core (often translucent green) overlaid by marvered cables of twisted yellow, red, green and white glass, represent a variety of bead known throughout Europe, especially during the second half of the sixth century (Koch 1974, 137-8). Unfortunately, all the Upper Thames examples are unstratified (Appleford, Cassington I, AM 1942.146, 157 (Fig. 13g), Wallingford AM 1938.1223).

Three long cylinders with twisted green and yellow cables and red overbands come from Long Wittenham I, 100, which is probably an early sixth-century

grave (Fig. 13j).

c. Combed and streaked beads

Koch discusses another typical later sixth-century form in which glass trails were combed on to the body of the bead (1974,138-9; 1975,504-5). The very late sixth- or early seventh-century grave, Standlake I, 19, would seem to include an example (Fig. 13m); and the drum-shaped blue bead (the applied scallop trail has eroded away) with yellow overbands, from Cassington I, AM 1942.157, may be another (Fig. 13h). Related beads with combed and streaked green and yellow bodies and red overbands occur in earlier graves: East Shefford XII (Fig. 13k), which may be late fifth-century, and Reading I, 7a, which is sixth (Fig. 13l).

d. Metal-in-glass or 'Pearl' beads

Small segmented beads are quite common; some are made by spiralling a glass trail around a rod, especially those of dark blue glass, others are wound and then crimped, such as the yellow opaque ones (Dickinson 1973^b,253), or drawn and then crimped, such as the light green striated cylinders (loc. cit.). Among blown and crimped beads are those with a piece of gold or silver foil held between two layers of usually colourless glass. These have been studied in Britain by Mr. G.C.Boon (1966 and 1977 forthcoming) and I am grateful to him for discussion of the type and for permission to read his forthcoming paper. Since their development in the Hellenistic period, they were produced sporadically in the Mediterranean and Europe, and were notably popular in the Migration Period. Their quality then, however, was often poor, and the greater use of silver foil has meant that they rarely preserve their metal inlay. This fact and my own inexperience at the time of most of my museum study has meant that in most cases I have not recorded the metal content of these beads, and I have favoured Leeds' non-specific description, 'pearl' bead. Since blown and segmented beads need not contain inlay, some caution is required, but even where the metal is totally

oxidised, these beads are most distinctive: they have a double-shelled construction (eg. Pl. 58a), 'canals' around their neck where they have been crimped, and a constant size, rarely as low as 3mm x 3mm or as high as 5mm x 5mm.

I have recorded examples from seventeen graves and six unassociated strings of beads⁵. Beads of more than three segments are rare: there is one quadruple from Long Wittenham I, 111, and quintuples from Hampnett 7 (three gilt), Long Wittenham I, 95 (Fig. 14k) and Fairford AM 1961.162. They seem to occur especially often with amber (in 13 of the associated and 4 of the unassociated strings) and drawn cylinder beads (Standlake Type s (Pl. 58a), datable to the sixth and seventh centuries, Dickinson 1973^b, 254; in 5 of the associated and 4 of the unassociated strings). The latter are not common and are known from a further eight graves and three unassociated strings⁶.

The very small 'pearl' beads from East Shefford XII, whose identification I have been unable to check, would seem to belong to the late fifth century. Of the other datable graves (I have included over 40 amber beads and drawn cylinder beads as criteria for a sixth-century date), eight are definitely sixth-century and seven may be late fifth or earlier sixth. Their period of use would therefore seem to coincide with that of amber, though few beads come from later sixth-century burials. It is also notable that, unlike large quantities of amber or rock crystal, 'pearl' beads do not necessarily occur in the richest graves.

e. Seventh-century beads

I have commented elsewhere on the types of bead which became common in the seventh century (Dickinson 1973^b, 252-3). Marvered polychrome cylinders, bicones and double-segmented beads occur in Standlake I, 19 and 24, and may be typical of the period around AD 600 (loc.cit. fig.5,1; Fig. 13n-o). In the full seventh century short necklets, often with beads suspended on silver

wire rings, became fashionable. The most typical beads - bicones of plain wound glass - are represented in Longcot, Long Wittenham II, 3 (Pl. 56d), North Leigh 3, Standlake 8 and 11.

One unusual bead comes from Ducklington 2: the dark blue glass was wound round a bronze tube (Pl. 58c). Two other such beads are known from the 'Final Phase' cemetery at Camerton in Somerset, and are apparently common in Eastern Europe in the Migration Period (Antiq.J.,13,1933,169).

5. Pendants

a. Gold Bracteates

The Upper Thames boasts the only English find of a Scandinavian class A bracteate, though unfortunately it is only a stray find (Oxford I; Brown and Schweizer 1973,176,AM 1). Bracteate chronology is hotly debated, though there is general agreement that class A is a primary type and was probably produced in the fifth century (Bakka 1973,55,61-4). The Oxford bracteate is exceptionally worn, however; and the bulk of other English bracteates (mostly from Kent) were probably imported and buried mainly in the early to mid sixth century (Chadwick 1958,42-4; Bakka 1973). It is more likely, therefore, that this too represents a rich sixth-century burial.

The other gold bracteate, from Ducklington 2 (Pl. 58c; Brown and Schweizer 1973,178,AM 10), is an inexpert piece with central cabochon yellow glass setting and a short filigree cross with serified arms; it shows very little wear. The closest parallels are bracteates with long equal-armed crosses and central cabochon settings from Milton Regis (Hawkes 1963,28-9, Pl.I,B), Keynsham (Bristol Museum), and Kingston Down grave 96, which has an additional diagonal cross with forked arms (Faussett 1856,Pl.IV,11).

Speake places the majority of pendants with stamped Style II ornament in the first half of the seventh century (1974,134ff); the filigree bracteates are obviously related, though their manufacture probably, and burial

certainly, continued into the second half of the century (eg. Hawkes 1963, 28-9,38; Hawkes, Merrick and Metcalf 1966,111-112). The associated long comb and oval cabochon pendant suggest that the Ducklington burial did not take place before the middle of the seventh century; despite the good gold standard of the pendant, its manufacture should be well into the middle third of the century, given its unworn appearance and, if it were a local piece, the explicit use of a cross (cf. Brown and Schweizer 1973,185).

b. Oval cabochon pendants

Two gold pendants from Standlake I, 8, (Brown and Schweizer 1973,177, AM 8, 9) one with a garnet, which is very worn, the other with a flat-topped piece of translucent purple glass, and a cabochon garnet and silver backplate from an incomplete pendant from Ducklington 2 (Pl. 58c) are classic items from the necklets of very wealthy women buried in the middle and later seventh century (Meaney and Hawkes 1970,47). The Ducklington pieces are intriguing, since they were clearly intended to be made into a pendant (the unevenness of the backplate corresponds with the profile of the stone).

c. Other metal pendants

The most common metal pendants on necklets are Roman coins, and these are discussed below (p.239). Small discs, usually of sheet metal, occasionally appear: bronze examples are known from Dorchester VI, 125, East Shefford BM 93,7-16,84-8 (a set of five minute discs), Long Wittenham I, 52 (kidney-shaped with perforated lobes, which may be compared with belt-studs from Fairford 6) and Standlake I, 11 (? a worn coin), and a silver one from Abingdon I, B7. The last may be a simple variant of the silver scutiform pendants popular in Anglian areas during the sixth century (eg. Lethbridge 1931,figs.2,4; 4,A2).

Knotted silver wire rings were especially popular in the seventh century (eg. Ducklington 2 (Pl. 58c), Longcot (Pl. 40dii), Long Wittenham

II, 3 (Pl. 56d) and North Leigh, but looser rings were not unknown before as the four from Brighthampton 22 demonstrate (v. Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 37-8).

A final note may be made about the pendant from Brighthampton 57 (Pl. 49gii). Its closest parallel is a sword-chape from Barrington A, Camb., which seems to belong to a group of chapes produced in fifth-century Scandinavia (Menghin 1975, 456, Abb. 15, 3). Similarly shaped items served as horse-trappings and as jewellery (Vierck 1967, 114-120), though the profile of the Brighthampton and Barrington objects appears to be unique among published examples, and they may be of English manufacture. The small-long brooch with the Brighthampton pendant would support a late fifth-/early sixth-century date for it. Related pendants of the sixth century have also been published by Vierck (op.cit., 111-113) and one example is represented by a failed casting from Woodeaton, AM 1937.827 (Pl. 58b).

d. Bone pendants

Two varieties of bone pendant have been found in the Region and both may have had an apotropaic value. Bone pyramids from Souldern 1 and Wallingford 15 (Pl. 24aii) belong to a group of objects known throughout the Migration Period in Germanic Europe, which Werner has argued are symbols of Thor's club or hammer (Werner 1964). Animal teeth are known from three sites: Abington I, B76 (dog's canine; Pl. 32ciii), Cassington I, 2 (boar's tusks, apparently in a purse), Wheatley 12 (boar's incisor) and 27 (boar tusk and two wolf's canines) - and there are a number of parallels for the custom from elsewhere in the country (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 32-3).

NOTES

1. Abingdon I, B5,6,7,32,51,53,61,85,102,119, Brighthampton d, 13b,20,23,49, 56, Cassington I, 7, Dorchester VI, 18,22,63,77,102,130, Fairford 4, Frilford I, 155, Long Wittenham I, 71,111,123,162, Reading I, 7a, Standlake I, 19, Sutton Courtenay I, Wallingford 1,12, Wheatley 14,26.
2. Abingdon I, B50,60,75,78,113,118, Blewburton 2, Brighthampton 16,45, 46, Cassington I, 2, Dorchester VI, 5,35,42,54,58, 91,104, East Shefford IX,XIII,XVIII, Long Wittenham I, 33,53,58,68,84, 100,110,134,142, 150,151,171,187, Wallingford 11,21, Wheatley 10,20,27.
3. Abingdon I, 7,85, Brighthampton 13b,20,23,56, Frilford I, 155, Long Wittenham I, 71,111, Wheatley 14.
4. Brighthampton 46, Cassington I, 2, Long Wittenham I, 150,151, Wheatley 27.
5. Abingdon I, B50,61,75,78, Bassett Down DM 41, Dorchester VI, 68,91,104, 107, East Shefford XII, AM 1955.349, Fairford AM 1961.162, Filkins AM 1909.497f, 1921.1108, Hampnett 7, Long Wittenham I, 33, 95,110,111, 130 (Pl. 58a), Lower Heyford AM 1893.202, Wheatley 27, 38.
6. Standlake Type s beads: Abingdon I, B61,119, Bassett Down DM 41, Cassington I, 1942.157 (Fig. 13i), Dorchester VI, 35,91, East Shefford BM 93,7-16,5, Filkins AM 1909.496c, 497f, 1921.1108, Frilford I, 141, 155, Hampnett 7, Longcot, Long Wittenham I, 18,130 (Pl. 58a), Lower Heyford AM 1893.202, Standlake I, 8,24, Wheatley 27.

Chapter 6: COMBS

Combs occur in both cremations and inhumations, but the type of comb found with each suggests some intriguing differences of ritual. Of the 21 with cremations, 12 are one-piece miniature combs, 4 are single fragments of three-piece double-sided combs, only 3 are complete three-piece combs, and 2 are lost; of the 22 from probable inhumations, 12 are complete three-piece combs, 9 are single fragments, and one is lost.

1. Miniature single-piece combs

Abingdon I, C2, 9 (Pl. 52di), 10, 11 (Pl. 58dii), 13, 28, 36, 48, 58, 82, Wallingford F, AM 1938.1242.

Most of these have rounded backs, but a few have arched, pointed, or flat backs and one has out-turned animal heads. This last is from a Buckelurne, Wallingford F; Abingdon C82 was also in a Buckelurne, which indicates a fifth-century date. The remainder were in plain urns, but Abingdon C11 also contained a B6 great square-headed brooch, indicative of a mid sixth-century date.

Miss Barbara Green has recently discussed miniature combs in relation to two found at Caistor-by-Norwich, and argues for a fifth-century date (Green and Myres 1973,97). There are few continental examples and the insular distribution is erratic, the largest number to date coming from Abingdon; the example from C11 must extend the period of their use well into the sixth century.

2. Small fragments of double-sided combs

Abingdon I, B14, 61, C12, 50, 69 (Pl. 58f), Brighthampton AM no. ii, East Shefford 7, 42, Foxcote Manor 2, 3, Frilford I, 133, Reading I, C5, Wheatley AM no. (Fig. 15a).

The four cremations were all in plain urns, three being globular. As at Caistor, double-sided combs are less frequent in cremations and, when

present, generally occur as single fragments. At Loveden Hill, however, such fragments occurred more often than other comb types (Fennell 1964, Ch.IX,1). Exactly similar fragments occur in inhumations and there is no reason why they should not have been originally deposited in this condition. Some graves are datable to the fifth century (Abingdon B14, and East Shefford 7, see above, pp.128,250), others to the sixth (Abingdon B61); Frilford 133 was a lead-coffin burial, which ought to indicate a Roman grave in this mixed cemetery.

3. Double-sided combs of length less than 150mm

Bledlow I, B, C, Blewburton 4, Brighthampton AM no no. i, Long Wittenham I, 158 (Pl. 58e), Sutton Courtenay IV.

Although three of these combs are incomplete, they are substantially larger than the fragments already considered. The Long Wittenham comb has different gauge teeth on either side; its association with two small-long brooches can indicate only a general late fifth/sixth-century date. The disc brooches in Blewburton 4 imply a date-range of AD 450-550, but the Sutton Courtenay grave must be later, since it was dug into an abandoned ^(p. 352, under 15) Grubenhaus containing Illington-Lackford style pottery. Bledlow C, a cremation in an ovoid jar, may be even later: a possibly unurned cremation at this site contained a late seventh-century comb.

4. Double-sided combs of length over 150mm

Abingdon I, B85 (Pl. 59c), Chadlington 5, Cirencester II, Cor.M.B.825 (Fig. 15c), Ellesborough 3, Yelford 22 (Fig. 15b).

5. Single-sided combs

Bledlow I, D, Ducklington 2 (Pl. 59a), Eynsham II, 4 (Pl. 59b), Lowbury Hill Barrow.

Single-sided three-piece combs do not occur before the seventh century, and are especially a feature of later seventh-century graves, by which time

they are generally very long (Hawkes 1973^a, 198). The Upper Thames examples show something of the range of types: they tend to be decorated, often lavishly, and to have projecting wings, often pierced for suspension, which on some combs are fashioned as inturning bird's heads (eg. probably the Eynsham comb; cf. Burwell grave 83, Lethbridge 1931, fig. 34); the applied plates may be narrow (Ducklington), broad (Bledlow and Lowbury Hill), or even bipartite (Eynsham), but all have arched backs.

Double-sided combs of equivalent length also seem to be seventh-century: Yelford, which has a curved spine, and Chadlington come from 'Final Phase' cemeteries, and the cowrie shell in the Ellesborough grave should also indicate a seventh-century date. These combs may be compared with those from other later seventh-century sites, such as Ford Barrow 2 (Musty 1969, fig. 5e) and Winnall II (Meaney and Hawkes 1969, figs. 8, 11, 12). This evidence suggests that the other two combs are of similar date, though the Cirencester comb was unstratified and the Abingdon one was found with two flat annular brooches, arguably a late variant of the form (above, p. 146).

The evidence from the combs is remarkable and yet consistent: in the fifth and sixth centuries token combs were deposited in cremations and inhumations, while burial of whole combs, mainly in inhumations, was rare until the later sixth century and became particularly popular in the later seventh century. Whole combs are not associated with a particular sex in inhumations, but unfortunately it is impossible to be certain about cremations, which are unsexable: Green suggests that manīcure sets, which are sometimes associated with token combs, may indicate men, but this is debatable (see below, p. 220), and their occurrence with beads suggests several are from female burials. What is striking is that all inhumed skeletons with fragments of combs which could be sexed are female, except the anomalous brooch-grave, Abingdon B14.

Deliberately-made miniature combs are peculiar to cremations, and their non-functional nature implies that they were symbolic, possibly relating to some head- or hair-cult (Alcock 1963,157-8), not practical objects for use in the after-life. Although not purpose-made, fragments of double-sided combs in cremations may have fulfilled an equivalent role, and so, by extension, should those in inhumations. The fragment from a putative Roman grave at Frilford presents the tempting possibility of a Celtic origin for the practice, but this cemetery is too poorly documented to be relied on (was the grave that of a German buried in the Late Roman period ? was the association genuine ?). Nevertheless the lack of parallels from pre-Migration urnfields is odd, especially since the custom of depositing miniature manicure sets is well-attested and presumably relates to a similar cult of the body (Böhme 1974,127-8). The contemporary rarity of burial of whole combs suggests that rituals involving comb-cults were circumscribed; the later development, before the advent of Christianity, of an alternative ritual implies an alteration in pagan beliefs. The fact that whole-comb burial became most popular in 'Final Phase' cemeteries and contemporary barrows may suggest further that these pagan beliefs were accommodated to Christian doctrine as part of the widespread integration of pagan and Christian customs (Alcock 1963,loc.cit; see also, Vierck 1972, 36-40 on comb-cults, especially in connection with cremation).

Chapter 7: TOILET ITEMS

Toilet implements occur either individually or in sets, often suspended on a ring. In inhumations they comprise functional tweezers, picks, 'ear' scoops, bronze-sheathed brushes, and 'scrapers'; in cremations non-functional miniature knives, shears and tweezers are found, which may be symbols of a cult of the body specifically associated with adherence to the cremation rite.

It is quite clear that in Upper Thames Region inhumations sets of toilet implements and all individual items, except tweezers, belong to female burials. The only certain male grave to contain a set - tweezers and an ear scoop - is Long Wittenham I, 85. Single pairs of tweezers are more common with men, but far from exclusive to them (of 40 examples, 16 are in male and 10 in female burials). This contrasts with the custom of, for example, the Trier Region where tweezers are a male prerogative (Böhner 1958,219). Green has suggested that in cremations manicure sets may indicate men (Myres and Green 1973,111), but the association of beads and a manicure set at Abingdon I, C9 should imply a woman and Böhme remarks that on the continent miniature toilet sets are most common with women (1974,128).

By far the most common find in inhumations is a single pair of tweezers, followed by a single pick. Although a wide variety of implement combinations are represented once, only two picks and a scoop (9), one pick and a scoop (7) and two picks (5) occur with greater frequency. Only 5 cremation sites, of which Abingdon is by far the most significant, have produced toilet items, so that analysis of combinations is not very meaningful. There are five or six sets of knife, shears and tweezers, and two each of knife and tweezers and shears and tweezers. A single item occurred in 4 burials. Three urns had pairs of one implement, and combs occurred four times with toilet items.

Tweezers

Green has devised a typology for tweezers from Caistor-by-Norwich which may be extended to those from the Upper Thames Region with little adaptation (Myres and Green 1973, 105-8). Following Lethbridge, she dates most of them to the fifth century. In the Upper Thames, most of the datable examples belong to the fifth or earlier sixth century, but some are associated with objects of general sixth-century date and a few with seventh-century items.

I. Functional bronze tweezers of 'Roman' type

a. Decorated

Three decorative schemes exist: simple blocks of horizontal grooves (Abingdon I, C9, Brighthampton 18 (Fig. 16a), East Shefford BM 1903, 2-14, 3, Fairford Durham Loan Coll., Long Wittenham I, 21), complex designs with facets, horizontal grooves and diagonal crosses in the upper half and vertical border lines, often stamped, in the lower (Bishopstone I, Ay.M 32.80, no no. i (Pl. 60ai, ii), Fairford LM M.7732, Frilford I, 134, Long Wittenham I, 61), and simple incised versions of the latter (Brighthampton 2, Fairford 30). K1 and K2 spearheads from Brighthampton 2 and Long Wittenham 21 suggest a later fifth/earlier sixth-century date, but other associated objects could give a broader dating.

b. Plain

Bishopstone I, Ay.M no no. ii (Pl. 60aiii), Bledlow I, 2 (?Ay.M 91.57a or d), Ay.M 91.57c, Brighthampton 42, East Shefford 39, BM 93, 7-16, 106-7, Fairford 28, Long Hanborough 2/2, Long Wittenham I, 26, 36, 67, 85, 110, 111, 165, Minster Lovell AM no no., Wheatley 32.

Long Hanborough 2/2 is an unurned seventh-century cremation (below, p. 253). Both the pairs of tweezers which might represent the pair from Bledlow 2 show signs of burning and might, in fact, be from cremations,

which are mainly late sixth- or seventh-century at this site. The remainder are from inhumations of the later fifth and sixth centuries, though none need be very late in the sixth century.

II. Small plain bronze tweezers

Bledlow I, Ay.M 91.57b, Brighthampton 1, Long Wittenham I, 11.

These are no thinner than other functional tweezers, unlike the Caistor ones which were crudely cut from bronze, and the association of the Brighthampton pair with two picks and a scoop in an inhumation grave of probably the early sixth century distinguishes these from the token tweezers of Caistor. Nevertheless, the Long Wittenham pair was part of a miniature toilet set, and the Bledlow example might also be from a cremation, so they have some connection with the token tweezers deposited in cremations.

III. Small iron tweezers (Leeds and Harden 1936, Pl.III).

Miniature iron tweezers are peculiar to the token toilet implements deposited in cremations. However, the Upper Thames examples belong to Green's two possibly functional sub-groups, a (Abingdon C13,19,66, Wallingford F) and b (Abingdon C20). The only decorated urn was the fifth-century Buckelurne from Wallingford F.

IV. Full-size iron tweezers

Abingdon I, 61, 93, Long Wittenham I, 2.

Green notes the rare occurrence of this type. Her fifth-century dating must be extended to accommodate the two sixth-century Abingdon burials (above, pp.132,199).

V. Bronze tweezers with shovel foot

Unknown at Caistor and represented by one example, from Stratton (Fig. 16b), within the Region, this would seem to be a rare type. The Stratton pair is squat with stamped foot and sliding clip for binding the arms together. Böhme states that on the continent this form does not appear

until the fifth century (1974,127) and examples from Krefeld-Gellep indicate its continuity into the sixth century (Pirling 1966,210; 1974,167).

'Scrapers'

Abingdon I, ?B51, B61, 93, (2) (Pl. 37ai,vi), Dorchester IIIa, 2 (Fig. 16c), VI,107 (3).

These objects are just like one half of a pair of tweezers, except that the loop turns backwards; the foot may be grooved or even pronged. They occur singly and in sets, sometimes with other toilet items, but I have not discovered any parallels and do not know their use. Three of the graves indicate sixth-century burial and the others could do.

A shovel-footed spatula from Abingdon I, B78 is another rare toilet implement (Leeds and Harden 1936,Pl.XV).

Brushes

Abingdon I, B53, Bishopstone I, Ay.M 29.80 (Pl. 60bii), Broughton Poggs 16, Cassington I, 2, AM 1942.155, Dorchester VI, 18,107, East Shefford XIII, AM 1955.363, Kemble LM M.7742, ?Lower Heyford AM 1893.200.

Brown has recently reinterpreted 'needle cases' as cosmetic brushes (1974); his perception has been substantiated by the new Dorchester examples and also by an unconserved example from Bidford-on-Avon grave 187. So far they have been found only in inhumations and only twice as part of a toilet set. Their distribution is principally Wessex and the Midlands (Chadwick 1958,35-6), but Brown has added two examples from Holland. Of the Upper Thames pieces, Broughton Poggs, with a later fifth-century saucer brooch, is the earliest and Dorchester 107, of the middle or later sixth century, the latest.

Ear Scoops

Ear Scoops, like the picks with which they are generally associated, were either cast or rolled and welded from a flat cast strip. Only the set

from Blewburton 16 is of iron. Heads may be variously flat-topped, round, oval, or lozenge-shaped. Stems are occasionally decorated with series of horizontal grooves like facetting or with lines just below the head; more often they are either twisted or plain. Although the majority of datable examples (frequently associated with disc brooches) belong to the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries, it may be relevant that one of the two pseudo-facettled scoops comes from the early Minster Lovell grave 3, while the few late sixth-century examples (Coleshill, Abingdon I, B5) are plain.

Pseudo-facettled:

Kemble LM M.7750, Minster Lovell 3 (Pl. 31civ);

Linear ornament:

Fairford AM 1961.150 (Fig. 16d), Long Wittenham I, 30, 150;

Twisted:

Abingdon I, B26, Blewburton 12 (Pl. 60ci), 16, East Shefford X, XVII, Fairford AM 1961.153, Frilford I, 106, Long Wittenham I, 47, 100.

Plain:

Abingdon I, B5, Bishopstone I, Ay.M 29.80 (Pl. 60bi), Brighthampton 1, 16, Coleshill, East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 103, Long Wittenham I, 3 (Pl. 22bi), 85, Oddington, Wheatley 27.

Picks

Where picks are combined with other implements, especially ear scoops, whose method of construction they share, they can be securely identified as for the toilet, though whether they were used for teeth, nails or something else cannot be decided; but there can be no good criterion for distinguishing single picks from dress-pins of identical form, especially since both may be found on the breast (toilet implements also occurring at the waist or in purses) and both may be suspended on wire-rings, sometimes with little bronze 'spangles'. Size may be of some assistance: picks in sets are between about

70mm and 110mm in length.

Most picks, even when found with twisted-stem ear scoops, are plain (eg. Pl. 60ci): 20 sets contain picks, including one set of three picks on a ring with two spangles. An equal number occur by themselves, in two cases suspended on rings, and one is known from a cremation (Abingdon I, C28).

A few picks are ornamented to match associated scoops. A pin on a ring from Long Wittenham I, 33 has grooves just below its round head and is so like the sets from Long Wittenham 30 and Fairford AM 1961.150 (Fig. 16d) that it might be a toilet implement. Possibly the pin on a ring with two spangles, which has a nicked and grooved upper shaft, from Abingdon I, B113 (Pl. 37bii), is also a pick; it is not much different from the pseudo-facetted set from Minster Lovell 3 or the pair of picks with notched edges from Brighthampton 23. A fragment ornamented with bull's-eyes from Dorchester II may be a pick or a scoop.

Shears (Leeds and Harden 1936, Pl.III).

Miniature shears, all, except the neat Abingdon I, C22 pair, of iron, have been found in 10 cremations. Green distinguishes between those with blades equal to or shorter than the arms, which could have been used, and those with short arms. Four examples from Abingdon are of the latter type: C9, C32 and C69, the last containing two pairs (cf. Myres and Green 1973, 108). Only C22 was in a distinctive urn, which was of fifth-century style (Biddle et al. 1968,39,fig.9).

I have commented elsewhere on full-size shears, of which only four examples have been found in certain Anglo-Saxon contexts, three being of seventh-century date (Dickinson 1973b,255). The possible change in burial custom indicated by the early deposition of token shears in cremations and the late burial of real shears in inhumations compares with the development in comb-burial; although shears could have had many uses, hair-cutting is

likely to have been one of them.

Miniature Knives (Leeds and Harden 1936, Pl. III)

Tiny, non-functional iron knives are also a regular element of toilet sets in cremations. Green's typology may be applied to the local examples (Myres and Green 1973, 109). Long Wittenham I, v, (Fig. 16e), which has a blunt edge and tang bent backwards, and probably Abingdon I, C9 are Group I; Abingdon C13 and possibly Long Wittenham 11 are Group II; and Abingdon C19, C20 and Wallingford F have long-tanged knives of Group IV. The curved, parallel-sided blade with looped end at right-angles to the plane of the blade from Abingdon I, C56 has no parallel at Caistor. Green would assign all these to the fifth century.

Chapter 8: BAGS, BOXES AND OTHER GIRDLE-HUNG OBJECTS

Women's graves commonly contain objects found about or below the middle of the body which were probably suspended from a girdle. They may be functional items such as toilet implements, but most could not have had an immediately practical use: for example, there are sets of rings, iron 'keys', ornamental girdle-hangers, 'thread boxes', and especially collections of oddments, scrap metal and glass (eg. Pl. 60ciii), often alien or antique. These last would require a container, which might hold some or all of the other objects. Bags and boxes are generally found close to the waist, but sometimes they were placed separately at one end of the grave. Where objects are strung out between waist and knees, there must have been a *châtelaine*, the best examples of which, especially those composed of chain-links, are seventh-century (Dickinson 1973b, 254-5).

1. Bags and purses

Bags were made of perishable material, so that their existence can be postulated only from a concentration of characteristic purse-objects. Leeds did observe two leather and cloth bags at Abingdon I, B75 and 78, but the only concrete evidence is provided by the survival of mounts.

In women's graves large ivory rings were the most popular type of bag-mount (Abingdon I, B29, C55, 58, 73, Brighthampton 22, 49, Fairford AM 1961.169, Long Wittenham I, 152). Green has discussed these in some detail, demonstrating their use throughout the early Saxon period (Myres and Green 1973, 100-3), though the Upper Thames examples seem to come from later fifth and earlier sixth-century contexts. The woman buried in the early sixth century in Cassington I, 2 had a flat iron bag-ring, associated with a classic collection of bric-à-brac.

Men also had purses, but with different mounts. Akerman identified the

bronze edge-binding and a sheet bronze appliqué from the fifth-century grave, Long Wittenham I, 138, as a purse (Fig. 15h).

Iron 'strike-a-lights' could have served a dual function as lid or mount for a purse and as a steel for striking a spark (Hawkes 1973a,195). In the Upper Thames Region they were used by both men and women. They fall into two basic types: rectangular (Brighthampton 5, Fig. 15i, and Wallingford 17 or 21) and yoke-profiled (Brighthampton 2, Kingsey TM A.889, Fig. 15j, Lowbury Hill Barrow, Wallingford 8). Most are datable from the late fifth or early sixth century; the Lowbury example was buried in the late seventh century, but it lacks the broad triangular shape typical of seventh-century mounts (Hawkes loc.cit.). Three examples from Long Wittenham I are lost: two are from early graves (125,175), but the other (161) may date from the full sixth century.

2. Boxes

Boxes are rarely recorded from graves. A square mass of objects by the body in Wheatley 27 may have been contained in a 'toilet chest'; the disc brooches in this grave indicate a relatively early date. Bone plaques from Cassington II, 6 are typical box-inlays (Pl. 61a), known especially from fourth- and fifth-century contexts, but also from later Merovingian graves (Myres and Green 1973,85-7); the Cassington grave might be Roman, however. A comparable fragment from Abingdon I, C38 may be from a box or a comb. Wood and bronze fragments (strips, washers and rivets) from Yelford 10 may have been from a box, though no contents were recorded.

Speake has discussed in detail a series of discs ornamented with Style II, many of which were probably settings for caskets, rather like the jewelled mounts set into continental reliquary caskets (Speake 1974,120ff). Three examples come from Spelsbury, Standlake I, a and PR 69/8386 (Pl. 61b-d), the first two being similar in size, layout, central boss and ribbed border.

Only the Spelsbury disc has visible means of attachment. These and the Yelford example indicate the greater popularity of boxes in the seventh-century (Hawkes 1973a,199).

3. Rings

By far the most common non-functional items found in bags or hung from a girdle are rings. The majority of graves contained only one; some 30 bronze (cast and wire) and some 14 iron examples are known, though the actual figure cannot be certain since unassociated rings may originally have been in sets or have had some functional purpose, such as bracelets. Sets of between two and seven, but most commonly three or four rings, often of graduated sizes, occur in a significant number (16) of graves (Fig. 151). Though most rings seem to have been made for this purpose, a number are re-used: for example, there is part of a snaffle-bit in East Shefford IX, possibly an 'Anglian' beaded annular brooch in East Shefford 37 (Fig. 15k), bevelled Late Roman military belt rings in Dorchester II and Long Wittenham I, 31, and several twisted two-strand bronze rings which might be Roman (eg. Fairford AM 1961.117, Fig. 12e, Kemble I, LM M.7751, Blewburton 12, Pl. 60ciii). Brown's description of these rings as amulets seems quite reasonable (Shaken-oak III,109) and the custom which they represent must have been in existence from the very beginning of the Saxon settlement in view of the Dorchester II set of seven rings; indeed, this grave even poses the question of a Romano-Celtic origin for the custom.

Bone rings are less common and apart from the antler burr in Long Wittenham I, 150, whose disc brooches and amber beads may indicate an early sixth-century date, seem to be a seventh-century feature (Hawkes 1973a,196). Two flat bone rings with bull's-eye decoration and metal fittings belonged to the châtelaines in Standlake I, 8 and Yelford 16 (Pl. 61ei) and one without means of attachment was in Standlake I, 19.

4. Châtelaines

Standlake I, 8 is the only grave to contain a row of objects indicating that the corpse wore a long châtelaine. The only two examples of linked-chain châtelaines were found in Yelford 16 and Standlake I, 24, the former certainly and the latter possibly contained in bags (Dickinson 1973b, 254-5, fig. 24, 2).

A triangular strap-distributor, sixteen small faceted strap-stiffeners and two washers (Pl. 65a), which were found by the head of a rich female buried in the middle or later sixth century in Fairford 7, probably belong to a long leather strap, originally hung from the belt. Such straps are known from rich Merovingian graves and usually terminate in a crystal ball or other amulet (Hinz 1966, esp. 219). The grave did contain a large amber amulet by the hip, but the position of the strap-fittings suggests that the leather strap was buried, like the Yelford 16 châtelaine, separately and possibly in a bag.

5. Iron Keys

?Abingdon I, B93, ?Bl13, Blewburton 16 (Fig. 17b), ?Fairford AM 1961.143, Long Wittenham I, 71 (bunch), 87, 171, Standlake I, 8 (Fig. 17a), 24, Wheatley 26, 28 (2 or more), Yelford 16.

Iron keys or latch-lifters occur in several graves, though correct identification of fragmentary rods may be questioned. None of the graves can be conclusively dated to the fifth century and five belong to the late sixth and seventh centuries. Since, at Polhill, they do not occur in the richer jewellery-graves, Hawkes argued that they are the emblems of subordinate women with special responsibility over the house (1973a, 195-6). In the Upper Thames Region, however, several graves with keys also contained brooches, and Standlake I, 8 is an undoubtedly rich burial of the late

seventh century. Apart from Wheatley 28, all the graves were of adults and some were of elderly women, possibly family matriarchs !

6. Ornamental Girdle-hangers

Asthall (Fig. 18d), Fairford BM 1929,7-15,3 (Pl. 62a), Filkins 3 (Fig. 17c), Standlake I, 8 (Pl. 62c-d).

Girdle-hangers of more ornate character, though probably still of amuletic value, are rare in the Region and all could be imports.

An unstratified openwork disc from Fairford is one of Renner's type VI, depicting three whirling serpents, which were first produced in the sixth century in West Frankish territory (Renner 1970,22-23). Four other examples are known from England, though, surprisingly, none from Kent (viz. Alfriston grave 87, Croydon, Linton Heath grave 72, Little Wilbraham). The Anglian key-shaped girdle-hangers from Filkins must be another sixth-century import.

The Alemannic openwork box from Asthall is discussed below (p.254). Later still are two ornaments from the Standlake I, 8 *châtelaine*. One is an openwork disc, riveted at the rear as if for attachment to leather. The best parallel for the two confronted Style II animals is the creature at the base of the great gold buckle from Sutton Hoo (Bruce-Mitford 1975,Pl.E). The other ornament is a thin sheet-bronze cross covered with silver foil and decorated with pure interlace; one arm is pierced for suspension and it originally had a central setting, of which only the bronze stud base remains. It appears too delicate to have hung freely with the other *châtelaine* items and, since its back is covered by fossilised cloth, it might have been sewn to a garment, or possibly a bag (the excavator thought that it ornamented the top of the key). Although there is no precise parallel to the Standlake cross, cross-pendants of this shape were produced in seventh-century England; the Ixworth cross is particularly similar in general proportions (Bruce-Mitford 1974,Pl.5a). The idea of a metal-foil cross may have been inspired

by knowledge of the gold-foil crosses, decorated with interlace , produced in seventh-century Lombardy and Switzerland.

7. Thread Boxes

North Leigh AM 1929.399 (Fig. 17d), Standlake Ia.

Only the North Leigh thread box is extant. Its lid is incised with an equal-arm expanding cross, between the arms of which jerky lines imitate three-strand interlace. In technique this interlace may be compared with the 'trial' sketch on the back of the Crundale buckle (Bruce-Mitford 1974, fig.18). The close similarity of the overall pattern to the fine box from Burwell grave 42 (Lethbridge 1931, Pl.III) may indicate that the North Leigh box was an inept copy of it or some similar box. Hawkes has demonstrated that these boxes are a novel and distinctive item in the late seventh-century culture represented in 'Final Phase' cemeteries and she acknowledges that the frequent use of crosses on them indicates a Christian connection. She argues that they were functional containers of cloth and threads, however, rather than amulets like the continental examples (Hawkes 1973a, 196-8). Although it is true that most English boxes have lids which are totally removable, it is interesting that both North Leigh and Burwell 42 have broad attachment-tabs which would limit the manoeuvrability of the lid. Moreover, though a usable quantity of sewing thread might be contained inside, fragments of cloth could scarcely have been functional. Given the specific religious nature of some boxes, their association with other objects of amuletic value and their general semi-Christian cultural context, the possibility that they held small strips of cloth, common as incorporeal relics in the early Church (Thomas 1971, 136), perhaps should not be excluded.

8. Whorls and large beads

Without first-class excavation records, it is difficult to be certain that all beads found in the neighbourhood of the hips or hands are the

contents of bags or are girdle-hangers rather than parts of a necklace, especially since large beads were normally strung at the base of necklaces. There is, however, some consistency in the types of beads found singly and in the area of the hips which warrants their separate treatment, though obviously there are several ambiguous examples, such as the three large whorls, all paralleled among genuine 'spindle-whorls' or girdle-hangers, which were found either on the breast (?necklet) or at the left side of the woman in Long Wittenham I, 150 (Fig. 17j).

Although these beads are frequently called spindle-whorls, it is recognised that many, such as faceted crystal beads or those with very narrow bore-holes, could not have been functional. Symmetrical beads, often bun- or disc-shaped, may have been proper spindle-whorls and one, from Abingdon I, B117 (Fig. 14h), was found with a narrow iron rod, which could have been a spindle. The association of these beads with other non-functional items on women's girdles, and the fact that some are just like those used for men's sword-beads suggests that they too had an amuletic value; and like sword-beads the majority are to be dated from the sixth century. (v. Hinz 1966 for equivalent arguments on the continental material).

a. Bone

Three whorls from Abingdon I, B61 and Long Wittenham I, 95 and 150 (Fig. 14k-l) are virtually the same in size, shape, and decoration. The first, on the basis of its silver finger ring, and the second, with its Group 15.2 saucer brooch, must be sixth-century burials; the amber beads with the last might support a similar dating. The bun-shaped whorl from Woolstone has similar concentrically incised lines, but it is uncertainly associated with the seventh-century cemetery on this site, and the smaller, uneven bead from Abingdon I, C29, buried in the late sixth century (above, p. 74), need not be a girdle-bead.

b. Stone

The whorls from Abingdon I, C26 (flint) and Fairford LM M.7740 (a fossil sea-urchin) are roughly shaped discs, the former being found with fifth-century brooches. But the bun-shaped whorl of cornbrash from Standlake I, 21 (Fig. 14a) is presumably seventh-century.

c. Shale

Plano-convex and truncated disc beads of shale are known from Fairford AM 1961.160 (Fig. 14b) and Long Wittenham I, 30 and 150. The silver torc from Long Wittenham 30 may indicate a sixth-century date of burial like that already advanced for grave 150.

d. Pottery

Two spindle-whorls from East Shefford 5 (Fig. 14c-d) are both made from oxidised fabrics - one calcite-gritted and bun-shaped, the other 'grog'-tempered and flat disc-shaped - which are either Roman or made from Roman material; they were found with a bracelet whose ornament also was Late Roman in style. A rough discoid whorl from Long Wittenham I, 79 was found with disc brooches and a large biconical bead from Lewknor 3 may be seventh-century.

e. Rock crystal

Only one spheroid rock crystal bead has been found by the waist (Fairford 34), the remainder being large facettled bicones (Brighthampton 22(Fig. 14e), 49, Dorchester VI, 54, Fairford 20, 27, AM 1961.158, Long Wittenham I, 100 (Fig. 14f)); by contrast, large facettled beads do not occur on necklaces, whereas smaller spheroids do, so that it seems justifiable to include the one unassociated facettled bead on this list. Associated brooches (Group 1.2.2 saucer, Group 3.3 applied, button, great square-headed, and disc) and beads point to burial primarily in the early and mid sixth century, though some could originally be a little earlier and the wear on all the beads

could lower their date of manufacture. Similar beads are known on the continent from the late fifth and especially the sixth century, though the spherical ball of crystal, hung in a metal sling, which was used as an amulet by rich Merovingian and even Kentish women (Hinz 1966, 218, 222n.47, 227-9) does not seem to have been known to Upper Thames women. This is an interesting point since presumably all the crystal beads were imported ready-made into England.

f. Amber

Like rock crystal, amber was traditionally credited with magical power; it was used, for example, for the Brighthampton 31 sword-bead. Unfortunately, there are few certain examples of amber beads pendent from a girdle rather than being used on necklaces. The best is a single very large bead (35mm x 15mm) found by the hip of the woman buried during the mid sixth century in Fairford 7 (Fig. 14g). Other possible examples are a small bead from the lap of the skeleton in Long Wittenham I, 117, and two of medium size without a recorded position from Abingdon I, B26 and Upper Swell II, 1; but, like a smaller bead from Standlake I, 23, they could have come from a necklet.

g. Glass

There are similar difficulties of identification for glass beads. A large discoid whorl, said to have been on the breast of a woman in Brighthampton 47, was accompanied by two other small beads; but the grave had been disturbed. A single large bead from the breast of the skeleton in East Shefford XVI may be from a necklet, but the small faceted green glass bead found by the hand of Fairford 4 (Fig. 13a) was quite discrete from the amber-bead necklace deposited about the head; the latter is a rich mid sixth-century grave and perhaps the bead was an alternative to one of crystal.

There are two varieties of bead with marvered inlay, however, which do

occur most often as amulets hung from the waist:

- i. Truncated discs and cylinders of dark, usually green, glass with zigzag and straight-line inlay in white and/or pale blue around the circumference. A cylinder was found with a toilet set outside the left arm of the woman in East Shefford X, though an exactly similar one from Long Wittenham I, 33 was on a necklace (Fig. 14j). The cruciform brooches of the former and the disc brooches and amber and metal-in-glass beads of the latter suggest an early sixth century date for burial. A discoid bead from Abingdon I, B117 (Fig. 14h), just like another from that site, AM 1935.582, was associated with small square-headed brooches, but a plano-conical bead which has lost its inlay from Fairford 1 (Fig. 14i) must be a little earlier on account of the associated Group 3.1 applied brooches. A good parallel from Guildown grave 215 (Lowther 1931,10), found with an iron kidney-shaped buckle, confirms this general dating.
- ii. Plano-convex whorls of dark blue glass with combed white trails pinned back into 'petal' patterns are known from Bishopstone Ay.M no no., East Shefford VII, BM 93,7-16,15 and Long Wittenham I, 35 (Pl. 38dii). Similar beads have been found in sixth-century graves at Mitcham 222 (Bidder and Morris 1959, Pl.XVII) and Little Wilbraham 96 (as a sword-bead, Evison 1967, Pl.VIIIId) and may be related to the sword-bead with 'spider's web' pattern from Bishopstone I, 5 (Fig. 21b) and innumerable continental examples. Although they first appear in the Rhineland in the late fifth century, and the Bishopstone sword and the Long Wittenham 33 disc brooches could indicate an equivalent date here, they are primarily an element of sixth-century grave-furniture (Böhner 1958,218-9; Pirling 1966,211-2; La Baume 1967,104-5). Of comparable date, but different form, is the third whorl from Long Wittenham I, 150: it is a rounded bicone with evenly combed white horizontal trail decoration over a dark blue core, which has been pinned to form lobes

in each half of the bicone (Pl. 35aⁱⁱ; cf. Köln-Müngersdorf grave 122, Fremersdorf 1955, Taf. 21).

h. Amulet-pendants of the seventh century

Few of the types discussed above came from seventh-century graves, but amulets for châtelines were far from unfashionable in the century. A tear-drop amethyst was found with all the other châteline items in Yelford 16 (Pl. 61eⁱⁱ), so may belong with these rather than to a necklet. Also typically seventh-century is the cowrie shell, possibly from a girdle, from Ellesborough 3 (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 32-3). Finally, there is a composite bronze-framed shell-inlaid whorl, held in a gold band, from Chadlington e, which may well have come from a châteline since only the legs of the skeleton survived; it can be paralleled by simpler pieces from Kingston Down grave 76 (Faussett 1856, 55) and Kempston (VCH Beds I, 182).

9. The contents of bag-collections: Pre-Saxon objects, scale-pans and scrap-metal

There is little purpose in itemising all the fragments found in bags, or the single finds of similar material, especially bits of sheet bronze, from other graves; most of it is unidentifiable and I illustrate just one piece as an example (Fig. 17g). Among the Germanic material, mention may be made of the half of a foot of a Hahnheim brooch from Long Wittenham I, 111 (above, p. 187; Pl. 2aⁱⁱⁱ) and a sheet-bronze wrist-clasp from Wheatley 27 (Fig. 17f; compare, for example, one from Haslingfield, Arch., 63, 1912, fig. 17b).

Objects of pre-Saxon date are often more recognisable. Their widespread occurrence in Anglo-Saxon graves, not only in bag-collections, requires more detailed consideration. Many of them have already been discussed under other headings (eg. penannular brooches, rings, bracelets and vessels), but it will be useful to collate all the material here¹.

1. Objects of Iron Age date

Brooches: Fowler Type Aa penannular brooch from Blewburton 16 (probably in a bag-collection); Late La Tène bow brooch from Filkins 3 (Fig. 12h; probably worn on breast). Swan-neck pin: Wheatley 27 (in toilet chest). Terret ring: Fairford AM 1961.115 (cf. first-century BC examples from Gussage All Saints, Antiq., 47, 1973, 121, fig. 3, 1). La Tène beads: royal blue with white opaque spiral inlay: Ducklington 2 (Fig. 12f), Filkins 3 (both probably from necklets); royal blue with rows of bosses outlined in white opaque inlay: Broughton Poggs AM 1909.489b (Fig. 12g; cf. examples quoted in Arch., 90, 1944, 165-6).

2. Objects of Roman date

a. Brooches: Penannular brooches of Fowler's Types A3iv (Fairford 4), D4 (Long Wittenham I, 3), D6 (Longcot) and E (Brighthampton 25); Trumpet brooch: Filkins 3 (Fig. 12i; worn on breast); Early Roman bow brooch: Abingdon I, B10 (bow only; lost); Enamelled disc brooches: East Shefford AM 1955.344 (Pl. 50dii; triskele motif of second-century type, Hull 1967, 52, no. 193), Long Wittenham I, BM no no. (Pl. 6cii; cf. late second or third century Rhenish type, Exner 1939, Taf. 13, 1. III. 21), Dorchester VI, 83.

Disc brooches with central setting and concentric ribbed and stamped border: East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 55-6 (Pl. 62b), Frilford 4 (Pl. 62e; cf. Hull 1967, 60, no. 237), Long Wittenham I, 129 (Pl. 30bii). These brooches are often dated by specialists to the fourth century, but without explicit evidence; Mrs. Webster informs me that she considers them relatively rare in this country and that they may be imports from Eastern Europe where they are far more frequent (eg. Sellye 1939, Pl. V, 24).

b. Finger rings (above, p. 198); Bracelets (above, p. 200); also fourth-century type ribbed/faceted example squeezed into a smaller ring from Abingdon I, B75 (probably on necklet); similar ring from Abingdon I, B53.

c. Late Roman belt-equipment (below, p.244).

d. Vessels: Bronze dish: Long Wittenham I, 26 (Fig. 49c); Whole Pots: Wheatley 8 (Late Roman dish), 39 (Early Roman jar), AM no no.(vi); Glass Sherds: Wheatley 27 (from toilet chest; translucent pale green with dimpled lug; Miss J. Price suggests that it probably came from a vessel with all-over bosses or lavish trail-decoration, types common in the Late Roman period), ?Wallingford F (translucent white body fragment).

e. Other Bronze objects: Seal-box lids: Abingdon I, B59 (Pl. 32dii; enamelled; probably on necklet), Wheatley 19 (Fig. 17h; ?pendant); Knife-handles: Abingdon I, B75 ('hare and hound' clasp knife; from bag-collection), C17 (ribbed tubular handle), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,100 (tubular; cf. Shakenoak III, fig.30,128); Spoons: ?Abingdon I, B78 (?from bag-collection), Bassett Down DM 17 (Swanton 1974a, Fig 60,h; cf. Shakenoak I, fig.31,39, for which a late fourth/early fifth-century date was suggested), East Shefford BM 91,3-23,6 (Fig. 17i), Kemble LM M.7744; Martingales/Strap-distributors: Abingdon I, B75 (triple loop type; from bag-collection), Aston Remenham BM 1932,3-9,5 (dish-shaped with central hole and three external pairs of claws); Key: Dorchester II.

3. Roman Coins

There are 34 finds of Roman coins either from graves or unassociated². Usually there are no more than three coins in a grave, but there may be up to five and there is one instance of ten. The majority are pierced for suspension and found associated with beads or necklets; a few are found in bags or in the grave-fill, though these last need not be deliberate inclusions, especially at Frilford where residual Roman material could easily occur. The coins date from the second to the fourth century, though those of the late third and earlier fourth are most common (cf. Kent 1961; Rigold 1974, 201-2).

How then should this material be interpreted ? The presence of fourth-century objects in Anglo-Saxon graves could be evidence for an early Saxon date, or close relations between Anglo-Saxons and Britons, or even the British origin of the person buried (eg. Bidder and Morris 1959,82; Fowler 1963,114). But there are a number of important features about this material:

1. Although Late Roman objects are in the majority, the number of earlier items is far from negligible.
2. Independent dating evidence indicates that the burials range from the earliest fifth to the late seventh century.
3. There would appear to be an association between the location of the burial in which these objects are found and adjacent ancient sites: for example, the large quantity of Roman material from Wheatley is difficult to dissociate from the nearby villa, nor the penannular brooch from Blewburton Hill from its prior use as an Iron Age hill-fort. The concentration of Iron Age finds in western Oxfordshire may also be significant.
4. The vast majority of the material had a secondary function: many items were fragmentary and were found either in bags or similar positions, or, if suitable for suspension, hung as pendants from necklets.

Most of the pre-Saxon material was entirely divorced from its original cultural context. Great care must therefore be taken in using Late Roman material as a dating factor in graves which contain no other evidence. Filkins 3, in which two Late Iron Age/Early Roman brooches were being worn, fortunately with a mid sixth-century saucer brooch, is a cautionary example that even a primary use is no guarantee that objects and burial are close in date.

Nevertheless, a few groups of Roman material do not seem residual. Most notable are the bracelets, worn according to Roman custom and, where datable, from fifth or early sixth-century graves. The three famous graves

from Dorchester I and II also show the integration of Roman and Germanic elements; in particular the military belt-fittings seem to have been used for their proper purpose, in comparison with the secondary role of such fittings in other graves.

A number of items fulfilled a primary function, but were clearly much older than their date of burial: the patched, imported bronze dish from Long Wittenham I, 26, appears as a treasured antique, possibly acquired by its owner or his ancestors by gift-exchange; the pots from Wheatley and the brooches from Filkins must be the acceptably useful fruits of accidental or deliberate investigation of ancient sites, even of tomb-robbing.

Most of the material requires a different interpretation, however. The objects which were reused as pendants may be strictly ornamental, or may have had amuletic value (cf. Kent 1961,18; Rigold 1974,202); and Brown (Shakenoak III,109) has hinted that the apparently deliberate inclusion in a bag-collection of an item of antiquity, rather like the set of items a bride has on her wedding-day, should be considered with the other prophylactics hung from girdles. Given the range in date of objects and burials, few could have been acquired directly from their Romano-British owners and most must be the result of 'treasure-hunting' by Saxon women. The preponderance of fourth-century objects may be because sites of that date were most easily identified.

Another explanation for this collection of old material is suggested by two facts. Curnow (1969,16) has remarked on the exceptional quantity of evidence for clipping and filing of the Roman coins from the Anglo-Saxon village at West Stow, Suffolk; he suggests that this might have been done by the Anglo-Saxons to test the metal quality, with the implication that Roman coins were collected for their bullion value. The fact that they were often pierced and kept as pendants on necklets need not invalidate the theory: Middle Eastern women used to wear their wealth in gold coins in a similar manner.

This leads to the second point, that pre-Saxon objects occur in graves most frequently in bag-collections and cannot be separated from the overall interpretation of those collections. It must be remembered that not only were ancient sites being scavenged, but all other available scraps, including Germanic oddments, were saved. These collections are remarkably similar to the scrap material commonly found in association with metal- and enamel-working on Dark Age Celtic sites (Alcock 1963,104-6). This raises the possibility of the existence of some type of 'trade' in scrap, which would have had many minor branches of supply within the Anglo-Saxon world; it also invites the suggestion that bag-collections could eventually be traded with a local jeweller. Analyses of Roman and some Dark Age bronze objects demonstrate that, like objects of precious metal, they were made from remelted scrap metal and coins, not freshly smelted ore (P.Craddock in Curr. Arch.,4,1974,349; Werner 1961^b,314).

It is logical to introduce here the few finds of scale-pans and weights. Their significance has been discussed by Werner (1954; 1961b,327,345-6): they are found on the continent in areas to the north of those minting coins and generally in rich male graves, from which Werner deduces that they were essential to a barbarian aristocracy which acquired coinage as bullion to be remelted for artefacts. In the Upper Thames Region three balances have been found near or on the upper body of women buried in Abingdon I, B118, Long Wittenham I, 80 (Fig. 12c), and Wheatley 34; bronze weights come from Wheatley 27 (in a bag at the feet; Fig. 17e) and possibly from near grave 11b, AM 1883. 36. This association with women is common in England, though it is debatable whether this implies that women acquired scales only when these had outlived their usefulness and qualified as scrap, or whether it indicates the role of women in the management of precious metal. The association of scales, weights and a model for making repoussé pendants in Barton-on-Humber grave 1 (Capelle

and Vierck 1971,71-2) might imply a genuine connection between women and the manufacture of precious jewellery. Of course, it is presumed that these scales were for precious metal, for which there is very little evidence in the Upper Thames Region. Moreover, the graves which contained them were not particularly rich. Nevertheless, the link between their possession and the collection of scrap bronze for reuse should not be overlooked.

NOTES

1. I am most grateful to Mr. G.C.Boon, Miss J.Price and Mrs. J.Webster for assistance in the identification of the Roman objects. I have omitted from consideration glass beads of Roman ancestry because they may have continued to be made in the Dark Ages.
2. I have omitted those coins from Frilford which cannot be certainly associated with a Saxon grave, rather than a Roman grave or other feature. My figures differ therefore from those of Kent (1961, Table I).

Chapter 9: BELT FITTINGS

Metal belt fittings survive in quantity, but they are not universally found in graves, and, if belts were an essential item of dress, many must have been simply of cloth or soft leather. The majority are small oval or D-shaped iron buckles (68 single examples, 4 pairs); eight more single examples and two pairs have small rectangular iron or bronze attachment-plates. Little can profitably be said of these and attention must be directed to more diagnostic fittings; these belong chronologically to four principal phases.

1. Late Roman Military Belt-equipment

Considerable work has now been carried out on the belt-systems and fittings produced in provincial Late Roman workshops and primarily worn by military personnel; the implications of their occurrence for the interaction of Germans and Romans in the late fourth and early fifth centuries have been explored by many writers (the latest discussion of the continental material is Böhme 1974, 53-97; Hawkes and Dunning 1961 is the seminal paper on the British material, since modified by Evison 1968, Hawkes 1972 and 1974). This discussion considers only those pieces from secure Anglo-Saxon contexts; stray examples from sites which happen to have produced some Anglo-Saxon material are excluded (eg. Hawkes Type IA buckle from Woodeaton, IIIA buckle from Oxford, and strap-tag of related-IIB type from Ashdown; buckles with triangular (often openwork) plates cast in one, of probable fifth-century date, are also excluded (stray examples from Cirencester, Shakenoak, and Woodeaton)).

Although the chronology of these fittings is constantly being modified, a distinction can be drawn between those first or solely produced in the fourth century and those not introduced until the fifth. The former are discussed in this part, the latter and their derivatives in the next. The

only certain examples of Late Roman belts being placed whole in graves in the Region are the two famous burials from Dorchester I: the woman, with her Germanic brooches of c.AD400, had acquired a belt with a IB buckle and plate, a type produced during the second half of the fourth century in western England; her neighbour had a continental belt of Böhme's 'Simple' type laid out along the grave. Its date of manufacture is not closely ascertainable, but is probably within a decade or so of AD 400 and is unlikely to be far into the fifth century.

Only fragments of such fittings occur elsewhere in graves in the Region, most frequently among the bric-à-brac of women's purse-collections or hanging from their necklets. A number of these graves are early: for example, Minster Lovell 3, with a propeller-shaped belt-stiffener reused as a pendant (Pl. 31ciii), Dorchester II, with two bevelled suspension rings among the set of seven rings, possibly Long Wittenham I, 31 (Fig. 19a), with a similar ring in the lap of the skeleton and a pair of disc brooches, and Dorchester VI, 6, with a fragment of an astragal tubular edging piece and a Group 1.1 shield boss. Cassington I, 2, with a broken spearhead-shaped strap-tag, and Long Wittenham I, 111, with a related-IIB strap-tag (Pl. 2a ii), both in their purses, are sixth-century burials, however.

2. Fifth-century belt-equipment

Workshops producing military belt-sets continued in operation in the fifth century. On the continent, the most important innovation was the buckle cast in one with its plate; in Britain, the 'Quoit-Brooch' workshops began to produce their own range of belt-equipment in the early fifth century. Simpler buckle forms, including variants of Hawkes Type I, were also manufactured and in the Upper Thames there is evidence of the further adaptation of the basic Late Roman belt for civilian, Anglo-Saxon wear.

a. Continental buckles of Hawkes Type IIIB

Long Wittenham I, 57 (Evison 1965, fig. 12a).

This is the only certain imported military-type buckle in the Region. It was found at the waist of an adult, possibly a woman, Although Myres would date the associated 'long-boss' pot to the early sixth century, there seems no reason why it should not be a little earlier (below, p. 359).

b. 'Quoit-Brooch' belt-equipment

The only ornamented piece from the Region is the belt-plate from Bishopstone I (Evison 1965, Pl. 12b), but Evison's addition of plainer buckles (Hawkes Type IIC) and tubular belt-mounts to the 'Quoit-Brooch' repertoire increases the quota from the Region. The buckle from Frilford, which she cites (1968, fig. 2d), is very worn and damaged and may have come from grave 5, a sixth-century burial. A lost buckle from Filkins is now known only from a rough sketch (LM M.7560), but may have been of this type (Fig. 19b). Tubular mounts are known from Reading I, 13 (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig. 14b) and East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 101; the latter is made of sheet bronze, lapped over and riveted at the back and decorated with rough horizontal mouldings (Fig. 19h; cf. Alfriston grave 91, Evison 1965, fig. 23e).

c. Hawkes Type IA and other Late Roman-derivative buckles

Type IA buckles are crude versions of Type IB, and their occurrence in probably functional positions in Anglo-Saxon graves suggests their continued manufacture during the fifth century. The Reading tubular mounts seem to have been part of a belt which had such a buckle and also a simple strap-end with punched ornament in Late Roman style (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig. 14b); the associated pedestal pot should indicate a fifth-century date. Other Upper Thames IA buckles are even cruder, with two distinctive features - rounded fronts (not rectangular or angular) and lapped-over hinge-bars - and these may well be a particular local product of the fifth century.

Examples come from Blewburton 2 (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig. 14a), Hampnett 6 (Pl. 62f; an iron buckle whose zoomorphic decoration was revealed in cleaning), and Long Wittenham I, 165 (Evison 1968, 238, fig. 4a); parallels are known from Kempston (Evison 1968, fig. 4e), Guildown (Lowther 1931, Pl. XVI, 9), and Silchester (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 43). The disc brooches with the Long Wittenham buckle and the Type L spearhead with the Hampnett one imply an AD 450-550 date-range, and a fifth-century dating seems reasonable.

A buckle from East Shefford XII (Pl. 62g) combines the cast-in-one plate of Type IIIB buckles with the confronted animal heads of the insular IA form. This type has not been previously noted, but presumably represents another fifth-century variant.

d. Side-fastening belts

Blewburton 20 contained evidence of a very interesting belt (Pl. 63a; Fig. 20a). At either side of the ribs were four square plates (W. 46mm) sandwiched in two pairs; the upper, front, ones were smaller and unornamented, and had small iron buckles on their inner sides (W. 23mm), while the lower, back, ones had borders of stamped triangles and were simply for stiffening the belt. All plates had a central perforation, dome-headed rivets and washers for affixing them to the leather belt. Inside and parallel to the front plates were U-shaped tubes (L. 32mm and 35mm) ornamented with horizontal grooves. The varying sizes and positions of these fittings suggest that the belt was made up of three pieces of leather fastened by buckles at the sides: the broader main part was ornamented with the plates, a slightly narrower front belt had its edges bound by the tubular edgings (surely simplified versions of astragal tubular edgings) and narrow straps stitched inside each end for fastening with buckles. Although much narrower than the Late Roman military belt, the general form would seem to be derived from it and suggests a date no later than the fifth century.

Comparable tubular edgings have been found in Minster Lovell 3 (the ornamented silver buckle is unfortunately lost), Wallingford 18 (with an iron buckle and two plain bronze strap-ends) and, unstratified, at Frilford (BM 67,2-4,15). A similar belt-set occurred in another man's grave, Abingdon I, B30 (Pl. 63b). Above each pelvis there was a tubular edge-binding beside a round-fronted iron buckle; the plate of one was plain sheet bronze, the other was cast with horizontal grooves. It cannot be certain in this case that the two straps were of different widths. A buckle with trapezoidal plate, counter plate and one tubular edging was found in the late fifth-century grave 128 at Great Chesterford (Evison 1969a,160-4).

There are other examples of side-fastening belts; simple iron buckles, one with a plate, were found on each pelvis of the woman in B61 at Abingdon I, probably a sixth-century burial. A pair of kidney-loop buckles with plates and openwork counter plates were at the waist of the girl in Wallingford 8 (Pl. 63c) and suggest a fifth or early sixth-century date. There is no evidence how the pairs of buckles in the fifth-century sword grave, Abingdon I, B42 or in Bishopstone I, 2, East Shefford XIII (probably an early sixth-century grave), XVI, and XX were used, but they might have been from similar belts.

Another type of belt had a solid frontpiece of wood or bone bound by bronze or iron. Iron and wood ones have been found in Blewburton 7 (Fig. 20b) and Frilford I, 125 (Fig. 20c), the latter apparently laid out along the grave. Others have been discussed by Evison (1969b,115-6) and assigned to the late sixth or seventh century on the basis of the great square-headed brooch found with the bronze-and-bone one in Beckford B, grave 74. The simple bull's-eye ornament of the Droxford belt and the Blewburton example's association with an H1/2 spearhead, their context, and general functional similarity to other side-fastening belts should permit an earlier date for some.

e. Kidney-shaped buckle loops and associated belt-plates

Kidney-shaped buckle loops occur on some Late Roman belts, but, though they do continue into the early sixth century, are particularly a feature of the fifth century (eg. Böhme 1974, Texttaf. A2, Taf. 87, 6, 13). The bronze ones usually have ribbed ornament, which may be rendered on the iron examples by silver inlay (Evison 1955, Pls. III-V). Only the buckle from Long Wittenham I, 111 has been X-rayed to reveal such inlay (ibid., Pl. IIIe); I have argued above that this grave was not dug until the middle of the sixth century (contra Evison 1955, 28), though this need not imply such a late date for the buckle's manufacture. Other iron buckles come from Bishopstone I, Ay.M 27.80 (Pl. 63d), with a tinned and stamped rectangular plate with five perforations, and Reading I, 4 (Pl. 63e), associated with a pair of later fifth-century Group 3.1 applied brooches and an unattached shield-shaped plate. Small bronze examples have already been mentioned from Wallingford 8, and single ones come from Frilford I, 104, BM 67, 2-14, 11 and East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 74.

Tinned bronze rectangular buckle plates and counter-plates with stamped decoration and perforations, similar to the Bishopstone (and Blewburton 20) plates, are known from Long Wittenham I, 65 (Pl. 33eii) and Fairford 28 (Pl. 64biii) with matching strap-end (Fig. 19c). The disc brooches with the former and K1 spearhead with the latter suggest a later fifth/earlier sixth century date. A few unattached belt-plates may also belong to this group: Dorchester IIIa, 2 (Fig. 19f), with an L spearhead, and Long Wittenham I, 3, with probable sixth-century applied brooches.

The cut-out panel of the Wallingford 8 counter-plate also finds parallels in this phase. Similar, but larger, plates were found at East Shefford, BM 93, 7-16, 97, and one with a triangular cut-out with two button brooches in Long Wittenham I, grave 20. These may be compared with the

triangular mounts, made out of a 'Quoit-Brooch' belt-plate, found in Alfriston graves A and 17 (Evison 1965,36-7,fig.17).

The shield-shaped plate from Reading may be paralleled at Fairford, AM 1961.137 (Pl. 19d), and in a more rounded form at East Shefford 7 (fig. 19e). They are presumably variants of the rounded and heart-shaped plates used during the fifth-century.

f. Cloisonné buckle plate (Pl. 64a)

It is unclear whether the cloisonné heart-shaped buckle-plate in Abingdon I, B119 was part of the belt, represented by an iron buckle and sheet bronze rectangular buckle-plate and counter-plate; it might have been a non functional 'souvenir'. Heart-shaped and kidney-shaped cloisonné buckle-plates, generally the latter, are an element in the rich graves of barbarian Europe at the very end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth (Werner 1966). The circle-in-square foil below the inlays of the Abingdon mount is unusual, but three kidney-shaped plates from Lyminge have it (Warhurst 1955,34-5), as does a later Class 3.1 garnet-inlaid disc brooch from Dover grave 35 (Avent 1975,Pl.15,74). The exact source of the Abingdon mount is not apparent; Warhurst's suggestion of a Vandal connection may be a little extreme.

g. Buckles with rounded loops and plates

Mr. P.D.C.Brown has kindly brought to my notice a recent fifth-century grave-find, which he is publishing, from Kingsholm, Gloucester. It included two small buckles with near round plates and loops, the smaller of which is very like that in the mid fifth-century Krefeld grave 43 (Pirling 1966, Abb. 21,16) and a buckle from East Shefford BM 93,7-16,75 (Fig.19g). The larger has a facettted pin with cast-in-one hook (a feature which persists in the sixth century) and is very like a buckle from Fairford 14 (Pl. 64bii). Both are similar to a small buckle from Long Wittenham I, 15 (Pl. 62h),

which has a semicircular plaque riveted on to the rectangular buckle-plate.

3. Sixth-century belt fittings

The above section dealt with fittings primarily of fifth-century type, though some persisted into, or even throughout, the sixth century. This section examines specifically sixth-century forms, though it might be argued that the plainer bronze buckles cannot be so closely dated.

a. Buckles with rectangular plates with Style I decoration and garnet setting

These distinctive buckles with heavy bevelled loop and relief-cast plate set with a garnet or, more often, red glass, and ornamented with two helmet-headed quadrupeds are found most frequently with richer male warriors. Although several are known from Kent and the buckle plate design also recurs on the Jutish B4 great square-headed brooches (Hawkes and Hogarth 1974, 78-79), a significant number has been found in adjacent Saxon and even Anglian areas (Åberg 1926, 117-8). Cruder gilt-bronze copies are also found in Saxon territories. Associated examples come from Saxon areas and suggest that these buckles were typical of the early and middle decades of the sixth century (eg. Alfriston 89, Black Patch 22, Peterfinger XX, all sword-graves, and Mucking 281; cf. Werner 1966, 286).

Two fine examples with loops covered by silver foil and silvered back-plates come from Fairford 57 (Pl. 64c) and Long Wittenham I, FD40 (Pl. 64d). The rectangular base to the pin of the latter has cloisonné decoration of a kind more often associated with the early Merovingian buckles with kidney-shaped plates (cf. Åberg 1926, fig. 178; Werner 1966, Abb. 1-3). A gilt-bronze buckle-plate, set with red glass and decorated with confused animal motifs, with an ungilded flat oval loop stamped with annulets, has come from Dorchester VI, 128. A similar buckle with tiny sheet-bronze plate from Fairford, AM 1961.127 (Pl. 64bi), may therefore be a sixth-century form, though its profile is remarkably similar to that of the derivative IA buckles.

Two plates, without buckles, from Wanborough II, 1 (Pl. 64e) and Fairford 52 (Pl. 64f) are also crude in design and the central setting is represented in the casting. The former was said to have been found with a Group 1.1 shield boss and a pot with bossed panel-style decoration; the latter was found by the wrists with another narrower plate with a single Style I crouched animal cast in the field (Pl. 64g), but it seems unlikely that these could have been wrist-clasps.

b. Shield-on-tongue bronze buckles and shoe-shaped studs

Heavy bevelled D-shaped loops with narrow hinge bars and shield-on-tongue pins are common in Merovingian and Kentish graves in the sixth century and most frequent in its middle and later decades ^{Millard, Jarman, and} (Hawkes 1969,16). They are frequently associated with shoe-shaped belt-studs. Only two certain examples have been found in the Upper Thames: Wheatley 15 (Fig. 20d) with a high convex-domed shield boss, and Dorchester VI, 102, which also contained shoe-shaped rivets, a great square-headed brooch and a pair of Group 10 saucer brooches; both graves should belong to the middle or second half of the sixth century.

c. Other heavy bronze buckles

The buckle loops of the above two groups are typical of the sixth century. An unstratified example from Fairford (LM M.7739; Fig. 20e) has a pin with thickened and ribbed end, which may be compared with a buckle of full sixth-century date from Rittersdorf grave 98 (Böhner 1958,179,Taf.35, 6). A similar loop, but lacking its pin, was found with an El.3 spearhead at Streatley (Fig. 19i).

d. Other D-shaped bronze buckles

It cannot be considered certain that all these buckles are sixth-century, but some are simply small versions of the heavy buckles and others are from sixth-century contexts. The buckles from Abingdon I, 45 (Pl. 64h) and

Blewburton 12 (Pl. 60cii) conform most to the heavy buckle shape, Abingdon I, B76 (Pl. 32civ) and Long Wittenham I, 45 are less close; the former was found with disc brooches, the latter with a Group 2 shield boss. A sixth-century context is certain for the large oval buckle in Brighthampton 22, and possibly an early seventh-century one for the small D-shaped buckle in Long Wittenham I, 71.

4. Seventh-century belt-fittings

a. Buckles with triangular plates

This form of buckle is a type-fossil of the seventh century, the finest examples of the earlier part of that century being decorated in Style II filigree work. The Upper Thames Region has produced no such buckles, but only simple small versions. The only bronze one is of silvered sheet metal, originally with dome-headed rivets, and comes from the 'Final Phase' cemetery Long Wittenham II, grave 6 (Pl. 65b). Two iron examples were found in Wheatley 14 (Pl. 65c), with very late saucer brooches, and at Great Tew (Fig. 19j) with a seax-like knife.

b. Tiny oval buckles with rectangular plates

Minute buckles are very common in later seventh-century cemeteries and barrows (Hawkes 1973,^a194). Bronze examples come from Adwell Cop 2, and Long Hanborough 2/2 (Pl. 65d), bronze and iron ones from Lowbury Hill Barrow and an iron one from Stanton Harcourt 14. Another bronze example from East Ilsey I, 3 (Evison 1963,fig.34g) has the pin pivoted on a crossbar; such buckles are rare, but a few parallels are known from the continent in the seventh century (cf. Böhner 1958,32,Taf.36,6). Yet another tiny bronze buckle and plate was found in Harwell 1, the reconstruction of which might allow a date in the seventh century (Swanton 1974a,fig.57e; Catalogue, p.138).

c. The Asthall belt-set (Fig. 18).

Among the cremated remains of Asthall barrow are a group of bronze items

with fine linear ornament which may have belonged to a complex belt-set. The strap-end (Fig. 18c) has two rear rivets and its ornament, in three principal panels bordered by imitation beading, is exceptionally fine. I know of no precise parallel for it, though the general shape and design is found on grosser relief-cast and also silver-inlaid strap-ends of seventh-century date from Frankish and Alemannic cemeteries. The nearest parallel for the combination of linear guilloche, a motif which does occur occasionally on late sixth- and seventh-century objects, and plaitwork is from Nordendorf in Southern Germany (Franken 1944, Taf. 16, 7).

A tiny oval buckle loop with plate cast in one (Fig. 18a) and decorated with narrow horizontal ribbing belongs to the same strap as the hinged attachment plate (Fig. 18b) with similar ornament. The buckle may be related to group 4b buckles above; the attachment plate is a cheaper, simpler version of the superb cloisonné hinged and swivelling strap-distributor from Sutton Hoo 1 (Bruce-Mitford 1975, Pl. Fiii). Small and broken rivets with concentrically ribbed disc-heads (Fig. 18e) may belong to this same belt.

Finally, the same decoration occurs on an openwork box object with swivel-hook rivet at one end for suspension and looped strap-plate at the other (Fig. 18d). Dr. George Speake has drawn my attention to a small group of seventh-century Alemannic *châtelaine* ornaments of comparable type (Nordendorf, Kirchheim and Altheim). A flat openwork girdle-hanger found in grave F2 of the 'Final Phase' cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable has also been interpreted as a Rhenish import (Matthews 1962, fig. 5, 6).

If the openwork box is an Alemannic import and it is correct to see a close stylistic link between it and the other items, and if the continental affinities of the strap-end are borne in mind, were they all of Alemannic origin? Or, given the lack of good parallels for the fittings in general, were they made deliberately to match the girdle-hanger by a local craftsman?

5. Other belt-fittings

In two graves at Long Wittenham openwork plates were found at the waist, but, since they have no visible means of attachment, it is debatable whether they are from a belt. The one from grave 134 is pelta-shaped and composed of two tail-to-tail creatures whose swan-like heads and front limbs curve inwards to meet at a central point; there is a fragment of an iron ring on the rear, and the perforated eyes might have held rivets (Pl. 65e). It may be compared both with the openwork disc from Standlake I, 8, and with the series of double-headed peltate pendants of sixth-century date discussed by Vierck (1967, 113, esp. Abb. 3, 2-3).

The other plaque comes from grave 117; it is a finely executed swastika with the fluid legs springing from a square with central hole and terminating in lobed 'feet' (Pl. 65f). Iron and wood adheres to the rear and there is some thread around the 'ankle' of one of the feet. Although swastikas were common in the Roman period, I know of no such appliqué from that time. Since its best parallels are the locally-produced Group 2.2-4 saucer brooches, I presume that it too is a late fifth- or early sixth-century piece.

Little can be said of the remainder of the belt-equipment from the Region. A number of loose plates has been found, but more often in purses than associated with a belt (eg. Long Wittenham I, 3; Pl. 22biv); among these, the square with a repoussé-dot swastika from Cassington II, AM 1945. 124 (Pl. 65g), is worthy of mention. Many plates are probably not belt-fittings and are considered in connection with purses and their contents (above, p. 237).

Chapter 10: SWORDS

Swords are uncommon in the Upper Thames Region: only 24 have been recorded and a further three may be implied by unassociated scabbard fittings. It is also noticeable that sword-graves are not necessarily rich graves; as Table 8 demonstrates, many do not have a full weapon-assemblage, but they do have more lavish grave-assemblages than spear-only graves. It is unlikely that status (sword-worthiness) was not correlated with wealth to some degree, and it may be that the wealthy sword-graves were more liable to tomb-robbing in antiquity.

Of these 24 swords, 5 are totally lost to knowledge, 4 are missing, though their size is recorded, and 15 survive; of these, 12 have a pommel and/or scabbard fittings. All are large heavy slashing swords with lengths ranging between 810mm and 965mm and widths between 45mm and 70mm. There is no apparent correlation between size and other features. Some of the swords in the Ashmolean Museum have been X-rayed and four shown to be pattern-welded. Evidence of wood and leather scabbards survives on several blades, including those without fittings.

Six of the swords had 'sword-beads'. These have been discussed by Werner (1956a, 26-37) and Evison (1967, 64-5, 81-4). According to the former they are rare in Merovingian graves before the late fifth century and in English graves before the end of the century, whereas the latter would seem to put several English examples into the early and middle fifth century (Brighthampton 31, Fairford 30 and Abingdon I, B49). This dating discrepancy is important and must affect opinion about the date of the swords involved, especially since Evison follows Werner in preferring a Frankish source, not an independent Northern one, for the English examples. Two may be added to Evison's list: Bishopstone I, 5 had a large bun-shaped navy bead with marvered white opaque 'spider's web' pattern (Fig. 21b) and Brighthampton 15

a small perforated square of bone (Fig. 21d). One wonders whether the latter was attached to the perforation, now on the upper side of the front of the scabbard mouth; since all the comparable attachment-points discussed by Evison are on the lower side of the mouth-piece, this one might have been remounted upside down since its excavation.

More detailed comment can be added only to those swords with metal fittings:

1. Swords with scabbards of 'Oberlörick-Samson-Abingdon' Type

Abingdon I, B42 (Evison 1965, fig. 22), B49 (Fig. 21a).

Both swords have deteriorated since excavation and publication: the B42 sword has lost the remnants of its T-shaped pommel and the B49 scabbard fittings are missing (cf. Leeds and Harden 1936, Pl. XIX). Both blades are relatively slight, pattern-welded, and have 'blood-channels' along their length. The bronze fittings of 42 and the iron of 49 are characteristic of a group found on the continent and probably manufactured in the Namur region in the middle and later decades of the fifth century (Werner 1953, 1956b; Menghin 1975, 460). Another English example comes from Petersfinger XXI, but its scabbard mouth is heavily worn and the pommel and other grave-goods could admit of a date into the early sixth century (Evison 1965, 38-9; 1967, 67-8); it is possible that the scabbard was old and reused for a later sword.

There is little in the Abingdon graves to indicate any such anachronism. The sword-bead of B49 might indicate a late fifth-century burial, though its K1 spearhead could be as early as the middle of the fifth century. Evison justly drew attention to the proximity of these sword-graves in the cemetery; whether they are immigrant Franks must be a matter of debate (below, p. 413-5), but their burial in the second half of the fifth century seems assured.

2. The Bournemouth 31 sword (Pl. 67a).

This sword is an archaeological puzzle. Evison, who has analysed it in most detail, has argued for its manufacture during the first half of the fifth century somewhere in the Namur Region. Her principal reason was that

the art-style of the chape appeared to her earlier than 'Quoit-Brooch' style, which she dated, at that time, to the second half of the fifth century (Evison 1965,31-2,51,60-1). Behmer, on the other hand, included it in his Type VI (swords with 'cocked hat' pommels) and, because of the position of its pommel in his scheme for the development of the form, argued for manufacture at the beginning of the sixth century (Behmer 1939,162). The fact is that the various fittings on the sword are not stylistically uniform: the deep chip-carved scabbard mouth is quite different from the chape with its plain, plated ornament, and both are distinct from the neat equal-armed silver cross, which ornamented the scabbard. The simplest explanation is that, like other Anglo-Saxon swords (eg. Petersfinger XXI, and also Chessel Down, Hawkes and Page 1967,11-16), it is now a composite piece: during a lengthy life some of its fittings needed replacement.

Let us begin with the pommel. Lack of good closed contexts makes it difficult to assess the process of development advanced by Behmer. He took the simple pommel from a double grave at Barshaldershed, Sweden, as typologically the earliest. The associated C-bracteates and Vestland cauldron could permit an extension of his early fifth-century dating into the second half of the century (Nerman 1935,112-3). He argued further that pommels of this early form, with a hole in the top for the end of the tang, were replaced by ones which were fitted to the upper guard by rivets at the sides of the pommel; since the Brighthampton pommel has both features, it must be 'transitional'. Ring-knobs were often fitted to pommels of the developed form. Now, both the Brighthampton 31 and Petersfinger XXI swords should be crucial to the dating of both the pommel development and the introduction of ring-knobs, but the uncertainty and controversy over their dating leaves the way open to the error of circular argument. On present evidence, the Brighthampton pommel might belong anywhere between about AD 450 and 525.

The scabbard mouth is cast bronze (pace Evison 1965,105) and gilded except for the silvered and nielloed frame. The 'astragal' edges may be paralleled on several cast scabbard mouths of the late fourth and fifth century: Evison cites a probably late fourth-century example from the very early fifth-century find from Wiesbaden-Kastel (1965,31), and one could add examples from the 'Oberlörick-Samson' series of the middle and later fifth century. The sharp S-scroll 'chip-carved' decoration is most typical of fifth-century Germanic metalwork, such as the saucer and equal-armed brooches of Lower Saxony, or the Nydam Style objects of mid fifth-century Scandinavia. Comparable scroll-decorated scabbard-mouths are known, however, only from Scandinavia: the closest example comes from Kragehul bog on Fyn and has the same 'astragal' edging and dots between scrolls as the Brighthampton mouth piece (Behmer 1939,Pl.XXVI,6); a similar, though less fine, piece was found at Evebø in Norway in a burial of the very end of the fifth century (Behmer 1939,Taf.II,2a), and another example comes from a fifth-century deposit in Ejsbol Mose in Jutland (Ørsnes 1963, Fig.19,247). ^{with probable mid to later fifth-century dating,} This Scandinavian connection is reinforced by the use of niello with deep chip-carving on the Brighthampton scabbard mouth, since this also appears to be a distinctive feature of late fifth- and early sixth-century south Scandinavian metalwork (Hawkes and Page 1967,13).

The scabbard-edging is made of silvered bronze and would not seem to have been purpose-made: the linear grooves cut across the (?nielloed) triangular stamps, and the number of rivet-holes on each side differs. The silvered bronze studs must belong to the scabbard decoration. The most intriguing is the Maltese Cross stud, which would seem to be a Christian symbol. Evison's only parallel for it, from a sixth-century Alemannic burial, is far too remote geographically, and anyway is unlikely to support a Christian interpretation.

By far the most puzzling part of the scabbard is the chape, which is unique. Menghin has dealt in detail with the typology of U-shaped chapes in Europe, which first appear about the middle of the fifth century (1975, esp. 439-441, Abb. 18). Short broad chapes, which are most comparable with the Brighthampton chape, are found almost entirely in Scandinavia during the second half of the fifth century. A few of these chapes have cast decoration besides the standard horizontal grooves across the upper ends; normally this consists of scrollwork, just like that on the Scandinavian scabbard mouths already discussed (eg. Lovö grave 3, Friedrichsthal, Menghin 1975, 435; Ejsbol Mose, Ørsnes 1963, fig. 18). The most interesting example comes, however, from Sjörup, and has scrollwork on one side, but a pair of early Style I bird-headed animals on the other^{which should be no earlier than the late fifth century} (Behmer 1939, Taf. XXX, 2c). On the continent, long chapes are always narrow, and the majority occur in the Frankish area. Examples of both these forms are found in England. Long chapes of broad form are found, on the other hand, only in England, and their distribution is restricted to the Upper Thames Region/Cotswolds area (Brighthampton and Burford in Oxfordshire and Bredon's Norton in Worcestershire) with one outlier at Horton Kirby in west Kent. Menghin dates this small group to the same period as short broad chapes, partly because of the Brighthampton grave-assemblage. Yet he quotes only Evison for the dating of the grave, and she would put it before AD 450, and he ignores the associations of the Burford sword (below, p. 264). Probably this group spans the later fifth and early sixth century.

Only the Brighthampton example of these long broad chapes has elaborate decoration. It consists of plain geometric and zoomorphic motifs plated with gold. Gold-plating of individual motifs is an element of 'Quoit-Brooch' style, and the profiles of the backward-glancing animals, one with a short, pig-like tail, the other with a long cat's tail, are well matched by those

of the animals on the Sarre quoit brooch (Evison 1965, Pl.12c); the former creature also figures on the belt-plate from Bishopstone I, while the latter is similar to the animal-mounts of the Bidford-on-Avon bucket. The Bright-hampton animals do not belong, however, to classic 'Quoit-Brooch' style: they lack contour lines and internal hachures, and they are set out in a linear fashion, to be seen from one side only, and not in paired symmetry as is normal.

The birds' heads are symmetrical, but they have no place in the 'Quoit-Brooch' repertoire. Paired heads of birds-of-prey are sometimes found on Late Roman objects, such as belt-pendants (Evison 1965, Pl.26), but become very common in Scandinavian art-styles of the fifth century: the pair of chasing creatures on the mid fifth-century brooch from Lunde is a good example (Bakka 1958, fig.17). More relevant to their use on the Bright-hampton chape is the appearance of paired birds' heads biting at human or animal heads not only on chapes of 'Oberlörick-Samson' type, as Evison notes, but also on Scandinavian chapes, both the peltate type and long narrow ones, like those from Kragehul and Nydam (Menchin 1975, 456, figs.15-16).

The rather clumsy crescent and triangle motifs are not easily paralleled. The latter might be a stylised version of a pair of out-turned birds' heads.

The sword thus presents a conundrum. There is nothing which indubitably links it with Francia (pace Evison). The scabbard mouth almost certainly is Scandinavian, or is a copy of a Scandinavian mouth piece. The pommel would be quite at home in a Scandinavian context, though it need not be so, and it should date somewhere between the middle fifth and the early sixth century. The scabbard edging and other studs are reused, and one stud, at least, may come from a Christian milieu. The chape is most unlikely to be the product of the early fifth-century 'Quoit-Brooch' workshops, and equally unlikely to be an example of early fifth-century Frankish work in

view of the lack of good parallels for both form and ornament on contemporary Frankish swords. Also such an early date would require a major alteration in the chronology of the other long broad chapes, and in turn of their associated objects.

There are two possible interpretations of the chape which will not do violence to the other evidence. First, given the other Scandinavian affinities of the sword fittings, could it be Scandinavian? After all, Scandinavia has examples of both long chapes with paired birds' heads and broad chapes, including one with animal decoration, which could have inspired the development of a long broad chape with zoomorphic decoration. Also, though Scandinavia can no longer be thought the source for 'Quoit-Brooch' style, the similarity between some of its fifth-century animal ornament and that of both the 'Quoit-Brooch' style and the Brighthampton chape remains; likewise, the fact that equal use was made of panel gilding in Scandinavia, notably on objects decorated in the ^{early fifth-century} Sösdala style, and in 'Quoit-Brooch' and Late Roman Gallic material, cannot be ignored (v. Hawkes 1961). However, a direct link with Sösdala style would bring the date of the chape again unacceptably low, and the argument fails to answer the question of the stylistic discrepancy of chape and scabbard mouth.

The second possibility must be that it is English, a possibility which the concentrated distribution of long broad chapes should render a certainty. If so, it cannot belong to any Anglo-Saxon art-style of the late fifth or early sixth century; but it could have been made by someone with a knowledge of 'Quoit-Brooch' style. Although the beginning of the 'Quoit-Brooch' workshops is securely placed in the early fifth century, its end is less certain. I have suggested that the flat annular brooches developed out of the products of the original workshops, and also that belt-fittings of the later fifth century continued the traditions of Late Roman and sub-Roman military forms,

so that it is not impossible that there were other expressions of 'Quoit-Brooch' motifs and techniques after the mid fifth century. While this explains the style of the decoration, it does not explain either its content or the form of the chape. The latter certainly, and the former possibly, were derived from Scandinavia. Did the sword come to England from south Scandinavia, originally with a broad U-shaped chape decorated like the Sjörup chape, and was this subsequently replaced by some local British craftsman, or at least someone who knew of sub-Roman metalworking ? Was it also here that the scabbard edging was replaced, and that a cross-stud was acquired ? And did the manufacture of the new chape lead to the manufacture of others for local aristocrats ? The solution may seem extraordinary, but it does meet the facts about the dating of the pieces and the discrepancies in style, which Evison's Frankish ascription does not.

3. Swords with sheet-bronze fittings of fifth to sixth centuries

Bishopstone I, 5 (Fig. 21b), Brighthampton 15 (Fig. 21d), 44a (Fig. 21c), Chinnor I, (Fig. 21e), East Shefford 1, (Fig. 22i), Fairford AM 1961. 63 (Fig. 22f).

Apart from the composition of their fittings there is little to associate these swords or date them. The Bishopstone sword has a simple rectangular pommel with a hole for the tang. Its scabbard mouth is known only from a published drawing which shows one edge decorated with horizontal grooves; this may be in imitation of the cast, 'astragal'-type edges of some fifth-century mounts. The Brighthampton swords are even less distinctive: 44a was pattern-welded, its scabbard mouth was originally covered by white metal, and the two short edge-pieces may be secondary, one being plain and shorter than the other; 15 was not pattern-welded and its rectangular iron pommel is like a 'cocked-hat'.

Behmer classed the Fairford sword as Type V, primarily a Scandinavian

type, and thought it was a simplified version of the Snartemo swords, dating from the second half of the sixth century (1939,120). Its flat-topped, boat-shaped pommel with a hole for the tang, short U-shaped chape, ribbed scabbard edging and the evidence for its hour-glass hilt are typical of Behmer's Type V; the punched sheet-bronze scabbard mouth is not. These features are not sufficiently distinctive to justify Behmer's dating. Menghin, guided by his dating of broad U-shaped chapes, places it in the second half of the fifth century (1975,439), but it could be a little later. The Chinnor chape is similar to the Fairford one and again, on Scandinavian analogies, is likely to be later than the middle of the fifth century. The vertical grooves are unusual; are they skeuomorphs of the cast-in-one knobs on some Northern chapes (cf. Behmer 1939,Taf.XXVII,11,13) ?

Bronze scabbard-edging accessed into the British Museum at the same time as the sword from East Shefford 1, which was said to have had bronze fittings, may belong to it. It is decorated with repoussé 'Gothic' arches. An exact parallel comes from the scabbard in grave 34 at Black Patch and was associated with H1 and I1 spearheads and a tallish, spiked shield-boss. Deep 'astragal' edging was used on the scabbard in grave 22 at that site and might have inspired the 'Gothic' arch form, though the 'cocked-hat' pommel and other grave-goods imply that that grave was not dug until the sixth century.

4. Swords with scabbard mouths of so-called 'Linton Heath' Type

Burford (Pl. 66b; Fig. 22g), Cirencester III (Pl. 66c), Long Wittenham I, 67 (Pl. 66a; Fig. 22h).

These cast bronze, gilded scabbard mouths belong to a distinct group. Some of its members have been published by Mr. David Kennett (1969^b, 1971^a, 10-15), but his inaccuracy requires reconsideration of his arguments.

The finest is the stray from Cirencester: two ridges divide the framed

rectangle into three fields, each of which is subdivided by a smaller ridge, which has been partly cross-stamped (with a two-pronged punch) in the manner of 'light-and-shade'. All the others lack the vertical framelines: the Burford one has five main ridges and four stamped subsidiary ones, the Long Wittenham four broad channels which rise at each side to narrow ridges and which are separated by similar, intermediate and continuously punched ridges. I know of one other cast specimen - from Kempston grave 75 - which has five major ridges and four continuously punched minor ones. The sword in Mucking II, grave 776 had a comparable scabbard-mouth in gold leaf laid directly on the leather.

Kennett's description of the ornament as 'raised dots' is obviously wrong. The example from Linton Heath grave 64 (Pl. 66d), after which he named the whole group, is a poor specimen: it has seven uneven rounded ridges, the inner five of which have been punched by a single-pointed tool. The Little Wilbraham grave 96 (Pl. 66e) example has three broad rounded ridges alternating with five narrow ones and any dots are to be seen only with the 'eye of faith' ! It should be compared with Petersfinger grave XX (Leeds and Shortt 1953, Pl. I).

Horizontally-ridged scabbard mouths are common on continental swords, occurring on Behmer's types II, III, IV, V and VI, though especially on type III. The potential range of design is large, especially when niello and punched decoration is added (eg. Gilton 6875.2, Evison 1967, fig. 9d) and care must be taken in distinguishing sub-groups: it is a moot point whether the Dover grave 96b piece belongs to my group (ibid. fig. 2h). The group outlined, however, does seem secure and its distribution in the Upper Thames with outliers in Bedfordshire and Essex is consistent.

Dating evidence is poor, but a late fifth or sixth-century date is most likely. The Burford sword had one of the problematic long and broad U-shaped

chapes and was associated with H-type spearheads and a Group 1.1 shield boss, which could indicate late fifth or earlier sixth-century burial, as could the H3 spearhead and Group 5 shield boss with Long Wittenham I, 67. Kennett reports that the Kempston sword had a simple 'cocked hat' pommel, but was found with a bucket with degenerate Style I pendants; if the association is genuine, this sword might have been old when buried.

5. Other sword-blades

Extant: Ashdown (Fig. 24n), Eynsham I (Fig. 23j), Fairford 30 (Fig. 23k), Wanborough II, DM 6 (Fig. 23m).

Lost : Bishopstone I, 6, Brighthampton pre-1857, Fairford 54, Filkins 12, Long Wittenham I, A, Milton I, 1, 2.

Little can be said of these swords. It is surprising that Evison should regard the Fairford sword, which had two sword-beads, as early fifth-century, apparently because she thinks the bucket is similar to that in Brighthampton 31 (below, p. 370 ; Evison 1967, 65). It may be noted that the Wanborough sword has been 'ritually killed'.

6. Seventh-century swords

Cuddesdon, Dorchester ix, Lowbury Hill Barrow (Fig. 231).

Only the Lowbury sword is extant: it has a small oval pommel, the impression of a scabbard-mouth and no other distinguishing features. I have written elsewhere of the two swords recorded from Cuddesdon and the cloisonné pyramidal sword-stud from Dorchester (Dickinson 1974, 11, 19, 25-30; for the latter, see also Bruce-Mitford 1974, 266-8, where it is pertinently noted that the recorded measurements of the stud would accord with the proportions of the Sutton Hoo studs).

TABLE 8 : TABULATION OF WEAPON AND VESSEL ASSEMBLAGES OF 207 RECORDED
MALE GRAVES

Weapon Assemblage	No Vessel	Bucket	Bronze Vessel	Both	Other Item
2 swords/sword + seax			1 ^a		2 glass bowls
Sword, shield, 2 spears	1 ^b				
Sword, shield, 1 spear	3 ^c	1 ^d	1 ^e		
Sword and shield		1 ^f			
Sword and spear	1 ^g	1 ^h			
Sword alone	7 ⁱ				Lyre ^j
Seax, shield, 2 spears	1 ^k				
Seax, shield, spear	1 ^l		1 ^m		
Seax and spear	1 ⁿ				
Seax alone	5 ^o				
Shield and 2 spears	6 ^p		3 ^q	1 ^r	
Shield and spear	40	8 ^s		1 ^t	
Shield alone	24	1			
2 spears	3				
Spear alone	88	4 ^u		1 ^v	
TOTALS:	181	17	5	3	1

a. Cuddesdon

b. Burford

c. Bishopstone I, 5, Filkins 12, Long Wittenham I, 67

d. Long Wittenham I, A

e. Lowbury Hill Barrow

f. Fairford 30

g. Abingdon I, B42

- h. Brighthampton 31
- i. Bishopstone I, 6, Brighthampton 15, 44a, East Shefford 1, Milton I, 1, 2
- j. Abingdon I, B42
- k. East Ilsey I, 3
- l. Eynsham I, 1
- m. Yarnton 1
- n. Lyneham I, 1
- o. Chadlington f/g/h, Dorchester IVa, 8, Frilford III, 1, Kidlington,
Purton 1
- p. Abingdon I, B39, 69, Bishopstone I, 3, Brighthampton a, Cassington I, 1,
Fairford 2
- q. Dorchester VI, 28, Long Wittenham I, 36, 106
- r. Fairford 23
- s. Abingdon I, B48, Dorchester VI, 51, 69, Long Wittenham I, 9, 25, 82, 91,
92
- t. Long Wittenham I, 26 (2 bronze vessels)
- u. Dorchester VI, 61, Fairford 24, Long Wittenham I, 60, 128
- v. Long Wittenham I, 93 (stoup and cauldron).

Chapter 11: SEAXES

Three major classes of seax are recognised on the continent: the narrow seax (A), introduced during the fifth century into the Frankish weapon-assemblage and increasingly popular during the sixth century, was replaced in the seventh century by the broad seax (B), which was superseded at the end of that century by the long seax (C) (Böhner 1958,130-45). Recent studies demonstrate the occurrence of similar types in England (Evison 1961,1963-4,1969b; Hawkes 1973^a,188-190). But seaxes were never as common here as on the continent and the narrow seax, rare in the sixth century, gained currency only in the seventh century, while the broad seax did not appear until the later seventh century and then infrequently. Insular adaptation of the form is also apparent, especially the tendency, in the course of the seventh century, for the seax to increase in size without attaining the proportions of the continental broad or long seax. The Upper Thames seaxes reflect this insular pattern.

A. : Narrow Seaxes

A.1: Eynsham I, 1 (Fig. 47u).

This seax has a short tang and triangular blade, the back of both being in a straight line. It is like four other English seaxes datable to the sixth century, Kingsworthy grave 49, Gilton graves 10 and 56 (Hawkes 1973^a, 189) and Dover B, grave 93 (Evison 1967,82), and similar to Böhner's group A1. The Eynsham seax was found with a group K1 spearhead and, like that in the Kingsworthy grave, may date from the early sixth century. The other narrow seaxes from the Region, though still similar to Böhner's group A1, are typical of those found in seventh-century contexts in England (Hawkes 1973^a,189): grip-angles are weak and obtuse, though sometimes the upper angle is sharp and the lower one non-existent, and either both blade edges,

or only the back of the blade, curve to the point. Although the range of length and width of the continental narrow seaxes is reflected in the English series, the Upper Thames examples fall into two distinct groups.

A.2 : Small narrow seaxes (L.280-300mm, W.18-30mm)

Dorchester IV, 8 (Fig. 47v), Frilford III, 1, Lyneham Long Barrow 1, North Leigh AM 1929.395, Welford, Yarnton 1 (Fig. 25g).

The Yarnton seax, relatively heavy with a sharp upper grip-angle, is probably the earliest; the associated C2 spearhead might indicate a later sixth or seventh-century date, but the Group 1.1 shield boss would be surprising very late in the sixth century (below, p.277-80). A C2.2 spearhead was found with the Lyneham seax, seax-shaped knives were with those from Frilford and Dorchester, and the North Leigh example is from a 'Final Phase' cemetery; all may be seventh-century.

A.3 : Large narrow seaxes (L.over400mm, W.c.35mm)

Chadlington f, g or h (Fig. 47w), Milton II, AM 1836.54.

The Chadlington seax has an iron rivet across one side of the top of the blade, which may have held the lower guard, possibly represented by the strip of metal just above the rivet; it is similar to the oval guard-plates found on continental seaxes. Mrs. Hawkes parallels this seax with the even longer one from Polhill grave 84 (1973^a,189), which she suggests may be an insular attempt at a long seax. The Milton seax may also be the work of an inventive local weapon-smith: together with a few other late seventh-century seaxes, it combines the long two-handed grip, normally reserved for broad seaxes on the continent, with a narrow blade (Hawkes 1973^a,189; Evison 1961, 228-9).

A2 or A3: Hogshaw Hill

This unstratified and fragmentary seax seems to show features of both groups: if a second fragment of iron does represent the broken-off tang,

then its total length was in excess of 417mm, yet its extant width is only 16mm !

B : Broad seaxes

Long Wittenham (?II, not I), BM 62,7-19,6, Milton II, BM 62,7-19,5, Purton 1 (Fig. 24o).

Although the Long Wittenham seax is much heavier than even the large narrow seaxes, it does not have the length/width ratio of the continental broad seax; but it does have a characteristic broad shallow groove just below the spine of the blade on each side and its point is in the centre of the blade. Between the end of the groove and the grip-angle, there is a strip of metal similar to that on the Chadlington seax and to the grip-binding of the seax from Hohenfels grave 46 (Böhner 1958,II,46,Taf.27.4). The Milton seax is slightly wider, but still similar to the Long Wittenham seax. Only the Purton seax is very large. It has a two-handed grip and an oval iron pommel with concave upper guard inlaid with parallel lines of yellow-metal wire; two parallel grooves run along the spine of each side of the blade. Miss Evison cites it as the best parallel for the Northolt grave 3 seax (1961,229). It was found with two knives and a small blue bead, possibly equivalent in function to a sword-bead.

C : Long seax

Kidlington (Fig. 24p).

The Upper Thames Region can boast the only example of a continental-style long seax known from an Anglo-Saxon grave. By the standards of both the Trier Region and Late Saxon long seaxes it is a massive weapon. It is covered with the remains of a wood and leather scabbard, which have preserved the single spinal groove of the blade within. It must date from the early eighth century.

D. Lost Seaxes

Aylesbury I, Brize Norton II, Cassington III, Kingsey.

There are records of four daggers found at Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the Region, which, though not now extant, may be taken to be seaxes. The Brize Norton one would have been of class A.1 or A.2, the others of A.3 or B.

Chapter 12: SHIELDS

Evidence of shields, particularly from sites excavated before the present day, depends almost entirely on their metal fittings, and most particularly on their bosses. The structure of Anglo-Saxon shields has been discussed briefly by Professor Atkinson (Leeds and Shortt 1953,55-7), and Chadwick has added a few further notes (1958,29-30): the shield was usually small and round, made from light plywood and leather, with a central hand-held grip protected on the outside by an iron boss. The basic construction and the form of many bosses suggest that shields were as much offensive as defensive weapons, and could have been used both to parry and to inflict blows.

Ninety-six graves in the Upper Thames Region have produced evidence of a shield: in all but one grave, which contained a grip only, this evidence is supplied by the boss, and only rarely has the grip survived in association. In addition, there are forty-five unassociated shield bosses and eleven grips.

The shield was normally accompanied by a spearhead: seventy-one graves contained both weapons, one a sword and shield, and twenty-four a shield only. There are some grounds for believing that shields were appropriate to wealthier and/or higher status adult and adolescent males. Vessels of metal, metal-and-wood, and glass are almost exclusively associated with sword-and/or shield-bearing warriors, rather than with those who carry a spear alone (Table 8), which corroborates the normal a priori assumption that swords and luxury vessels are prestige items, and suggests that shields too were of social importance. Further, it seems that whereas boys were born sword- or spear-worthy, they had to wait until puberty for the right to carry a shield: of the forty-nine skeletons with shields for which an age at death has been published, thirty-eight are adults, five 'young adults', and six 'youths' (over the age of twelve). Although this fascinating

conclusion must await confirmation from more broadly based statistics, it is interesting to note that the three skeletons with spear and vessel(s), which have been aged, are all boys. Does this mean that, had they survived to puberty, they would eventually have been buried with a shield as well, to which their wealth, and possibly status, entitled them ?

The shield, then, is clearly a vital element in the grave-furniture of a significant proportion of the male population, and there is a considerable body of material available for analysis. Yet virtually no research has been done on it, especially on the bosses of the fifth and sixth century, which constitute the bulk of the evidence. Evison (1963) has contributed an important paper on the development of the characteristic later seventh-century 'sugar-loaf' boss, but she offers only a brief history of preceding forms (op.cit., 38-40, fig. 1a-b). Swanton (1974a) uses the terms 'waisted' and 'straight carinated' as significant labels for bosses associated with his spearheads, but nowhere defines their meaning.

There are some 117 extant shield bosses from the Upper Thames Region, which represent a useful sample for a first essay into the typology and chronology of English bosses. Since they exhibit no obvious leading characteristics, which might form the basis of a typology, and since it might seem sensible to make such an exploratory work as broadly based as possible, I have chosen to experiment with a computer-based system of numerical taxonomy. The computer programs were carried out by Mr. Martin Read of the Computer Centre, University College, Cardiff, and I am extremely grateful to him for all his work; but he is in no way responsible for any misinterpretation of the data, which results from my own innumeracy. It should also be noted that my original museum study was not carried out with such analysis in mind, so that only a limited range of data could be used. Nevertheless, I think that the results are worth presentation, though

obviously considerable modification and refinement could occur, were a comprehensive study, or even further tests on my own data, undertaken.

One hundred and five bosses are sufficiently well preserved to be used as units in a computer program. Eleven variates were defined against which the values for each boss could be entered (Fig. 25a): they were a mixture of quantitative features (1. height; 2. wall height; 3. diameter; 4. rim width; 8. number of rim rivets) and qualitative ones, recorded as multistate variates (5. profile of cone; 6. overhanging carination; 7. wall profile; 9. rivet metal; 10. rivet diameter; 11. apex type). The quantitative data were fairly straightforward and were entered directly as measurements in millimetres for variates 1 - 4, and as numbers (4 - 7) for variate 8. Where the relevant part of a boss was damaged or missing, no score was generally made, but I did think it legitimate to enter a few reconstructed measurements, especially for diameters and number of rivets. The qualitative data are more subjective because they are in some sense prejudged, and so are open to criticism. This is most obvious in the nineteen descriptive states used for variate 11. State 1 is a spike (a long tapering piece of iron terminating in a point, eg. Fig. 26a); these are easily broken, but can be confidently recognised as spikes rather than the necks for disc-head apices, because of their length and slimness. State 2 is a rod, and I have limited this definition to projections, which, though as tall as spikes, are thicker and have their tips hammered flat (eg. Fig. 25h). State 19 is a minute nail-like rod, which occurs on one boss only, from Dorchester VI, 52, the sole example in the Upper Thames Region of Evison's 'low curved cone' type (Fig. 26o). States 3 - 18 describe the sixteen groups created by dividing disc-head apices according to metal (iron, iron plated with silver/tin, bronze, bronze plated with silver/tin) and diameter (10-17mm, 18-25mm, 26-39mm, 40-60mm). Many apices have lost their disc-head and so cannot be recorded.

These data were entered on a basic matrix; one error was made in the entry for variate 5 of Long Wittenham I, BM 75,3-10,35 (81; numbers in brackets hereafter refer to the computer unit number) and this boss is therefore removed from consideration. Three programs were used for principal co-ordinates analysis, single linkage cluster analysis and average linkage cluster analysis (Fortran IV Program, Genstat V, Mark 3.6, 3.07; composed as +UCA05G), based on a similarity matrix computed by using Gower's Coefficient (Doran and Hodson 1975,142-3,176-7,194).

The principal co-ordinates analysis revealed that it was the qualitative variates, rather than the quantitative, which had most effect in dividing the population into groups. Variates 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 11 affected the first co-ordinate, with Variate 5 having the strongest influence, thus fully supporting Evison's intuitive division of bosses between straight and convex cones; convex cones, straight-profiled and higher walls, slightly narrower rims, greater incidence of bronze and/or plated rivets and disc-head apices with small diameters were co-ordinated at one end, against straight cones, concave and lower walls, with concomitant overhanging carinations, slightly wider rims and larger disc-head apices at the other. Variates 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 11 affected the second co-ordinate: smaller diameter, higher and straighter walls, straight cones, no overhanging carination, four rim rivets and spike apices characterised one end, against wider diameter, lower and straight walls, convex cones, overhanging carinations, five rivets, with greater incidence of bronze and/or plated ones, and small disc-head apices at the other. Variates 3, 5 and 11.2 affected the third co-ordinate: straight cones and large diameter were weighed against small diameter, concave cones and also rod apices.

It is therefore these characteristics which emerge as key factors in the two cluster analyses. The statistically optimum number of clusters was

produced at 90% similarity level between observations by single linkage and at 60% by average linkage. The former method produced two large clusters (1,2), four small ones (4,7,8,10) and twelve unclustered units, which are individual clusters numbered according to their position in the 'chain' of units which forms the base-line of the dendogram (3,5,6,9,11-18). The latter method also produced two large clusters (1,2), but only two small ones (3,5) and one unclustered unit (4). These clusters were plotted by the computer against the first two principal co-ordinates, and since this seems to be the most effective method of presenting simply the results of the analysis, I have redrawn the diagrams as Figs. 27 and 28.

It will be noticed that there is a considerable measure of agreement between the two analyses, especially for the first cluster. However, since the two are carried out according to different rules, it is not surprising that their results differ somewhat. The question is therefore how far one or both analyses satisfy the needs of the archaeological data: Hodson, in testing a wide range of programs on the fibulae from Münsingen, found that neither was completely satisfactory, but that average linkage produced the more acceptable results, and that would seem to be the case here. The single linkage analysis, although detecting nuances of difference between shield bosses, seems to be at the same time too fine and yet too unresponsive to the empirical facts of the data: for example, many of the unclustered units, as their numerical sequence indicates, are quite similar to units which have been clustered, while, on the other hand, units 2, 18, 20, 77 and 105, even at the 95% similarity level, are part of cluster 2, despite their marked visual difference from the main body of that cluster. Average linkage analysis avoids the first problem, but at the 60% similarity level actually makes the second problem worse. But at the 65% level of similarity average linkage does seem to produce some consistent clusters, and I propose to use

these as the basis of my typology (Fig. 29). Obviously, there are still anomalies, which I shall discuss at the relevant point and which might have been resolved by modifications in input or programming.

Classification

Cluster 1 = Group 1.1 (33 bosses, 32% of total)

Abingdon I, B4(1) (Fig. 25b), 48(6), Ab.M no no.(9), Cassington II, 2(19) (Fig. 25c), Dorchester VI, 6(24) (Fig. 25d), 51(27), 141(32), Eynsham I, 1(34) (Fig. 47t), AM 1971.1047(36), 1048(37), Fairford AM 1942.249(47), no no.(48), Frilford I, 104(51) (Swanton 1974a,fig.88c), AM 1886.1434(53), 1955.367(55), Long Wittenham I, 9(57), 36(60), 81(65), 85(66), 91(67), 92(68), 146(72), 168(74), 177(75), 179(76), BM 75,3-10,25(78), 28(79), 33(80), Wanborough II, 1(93), DM 8(95), Wallingford 22(96) (Fig. 25e), Yarnton 1(102) (Fig. 25f), Burford (103).

Cluster 2 = Group 1.2 (14 bosses, 13% of total)

Abingdon I, B55(7) (Swanton 1974a,fig.87e), Bassett Down DM 25(11), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 3.80(13), Cirencester I, Cor.M G80(22), Dorchester VI, 69(30) (Fig. 25h), vii BM 1920,3-11,1(33), Eynsham I, AM 1953.624(35), Fairford 13(39) (Fig. 25i), 30(40), AM 1961.83(44), 1886.1442(45), Frilford I, 140(52), Oxford IVb(89), Winchendon II, Ay.M 1.05(100).

The first cluster produced by single linkage at the 90% level agreed, but for two bosses, with the first cluster produced by average linkage at the 60% level. The cluster was distributed within a confined area of the scatter diagram and suggests that a genuine and circumscribed class of bosses has been identified (Figs. 27-28). However, average linkage at the 65% level recognised a sub-division of this cluster, which could provide a useful aid to a finer typology of this group, the largest in the Upper Thames (45% of those analysed).

Group 1 is characterised in general by the following features: low

height (65-91mm), moderate wall height (14-25mm), large diameter (148-181mm), moderate to large rim width (20-40mm), straight or concave cone, overhanging carination, concave wall, slightly greater incidence of four rather than five rim rivets, and a tendency for apices to be plain iron, disc-headed and broad. The key difference between the two sub-groups is that Group 1.1 has a straight cone, while all but one of Group 1.2 have concave cones; in addition, Group 1.2 includes all three of the bosses with rod apices and has a smaller diameter range (129-167mm). Group 1.2 shows therefore some affinities with Group 4.

Three types of grip have been found in association with bosses of these groups: in Group 1.1, four are flanged with straight ends (eg. Fig. 25c), and six are flat, two with oval (eg. Fig. 25b) and four with straight ends (eg. Fig. 25d); in Group 1.2, there is one example of the first type and two of the last. Disc-head rivets, which ornamented the shield board, are rare in these groups: three of iron belonged to Long Wittenham I, 9, and one and two to Dorchester VI, 51 and 6 respectively.

Associated grave-goods are remarkably homogeneous^e in date. Spearheads of Swanton's Types J, K1, K2 and L, datable between about AD 450 and 550 (below, pp. 313-9), were found with five bosses of Group 1.1 and two of Group 1.2; spearheads of Types H1, H1/2, H2, E/H1 and E/H1/2, which were current mainly in the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries (below, pp. 308-13), were found with eleven of Group 1.1 and two of Group 1.2. The correlation of shield boss and spearhead types may be anchored by the possible occurrence of a fifth-century kidney-shaped buckle loop in Frilford I, 104, and certainly by the early sixth-century seax in Eynsham I, 1, and a pot with bossed panel-style and Style I rectangular belt-plate in Wanborough I, 1; but the broken piece of a Late Roman military belt-fitting (above, p.245) from Dorchester VI, 6 is too fragmentary to be allowed to influence the

dating. The only contradiction to the suggested date-range is the group of objects associated with the Yarnton 1 boss: the C2 spearhead implies a date within the later sixth or seventh centuries, and the seax is of seventh-century type. However, the seax is somewhat different from other seventh-century seaxes (above, p. 270), while the boss profile exhibits that hint of curvature which makes simple classification between straight and convex difficult and potentially false. If I have coded the profile wrongly, then the boss should belong to Group 3; if not, then it must be an unusually late example of the Group 1 form, possibly dating from the late sixth century. Despite this exception, the generally early dating of these groups is well founded, and this is most reasonable in view of the typological similarities between Group 1.2 and Group 4: Dorchester VI, 69 and Fairford 13 may be small versions of Böhme's fifth-century 'Liebenau Type' (Böhme 1974, Taf. 21, 14; below, p. 286).

Cluster 3 = Group 2 (8 bosses, 7% of total)

Abingdon I, B11(2), 39(5) (Fig. 47q-r), Cassington I, 4(18), Cassington II, AM 1940.222(20), Dorchester VI, 29(105) (Fig. 25j), Long Wittenham I, 45(62) (Fig. 25k), 180a(77) (Fig. 25l), Ready Token (90).

Average linkage at 60% put all these bosses into the second cluster, and single linkage at 90% similarity all but two. Yet visually they appear far more akin to my Group 1 than to the main body of the second cluster, my Group 3. In fact, they have elements of both Groups 1 and 3, and this intermediary character is detected by average linkage at 65%. They do not differ at all in size or shape from Group 1 bosses, except that they all have straight, not concave, walls, and it is this feature which is a key variate in dividing clusters 1 and 2 in both single linkage and average linkage at the 60% level analyses. Also characteristic of cluster 2 bosses is the preponderance of five rivets on the rim, and all five bosses with extant

rivets from Group 2 conform in this respect.

In addition, proportionately more Group 2 than Group 1 bosses had disc-head rivets decorating their shield boards: there was one of iron with Abingdon I, B39, six with Cassington I, 4, and three of plated bronze with Long Wittenham I, 45, which, with the bronze disc-head apex and plated bronze rim rivets of the boss, must have made this a relatively richly decorated shield. Only Abingdon B39 had an identifiable grip, which was flanged with straight ends.

Since Group 2 forms a typological bridge between Groups 1 and 3, it is not surprising that their date-range is correspondingly broad. Cassington I, 4 contained the type of inlaid socket found on the H, J and L series spear-heads, which could indicate a pre-mid sixth-century date, but the E3 spear-head with Long Wittenham I, 180a is likely to be late sixth-century at the earliest, and E1.1 and F1 blades with Abingdon B39 are not closely datable. But, since it could be argued that the diagnostic features of straight wall, five rim rivets and a preference for shield-board rivets are borrowed from Group 3 shields, it would be logical to place these bosses in the sixth century also (below, p.282).

Cluster 4 = Group 3 (26 bosses, 25% of total)

Abingdon I, B69(8) (Fig. 25m), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 2.80(12), Cassington I, 1(17) (Fig. 25n), Dorchester VI, 24(25) (Fig. 25a), 43(26), 53(29), 110(31), (Fig. 25o), Fairford AM 1961.81(42), .82(43), Frilford I, 51(50), AM 1886.1414a(54), Long Wittenham I, 25(58) (Fig. 25p), 26(59), 56(63), 106(69) Swanton 1974a, fig.72d), 107(70), 126(104) (Fig. 25q), 161(73), BM 75,3-10, 37(82), Minster Lovell 2(85), Oddington, Glos.(86), Oxford II, 2 (88), Uffington I, 4(92) (Fig. 25r), Wheatley AM 1883.21a¹(98), 21a²(99), Winchendon I, Ay.M 2/A(101).

Group 3 bosses are slightly narrower and taller than those of Groups 1

and 2: heights are between 73 and 93mm, wall heights 16 - 30mm, diameters 140 - 174mm, and rim widths 17 - 28mm. Most have overhanging carinations like the two preceding groups, but otherwise they are clearly differentiated: all have convex cones, straight walls, and five rim rivets of medium to large diameter, and nearly all have small iron disc-head apices (fourteen are 10 - 17mm in diameter, five 18 - 25mm, and three 26 - 39mm). A greater percentage has plated and/or bronze rim rivets (two with plated iron, four bronze, and two plated bronze), and also disc-head rivets from the shield board (one with two of iron, three with three of iron, one with two plated bronze, and one with one iron and three plated bronze). These shields are the most elaborately decorated in the Upper Thames corpus. Two bosses, not analysed, might be added on the grounds of their convex domes: Frilford I, 137, recently re-discovered in Cornell University Museum, and the fragmentary cone from Lyneham II, 3.

All evidence points to these bosses as a sixth-century type. Early spearhead forms - B2, I-L - have not been found in association with Upper Thames examples, but there are three buried with H1 spearheads and one with an H2 spearhead, Long Wittenham I, 26, which should probably be dated from the late fifth or early sixth century because of the associated vessels (below, p.369). Other associated spearheads (E1.1, E1/2 and F1, E/H1/2) could date from any period, but there are five associations with C1, C1/2, C2 and C/E types, which are not certainly known before the sixth century and which are most common during the seventh century, one with an F2 spearhead, which has a late sixth to seventh-century date-range, and one, Abingdon I, B69, with an A2 angon, which should be dated well into the sixth century (below, p.293).

This chronology is confirmed by examples from other parts of the country. The type seems most common in Kent (eg. Lyminge 31, Warhurst 1955, fig.4.5;

Finglesham G2, Chadwick 1958,22-24,29-30; Lord of the Manor, Ramsgate and Finglesham 204, Millard, Jarman and Hawkes 1969,16-17; Strood I, 3, Swanton 1974a,fig.79e); Finglesham 204, dated to c. 500AD by its excavator, is one of the earliest to have been published recently. Similar bosses occur quite often in southern counties, but also from all other settled areas: another example datable to c. 500AD comes from Kingsworthy 49 (Swanton 1974a,fig.85c; below, p.369), while later specimens can be cited from Loveden Hill grave 8, with lozengiform shield appliqué (Fennell 1964,Ch.VI), Bidford-on-Avon grave 69, with an E2 spearhead, Petersfinger grave 7, with a long shield grip and a C2 spearhead (Leeds and Shortt 1953,fig.8), Prittlewell grave 25, with an E3 spearhead (Swanton 1974a,fig.70e), and Little Eriswell grave 29 (Proc.Camb. Ant.Soc.,59,1966,13). Some of these associations suggest that Group 3 - type bosses survived in these districts into the seventh century, but in Kent and its neighbouring counties, they seem to have evolved into the smaller, lighter 'low curved cones' (Evison 1963,39-41). This form is rare further north - only one true example is known from the Upper Thames Region (Fig. 26o) - but some of the Group 3 bosses do bear similarities to it; the boss from Dorchester VI,110 (Fig. 25o) is noticeably light and has the general proportions of a low cone, except that its diameter is too large.

The appearance of Group 3 bosses in southern England at the very beginning of the sixth century is another aspect of the connections between that area, and especially Kent, and the Merovingian world. Convex-cone bosses are characteristic of the Reihengräberzivilisation: they occur in the rich graves of the 'gold-grip sword horizon' of c. 480-520AD, such as Planig (Mainzer Zeitschrift, 35, 1940, Abb.2,9) and Lavoye 319 (Chenet 1935,fig.9c), and the similarly dated Flonheim grave 1 (Ament 1970,127-8), and continue to occur throughout the sixth century, for example, in Krefeld-Gellep I, graves 1782, 1812 and 2046 (Pirling 1974,147), the prince's grave under Cologne cathedral

(Germania, 42, 1964, Abb. 9), and in Middle Germany (Schmidt 1961, 154-5).

Although the diffusion of this Merovingian form via Kent and southern England brought to the Upper Thames Region a new boss type, and with it a greater use of plated and/or bronze rivets both for the boss and the shield board, the long grip, which is frequently found with this type on the continent and in Kent, was not transferred. There are only two examples of it in the Region, neither associated with a boss: Cassington I, 3 lacked any evidence of a boss, while Wheatley AM 1883.21b is a reconstruction from unassociated fragments, one of which was published originally as a tanged spearhead (PSA, 29, 1916, fig. 1f; Fig. 25s).

Cluster 5 = Group 4 (14 bosses, 13% of total)

Abingdon I, B25(3) (Fig. 26a), 33(4) (Fig. 26b), Bassett Down DM 19(10) (Swanton 1974a, fig. 60c), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 4.80(14), Brighthampton 6(15) (Fig. 26c), 13a(16) (Fig. 26d), Dorchester VI, 1(23) (Fig. 26e), Fairford 2(38) (Fig. 471), AM 1961.80(41), 1942.248(46) (Fig. 26h), Frilford I, 10(49), Long Wittenham I, 42(61) (Fig. 26f), 138(71) (Fig. 26g), Oxford II, 1(87) (Fig. 26i).

In some respects Group 4 is not consistent, though it does include a series of very distinctive bosses: whereas only some of these were clustered together by single linkage at 90% (cluster 8) and all were submerged within cluster 2 by average linkage at 60%, they were identified first as a single cluster by average linkage at 75% level of similarity. These bosses are tall and narrow in comparison with other groups, and have medium to high walls (heights: 82-119mm; wall heights: 20-35mm; diameters: 125-156mm; rim widths: 15-21mm). Cones are either concave (6) or straight (5), and one anomalous boss has a convex cone; the majority lack an overhanging carination (9:5), and all have straight walls; rim rivets are four in number, of medium size and usually of iron. Most of the bosses have spike apices (10) and one

has a rod apex; the inclusion of two with largish disc-head apices, which have more in common with Group 5, appears illogical, but must be caused by the weight of their other features. The five extant grips are all flat with expanded and straight-ended terminals, and four shields had two or three iron disc-head rivets on the board; in addition, Fairford 2 had a sheet bronze appliqué ornamented with a star (Pl. 67c). Engravings of two bosses from Cirencester v suggest that they should be included in this group.

H1/2 and H2 spearheads occur in four graves, that in Fairford 2 paired with a fifth-century B2 type, and an H3, which is not a purely sixth-century form (below, p.311), in another. K1 spearheads, which occur in the century AD450-550, were found in Long Wittenham I, 42 and Oxford II, 1. These associations imply an early date for this group, though not an exclusively fifth-century one: Brighthampton 13a, secondary to a grave with a sixth-century small-long brooch (above, p.178), must be a later burial.

Parallels for the group, especially for the very high-walled variety, amongst the published literature for both the continent and England are surprisingly rare. In England, they are found, at the moment, primarily in Wessex and the Midlands. Swanton figures one, associated with a K2 spearhead from Toddington, and refers to another, with an L spearhead, from Stretton-on-the-Fosse grave 38 (1974a,137,fig.87d). Mr. W.T.Jones informs me that none are known from Mucking, but Mrs. Hawkes has excavated two from Kingsworthy graves 22 and 87, the latter associated with a K1 spearhead. The concordance in date of these examples and those from the Upper Thames Region is broken by two apparent examples from Nassington grave 25 (Leeds and Atkinson 1944,fig.5) with an F2 spearhead, and Bidford-on-Avon grave 210 with an E2 or E3 spearhead. I have found further examples with spike apices in the British Museum (Thurnam Collection, ?Wiltshire, 73,12-19,223; Chessell Down, 67,7-29,167; Longbridge, 80,5-21,16) and in Salisbury Museum (Bourne

Hill, Salisbury), and with disc-head apices from Sleaford (BM 83,4-1,529 and 533) and Bidford-on-Avon grave 53.

The spike or rod apex links these bosses instantly with the basic North Germanic shield boss tradition, which can be traced from the pre-Roman Iron Age (Jahn 1916,173ff.). Usually, the height of these bosses is in their cone and spike, and their walls are low (Jahn does distinguish one type with a high wall, which is characteristic of the East Germans of the second century onwards, op.cit.,Taf.III,7b); Böhme recognises two early Migration Period forms, the 'Rhenen-Vermand' type with four flat rim rivets and no spike, and the 'Liebenau' type with five rivets and a rod, which can be long and hourglass-shaped (1974,112-113). Similar forms are found in fifth-century Middle Germany (Schmidt 1961,154). The Long Wittenham I, 138 boss, with its relatively low wall, looks like a Böhme 'Liebenau' type, which should make it fifth-century; Dorchester VI, 1, with its probably broken rod apex, may also be closely related.

Group 4 bosses thus may be the earliest type of shield boss used by the immigrant Anglo-Saxons, but the high walls and the occasional use of a disc-head apex imply that the Germanic Stachelbuckel underwent insular adaptation. Grave associations indicate that the modified form continued in use into the early, and possibly even late, sixth century, while the links between Group 1.2 and Group 4 bosses suggest how the form gave rise to the standard low Anglo-Saxon shield boss of Group 1.1 type.

Cluster 6 = Group 5 (3 bosses, 3% of total)

Cirencester I, 1(21), Long Wittenham I, 67(64), Sutton Courtenay II(91) (Fig. 26j-1).

These three bosses are very similar to Group 4, except for their broad rims, which increase their diameter, and their very broad disc-head apices. The Long Wittenham grave also contained a sword with so-called 'Linton Heath'

type scabbard mouth and an H3 spearhead, which may indicate a date around AD 500, or a little later (above, p. 246), and the Cirencester boss was found with a pot of my group C3, which would certainly not contradict such a dating (below, p. 356).

Cluster 8 and Unclustered (6 bosses, 6% of total)

The tail end of the average linkage dendrogram is the least satisfactory. Cluster 8 places together some remarkably dissimilar bosses: their only common characteristics are convex cones, relatively narrow diameters and very small iron disc-head apices. Since the cluster does include the only two 'sugar-loaf' shield bosses in the survey, and the unclustered boss, an example of Evison's 'low curved cone' variety, is likewise unique in the survey, it seems best to discuss these separately and within the context of Evison's researches. Brief comments on the three other bosses, which are oddities inevitable in any typology, can follow.

Group 6 : Evison 'Low curved cone' type

Dorchester VI, 52(28) (Fig. 26o).

Group 7 : 'Sugar-loaf' shield bosses

Lowbury Hill Barrow (83), Milton II, BM 62,7-22,3(84) (Evison 1963, figs. 26g, 28i).

Evison implied that low cone bosses were in use in the first half of the seventh century, and that from these developed, around the middle of the seventh century, tall straight cones, which, in turn, gave rise to true, curved 'sugar-loaf' bosses during the second half of the century (1963, 61-66). Since her chronology was hinged on the old, c. AD650, date for Sutton Hoo 1, it requires some adjustment. Her key grave, Taplow, would now be dated to about the first quarter of the seventh century, which, taken with the presumed development of the low cone form from sixth-century types (my Group 3) and the general late sixth- to seventh-century dating of spearheads

associated with low cones, suggests that this form was current from the late sixth or early seventh century. Hawkes has argued that they could have continued in use well into the seventh century (Hawkes and Hogarth 1974,77). Tall straight cones probably appeared in the second quarter of the seventh century: Coombe Bissett, with a transitional form of boss and a garnet-inlaid pyramidal sword stud, and Alton grave 16, with a fully-developed example and a repaired filigree- and garnet-decorated triangular buckle, probably belong to this period. The emergence of the true 'sugar-loaf' form in the second half of the century need not be challenged: Evison rightly noted the homogeneity of the associated material, and items like the gold ornament from the 'Surrey side of Thames' find can be seen as typical of these decades (v. Hawkes, Merrick and Metcalf 1966; above, p.212).

The Upper Thames Region is sparsely represented in this development. The little Dorchester boss stands out remarkably from the rest of the corpus; its associated E3 spearhead and knife with straight back and downward curving point leave no doubt that it should be dated to the late sixth, or, more probably, early seventh century.

The boss from East Ilsey I, 3 can be added to the two analysed bosses; although lost, its association in a barrow with a tiny buckle with rectangular plate and two seventh-century-type knives is typical of this type of boss (Evison 1963,61,fig.34c). Evison has commented on the late-seventh century nature of the objects from Lowbury Hill (1963,62), while the Milton boss, though unassociated, comes from the site which produced the two late composite disc brooches and a broad seax (above,pp.192,271).

Ungrouped Bosses

Kingsey TM A.886(56) (Fig. 26m), Wanborough II, DM 7(94) (Fig. 26n), Wheatley 15(97).

The high-walled Wheatley boss may have been joined with cluster 8

because of its many missing features. In general, it shares more points with Group 3 than with any other group, and a sixth-century dating may be the best assessment of it, particularly since it was buried with a heavy, shield-on-tongue buckle.

The other two bosses are small, with exceptionally low walls; they appear very similar to Group 1.1, except for their convex cones. However, the apex of the Wanborough boss is quite smooth, and it is uncertain whether this is an eroded small stud, or whether it is original. If the latter is the case, then there may be some connection with the taller convex-coned bosses of the continent, which lack apices (eg. Schmidt 1961, 154, Abb.60k; Evison 1963, fig.7).

Summary

Since I have followed the order of the computer's clusters, the chronological sequence has been disjointed. To recap, the earliest type, known from some time in the fifth century, is the tall, narrow boss with spike apex, four rim rivets and flat grip, which is a direct descendant of the German Stachelbuckel (Group 4). During the later fifth century, the most popular form (Group 1.1), low and broad, with overhanging carination, concave wall and disc-head apex, was developed, possibly from Group 4, as the intermediary type Group 1.2 might indicate. These lasted until the middle of the sixth century, or even later, and may have influenced the adaptation of Group 4 bosses by exchanging the spike for a disc-head apex (Group 5). At the beginning of the sixth century, a new type, Group 3, was introduced from Kent or South Wessex, which lasted through the century, and which also had some effect on existing forms (Group 2). In the seventh century, shield bosses were rare, but the classic forms are represented (Groups 6 and 7). At all times, the flat grip was most popular, but the flanged type was used in the late fifth and sixth centuries.

This development is remarkably like that proposed for Middle Germany by Schmidt (1961,154-5), and Evison has also noticed the correspondence between England and the continent (1963,56-7). Clearly, more research is needed to assess the interdependence of the two sequences, and especially to explain why the height of the boss was reduced in the late fifth century, only to be raised again in the late seventh century; functionally, the early Migration Period and Late Merovingian bosses are the same (ie. offensive), while those in between seem much more defensive.

Chapter 13: SPEARHEADS

Dr. M.J.Swanton has recently published a bipartite study of early Anglo-Saxon spearheads (1974a, commentary, and 1974b, corpus) which will probably become a basic canon of the subject, if only because the labour of repeating such a work will prove a powerful deterrent. Since there is no reason to quarrel with the main lines of his analysis, his work should be a boon to a regional study such as this; yet in trying to correlate it with the spearheads which I have studied, I have encountered considerable difficulty.

Swanton argued, rightly, that since each spearhead was an individual product and was so easily malformed by corrosion a precise typology could not be expected (1974a,10). So he preferred to define his groups by deliberately vague verbal descriptions rather than mathematical measurements, and to convey the incidence and size of each group through distribution maps rather than by statistical tables. Yet by assigning each spearhead in his corpus to a group, he gives the impression that spearheads do fall into distinct groups; in discussing those groups, he endows them with chronological and cultural significance. Clearly, there is little point in creating a typology if it cannot bear the weight of interpretation; but to bear that weight, groups must be sufficiently consistent and therefore closely defined, however pedantic the results may seem. It has been the practical problem of reconciling Swanton's definitions of groups with both the spearheads which he catalogues and with others not available to him, which has caused doubts about his method of classification and which urges some modification of it.

Swanton based his classification on four key features: profile, section, overall length and the ratio of blade length to socket length. Some series of spearheads are quite easy to isolate, notably those with modified sections (I-L) and those derived from continental Germanic forms (A-B). The boundaries

between the vast majority are not so readily drawn: they rely on distinctions between leaf-shaped, angular and ogival profiles, variations of dimension, and the debatable relationship of lentoid sections with leaf-shaped profiles and lozenge sections with angular profiles. In order to remove confusion and inconsistency, I have translated Swanton's verbal definitions into far more explicit terms and, consequently, have added a number of new groupings to contain borderline examples.

In a number of cases, Swanton's classification of a spearhead seems quite at odds with his definitions and this problem raises the general one of the reliability of his corpus. He did his own fieldwork in 1961-2, since when, he says (1974a,6), many spearheads have disappeared; conceivably even more have been further disfigured by corrosion, lost their labels or had them transposed and had museum numbers erased, which might explain the apparent discordance between our respective lists and descriptions of spearheads from the Upper Thames Region. However, not all disagreements can be so resolved and the number of inconsistencies between commentary and corpus and the evidence of confusion of excavation records and museum accession registers (especially over the unstratified spears from Wheatley) casts a shadow of doubt over the trustworthiness of his work. In general, I have incorporated into my catalogue spearheads seen by Swanton, but not by myself. A number has been excluded: a couple (an alleged E2 from Milton North Field and an F2 from Oxford IV) cannot be early Anglo-Saxon according to his criteria, while there can be no guarantee of the provenance of 14 unnumbered spearheads in the British Museum (allegedly from Aston Remenham, East Shefford and Long Wittenham), given the vicissitudes experienced by the ironwork in that museum. I have felt it safe to include the few unnumbered spearheads from other museums. In addition, I have excluded records of casual finds, as distinct from excavated graves, where the spearhead has not survived; but I have included unassociated spearheads accessed into museum collections,

but since lost.

Classification

Type A: Barbed throwing spears or angons

Abingdon I, B69 (Swanton 1974a, fig.4, c-d).

This grave contained a 'set' of barbed darts, one of Swanton's group A1, the other of group A2. Examples from reliable contexts quoted by Swanton (1974a, 31, 33-4) leave a wide chronological gap between the two types: A1 is not certainly dated after the mid fifth century, nor A2 before the beginning of the seventh century. Stray finds from cemeteries where other material dates from the later fifth and sixth centuries could fill the gap, but there is no compulsion. The Abingdon grave is therefore important in linking the two types. The A1 blade may have been old when buried; the associated Group 3 boss is primarily a sixth-century type and burial in the later sixth century would be feasible.

Type B: 'Nydam-derivative' spearheads

B1: Spikes

Harwell 1 (Swanton 1974a, fig.57, a).

Although Swanton links this form to one known from the Nydam I bog-deposit, good datable contexts of English examples do not occur before the seventh century. Despite Swanton's comments (1974a, 153n), the context of the Winster Moor spearhead is ambiguous; if the grave is Saxon, it is far more likely to belong with most other Peak District burials in the seventh century rather than the sixth-century. Harwell is the only other potential sixth-century grave: found allegedly below the skeleton in grave 2 and with a Group 2.3 applied brooch and an imitation Kentish small square-headed brooch, it can hardly date much after the middle or later sixth century, but its associated knife (cf. Böhner 1958, 215, Type C) and tiny buckle (above, p.253) would be quite at home in the seventh century context and I have suggested

that these male items might belong to grave 2 (Catalogue, p.138).

B2: Foliform midribbed spearheads

Dorchester I, 1(?), Dorchester VI, 20 (Fig. 36h), Fairford 2 (Fig. 47k), Frilford I, AM 1892.2637 (Fig. 36g), Pangbourne (Fig. 24g).

Group B2 spearheads are found in Late Roman and early Migration Period contexts in England and on the continent. Their presence in late fourth- and fifth-century cemeteries south of the Rhine probably indicates Germanic troops in these areas (Böhme 1974,101,189ff.). The finds from Dorchester VI and Fairford are from certain Anglo-Saxon graves: the former has marked angular 'wings' similar to the insular H type, the latter was found with an H2 spearhead and a Group 4 boss. Whether the 'federate' soldier from Dorchester I, 1 really owned the spearhead recorded by Swanton is uncertain; despite his insistence on its existence (1974a,41n), it is curious that no one has seen it before or since and that the museum number which he gives is also that of the fragmentary knife from the female grave 2 at Dorchester. It is impossible now to know whether the Frilford spear came from a Saxon or Late Roman grave. The context of the Pangbourne spear is also ambiguous: records most favour an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, but an Ordnance Survey note of 'a Romano-British cemetery' and the discovery of a small hoard of gold, silver and brass coins makes it uncertain. This is a great pity since potentially these spears might have indicated Germanic settlers in the area before AD 400; the others must be fifth century.

Type C: Leaf-shaped spearheads with blade longer than socket

Although I shall deal with the spear groups in the alphabetical order developed by Swanton, this is the most convenient place to introduce the extra groups which I shall use for the bulk of the spearheads, types C, E and H. Hybrid groups C/E and E/H encompass those blades which are not convincingly either leaf-shaped, angular, or ogival, whether because they do

not seem to correspond to Swanton's definitions, or have been too corroded for judgement, or find their best parallels in an alternative group to that suggested by Swanton. Swanton divided C1, E1, and H1 from C2, E2, and H2 primarily on grounds of length, placing the boundary at 200-220mm. To avoid inconsistencies in classifying borderline blades, I have introduced borderline groups 1/2; this at least has the merit of clearly separating groups 1 and 2, an important point where there may be some chronological distinction, though the choice of a dividing line may still appear arbitrary. Within some groups, I have created sub-groups where there are clearly recognisable variant forms.

C1.

Dorchester VI, 24,47, Fairford 8-12 (AM 1961.28,29) (Fig. 30f,e), AM 1851.142 (Swanton 1974a,fig.9,d), AM 1961.75 (Fig. 30a), Hampnett 9 (Fig. 30g), Long Wittenham 24,69,76 (Fig. 30b,d,c), 83 (Swanton 1974a,fig.9,g), Stanton Harcourt 15.

All these spearheads have definite leaf-shaped profiles, smoothly curved with the greatest width at or only just below the middle of the blade, and lengths between 140 and 190mm. Two have a lozenge section, the rest lentoid. The AM 1961.28 spear from Fairford 8-12 has a proper junction piece and short cleft socket, though the rest have sockets split along their entire length. Swanton classed the Long Wittenham 76 spear as E1.

C1 blades occur rarely with shield-bearing warriors and it is interesting that the two Upper Thames examples so associated are the largest of the group. Not surprisingly chronology is difficult. The only firmly dated examples are seventh-century, including the Upper Thames one from the 'Final Phase' cemetery of Stanton Harcourt. None of those quoted by Swanton as evidence of earlier date are above suspicion (1974a,49). Welded sockets may not be a secure criterion of early date in view of the example from

Garton Slack I (apparently another 'Final Phase' cemetery) and, given the conflict in classification (below, p.299), the spearhead from East Shefford 48 should also be removed from the argument. The Bassett Down spearhead which he cites is certainly group D1 and anyway comes from an unassociated assemblage of material. Likewise the Lower Heyford spear, belonging to my group C1/2, does not come from a closed context and that of the Hidcote Bartrim spear is very dubious. Miss Evison has queried the reliability of the Hardown Hill barrow-grave; if it is secure, it provides a sixth-century date, though not an early one. The only demonstrably pre seventh-century spearhead of this group is that from Dorchester VI, 24, with a boss of Group 3, which is probably sixth-century.

C1/2.

Cassington I, 1 (AM 1942.163), Fordwells (Fig. 30h), Lower Heyford AM 1893.196 (Fig. 30i).

The Cassington blade, though broken at the junction, seems complete at L.213mm; the other two have broken sockets, which even when complete are unlikely to have made them longer than 220mm. The blade profiles conform to those of C2, Cassington to C2.1, the others to C2.2. Only the Lower Heyford spear has a lentoid section and a narrow junction piece. Swanton classed it as C1 (he seems to have inverted the spearheads from Lower Heyford in his corpus, 1974b, 56) and the others as C2. The Cassington spear was associated with a C/E1 spear and a boss of Group 3.

C2.

These spearheads exhibit no trace of angularity in profile and are all over 220mm in length. They fall into two sub-groups.

C2.1: Narrow blades

Aston Tirrold AM 1887.2551 (Fig. 31e), Long Wittenham I, 107 (Fig. 31c), 176, Upper Swell II, 2 (Fig. 31d).

These blades are noticeably narrow (greatest width between 9% and 11%

of length) with the distinction between socket and blade blurred. The section of the Upper Swell blade only approaches lozengiform and corrosion is probably responsible for any suggestion of angularity in this group. It must have been this which led Swanton to class the Aston Tirrold spear as E1 (1974a,29), though its lentoid section and length would not be apt for such a grouping. Since he gives its number as 1887.2552, it might be deduced that we have recorded different spears, except that we agree on length-measurement, and the now-missing 1887.2552 is described in the Ashmolean Museum Accession Register as about 180mm long with three binding rings round the socket and the back of the blade 'curiously cut away' (?group L). Swanton classed the Upper Swell spear as C1, but its length (223mm) and profile should link it with this group.

C2.2: Fully leaf-shaped blades

Frilford AM 1892.2638, Long Wittenham I, 126 (Fig. 30j), Lowbury Hill Barrow (Swanton 1974a,fig.61,a), Lyneham II, 1 (Fig. 30k), Milton North Field AM 1836.52, Purton 2, Wheatley AM 1883.175, 1883.21b (Fig. 31a,b), Yarnton AM 1886.1444c.

This group has solid ovoid blades with the greatest width (varying between about 12% and 16% of length) occurring only marginally below the middle of the blade (cf. Swanton 1974a,51). Three have lozenge sections.

Seventh-century contexts predominate for this group (Swanton 1974a, 52-3). The Lowbury Hill barrow dates from the second half of that century on the basis of its sugar-loaf shield-boss; a seventh-century type narrow seax was found with the Lyneham spear and another of the late sixth- or early seventh-century form was found with a probable C2 spear in Yarnton 1 (since this identification rests on a description only, I have omitted the spear from any tabulation; Yarnton AM 1886.1444c was unassociated, pace Swanton 1974b,90); a knife with seax-like profile was in the Upper Swell grave and the Purton and Milton North Field finds come from apparently seventh-century

cemeteries. Some spears do date earlier, though one wonders how intimately the fifth-century examples with welded sockets are connected with the main series (Swanton 1974a,51) and the associations of the Chatteris and Hardown Hill examples are not above reproach. Associated shield bosses do indicate some of sixth-century date: four were of the convex-domed Group 3 type (Long Wittenham 107 and 126, Petersfinger VII and Orpington 25) and one, from Nassington 27b of Group 1.1 type, could be even earlier.

C3: Large blades with short sockets

Aynho, Broadwell (Fig. 39a), Long Wittenham I, 38 (Fig. 39b), Winchendon II, Ay.M 43.05.

These spears belong to a small, but distinctive group, datable from about the middle of the sixth century to some time in the second half of the seventh (Swanton 1974a,55-7).

C4: Long narrow blades with short sockets

Aylesbury iii, Ay.M 109.11 (Fig. 39c).

The only certain example of this group comes from a site on the very periphery of the Region. Its date may lie anywhere between the late sixth and late seventh century.

Type D: Leaf-shaped spearheads with socket longer than blade

Spearheads of this type are scarce in the Upper Thames Region and those which do occur do not readily fit Swanton's scheme. He describes D1 blades as relatively slender with sockets split along their entire length, though he illustrates three with junction pieces (1974a,fig.18,b-d); lengths range from 160 to 280mm. D2 spearheads are more slender with the socket occupying about 60% of the length instead of the 50%-60% of the D1 group; they have junction pieces and length is upwards of 250mm. D1 seems to have been used from the fifth right through to the seventh century, but D2 spears did not appear until about the middle of the sixth century.

D1.1: Small blades

Bassett Down, DM 16 (Swanton 1974a, fig. 60, b), East Shefford 48 (BM 93, 7-16, 133) (Fig. 41d), Long Wittenham I, 180b (BM 62, 6-13, 97) (Fig. 41c), Wheatley 5 (Fig. 41e).

These spearheads measure under 230mm and are distinct from the two much larger blades put as group D1.2. Not one of them was classed by Swanton as D1. He put Bassett Down and East Shefford 48 as C1. The former clearly has a socket longer than its blade and compares favourably with other D1 blades (eg. Swanton 1974a, fig. 18, a, e); it did not come from a closed context (above, p. 296). The latter is more of a problem since Swanton records it with a closed socket (1974a, fig. 9, c; cf. Fig. 41d) and it might be thought that I have accorded the wrong spearhead to this grave; yet it seems too much of a coincidence that our measurements of its length agree to within a millimetre. A similar agreement on length affects the more curious disagreement on class of the Long Wittenham spear, which Swanton put as D3; he commented upon its small size (L. 133mm) and it is difficult to imagine how it could have incorporated the exaggerated blade/socket proportion of the D3 group. Akerman's Notebook makes it clear that the adult male (180a) in this double grave, owned the large E3 spearhead (BM 62, 6-13, 98) and the shield boss, and that the small spear was with the youth (180b) (pace Swanton 1974a, 64). Further, given the distribution of this group, a D3 spearhead would be most unexpected in the Upper Thames Region, and it may be significant that Swanton omitted the Long Wittenham blade from his map (1974a, fig. 22). If my classification of the East Shefford spear as D1 is debatable, that of the Long Wittenham one has greater justification. Its association with the objects of grave 180a should indicate a date in the second half of the sixth century.

The very narrow Wheatley spearhead has a lozenge section and a socket cleft almost along its entire length; it measures 225mm in length and the

blade is only marginally shorter than the socket. It belongs therefore to group D1 not D2 (cf. Swanton 1974b, 88).

D1.2: Large blades

Dorchester VI, 141 (Fig. 41f), Milton I (Moor Ditch), AM 1943.64 (Fig. 41g).

These two are similar in profile and proportion. Although the Milton spear is broken at both ends, it belongs to the D series because its narrow junction-piece and longish socket would be out of place in the corresponding C2 group. Both spearheads are a fraction under 280mm in length and their blades only just under half the length, thus fitting Swanton's criteria for D1 rather than D2. The Group 1.1 boss with the Dorchester spear indicates a general later fifth/sixth-century date.

D2.

Wanborough I, 1 (Fig. 42a), Winchendon II, Ay.M 42.05 (Fig. 42b).

Although both these are broken, estimates of their original dimensions would place them in group D2. In the case of the Winchendon spear, this might seem guesswork, but its long narrow junction would be inappropriate to type C. It is also interesting for its vestigial midrib, a feature noted on a few other late sixth- and seventh-century blades (Swanton 1974a, 42).

Type E: Angular spearheads with blade longer than socket

E1.

I have included in this group as many as possible of the spearheads which Swanton classed as E1. In several cases differential corrosion has altered one edge of a blade from angular to leaf-shaped, but the presence of a lozenge section may help to tip the scales in favour of an E classification. All spearheads are under 190mm in length. The group includes a number of distinct variants.

E1.1: Blades of classic E profile

Abingdon I, B39 (Fig. 47p), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 10.80 (Fig. 32h),

Bledlow I, 2 (Fig. 33b), Dinton (Swanton 1974a,fig.68,a), East Ilsey II (Fig. 32i), Frilford I, 51 (Fig. 33a), Long Wittenham I, 44, 93 (Swanton 1974a,fig.68,d), 112 (Swanton 1974a,fig.23,e), Woodeaton (Fig. 32g).

These conform to Swanton's definition of group E1 (1974a,77): they measure between 130 and 180mm in length, have lozenge sections and their blade angle is close to its base. The Bledlow and Frilford spears especially exhibit differential corrosion. Several of these were used by Swanton in support of his date-range of later fifth to mid sixth-century for the group. Long Wittenham 93, with its stoup and carinated bronze bowl, provides the best late fifth-century context. The Dinton spear, however, was unassociated and the bosses with the Abingdon and Frilford (Swanton's 'grave 4') spears belong respectively to Group 2, which is only broadly datable, and to Group 3, which is sixth-century. The Bledlow spear suggests that the type could continue longer than Swanton allowed: it was found with a knife of Böhner's type C and in a cemetery where the other burials are seventh-century.

E1.2: Lozenge-profile blades

East Ilsey I, 3 (Evison 1963,fig.34b), Streatley (Fig. 33c).

Lozenge profiles are uncommon in group E1. The edge of the Streatley blade is rounded and similar to the profile of some K1 blades, but there is no evidence of modified section and it is too broad to be considered leaf-shaped. It was found with a tinned cast bronze buckle of sixth-century type. The identification of the East Ilsey blade rests on a careless nineteenth-century drawing and may be bad evidence for arguing continuity of the form into the late seventh-century on the basis of its association with a 'sugar-loaf' shield boss.

E1.3: Spike-like blades

Abingdon II (Fig. 33f), East Shefford AM 1955.355 (Fig. 33d), Long Wittenham I, 154 (Fig. 33e).

Although all three spearheads are now badly corroded and broken, they

must always have been very slender with sharp lozenge sections. When Swanton saw the Long Wittenham blade, it was 30mm longer and it may have been broader too, thus supplying his E1 classification. There is a suspicion of a basal blade angle to the East Shefford spearhead, but the Abingdon blade, which has a curved edge, is too damaged for judgement. It should be noted that none approach the size of the Group B1 spikes.

E1.4: Tongue-shaped blades

Abingdon I, B35, 77 (Fig. 33l,m), Bishopstone I, Ay.M 11.80 (Fig. 33j), Frilford I, AM 1892.2634 (Fig. 33k).

These spearheads fall at the lower end of the length-range of the group, varying between 125 and 145mm. They have lozenge sections, but lack any marked angularity to their profile; instead, a strickening marks the break between junction and blade, which tapers gently to a point. This form is not found in either group C1 or C/E1.

E1.5: Miniature spearheads of classic E profile

Brighthampton 3 (AM 1966.13) (Fig. 33g), East Shefford XIV (Fig. 33i), Long Wittenham I, 74 (Fig. 33h).

Whereas the above group was merely on the small side, these are truly miniature, varying between about 90 and 120mm. The spearhead from Dorchester VI, 150, measured 85mm and may belong to this group, but I have not yet examined it closely. Curiously Swanton classed the Long Wittenham spearhead as F2. Small spearheads like these occur only in type E. Their size might be an argument for their use as throwing spears, but since four of the seven in Groups E1.4 and 5 occurred with boys, they may be tokens or toys. There is no dating evidence for either group, except the association of Brighthampton 3 with an H1 spearhead.

I have not seen Aston Remenham BM 82,11-12,6, classed by Swanton as E1, and I have not examined the spear from Dorchester VI, 128, in sufficient detail to give it a sub-grouping. It was, however, found with a Kentish-style buckle and rectangular plate set with red glass and ornamented with confused Style I, which may indicate a date in the early or middle decades of the sixth century.

E1/2.

Bishopstone I, Ay.M 7.80 (Fig. 34b), East Shefford AM 1955.354 (Fig. 33n), Frilford I, AM 1886.1437 (Fig. 34c), Long Wittenham I, 106 (Swanton 1974a, fig. 72, f), Milton North Field AM no no., Oxford IVb (Fig. 34a).

The lengths of these spearheads - between 190 and 220mm - place them on the borderline between E1 and E2. Their profiles are or are near to classic E1 type, except for the reconstructed Oxford and Frilford blades which are more lozengiform. Swanton put East Shefford and Long Wittenham as E1, Milton (which I have not seen) as E2 and, curiously, Bishopstone and Frilford as F1; in both the last examples, the blade is demonstrably longer than the socket. The date-range of this group is no different from E1: Mucking grave 493 cited by Swanton from the late fifth century contained a spear which would fall into this group; a Group 1.2 boss was associated with the Oxford spear and a Group 3 with Long Wittenham 106 (the kind of bronze bowl with this grave cannot be known), and the Milton North Field spear might have come from the seventh-century cemetery.

E2.

Abingdon I, B89 (Fig. 34d), Aylesbury II, Ay.M 110.32 (Fig. 34e), Broughton Poggs AM 1836.77c, Long Wittenham I, 175.

Group E2 is sparsely represented in the Upper Thames Region (Swanton 1974a, 83) and, by creating borderline groups, I have further reduced its membership. The Long Wittenham blade is lost and Swanton may have classed the Abingdon spear as H2 under AM no no., length 261mm (1974b, 28). The Aylesbury spear differs from his definition of the group by having its blade angle well above the junction. There is no internal dating evidence for the Upper Thames examples, but the group as a whole corresponds with group C2 with the majority belonging to the later sixth and seventh centuries.

Swanton includes in group E2 a spearhead from Milton North Field, BM 62,7-19,3. Although it was said to have been found with a skeleton of a man, it does not conform to any early Anglo-Saxon type: the 325mm long, 58mm broad blade is exceptionally heavy with rounded basal shoulders and even tapering sides, and has a lozenge section and a welded socket held with a rivet. It

may be Late Saxon or Early Medieval.

E3: Large blades with short sockets

Abingdon I, 120 (Fig. 39d), Chinnor II, Dorchester IIIb (Fig. 39e), Dorchester VI, 52 (Fig. 40b), Long Wittenham I, 180a, Oddington no.5, Wootton (Fig. 40a).

Like other large spearheads these are quite distinctive. The type is known primarily from the late sixth and seventh centuries (Swanton 1974a, 83-5), a dating endorsed by the Dorchester VI, 52 find which was associated with a low-cone shield boss. The Long Wittenham spear was with a boss of broadly fifth/sixth century date (Group 2) and in the same grave as a youth with a D1 spear.

E4: Long narrow spearheads with short sockets

Dorchester VI, 28 (2), Standlake I, 19 (Fig. 40d), Wheatley AM 1883.21b bis. (Fig. 40c).

The date-range of this group is similar to that of E3 (Swanton 1974a, 87). The two spearheads from Dorchester are of exceptional length and were associated with a sheet bronze bowl and a boss, which I have not been able to examine in detail. The Standlake spear, from a probable double burial, (Dickinson 1973^b, 250) must date from about AD 600.

Type C/E: Hybrid leaf-shaped and angular spearheads

This type includes blades which cannot be placed with certitude in either C or E. Some have uncharacteristic combinations of section and profile, some have profiles of indeterminate form, and some have features which arguably contradict Swanton's classification of them. They correspond in size to the first three groups of C and E.

C/E1.

Ashdown BM 55,10-18,3 (Fig. 31h), Cassington I, 1 (AM 1942.14), Cherbury Camp (Fig. 31j), Dorchester VI, 61, East Shefford IV (Fig. 31k), Long Wittenham I, 8, 64, 114 (Fig. 31g,i,f).

These blades measure between 140 and 190mm in length. Swanton classed the Cassington spear as C1, though its lozenge section and the hint of a

basal angle to the blade make it more akin to group El.3, and the rest, excepting the East Shefford one, as El. Long Wittenham 64 and 114 have very slender profiles and lentoid sections; Long Wittenham 8 and Ashdown have slender leaf-shaped blades, the former a high lentoid section, the latter a lozenge section, and might be interpreted as slender Cl blades or large versions of El.4 blades.

The Cherbury Camp and East Shefford spearheads are most interesting: one has a lozenge, the other a lentoid section, and their profile, with its rounded low-placed shoulder and long tapering point, is found on other C/E spearheads, notably Abingdon I, B10 in C/E 1/2, and Shilton in C/E2. This profile does not conform to either of Swanton's C or E types and is not discussed by him, but it recurs with an ogival strickening of the point on two H2 spearheads, which may represent a transitional form between the mid-ribbed foliform blade and its angular derivative, the H type. The spears here under discussion may be another variant development of the B2 form and it is thus that they combine leaf-shaped and angular features. Although typologically one might expect a later fifth- or very early sixth-century date for them, this cannot be demonstrated.

Of this group, Cassington I, 1, has already been discussed with its Group 3 boss and Cl/2 spearhead; Dorchester VI, 61 contained a bucket with disc-pendants and a bowl with cross-in-circle stamps and oval bosses round the greatest diameter, which may date from the late fifth or early sixth century.

C/E 1/2.

Abingdon I, B10 (Fig. 32b), Long Wittenham I, 66 (Fig. 32a), Wheatley AM 1883.176 (Fig. 33c).

These combine leaf-shaped and angular features in the 190-220mm length-range. Swanton classed the Wheatley blade as C2, but it is too small and has a lozenge section and slender lozenge profile. He made the Long Wittenham blade El, but the lentoid section and rounded shoulders link it with the

Cherbury Camp form, already discussed, and with the Abingdon spear, classed by Swanton as H2, though only one side has an ogival curve, which may be due to corrosion. There is no dating evidence for this group.

C/E 2

Abingdon I, AM no no. (Fig. 32e), Long Wittenham I, 25 (Fig. 32f), Shilton (Fig. 32d).

These blades measure between 230 and 280mm in length. The Long Wittenham blade is leaf-shaped and has a low lozenge section; had Swanton not classed it as E1, I would have put it in group C2, though I concede that corrosion may have masked a slight angularity. The Shilton spear and, to a lesser degree, the Abingdon one, are large examples of the foliform-derivative type; Swanton thought the latter was E3, though it is too short, while the round shoulders of the former preclude its membership of E2.

Swanton cited the Long Wittenham grave as evidence for the relatively early date of group E1. Its boss is of Group 3, a sixth-century type, and its large iron-bound bucket may be linked with the iron-bound cauldrons found in rich late sixth- and seventh-century graves. This single grave is slight evidence, but it hints that C/E 2 corresponds with C2 and E2 in date.

Type F: Angular spearheads with socket longer than blade

F1.

Abingdon I, B21 (Fig. 42e), 39 (Fig. 47o), 83 (Fig. 42d), Long Wittenham I, 106 (Swanton 1974a, fig. 72, e), 174.

Group F1 is a small one nationally, but it is difficult to concur with Swanton's opinion that it represents poor graves, since it is remarkable how often F1 spearheads form one of a set of two spears (below, p. 327). Three of this group were in sets, two with E1 blades and one with an H3; from outside the Region another example comes from Luton I, grave 11 (Swanton 1974b, 65). The bronze bowl with Long Wittenham 106 should indicate a relatively wealthy grave. Examples of the type occur in contexts ranging from the fifth to

seventh centuries; on present evidence, Swanton's argument that most were buried before the middle of the sixth century cannot be supported. The associations of the Abingdon 39 and Long Wittenham 106 spearheads have been dealt with under groups E1.1 and E1/2 respectively. Swanton classed the Abingdon 83 spearhead as E1, but its socket is demonstrably longer than its blade.

F2.

Aston Remenham BM 87,11-12,8, Dorchester VI, 110 (Fig. 42c), Oddington no. 4.

Group F2 is an uncommon type of the later sixth and seventh centuries, mainly used in south-easterly coastal areas. These three may be imports via the Thames valley. The other weapons from Oddington and the brooches from Aston Remenham would well fit later sixth-century dates and the Group 3 shield boss with the Dorchester spearhead is close in weight and profile to 'low-cone' bosses.

Swanton records as F2 (1974b,72) a spearhead found near the site of Oxford IV (Oxon.23,1958,137,fig.43). Its long slender round-sectioned shaft, terminating in a short cleft socket, and its triangular blade approximate more to group F3; but the curious circumstances of its discovery (see Catalogue, p.191) and the helicoidal section of the blade, in which the right-side is depressed, make its identification as Anglo-Saxon most doubtful and ethnographic parallels may be more relevant.

Type G

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,132 is listed by Swanton as Group G1, a type which he assigns to the sixth century. I have not seen this spearhead.

Type H: Ogival spearheads

In general, the profile of the H series blades is easily distinguished. There are some doubtful examples: there is a handful classed by me as H1 or H2, but not by Swanton, and there are about a dozen examples where I am

uncertain whether the ogival profile is real or original, which have been classed as E/H. As with previous types, spearheads falling between 200 and 220mm in length have been put in a separate group.

H1.

Abingdon I, B4, 52 (Fig. 35d,e), Brighthampton 3, 31 (Fig. 35i,h), 50, Cassington I, 6, Chinnor I, ii, iii, Dorchester VI, 53, East Shefford g.II, BM 93,7-16,131, Fairford 23, Frilford I, 137, Kingsey Ay.M 4.60, Long Wittenham I, 56, 60, 85, 168, Oxford IVa, AM 1883.197, Reading I, 12.

Spearheads in this group vary in length between 160 and 200mm. Most are relatively slender and do not exhibit the ogival curve any more markedly than group H2 (pace Swanton 1974a,103). Although the profile of the Brighthampton 31 spear has similarities to my group C/E1, I have retained Swanton's classification of it as H1. Swanton classed the Abingdon 52 and Reading spears as H2, though they measure less than 200mm, and he put the Brighthampton 3 spear as E1, though it has a definite ogival curve to its profile.

Swanton advocates a date range from the late fifth through the first half of the sixth century for this group. Although shield boss chronology cannot yet buttress this thesis in detail, most of the associations could support Swanton's argument. Brighthampton 31 with its sword and bucket ought to be later fifth century. Abingdon 4 and Long Wittenham 85 and 168 were associated with Group 1.1 bosses, and Dorchester VI, 53 and Long Wittenham 56 with Group 3 bosses. The shield boss from Fairford 23 is regrettably lost, but the Vestland cauldron should indicate a fifth-century date.

H1/2.

Blewburton 7 (Fig. 35j), Brighthampton 44b, Burford BM 48,7-27,3 (Swanton 1974a,fig.37,e), East Shefford 39, Eynsham I, AM 1971.1049, .1050, Long Wittenham I, 9, 131, 138 (Fig. 35k), Lyneham I, AM 1922.273b, Oxford IVa, AM 1883.197a, Wanborough II, DM 9 (Fig. 36a).

Swanton allows an overlap in lengths between group H1 (160-220mm) and

H2 (200-350mm). Since there is no other distinguishing feature, a borderline group for spearheads of 200-220mm length does remove inconsistency, though it underlines the continuous nature of the entire H series (Swanton 1974a,114).

Chronological evidence for this group is similar to that for H1. Long Wittenham 138 was associated with a Group 4 shield boss of Böhme's 'Liebenau' type and may be early fifth century; the belt in grave 7 at Blewburton may be linked to much earlier Late Roman styles and is unlikely to date from far into the sixth century. Group 1.1 shield bosses were found in the Long Wittenham 9 and Burford graves. Swanton seems a little confused over the sword associations of these spearheads (1974a,105,107): the H1/2 spearhead from Brighthampton was with skeleton 44b, which had been disturbed by skeleton 44a who had the sword with a plain scabbard mouth of bronze (above, p.263). The sword with the Burford grave may date from the late fifth or early sixth century (above, p.264).

H2.1.

Abingdon I, 22, 25, 73, Brighthampton 13a, Burford BM 48,7-27,4, Cassington II, AM 1951.126, Dorchester VI, 26, 34, 69, 72, Dorchester vii, BM 1920,3-11,2, East Shefford AM 1955.352, BM 93,7-16,130, Fairford 2 (Fig. 47n), Fairford Gl.M A3660 (Fig. 36d), Frilford I, 140 (Fig. 36c), Kingsey TM A.888, Long Wittenham I, 26 (Swanton 1974a,fig.39,c), 36, 61 (Fig. 36b), 82, 91, 92, 118, 146, Lower Heyford AM 1893.197 (Fig. 36e), Milton II, AM 1836.53, Purton AM 1966.537, Reading I, 3, Yarnton AM 1886.1444d.

This is the largest of all Upper Thames spearhead groups. It includes blades with lengths between 200 and 300mm and profiles varying from sharply ogival with broad 'wings' to very slender. Swanton classed the Fairford A. 3660 and Frilford 140 spears as H3, though the former measures only just over 240mm and the latter 300mm; further, the Frilford blade has broad 'wings' unlike the slender profiles of the Upper Thames H3 examples. I have not seen the Burford or East Shefford BM 93,7-16,130 spearheads.

This type had a very long life from the second half of the fifth century until the early seventh century (the Purton and Milton spearheads probably being seventh-century). The majority of the Upper Thames examples are fifth- and possibly earlier sixth-century. Group 4 shield bosses were found with Abingdon 25, Brighthampton 13a and Fairford 2, which also contained a B2 spear; the former, however, was in a double grave not buried until the middle quarters of the sixth century; groups 1.1 and 1.2 bosses were found with the Burford, Frilford 140, Long Wittenham 36, 91, 92 and 146 spears. A group 3 boss and a rare cast bronze ferrule were found with Long Wittenham 26. The ferrule was found in the man's lap; it can be paralleled by an example in iron from North Luffenham grave 130 (Meaney 1964, 216). The grave also contained a bucket with large triangular vandykes embossed with 'tree-like' designs (below, p.369), a repaired Late Roman bronze dish and a bronze cauldron, which may correspond to one of the unstratified cauldrons from this site (Kennett's type A or C2). These items are unlikely to date from after the middle of the sixth century. The Reading grave contained a disc brooch which may imply a general date of 450 to 550. Pace Swanton (1974a, 109), the unprovenanced Dorchester and Lower Heyford finds were unassociated.

H2.2.

Harwell 7 (Fig. 36f), Long Wittenham I, BM 62,6-13,59 (Swanton 1974a, fig.39,d).

These spearheads have distinctive and similar profiles, which have caused some inconsistency to Swanton's classification. Both have rounded basal 'shoulders' and long tapering points with just a trace of an ogival curve. The Long Wittenham blade is figured accurately by Swanton and measures 300mm in length, yet he catalogued it without any accession number and recorded a length of 259mm (1974b, 64). He lists an E3 spearhead with the number 62,6-13,59 under grave 161, presumably because it seemed to fit between the shield boss and knife, numbered 62,6-13,58 and 60 respectively, from

that grave. However, Akerman's publication and his Notebook make it clear that this grave contained no spearhead. The Harwell spear was listed as C2, presumably on the grounds of its rounded profile and lentoid section of the lower blade. Its similarity to the Long Wittenham spear and of both to the type discussed under group C/E1 may justify and explain its inclusion as an H2 variant. Swanton argued that the H type was an angular development of the B2 form, continuing its functional, and probably social, role as the thrusting spear of the more important warrior (1974a,103). The two spears of group H2.2 are thus true 'transitional' forms, retaining the B2 profile while replacing the midrib by a central ridge; the related C/E blades are a further variant in which the ogival profile has been lost, but not the rounded contour. If this typological assessment is correct, this group should date from the middle or second half of the fifth century. The Harwell spear was not a grave-good, but the instrument of death, being found embedded in the unfortunate man's spine; he is one of the few known casualties of war in early Saxon England.

H3.

Abingdon I, B33 (Fig. 41b), Aston Remenham BM 82,11-12,4, Aylesbury iii, Ay.M 108.11, Long Wittenham I, 67 (Fig. 41a), 174 (Fig. 40e).

Apart from the Aston Remenham spear, which I have not seen, these form a distinct variant of the H type: not only are they long, but also very slender, with consequent attenuation of the ogival curve. Indeed, Swanton classed the Long Wittenham 174 spear as E3, though in comparison with that group, there is little doubt of its ogival profile.

Swanton dates H3 to approximately the sixth century, though datable examples cover much the same period as H1 and H2. Among the earliest must be Stretton-on-the-Fosse grave 4 with a carinated bronze cauldron and Abingdon B33 with a group 4 shield boss. Black Patch grave 22 included a fine Kentish-style rectangular buckle plate and tinned buckle loop of presumably first half of the sixth century date. Long Wittenham 67 included a boss of group 5

and a sword with a scabbard mouth like that on the Burford sword. It is the Kentish examples of the type which seem to date from the middle and later sixth century. This is interesting because the group is uncommon in the Upper Thames Region (Swanton 1974a, fig. 42), though Swanton says that nationally it is more common than the groups of smaller H blades (1974a, 111); in fact, it is the large number of examples in Kent and the East Midlands which give this impression. Possibly, the type spread to Kent after it had been developed in the homelands of groups H1 and H2.

This modification of Swanton's interpretation of the chronology of the H type might also permit some questioning of his belief that all H blades were thrusting spears (1974a, 114). The Upper Thames H3 spearheads are much closer in dimension and proportion to the slashing spears, C3 and E3, and one does wonder whether they had a similar or, at least, a dual function. Swanton argues against this, mainly because the dating evidence would not agree with his thesis of the general change to slashing spears in the late sixth and seventh centuries. Since C3 and E3 have no close continental counterparts, it is possible that their development owed something to the prior development of dual-purpose spears of the insular H type.

E/H 1.

Bishopstone I, Ay.M 6.80, 9.80 (Fig. 34f,g), Long Wittenham I, 48, 81, 128 (Fig. 34i,k,j), 155.

Swanton classed the Long Wittenham 155 spear as E1, the Bishopstone 6.80, Long Wittenham 81 and 128 as H1, and the other two as H2. All are under 200mm in length and are corroded on one or both edges in such a way as to make accurate judgement of their profile difficult. The Long Wittenham 155 spearhead had gone astray by the time I visited the British Museum, but the Accession Register describes it as ogival, so its E grouping must be questionable.

The dating of this group fits those of H1, H2 and E1. The Long

Wittenham 81 spear was with a group 1.1 boss, and the one from grave 128 was associated with a bucket of a type found in late fifth and early sixth century contexts in South Wessex.

E/H 1/2.

Abingdon I, B11 (Fig. 35a), Long Wittenham I, 36 (Fig. 34h), 179 (Fig. 35c), Minster Lovell 2 (Fig. 35b).

All but the Long Wittenham 36 spearhead were classed by Swanton as H2. The one registered from Minster Lovell may not be the spear originally in that grave since the report of the excavation described it as 18" (460mm) long. The Long Wittenham 36 grave also contained an H2.1 spearhead; group 1.1 bosses were found in that grave and also in Long Wittenham 179 and a group 2 boss in Abingdon B11. A group 3 boss in the Minster Lovell grave may be an uncertain association.

Types I - L: Corrugated or modified-section spearheads

Spearheads of this series are most distinctive and, though I have differed from some of Swanton's classifications, all the groups which he identified can be recognised in the Upper Thames material.

Swanton argued that since there were no early continental examples of this series, it must have been an insular development, presumably of the B2 form. He also thought that helicoidal-section forms were a typological development from the fullered forms and that the latter were first produced by South Wessex smiths in imitation of current Celtic fullered spearheads. He dated the entire I-L series to 'latest fifth and earlier sixth century' (1974a, 115-123). However, on the evidence presented, these arguments are not convincing.

As Swanton's distribution maps and my own discussion show, there were regional preferences for the variant groups of the series. The so-called primary Group II, favoured not only in South Wessex, but also in Sussex and Surrey, was eschewed by the North Wessex settlers of the Upper Thames Valley;

they, above all others, preferred spearheads of Group K1 (cf. Swanton 1974a, fig.46 with fig.51). According to Swanton, the idea of modifying a spear-head section was transferred from South Wessex to North Wessex (1974a,131). Now, on the basis of available grave-associations, a broader date-range than that favoured by Swanton for groups I-L must be allowed, covering approximately the century AD 450-550. Moreover, the chronological primacy of the beginning of Group I1 cannot be demonstrated: spears like those from Abingdon I, B111(I2) or B49(K1) are as early, if not earlier than, any of group I1 so far known. Chronologically, it is impossible to decide which type, and therefore which region, was first: it might equally well have been the K1 type in the Upper Thames Region.

This point must lead to a reconsideration of the rest of Swanton's thesis. His idea that such specialised forms were developed by the smiths of warrior-chieftains is attractive; given the chronology of the series, this must have been in the context of the expansionist warfare of the second half of the fifth century as well as the post-Badon period. His emphasis on the role of the 'nascent kingdom of Wessex' is, however, too simplistic for the relative roles of the Saxons living south of the Thames and those in the Upper Thames Valley. Since the series went out of use around the middle of the sixth century, it could have had little military connection with the hegemony established by Cynric and Ceawlin in the later sixth century (cf. Swanton 1974a,121,fig.44).

Nevertheless, one must agree that the principal users of this series were those settled in the area of the historical (seventh-century) kingdom of Wessex and Swanton's suggestion that Celtic weapon-forms influenced the Saxon development therefore deserves consideration. He alleged that there were about a dozen Celtic prototypes of Dark Age date for the I type, but unfortunately he did not give details of them. The majority seem to have been dredged from the River Thames and therefore cannot be dated: they may

just as easily be pre-Roman Iron Age or earliest Roman. The single territorial spearhead cited came from Co. Fermanagh; it has no precise provenance, context, or date and its publisher, Professor Joep, was prepared to accept its early Iron Age date (cf. E.M.Joep, 'An iron spearhead of Germanic type from Co.Fermanagh', UJA, 21, 1958, 16-17, with Swanton 1974a, 117). The weapons used by sub-Romano-British warriors of the early fifth century are the most likely source of influence for Saxons living in Wessex and what they were like and how they related to spearheads used by unRomanised Celts would need to be demonstrated.

Given these doubts, it is worth reviewing the continental evidence. In the main, spearheads with modified sections do not occur between the first and late sixth centuries AD; the few scattered exceptions cannot be seen as evidence for the continental development of the series (nor, for that matter, for the migration of West Saxons back to the continent in the sixth century, pace Swanton 1974a, 135). But the continent does provide the only certain examples of spearheads with modified sections at a date immediately preceding the start of the insular series and, though few, these do come from milieux which would have been familiar to immigrant Saxons. Swanton mentions a foliform blade with fullers either side of the midrib (ie. like those which he regards as Dark Age Celtic) from Nydam I (1974a, 18); whether it was an antique is immaterial. Leaf-shaped, helicoidal-section spearheads are known from Germanic warrior-graves south of the Rhine (Böhme 1974, 101), some of which may definitely be dated to the fourth or early fifth century: for example, Vert-la-Gravelle grave 6, Rhenen graves 819 and 829 (Böhme 1974, 157; cf. Swanton 1974a, 133). If such spearheads were known to Germanic warriors on the eve of the migrations, there is no reason why they should not have developed this knowledge once in England by adapting their B2 spearheads, in just the same way that they adapted that form to the insular ogival type (compare the development of cast saucer brooches). The evidence, in

fact, conspires to suggest that the early immigrants to the Upper Thames Region may have played a leading role in this development !

I1: Foliform fullered blades

East Shefford AM 1955.353 (Fig. 37a).

This was classed by Swanton as K1 (1974b,48), but there is no doubt of its lunate fuller. Although broken, its short cleft socket and longish junction-piece may be compared with the spear from Guildown grave 111 (Swanton 1974a,fig.45,a). Coming from East Shefford, this spearhead lies at the northern most edge of the distribution of the group: there are no I1 blades from the Upper Thames Valley itself. The grave associations quoted by Swanton (1974a,123) indicate a narrow date-range around the year 500 for the group.

I2: Leaf-shaped and fullered blades

Abingdon I, B111 (Swanton 1974a,fig.84,b), Bassett Down DM 21 (Fig. 37b).

This type, though found more in the Midlands than South Wessex, is still rare in the Upper Thames Region. It is more or less contemporary with group I1; indeed, the faceted carination bowl from the Abingdon grave could be used to argue for an even earlier date in the fifth century. The narrow blade from Bassett Down must be I2, not I1, and corrosion may be responsible for its slightly ogival profile; it may be compared with the blade from Glen Parva (Swanton 1974a,fig.47,d).

J: Ogival and fullered blades

Cassington II, AM 1945.122, Frilford I, ?104 (Fig. 37c; cf. Swanton 1974a,fig.88,b), Frilford I, AM 1892.2636, Shipton-on-Cherwell AM 1928.522 (Fig. 37d).

There are two changes in this group from Swanton's classification. Since he does not give a museum number for the Frilford ?104 spear, he may not have actually seen it; its fuller is clear, as is that on the Shipton-on-Cherwell blade, also classed by him as L. The latter has traces of

binding wire round its junction.

Dating evidence is not as good as for the I groups, but it does suggest a similar range. The association of Frilford ?104 is not absolutely secure: it was one of a number of graves which had fallen away from the side of the gravel pit. Rolleston linked the spear, a knife, and a shield boss with grave 104 (no.i of 1st April, 1868), which contained a bronze kidney-shaped loop of probably late fifth or earliest sixth century date; his workmen thought that they belonged with the twelve-year old in grave 105 (no.ia). The associated boss is of Group 1.1.

K1: Foliform, helicoidal-section blades

Small: Boxford (Fig. 37h), Eynsham I, 1 (Fig. 47s), Frilford I, AM 1896.2635 (Swanton 1974a, fig.50,b), Long Wittenham I, 42, Shipton-on-Cherwell AM 1928.523 (Fig. 37f); Medium: Abingdon I, B49 (Swanton 1974a, fig.86,i), Brighthampton 2 (Swanton 1974a, fig.50,d), Dorchester VI, 51, Fairford 28 (Swanton 1974a, fig.50,c), Long Wittenham I, A (Fig. 37e); Large: Abingdon I, B48, Oxford II, 1 (Fig. 37g).

This spearhead type was particularly popular in the Upper Thames Valley and especially so with shield-bearing warriors; two were associated with swords and one with a seax. It must have been a prestigious spearhead form. The group divides into three size-ranges: small spears under 220mm, medium ones of about 250-280mm, and large ones over 320mm in length. There is no apparent chronological difference, but it is noticeable that shield- and sword-bearers favoured the larger spears.

Dating evidence suggests this type began in the second half of the fifth century: Abingdon B49 with a sword with 'Samson-type' scabbard fittings and Long Wittenham A with an urn decorated with rosette stamps, pendant chevrons, and standing arcs, may date from then. The Eynsham spear came from a probable early sixth century grave, on the basis of its seax; the hump-backed knife and iron-bound bucket with the Dorchester spear may

make it among the latest in the group. The majority of the associated bosses were of Group 1.1 and 1.2, and Long Wittenham 42 contained one of group 4.

K2: Leaf-shaped and helicoidal-section blades

Abingdon I, B55 (Swanton 1974a,fig.87,g), Aston Remenham BM 82,11-12,5, Dorchester VI, 12, Fairford 45 (Swanton 1974a,fig.52,c), Long Wittenham I, 21 (Fig. 38a), Reading I, RM 2.38.

Swanton's list of K2 spears contains a number of inconsistencies. He classed the Long Wittenham blade as L, but, although its corroded side is ogival, its perfect edge is smoothly leaf-shaped; the Fairford spear was mistakenly entered twice in the corpus, once as C2, once as K2 (1974b,49); the K1 spear from Oxford II, 1 was introduced into the dating evidence for K2 (1974a,133; cf. 1974b,86) and the K2 spear from Abingdon 55 was listed in the corpus as K1 (1974b,28). I have seen neither the Aston Remenham nor Reading blades; the latter is said to have been tanged (Swanton 1974a,133).

This is a very small group both within the Region and generally, so dating evidence is scant. The group 1.2 shield boss from the Abingdon grave would suit a general fifth/ early sixth-century date; the group 4-type boss in the Toddington grave, quoted by Swanton (1974a,213,fig.87,a-d), may be fifth century, but the small-long brooch with the apparently associated female skeleton cannot be so closely dated.

L: Ogival blades with helicoidal-section

Small: Aston Remenham BM 82,2-20,2, Bishopstone Ay.M 13.20, Dorchester IIIa, 2 (Fig. 38e), Dorchester vii, BM 1920,3-11,3, Fairford AM 1961.76, 77, Gl.M A.3661 (Swanton 1974a,fig.53,c), Frilford I, AM 1886.1433, Hampnett 10, Lyneham I, AM 1922.273a; Large: Aston Remenham BM 87,11-12,7, Bishopstone I, Ay.M 5.80 (Fig. 38c), 8.80, 12.80, East Shefford AM 1955.351 (Fig. 38d), Fairford 13, Hampnett 6 (Swanton 1974a,fig.53,b), Wallingford 22 (Fig. 38f).

This group divides into two according to length: small blades are

between 170 and 220mm, large ones between 260 and 420mm. The only one not classed as L by Swanton was Bishopstone 5.80, which he put as E3; there is no doubt of its thin stepped section and the attenuated ogival profile, which, with its length, links it to the slender H3 spearheads.

Datable associations for this group suggest its currency during the century 450-550 (Swanton 1974a,137). Among Upper Thames examples, a disc brooch, with the same date-range, was found with Dorchester IIIa, 2, and an iron buckle, a derivative of Hawkes Type Ia, with the Hampnett 6 spear, indicating a late fifth-century date. Associated shield boss types would accord with this date range, though it is interesting that in comparison with group K1, there are few examples from shield-graves; this may be due to the high proportion of unassociated finds. Of grave-goods quoted by Swanton, that of Frilford 104 has been transferred to group J; neither the unprovenanced Dorchester nor Aston Remenham spears came from associated contexts, besides which the saucer brooch from the latter site is not 'early', but of my 14.1 group datable to the mid sixth century (cf. Swanton 1974a,137, 213).

The socket fragment from Cassington I, 4 (Fig. 38g), has binding rings round its base. Although types H, J and L have examples with such rings, in the Upper Thames only J and L exhibit them. Since J is such a small series, the greatest likelihood is that the Cassington spear was of group L.

Conclusions

By the nature of things, conclusions must be limited, but a few points can be made, particularly about function. I have drawn up a number of tables to assist this. Table 9 lists the number of graves, spears, and extant spearheads. The proportions of spear-only graves to shield-and-spear graves and of extant spearheads from such graves (55% to 45%) should be noted. Table 10 tabulates the numbers of spearheads in each group. In both tables the figures from Long Wittenham have been isolated because of their potential

effect on overall results, especially on the numbers of spearheads favoured by shield-bearing warriors (while spear-only and shield-and-spear graves are roughly balanced there, they are in the proportion of 60% to 40% in the rest of the Region).

TABLE 9 : TABULATION OF SPEARHEAD NUMBERS

	With shield	Without shield	Unstratified	Total
Spear graves	72 (23)	94 (24) ¹	-	165 (47)
% spear graves	42 (49)	58 (51)	-	100
Double spear graves	12 (2)	3 (1)	-	15 (3)
% double spear graves	17 (9)	3 (4)	-	9 (6)
Ferrule-only graves	1 (0)	2 (0)	-	3 (0)
Total spearheads	82 (25)	95 (25)	96 (1)	273 (51)
Spearheads plus ferrules	6 (1)	4 (1)	-	10 (2)
Extant spearheads	66 (25) (37%)	82 (25) (30%)	92 (1) (1%)	240 (51) (21%)
Extant spear socket only	1 (0)	-	-	1 (0)
Extant ferrules	5 (1)	6 (0)	4 (0)	15 (1)

Figures in brackets are for spearheads from Long Wittenham I.

1. Includes one grave in which spear was not a grave-good, but the instrument of death.

TABLE 10 : TABULATION OF SPEARHEAD GROUPS

GROUP	SHIELD GRAVE	SPEAR GRAVE	UNSTRATIFIED	TOTAL	GROUPS AS % OF THE OVERALL TOTAL*
A1	1(-)	-(-)	-(-)	1(-)	0.4(-)
A2	1(-)	-(-)	-(-)	1(-)	0.4(-)
B1	-(-)	1(-)	-(-)	1(-)	0.4(-)
B2	1(-)	2(-)	2(-)	5(-)	2.0(-)
C1	2(1)	8(3)	2(-)	12(4)	5.0(33.3 ^r)
C 1/2	1(-)	-(-)	2(-)	3(-)	1.25(-)
C2	3(2)	4(1)	6(-)	13(3)	5.4 (23)
C3	-(-)	2(1)	2(-)	4(1)	1.6 ^r (25)
C4	-(-)	-(-)	1(-)	1(-)	0.4 (-)
D1	1(-)	3(1)	2(-)	6(1)	2.5 (16.6 ^r)
D2	-(-)	1(-)	1(-)	2(-)	0.8 (-)
E1	3(-)	12(5)	9(-)	24(5)	10.0 (20.8)
E 1/2	2(1)	-(-)	4(-)	6(1)	2.5 (16.6 ^r)
E2	-(-)	2(1)	2(-)	4(1)	1.6 ^r (25)
E3	2(1)	3(-)	2(-)	7(1)	2.9 (14.3)
E4	2(-)	1(-)	1(-)	4(-)	1.6 ^r (-)
C/E 1	1(-)	5(3)	2(-)	8(3)	3.3 ^r (37.5)
C/E 1/2	-(-)	2(1)	1(-)	3(1)	1.25(33.3 ^r)
C/E 2	1(1)	-(-)	2(-)	3(1)	1.25(33.3 ^r)
F1	2(1)	3(1)	-(-)	5(2)	2.0 (40)
F2	1(-)	-(-)	2(-)	3(-)	1.2(-)
G1	-(-)	-(-)	1(-)	1(-)	0.4(-)
H1	7(3)	8(1)	5(-)	20(4)	8.3 ^r (20)
H 1/2	3(2)	4(1)	5(-)	12(3)	5.0 (25)
H2	13(6)	8(2)	11(1)	32(9)	13.3 ^r (28.1)
H3	2(1)	1(1)	2(-)	5(2)	2.0 (40)
E/H 1	2(2)	2(2)	2(-)	6(4)	2.5 (66.6 ^r)
E/H 1/2	4(2)	-(-)	-(-)	4(2)	1.6 ^r (50)
I1	-(-)	-(-)	1(-)	1(-)	0.4 (-)
I2	-(-)	1(-)	1(-)	2(-)	0.8 (-)

GROUP	SHIELD GRAVE	SPEAR GRAVE	UNSTRATIFIED	TOTAL	GROUPS AS % OF THE OVERALL TOTAL*
J	1(-)	-(-)	3(-)	4(-)	1.6 ^r (-)
K1	7(2)	2(-)	3(-)	12(2)	5.0 (16.6 ^r)
K2	1(-)	2(1)	2(-)	5(1)	2.0 (20)
L	2(-)	3(-)	13(-)	18(-)	7.5 (-)
U/C1.	-(-)	2(-)	-(-)	2(-)	0.8 (-)
TOTAL	66(25)	82(25)	92(1)	240(51)	100.0 (21.25)

Figures in brackets indicate Long Wittenham I spearheads

*Figures in brackets give Long Wittenham total figures as a percentage of each group, not overall total.

TABLE 11 : SUMMARY OF SPEARHEAD SETS

	SHIELD GRAVE	% of shield + spear graves	SPEAR GRAVE	% of shield + spear graves	UNSTRATIFIED	TOTAL	% of overall total*
Set I	25(12)	54(71)	21(5)	46(29)	23(1)	69(18)	29(26)
Set II	11(2)	58(66)	8(1)	42(33)	23(-)	42(3)	17(7)
Set III	9(2)	25(14)	27(12)	75(86)	20(-)	56(14)	23(25)
Set IV	4(3)	40(60)	6(2)	60(40)	10(-)	20(5)	8(25)
Set V	3(1)	33(33)	6(2)	66(66)	2(-)	11(3)	5(27)
Set VI	4(1)	40(50)	6(1)	60(50)	6(-)	16(2)	7(13)
Set VII	3(-)	75(0)	1(-)	25(0)	3(-)	7(-)	3(0)
U/c1.	7(-)	-(0)	7(-)	-(0)	5(-)	19(-)	8(0)

Figures in brackets indicate Long Wittenham I spearheads

*Figures in brackets give Long Wittenham total figures as a percentage of each group, not overall total.

With 240 spearheads divided among 36 groups (including unclassified), results are few, seeming to vindicate Swanton's objection to multifarious classifications. Percentages can have little significance except in the larger groups. Nevertheless, even the crude figures demonstrate the importance of groups C1, C2, E1, H1, H2, K, and L in the Region, the preference of shield-bearing warriors for groups H1, H2, and K1 and the impact of the large percentage of shield-warriors at Long Wittenham on the numbers of type H. The creation of more meaningful overgroups or sets is possible from this rigorous analysis. Seven such sets stand out on the grounds of chronology, form and/or function (Table 11).

- I: Groups H1, H1/2, H2, H3: Strong ogival blades, the majority of medium to large size; primarily thrusting spears (H3 may also have been for slashing); datable from about the middle of the fifth to seventh centuries, but most do not postdate AD 550.
- II: Groups I to L: Strong blades with modified sections used for thrusting; datable between the mid fifth and the mid sixth centuries; K1 especially common with shield-bearers.
- III: Groups C1, E1, C/E1, C1/2, E1/2, C/E 1/2: Small simple blades with blade longer than socket; apart for C1, for which there is no evidence of a pre-sixth-century date, datable anywhere between the fifth and seventh centuries; Swanton argues for their use as thrusting spears.
- IV: Groups C2, E2, C/E2: Simple, medium-sized blades with blade longer than socket; used for thrusting; most datable from second half of sixth and seventh centuries.
- V: Groups D1 and F1: Small simple blades with socket longer than blade; Swanton argued that they were for thrusting; datable anywhere between the fifth and seventh centuries.
- VI: Groups C3, C4, E3, E4: Large slashing spears datable to second half of sixth and seventh centuries.

VII Groups A1, A2, D2, F2: Medium to large throwing spears; from burials datable to second half of sixth and seventh centuries.

Types B, E/H and unclassified spears are not included.

The overwhelming number of spears were used for thrusting (about 90%). This may be indicative less of the Region's conservatism in military technique (compared, say, with Kent) than it is of the comparative lack of seventh-century cemeteries in the Region, which, anyway, rarely include weapons.

The most interesting problem involves the functional significance of Sets I, II and III. Table 11 implies a correlation between the use of a shield and strong, thrusting spears of Sets I and II, and of the use of a spear by itself with spearheads of Set III (the figures for Sets IV to VII are too low for comment and, apart from the tiny sample from Set VII, conform to the overall Regional shield-grave to spear-grave ratio). There appear to be three alternative interpretations: that men who had sufficient wealth or status to bear a shield could also afford the better quality Set I/II spearhead; that Set I/II spearheads were primarily the property of adults males and, because only men over the age of puberty bore shields, the correlation appears to be with shield-bearers rather than with adults; that the difference was functional, shield-bearers fighting at close-quarters would require good thrusting spears, whereas spear-only men might have used their spears for throwing, delivering the first volley in battle (there seems no reason why the small Set III spearheads could not have been thrown as well as thrust, and also the small Set V spearheads, which are typologically related to the larger throwing spears of Set VII). Elucidation of these alternatives is bedevilled by the dominance of the Long Wittenham I statistics, not only of the spearheads themselves, but also of aged skeletons. Fig. 43 sets out the available evidence, but must be used with caution because it relies on a very restricted body of data (Set II, in particular, is distorted).

It is clear that boys have Set III spearheads; Set I types do occur, but these are all on the small side. One might expect boys to have appropriately small spears, indicative of their free status rather than active military role, but the equal occurrence of such spears with older males implies that they did have a proper military purpose. The occurrence of Sets I and II with post-pubertal males is equally apparent; it is the fact that most adult males at Long Wittenham had shields which makes the connection between shield-bearers and Set I spearheads so striking. Without that site, the ratio of Set I spearheads used by spear-only and shield-and-spear men drops to the Regional average. Before one assumes, therefore, that it is age not status which is the key, one should remember Swanton's emphasis on not only the great numbers of H-type spearheads, but also their most frequent occurrence with the richer burials (1974a,143); and if one excepts Long Wittenham as unrepresentative, one must explain the apparent poverty of the remainder of the Region. Certainly Swanton allows for individuality among cemeteries and Long Wittenham must be such an example: not only is it exceptionally well-armed, but it looks as if a succession of warrior-leaders deliberately equipped their two main grades of followers with two specific spear-types. It is noticeable that Set II spears, quite popular elsewhere with shield-men, were uncommon at Long Wittenham, and that throwing spears of Set VII are entirely absent.

The solution must await far more and better statistics of the age and sex of cemetery-populations. One thing is clear: the use of Set III spearheads was not the result of the general poverty of the early period of settlement (pace Swanton 1974a,51). There were contemporary warriors with larger, more costly blades (groups B2, H2 and 3, and I-L), while Set III was not confined to the 'early' period.

A final note may be made about double-spear graves (Table 9). The overall percentage of 9% is small, but not insignificant. What does stand

out is the distinction between the 17% of shield-graves with two spears and the 3% of spear-only graves; two spears must be a reflection of superior wealth and/or status. It is interesting to observe that the percentage of Long Wittenham shield-warriors with two spears is much lower than for the rest of the Region. Normally the pair is made up of spears of identical function (one of slashing spears, one of throwing darts, four of thrusting spears, and one of Set III type; cf. Swanton 1974a,15); four sets combine possibly mixed functions (Brighthampton 3 with an H1 and E1.4, Long Wittenham I, 174 with H3 and F1, Abingdon I, B39 and Long Wittenham I, 106 with E1 and F1). I have suggested that E1 and F1 spears could have been for throwing as well as for thrusting, and Swanton ascribes a throwing function to the F1 spear in Long Wittenham 174 (1974a,15,n). The recurrence of three F1 blades, twice with E1 blades, certainly poses the question of their real function; the F1 blades were perhaps for throwing, the others for close-fighting.

TABLE 12 : CONCORDANCE OF SPEARHEAD CLASSIFICATIONS

Spearhead	Swanton Group	Dickinson Group
Cassington I, 1	C1	C/E1
East Shefford 48	C1	D1
Lower Heyford AM 1893.196	C1	C1/2
Upper Swell II, 2	C1	C2.1
Cassington I, 1	C2	C1/2
Fairford 45	C2 or K2	K2
Fordwells	C2	C1/2
Harwell 7	C2	H2.2
Wheatley AM 1883.176	C2	C/E 1/2
Wheatley 5	D2	D1
Long Wittenham I, 180b	D3	D1
Abingdon B83	E1	F1
Ashdown BM 55,10-18,3	E1	C/E1
Aston Tirrold AM 1887.2551	E1	C2.1
Brighthampton 3	E1	H1
Cherbury Camp	E1	C/E1
East Shefford AM 1955.354	E1	E1/2
Long Wittenham I, 8	E1	C/E1
25	E1	C/E2
64	E1	C/E1
66	E1	C/E 1/2
76	E1	C1
106	E1	E1/2
114	E1	C/E1
155	E1	E/H1
Milton II, AM no no.	E2	E1/2

Spearhead	Swanton Group	Dickinson Group
Abingdon I, AM no no.	E3	C/E2
Bishopstone I, Ay.M 5.80	E3	L
Long Wittenham I, 174	E3	H3
Bishopstone I, Ay.M 7.80	F1	E1/2
Frilford AM 1886.1437	F1	E1/2
Long Wittenham I, 74	F2	E1.4
Bishopstone I, Ay.M 6.80	H1	E/H1
Brighthampton 44b	H1	H1/2
East Shefford 39	H1	H1/2
Long Wittenham I, 9	H1	H1/2
36	H1	E/H1
81	H1	E/H1
128	H1	E/H1
138	H1	H1/2
Abingdon I, B10	H2	C/E 1/2
11	H2	E/H 1/2
52	H2	H1
Bishopstone I, Ay.M 9.80	H2	E/H1
Blewburton 7	H2	H1/2
Burford BM 48,7-27,3	H2	H1/2
Long Wittenham I, 48	H2	E/H1
131	H2	H1/2
179	H2	E/H 1/2
Minster Lovell 2	H2	E/H 1/2
Oxford IIIb, AM 1883.197a	H2	H1/2
Fairford Gl.M A.3660	H3	H2.1
Frilford I, 140	H3	H2.1
Bassett Down DM 21	I1	I2
East Shefford AM 1955.353	K1	I1
Frilford I, ?104	L	J
Long Wittenham I, 21	L	K2
Shipton-on-Cherwell AM 1928.522	L	J

Chapter 14: OTHER WEAPONS

Arrowheads

No certain example of an arrowhead is known from the Upper Thames burial sites: small triangular-headed and barbed arrowheads, such as that found in the excavation of the barrow at Broad Town, are probably medieval. However, the tiny leaf-shaped blade (L.64mm) with a split socket from Chinnor I is far too small to be included with C1 spearheads, or even the comparable angular E1.5 group, so it may represent a Saxon arrowhead.

Franciscas and axes

It is curious that, though no francisca or battle-axe has been definitely found in the Region, there are three reports of such findings: about 1830 a battle-axe and spearhead were recorded from Benson, in 1858 a francisca and barbed spearhead from Little Kimble, and another francisca from Pangbourne by C.Roach Smith.

Chapter 15: KNIVES

No scholar has yet thought a comprehensive study of knives to be worthwhile, and I, too, shrink from such a labour, especially as so many of the Upper Thames examples are incomplete. Hawkes has applied Böhner's fourfold division of the Trier Region knives to those from Polhill (1973a, 199), and in general the scheme is valid. The straight-backed type and that with back and edge curving to a point are the standard types, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries (eg. Fig. 14p,q). Hump-backed and seax-shaped knives are especially, though not exclusively, characteristic of the seventh century (eg. Fig. 47x): a good series of these come from the 'Final Phase' cemetery of Yelford. Large seax-like knives are also an element of these later graves (eg. Fig. 14r,s).

I have already drawn attention to a probable early fifth-century knife (above, p.125; Fig. 14o), and another knife, which ought to be equally early, requires comment. It comes from Brighthampton 22 and was contained in a handsome silver or tin plated bronze sheath (Pl. 68). The U-shaped edge-binding of the sheath is continuous, lacks a mouthpiece, but does have a U-shaped plate fitted into the base as a chape; altogether, it compares in form with sword chapes current in England and on the continent in the early sixth century, though with ancestries stretching back into the fifth century (Menghin 1975,440-1). The use of plated sheet bronze and the decoration of the chape-plate and the sheath sling must be compared, however, with Late Roman and 'Quoit-Brooch' metalwork. The spinal strip of the sling, with milled border and central dot-and-scroll ornament, can be compared with arcade-and-dot, especially as used on the flat annular brooches from Abingdon I, B50 (Pl. 41a). The cross-hatched triangles with dots on the triangular end-pieces and the bull's-eye-and-dash running scrolls of the central piece of the sling are best paralleled on Hawkes Type I

buckle plates (eg. Hawkes and Dunning 1961, figs. 15n-q, 13g); the latter ornament is also found on the strap-end from Reading I, 13 (op.cit., fig. 14b), and the former on a fifth-century buckle plate from Alfriston grave 24 (Evison 1965, fig. 16d). The twisted bronze ring, on which the sling is suspended, is also a Roman type (above, p. 229). Despite the good condition of this object and its undoubted burial in the sixth century (above, p. 112), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it is the work of some Late or sub-Romano-British craftsman.

Another knife with a stamped bronze U-shaped chape comes from Frilford I, 141 (Pl. 67b); its handle was attached by means of a bronze disc-head rivet and a moulded elliptical bar along the length of the tang. The associated objects - a small foil-less applied brooch and ten glass beads - are not closely datable.

Chapter 16: POTTERY

It is impossible to compile a definitive list of the pottery from Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the Region because of ambiguities and omissions in the records of excavation, and the accidents of subsequent preservation and storage. I can account for about three hundred pots¹, the majority of which (over two hundred) were used as containers for cremated ashes. Regrettably, over eighty have been totally lost, and many more are now known only from illustrations or a few sherds. The preservation of the pottery, from site to site, is also uneven, and is complicated by the fact that out of the thirty-six sites yielding pottery, only two - Abingdon I and Long Wittenham I - had a quantity of cremation urns.

At Abingdon, Leeds listed a total of eighty-four cremations, five of which were unurned. Seventeen urns, represented by sherds only, are now lost; many other urns are now known only from the original drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, supplemented, in some cases, by a handful of sherds. In addition, there are a number of bags of sherds in the Ashmolean Museum, which represent urns not fully recorded by Leeds. It is obviously difficult to feel confident about the original nature of these sherds, especially where bags contain sherds from more than one pot: most probably do come from shattered urns, a few may be the result of contamination of bags subsequent to excavation, and several are indicative of the inclusion of one or two sherds inside an urn as grave-offerings. Study of all this material has led me to increase the number of cremation urns at Abingdon from 79 to 94 or 95; uncertainty arises over the single sherd in the Ashmolean Museum credited to C75, which was reported as an unurned cremation.

At Long Wittenham I, fifty-one cremation urns are recorded, but only twelve survive; of those twelve, only five retain their grave number. Cremations from other sites are few, and the preservation of urns is poor: one out of thirteen survives from Brighthampton, nine out of thirteen from

Frilford I, and four out of nine at Wallingford. Accessory vessels from inhumations have survived better, but they are not a common grave-find.

It must be apparent that any discussion of the Region's pottery is dominated by the cremation urns from Abingdon, and their preservation is sadly defective. Whether they are truly representative of overall pottery traditions is a moot point.

The life-time researches of Dr. J.N.L. Myres have immeasurably advanced understanding of Anglo-Saxon pottery. His recent publications of the two large cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich (Myres and Green 1973) and Sancton (Myres and Southern 1973), and his book, Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England (1969) are the fullest expressions of his theories, and any discussion of pottery must be guided by them. Unfortunately, there are difficulties in adopting and utilising all Myres' analyses.

Myres has not produced a complete and systematic classification of the pottery, and his corpus of all the pots has yet to be published. He outlines, instead, a number of diagnostic features, which may permit the grouping of pots, such as biconical, sub-biconical, shouldered or hollow-necked profile, pedestal foot, arc-decoration, stamped decoration, etc.; and he discusses the history of the pottery by reference to certain distinctive groups, such as 'stehende Bogen' pots, 'Buckelurnen', 'long-boss' bowls, 'shoulder-boss' urns, etc. This would be acceptable, if all pots could be readily assigned to these groups, but two facts impede this.

First, since he does not define his types closely (eg. by measured ratios), there is room for doubt and difference of opinion about the divisions between them: for example, what distinguishes some plain bowls from some wide-mouthed cooking pots (cf. Myres 1969, fig.5 and fig.11), or the latter from globular urns (cf. Myres 1969, fig.7), or globular urns from some sub-biconical urns (cf. Myres 1969, fig.7, no.1947, and fig.3, no.1072)? Differences

of ornament are equally obscure; as Myres himself admits, there is an overlap between his biconical linear chevron designs and his panel style with triangles (Myres 1969,55).

Second, not all his drawings are reliable. Most Anglo-Saxon pots are very obviously hand-made, but Myres refrains from portraying this unevenness and prefers to represent the pots, not as they are, but as the potter intended them to be (Myres 1951,70); he thus makes many neater than they are, and by introducing subjective judgement at this stage in the analysis, makes objective deductions from the data difficult. A particularly worrying feature in his recent publications is the illustration of the same pot in different ways: for example, compare Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,fig.9, Abingdon I, C38, with the same pot in Myres 1969,fig.18,no.39; or Myres and Green 1973,fig.33, Caistor M46, with Myres 1969,fig.4,no.1808².

In addition, one can criticize Myres' chronology, especially his argument that many pots are to be dated to the fourth, rather than the fifth century, and are thus evidence for the settlement of North Germanic laeti or numeri. The weaknesses in his argument have been admirably set out in recent reviews by Hawkes (Arch.J.,131 1974,412-414) and Morris (Med.Arch., 18,1974,225-232), and there is no need to rehearse them. The lack of fourth-century brooches, both with alleged fourth-century pots and in inhumations, must be the most compelling reason for rejecting such early dating, especially since fourth-century brooches do occur quite often with pots on the continent. It is noticeable that fewer urns on the continent have fifth-century brooches, and this may be artificially foreshortening the pottery chronology. It is also true that Myres has not discussed every English urn with datable associations, though these might be expected to fill out the insular chronology.

Since the Upper Thames pottery corpus is not broadly based, there can

be no sense in erecting a new typological scheme, and I have tried to utilise Myres' groups and definitions as much as possible. Given the various points of criticism, I have had to make some alteration. I have divided the pots into three major groups - plain pots, decorated pots which are primarily cremation urns, and small decorated pots which are primarily accessory vessels for inhumations - and have further divided these into as many groups as seemed necessary to distinguish the pots. There is no value in this classification, except as an aid to discussion.

A. Plain Pots

A useful typology of plain pots has so far proved elusive. Myres has noted the lack of consistency in form among these pots, and especially the lack of correlation of form with decorative schemes (Myres 1969, 23-25). Plain pots are often less well made than decorated ones, and many are simply domestic types; their form is frequently indeterminate, and, as Myres remarks, the various profiles blend one into another. Berisford has attempted to use analyses of pottery fabrics from settlement sites as a chronological guide to domestic wares (in Shakenoak III, 56-9), but her method is appropriate only to large samples of material from individual sites, and to dating in general, not specific, terms. Theoretically, such analyses might localise centres of production, but examination of the pottery from cemeteries indicates no great variation throughout the Region: there are a substantial number of vessels made from sandy clay from the area west of Oxford, whereas the settlement wares tend to be coarse, soft and soapy (Berisford loc.cit., 57). Examination with more sophisticated techniques than the naked eye might produce worthwhile results.

Groups 1 - 6: Urns or Jars whose height is greater than rim diameter

1. Biconical Urns

Abingdon I, C3, 10 (both in Leeds and Harden 1936, fig. 5), 39, 57 (Myres 1969, fig. 1), 69, 70, 71, Blewburton C1 (Fig. 44c), East Shefford XX (Fig. 44a),

Frilford I, C VII (Myres 1969,fig.1), Hampnett A (Fig. 44b), Long Wittenham I, BM 75,3-10,18, Wallingford C.

These urns have their greatest diameter about the midpoint of their height, and the pot-wall turns a definite, though not necessarily sharp, angle at this point. Sizes range from medium (c.240mm G.D. and H.) to small (c.110mm G.D. and H.), and the tendency of all biconical urns with everted rims to have concave necks is particularly accentuated among the smaller pots (eg. Abingdon C10, 57, Frilford VII, and Hampnett A), though not the smallest (Abingdon C3 and Blewburton).

Two urns contained token combs, and one a toilet set (Abingdon C10 and 69). Green has argued for a fifth-century date for such items, primarily because of Myres' early dating of the pottery, though not all need be so early (above,pp. 216,220^{ff.}). Equally, though biconical pots are well attested in fifth-century contexts, they are commonly ornamented with rectangular bossed panel-style (Myres 1969,fig.27; Myres and Southern 1973,fig.30) and sometimes with triangular panel style (Myres and Southern 1973,fig.37,2299), which Myres dates to the sixth century. Indeed, the only pot in this group from an inhumation, surprisingly a large urn, was found with a bowl of my Group C6 (below,p.359). Nonetheless, typical later sixth-century designs are rare on biconical urns, so that they may have been current during the fifth and earlier sixth centuries.

2. Biconical jar with foot-ring

Frilford I, C XIII (Fig. 44d).

Despite the long Roman Iron Age tradition on the continent of bowls with pedestal-feet, there seems to be nothing distinctly early about pedestal feet or foot-rings in England: such pots are commonly decorated in bossed panel style (Myres 1969,fig.25) and even with stamped pendant triangles (below, p. 353).

3. Sub-biconical urns and jars

This group is not rigidly defined: most of the pots do have their greatest diameter at the midpoint of their height, but their profile may vary from round-angled biconical to globular and even ovoid. Others have the greatest diameter about two-thirds up the height and could be called 'shouldered', but, as Myres notes, these are different from the truly shouldered urns, which it might be best to confine to a consistent group (cf. Myres 1969,26). Consequently, this group includes a wide variety of types, whose chronological distinctions cannot be established.

The group includes pots ranging in size from medium (G.D. 230mm, H. 240 mm) to small (G.D. 130mm, H. 110mm). Among the larger, regularly sub-biconical urns with everted rims are Abingdon I, C27, 36, 55 (v. Leeds and Harden 1936, fig.5), 56, Bledlow I, A, C, and Long Wittenham I, jj. Abingdon 36, 55 and 56, with toilet items, and 55 with an ivory purse-ring, could belong to the fifth or earlier sixth centuries, but need not; the Bledlow urn was one of five cremations, one of which contained a seventh-century comb. A tall, almost shouldered urn, was found in Frilford I, 35, with a pair of disc brooches indicative of the period c.450-c.550 (Fig. 44e).

Smaller jars with various neck forms are represented at Abingdon I, B106, C12, 37, 41 (v. Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.5), 51, Asthall, Aston Remenham BM 87,11-12,2, and Souldern 4. The two Asthall pots are from a seventh-century barrow: one, with a short everted neck, is unremarkable, but the other, with a tall 'funnel-shaped' neck, may be compared with pots from a late seventh-century grave in Surrey (Evison 1963,fig.31d), another at Chamberlain's Barn II, grave 19 (Hyslop 1963,fig.11c), and Caistor-by-Norwich N13 (Myres and Green 1973, fig.31). Another Caistor pot, N41(b), put by Myres at the end of the Caistor sequence, is a good parallel for Abingdon C41, with its raised neck-band (Myres and Green 1973,69,fig.31). The latter was found high in the top-soil and without grave-goods, as were

the ovoid jars, C42 and C49 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.5), which Myres, following Leeds, suggested were also seventh-century (in Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,36). The context of the Abingdon pots may not be relevant, since C48, a simple Buckelurne, was equally found without grave-goods and shallowly buried; and, although there are seventh-century parallels for such baggy pots (eg. Chamberlain's Barn II, grave 18, Hyslop 1936,fig.11a), the shape is known in the fifth century at, for example, Hammoor (cf. Genrich 1954,Taf.13D and 14G). The pot from the early fifth-century grave, Abingdon I, B106, may be of similar type, though the reconstruction of the extant sherds may not be accurate and it might have been more regularly sub-biconical (Fig. 44f).

4. Shouldered urns

Abingdon I, C9, 13, 16, 19 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.5), 28, Frilford I, CIII, VI, Long Wittenham I, BM 75,3-10,17 (Myres 1969,fig.4).

Most shouldered urns are squat in comparison with groups 1 and 3, though this may be somewhat illusory, since several have lost their necks. Sizes range from medium (G.D. 240mm, H. 220mm) to small (G.D. 170mm, H. 160mm). The one exception is the tall ovoid urn, Abingdon C9. Although Myres recognised that shouldered jars had a long period of use, he preferred a date about AD500 for the very hump-backed examples; yet, amongst supporting evidence for this belief, the pot from Hammoor is, in fact, a biconical bowl (Genrich 1954,Taf.15c), and the Group II cruciform brooch from Lackford should probably be dated to the later fifth century rather than just c.500. Moreover, high-shouldered pots can receive rectilinear grooved designs, which Myres regards as a very early phase in the pottery sequence (1969,53, fig.26,no.522), while there is an example from Lackford, 50, 78, with horizontal stamped ornament, associated with a later sixth-century Group IV cruciform brooch (Lethbridge 1951,fig.16). Thus shouldered urns occur at all periods.

5. Globular Urns

Abingdon I, C50, Frilford I, CI (Myres 1969,fig.8).

Jankuhn was the first to identify very spheroid-bodied pots with low rims as distinctive of Angeln and South-east Schleswig in the fifth and sixth centuries (1952,24,fig.6). He has been followed by Myres, who further identifies pots with tiny upright rims and those with longer everted rims. Unfortunately, no measurement of rotundity is defined, and there is considerable potential for confusion with other round-bodied pots, such as wide-mouthed cooking pots, sub-biconical jars, and even the sort of pots often decorated with sixth-century stamped pendant triangles designs (eg. Myres 1969,fig.29, no.371a; Evison 1969a,fig.4,1). Stricter definitions are needed if this group is to be correctly associated with a major tribe. Both Upper Thames examples are very rotund with minimal necks, but though they have been smoothed they have not been burnished like most continental examples (cf. Jankuhn 1952, Pl.II,A,C).

6. Wide-mouthed, round-bodied vessels

Abingdon I, C11 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.5), Fairford C1, Reading I, 5 (Fig. 44g,h).

These pots cannot be placed unquestionably in any of the former groups. All have rounded bodies and relatively wide mouths with minimal rims. Abingdon C11 and Reading I are globular and could be equated with either group 3 or 5 (cf. the former with Myres 1969,fig.7,no.1936); Fairford C1 is bag-shaped and appears to be a domestic form (cf. Myres 1969,fig.11,no.1045). Indeed, all might be compared with Myres' wide-mouthed cook-pots, though there is nothing to distinguish their fabric from other funerary urns, nor indicate their prior use for cooking. The Abingdon pot must be dated to the middle or later sixth century by the fragment of a Leeds' B6 great square-headed brooch found in it.

Groups 7 - 13: Bowls (pots with rim diameter greater than height)

7. Bowls with pedestal-foot and/or lugs

Abingdon I, B51 (Myres 1969, fig. 12), C44 (Leeds and Harden 1936, fig. 5), Blewburton 11, Frilford I, CXI (last two in Myres 1969, fig. 12).

All have a soft ogival profile, except the Blewburton pot, which has straight everted sides. All have a pedestal-foot or foot-ring, but Abingdon C44 lacks the three lugs of the others. Myres calls them cook-pots, though apart from their generally coarse fabric (all contain some grass-tempering), there is no direct evidence of function, and I am not aware that they are especially common on settlement sites: pots with upright lugs seem to be more standard (Berisford 1973, 177-8). Their similarity to the three-knob pots of Holstein is, as Myres remarks, extraordinary (cf. also Westerwanna 611 and 617, Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960, Taf. 81, 82), but their currency in England during the late fifth and sixth century is assured. Abingdon B51 was associated with a pair of button brooches, which may be as early as the late fifth century, but which could equally be later (above, p. 149); sixth-century examples come from Lackford (Lethbridge 1951, 19, fig. 19, 50, 95A) and Chamberlain's Barn I (Hyslop 1963, fig. 4v). The occurrence of these vessels primarily in the sixth century has also been noted at Loveden Hill (Fennell 1964, Chapter X).

Possibly related to this group is a miniature biconical pot of red ware from Dorchester V. It was said to have three distinct indentations, as if made by the fingers from inside (letter from W. Cozens to Professor Rolleston, 24.2.1872, Ashmolean Archives), which suggests bosses rather than lugs, though the sketch of it shows none (Fig. 44i). Its size, however, would link it better with the lugged pots than with the bossed urns.

8. Sharply biconical bowls

East Shefford BM 93, 7-16, 29, Frilford I, 144, Long Wittenham I, 59, 99 (all in Myres 1969, fig. 6).

Despite their distinctive profile and hard gritty fabric, these little bowls, all from inhumations, are not closely datable (Myres 1969,27).

9. Medium sized sub-biconical and shouldered bowls

Abingdon I, C29, 40 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.5), Blewburton 7 (Fig. 44j).

Abingdon C40 is shouldered, the others very rounded sub-biconical bowls. As Myres points out (1969,26), the bowls repeat the profiles of the urns and jars; but given previous comments on the chronology of shouldered and sub-biconical urns, it is difficult to accept his suggestion that the bowls are 'early in the series'. The Blewburton bowl was found with an H1/2 spearhead and a side-fastening, solid-fronted belt (above,p.248), possibly of later fifth or sixth century date.

10. Small sub-biconical and shouldered bowls and jars

Dorchester IIIa, 9 (Fig. 44l), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,30, Stone Ay.M 59.80, Wheatley 23 (Fig. 44k).

These are all small inhumation accessory vessels, and though two are, by definition, jars not bowls, there is nothing else to distinguish them from the others. There is little to help date them: two amber beads were with the Wheatley pot, and a string of 39 glass and 6 amber beads with the Dorchester pot.

11. Round-based bowls

Ewelme AM 1917.33, Reading I, 4 (Fig. 44m), ?11a.

These three bowls have round-bellied walls, though the upper part of the wall, as on the Reading 4 pot, may be straight. Round-based pots occur both in the fifth century and the sixth (eg. Myres 1969,95ff,fig.40, and 37, fig.15), though the Reading 4 bowl can be placed in the later fifth century by virtue of the associated Group 3.1 applied brooches and kidney-shaped iron buckle.

12. Crude bag-shaped, hemispherical and rounded bowls

Abingdon I, B14 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.6), B51 (Myres 1969,fig.10), C6 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.5), Aston Remenham BM 87,11-12,3, Bishopstone I, Ay.M 60.80.

These pots and those of the next two groups correspond to Myres' 'plain domestic wares I' (1969,fig.10). The dating of Abingdon B51 has been discussed already (above,p.³⁴¹); B14 probably belongs in the later fifth century (below,p.³⁵⁶).

13. Dishes

Abingdon I, B14 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.6), C55 (lid, ibid.fig.5), East Shefford AM 1955.361 (Myres 1969,fig.10).

Again, a later fifth- or earlier sixth-century date is possible for these: besides Abingdon B14, C55, which served as a lid for the sub-biconical urn discussed above (p.³³⁸), may date from this period.

14. Thumb pots

Brighthampton 43 (Myres 1969,fig.10), Standlake I, 17 (Fig. 44n).

The Brighthampton pot was found with a Group C5.2 'long-boss' bowl of late fifth or early sixth-century date, but the Standlake one is probably seventh-century.

B. Decorated pots primarily used for cremations

1. Shoulder-boss urn

A shouldered urn from Reading II is a fine example of this form, though unfortunately it is not closely datable (Myres 1969,fig.13; cf. Myres and Green 1973,70).

2. Globular or shouldered urns with horizontal linear decoration of neck

Aston Remenham BM 87,11-12,1 (Fig. 44q), East Shefford BM 93,7-16,28 (Fig. 44p), Reading I, 6 (Fig. 44o).

Simple linear horizontal ornament of neck or upper body is found on

many pots of the Late Roman and Early Migration periods in both Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein (Myres 1969,30-31). Of the Upper Thames examples, the globular urn with concave neck from Aston Remenham is best paralleled in the continental series (eg. Westerwanna 461, Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960,Taf.61), though its shape need not confine it to this early period (above,p.³⁴⁰). The other two urns are less close to the German pots: though the wide-mouthed urn from East Shefford bears a resemblance to Plettke's groups A3 - A5, many of which bear similar ornament (cf. Westerwanna 171,443,930, op.cit.,Taf.23, 58,122), both it and the Reading urn have high shoulders and small necks. Myres has drawn attention to the occurrence of linear grooves on biconical and sub-biconical continental pottery (Myres and Green 1973,51; Myres and Southern 1973,15), but he acknowledges that such simple ornament could have a broader date range (Myres and Southern 1973,14). Nevertheless, I am not aware of any such urns with sixth-century associations and they are not particularly common in England. The Reading urn contained a miniature conical-headed pin, more common in the fifth century, and maybe all these urns date from this time.

3. Urns with standing-arc decoration ('stehende Bogen')

Standing-arc decoration is characteristic of pottery from Lower Saxony, especially on urns of Plettke's type A7a and accompanied by impressed rosettes. It may be dated to the later fourth and earlier fifth centuries; cremations such as Westerwanna 45, with a 'Dosemoor' type equal-armed brooch, and Mahndorf 396, with one of 'Nesse' type (Böhme 1974,Taf.45 and 13), imply that the style continued through the first half of the fifth century. Quite a number of English urns have similar ornament, but there is no necessity to date them before the fifth century. Myres prefers to place most of them in the first half of the century, since, following German typology, he believes they gave way in the middle of the century to the Buckelurnen. However, very

few English 'standing arc' urns have either the classic A7a profile or rosettes (Myres 1969,43), and there is no doubt that simple linear 'standing-arc' pots continued to be made in the late fifth century (Myres 1969,44). Moreover, there are reasons for recognising a closer stylistic and chronological relationship between 'standing-arc' urns and Buckelurnen. So, without the help of associated objects, it would seem better to date this style to the fifth century generally.

All but one of the Upper Thames examples come from Abingdon I, and in publishing these Myres noted the discrepancies between them and the continental series (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres, 1968,36-38). Three are biconical with linear ornament alone (Abingdon I, C64,74,76; Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,fig.7). As Myres remarks, only C74 compares in shape with continental urns, and perhaps it and C64, which has virtually identical ornament, are early fifth-century; but C76 has additional vertical parallel lines, and may be compared with the urn from Castle Acre which contained a Group II cruciform brooch (Myres 1969,44,fig.21). The other urns are biconical or sub-biconical, and their use of stamps distinguishes them from most continental examples. C67 is, perhaps, the simplest with a bird-bone stamp infilling the linear design and set in foursomes between the arcs, rather like rosettes (cf. Myres 1969,43; this feature is omitted from Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,fig.7, which is a reprint of Leeds' original drawing). C5 has diamond stamps between the arc-lines and also rising from them in vertical lines. A similar stamp occurs on the far more complex urn from Lower Shiplake (Fig. 45a), whose horizontal linear and stamped decoration is more typical of the sixth century. A sherd from Long Wittenham I, A seems to combine standing arcs, rosette stamps and chevron ornament (Fig. 45p).

4. Sub-biconical urn with shoulder-bosses and ?standing-arc decoration

Besides the occurrence of standing-arcs on Buckelurnen, there are a number of urns which combine simpler arc and boss ornament, which presumably date from the full fifth century (Myres 1969,44). Abingdon I, C61 (Fig.45b),

is a fragmentary urn, but its round bosses and the angle of the linear ornament on one sherd suggest that it should be added to Myres' other examples. C27a was also represented by sherds with curved ridge and groove decoration and small bosses.

5. Spheroid-bodied urns with pedestal feet, linear ornament and bosses

Abingdon I, C35 (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,fig.8), Frilford I, CXII (Myres 1969,fig.25).

These two urns are very similar and very distinctive. The Abingdon pot is now lost, and originally only one sherd represented the upper body, but there is little doubt that it too had a row of bosses surmounted by horizontal grooves (Leeds and Harden 1936,17). Myres has suggested that they both resemble Roman pots (?with the implication of very early date; Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,38; Myres 1969,49). However, comparable globular and biconical urns with foot-rings occur on the continent at Westerwanna, where they are dated to the later fifth century (Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960,9,Taf. 85,163), and in England as Buckelurnen and pots with bossed panel-style (Myres 1969,fig.24,744 and 393,fig.25). The Upper Thames pots differ from these only in their narrow necks. Their best parallel is Caistor-by-Norwich M48a, which was associated with a complex Buckelurne and found below a pot with linear chevron decoration, which Myres regarded as evidence for the contemporaneity of the styles, probably within the fifth century (Myres and Green 1973,48-9).

6. Urns with chevron-and-dot ornament

Abingdon I, C17 (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,fig.9), 38 (ibid.), 84 (Fig. 45c), 'Near Oxford' BM 68,7-9,78 (Fig. 45d).

All four urns are made in a hard, quartz or quartz and calcite gritted fabric. The three Abingdon pots are biconical, but the other is shouldered; on two, the decoration is bounded horizontally, but on the other two it is

left free. Chevron-and-dot ornament is characteristic of fourth-century pots on the continent, especially Plettke's type A6; in England it is probably a feature of the fifth century, though there is little positive evidence from associated material (Myres 1969,40,cf.figs.18,28,no.754,33). Abingdon Cl7 contained a ribbed knife handle of possibly Roman origin, and C38 contained a piece of bone inlay and four or five glass beads, including a Roman 'melon' bead; but there is no necessity for these objects to indicate an early date (above,p.240).

7. Hollow-necked biconical urn with bosses, linear grooves and punched dots

Myres ascribes Abingdon I, Cl without doubt to the fifth century (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,38,fig.8), and, though it lacks precise parallels and stands out in the Upper Thames corpus, its profile, bosses and restrained use of dots do suggest an early date. Perhaps the best comparisons are with the 'Anglian' style hollow-necked urns with rectilinear or shoulder-boss ornament (cf. Myres and Green 1973,fig.9,X23; Myres and Southern 1973,fig.25,140).

8. Buckelurnen of Myres' Groups II and IV: large biconical and sub-biconical urns with bosses, linear, standing-arc, chevron and punched dot ornament

Abingdon I, CX (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,fig.9), C48 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.4), ?C68b (Fig. 45e), C82 (Myres 1969,fig.23; cf. original drawing in Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.4), Souldern 2 (Fig. 45f), Wallingford F (Myres 1969,fig.23).

Buckelurnen - urns with elaborate plastic ornament - are perhaps the most distinctive of Anglo-Saxon pots, and are the type most rigorously treated by Myres (1969,45-7,142-6). He has divided the English urns into five groups and argued that the first four, which share a single distribution area, are contemporary products of the second half of the fifth century. His dating follows accepted continental typology, first set out by Plettke, that the pottery forms were subject to progressive evolution. Yet he cites as

dating evidence several continental urns which contain fourth-century objects (1969,45,fn.1); while the early cruciform brooches, found with urns such as Westerwanna 525, Lackford 48, 2491 and 48, 2282, though important evidence of fifth-century date, need not be rigorously tied to the second half of that century, since Genrich's suggestion of a mid fifth-century emergence of the 'Borgstedt' type was only an estimate (Genrich 1953,48ff.). Moreover, the links between the earlier groups of Buckelurnen and the allegedly preceding 'standing-arc' and 'chevron-and-dot' urns are so close that a definite period of overlap must be allowed (cf. Kennett 1970,21). Myres hints at this when he describes Abingdon I, CX, as 'at the very start of the Buckelurne series and hardly likely to have been made much later than 450' (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,39; my underlining). Since Abingdon CX is decorated with annular stamps, it is put in Group IV, though there is no doubt of its intimate formal and decorative relationship with the other Upper Thames urns allotted to Group II. In view of the unity of my group, and of its links with 'standing-arc' and 'chevron-and-dot' pots, it would seem better to avoid ideas of sequential development by assigning all varieties to the fifth century generally.

9. Buckelurnen of Myres' Group III: Small biconical urns with pedestal-feet and single stamp in decoration

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,25 and 26 (Fig. 45h,g), Harwell 3 (Myres 1969, fig.24), Osney (Myres 1969,fig.22).

In contrast with the preceding group of generally large pots from cremations, these are small, none can be certainly linked with a cremation and one came from an inhumation. All the Upper Thames Buckelurnen with pedestal feet are exceptional in having stamped ornament (cf. Myres 1969,46). Myres has suggested that Abingdon I, C3 may belong to his Group I (op.cit.,143), but this sentence has suffered from misprinting - C3 is a small plain urn - and I presume C35 is intended; but that has already been discussed above

(p.346). The two East Shefford pots may be noted as a deliberately made 'pair'.

Among unstratified sherds from Wheatley are two with cross-grooved bosses from a sharply biconical urn, which may have been another Buckelurne (Fig. 45i).

10. Urns with rectangular linear designs

Abingdon I, C22 (Myres 1968,fig.9), 'Near Oxford' BM 68,7-9,77 (Myres 1969,fig.26).

Urns with rectilinear decoration are stylistically distinct (Myres 1969, 52ff,fig.26) and among them the corrugated pots with or without bosses, especially represented at Caistor-by-Norwich, are even more distinct. Myres' dating of the latter has fluctuated from fifth-century generally (1969,73) to late fourth/early fifth century (Myres and Green 1973,46-7); his very early dating has been the target of particular criticism (Hawkes in Arch.J., 131,1974,412-3). The two Upper Thames examples are not, however, closely related to the corrugated series, and Myres himself has seen a greater link between the Abingdon urn and early Buckelurnen (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968,39), which is reinforced by the fact that there is evidence of dimples on the upper raised neck-band. A fifth-century date may be preferred for both.

11. Rectangular linear designs with stamps

Abingdon I, C15 (Fig. 45j), C26 (Fig. 45k), Brighthampton CV (Fig. 45l).

These urns share a basic rectilinear pattern embellished with stamps. Myres argued that this unbossed rectangular stamped 'panel' style developed from bossed urns with similar decoration, which, in turn, was a development of the rectilinear styles of the fifth century (1969,54); they were thus datable to the middle or later sixth century (op.cit.,57). He did not illustrate any urns comparable to my group in his 1969 work, but parallels can be cited from Lackford (Lethbridge 1951,18,fig.11,no.50,69A) and Caistor-by-

Norwich (Myres and Green 1973, 50, n. 6, fig. 41, N1, dated by Myres to c. 500; fig. 39, N97). The best parallels for the round-bodied Abingdon C15 and Brighthampton urns, and especially for the former, are the works of Caistor potters II and III (op.cit., figs. 49-52). The scant dating evidence might suggest that they belong to the sixth century, and Myres argues that the two workshops, in fact, persisted throughout the century, since they show a range of styles including 'bossed panel style' and 'standing arcs'. But since the potters are identified through pots sharing the same stamps, it would necessitate these stamps lasting for 50 to 75 years; if the workshop was long-lived, a sequence of 'overlapping' usage of stamps should be expected.

The position of the Caistor II and III potters within the sixth century is therefore in doubt, and this may be pertinent to the typological dating of other rectangular stamped styles, and especially to Abingdon C26. This biconical urn has its rectilinear pattern on the upper half supplemented by dimples on the carination, roughly bordered on each side by square stamps, and wedge stamps laid out in rather random chevron patterns. According to Myres' scheme, the careless, unbounded stamping, the multiple stamps and the lack of bosses should indicate a late date; but the biconical shape and the dimpled carination would be more appropriate earlier. The relevance of the latter characteristics are borne out by the fact that this urn contained one of the best assemblages of fifth-century material from a cremation urn: a cast bronze openwork object, possibly Roman, an equal-armed brooch of the 'degenerate Nesse type' and an applied brooch of Bohme's 'Mahndorf Type'. It is perhaps relevant to remember that an elaborately stamped Buckelurne from Westerwanna 693 has long vertical panels on its lower half; it was found with a number of fourth-century items and a spear-shaped strap-end probably of the earliest fifth century (Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960, Taf. 92).

12. Rectangular panel style with bosses

Abingdon I, ?C43, 52 (Fig. 46a), Lambourn RM 203.46(2) (Fig. 45m), Long Wittenham I, t (Fig.45o), Wanborough II, 1 (Fig. 45n).

Bossed panel style may take either a strictly rectilinear or triangular form (Myres 1969,54-5), but long oval bosses or shorter bosses bounded by long vertical lines are characteristics of the style, and are exhibited by all but possibly the Lambourn sherd in this group (cf. op.cit.,fig.27). The stamped ornament of Abingdon I, C52, is unclear, but its massed oval bosses may be compared with those on a pot from Newton-in-the-Willows (Myres 1969,fig.44). The pedestal foot and diagonal bosses of the elaborately stamped Long Wittenham pot are reminiscent of Abingdon C22 (above,p.349); bossed panel style was quite popular, however, on pedestal-foot urns (cf. Myres 1969,fig.25), and Caistor-by-Norwich N60 is a good parallel for the overall ornament (Myres and Green 1973,fig.4). Although Abingdon C43 is fragmentary, its longish oval bosses are much more likely on an urn of this group than any other. The other two urns include triangular ornament with rectilinear.

Numerically, this group is quite comparable with many of my other groups, which indicates that bossed panel style pots are not absent from the Upper Thames Region, as Myres argued (1969,115), and cannot be used as evidence for post-Badon 'settlement dislocation'. Rather it demonstrates that the style was used for larger cremation urns, as well as for the more common inhumation accessory vessels, the 'long-boss' bowls.

Myres argued that bossed panel style was principally used in the first half of the sixth century (1969,56,106) and this group provides additional evidence. The Wanborough pot was apparently found with a poor version of a 'Kentish' rectangular belt-plate with Style I ornament, a virtual type-fossil of the early and middle sixth century. Abingdon C52 was stratified above B80 which contained a flat annular brooch of perhaps late fifth or earliest sixth century date (above,p.44).

13. Triangular bossed panel style

Abingdon I, C79 (Fig. 46b), Theale I (Myres 1938, fig. 22, 1).

These urns have no vertical elements at all, and thus belong to the pure triangular bossed panel style, which Myres defines as a parallel development to the rectangular bossed styles (cf. Myres 1969, fig. 29).

14. Urns with horizontal linear and stamped ornament

Abingdon I, C81 (Leeds and Harden 1936, fig. 4), Long Wittenham I, b, dd (Fig. 46c), BM 62,6-13,111, 62,6-13,10(?), ?62,6-13,?, Milton I, RUM M.402 (Fig. 46d), Winchendon I (Fig. 46e).

Pots with zoned linear and stamped horizontal ornament are common in England and dated examples are mostly sixth-century (Myres 1969, 37-9, cf. fig. 15). The three Long Wittenham urns and Abingdon C81 are very similar in profile and ornament, and are closely linked to urns with horizontal and pendent triangle decoration, likewise of sixth-century date. From the surviving sherds, the Milton urn must have been much larger, but is otherwise comparable in its rounded profile and ornament. By contrast, the Winchendon urn is a tall, shouldered barrel-shaped urn with narrow, well-defined neck and simple ornament. Its form is not easily paralleled, but may be compared with two pots by Potter II at Caistor-by-Norwich (Myres and Green 1973, fig. 49, X37, fig. 50, G3), which again suggests a sixth-century date.

15. Urns with chevron or triangular ornament and stamps

This group includes both Myres' true panel style and his triangle-and-chevron styles with stamps, as well as a few urns which fall less obviously into either group (Myres 1969, 54-4, figs. 28-9).

The most distinctive urns are those with zoned horizontal ornament around the neck or upper body and pendent, stamp-filled triangles, usually extending over the carination. It is the style which is classically represented by the Illington-Lackford workshop, and which, as stamped panel style, was most common in the Midlands. In the Upper Thames it is represented on

the following whole or reconstructable pots: Abingdon I, inside C21 (Fig. 46f), C47 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.4), Frilford I, CV (Fig. 46h), Kingsey Ay.M 35.60, Long Wittenham I, BM 62,6-3,110, Reading I, C7 (Fig. 46g), Souldern 3. To these must be added Frilford I, CII, a hollow-necked urn just like Frilford CV, but with the triangles pendent over the upper half of the urn only, Hampnett B, which has empty triangles outlined by stamps, and Kingsey Ay.M 34.60 (Fig. 46i) and Theale 2 (Myres 1938,fig.22,2) with unbounded triangles of stamps. Two of the pots are bowls and nearly all are round-walled sub-biconical pots. Reading C7 has a foot-ring, which, though rare, does occur on other Upper Thames pots and on similar urns in South Wessex (Hawkes 1968,55ff).

Myres dated this style to the middle and later sixth century, and argued that unbounded stamped triangles were late in this series (1969,56-7,117). Welch has now pointed out (Excavations at Portchester Castle II, 1976 forthcoming) that some of the associated objects cited by Myres are, in fact, early sixth century in date (eg. Illington 102, Myres 1969,57,134; Lackford 50,234, Lethbridge 1951,fig.17). A broader date-range therefore seems more advisable and may help account for the appearance of dimpled rosettes in the triangles of the Frilford CV urn.

Other urns have chevron and stamp ornament of a different kind. Abingdon I, C73 (Leeds and Harden 1936,fig.4) has zoned horizontal stamped ornament on its upper half, but empty pendent triangles below. Such ornament is common in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in the sixth century (Myres and Southern 1973,26,fig.33). Pendent triangles delineated by bands enclosing annulet stamps and chevrons occur below a collar-band with chevrons on an urn from Hampnett D. It was found with fragments of a great square-headed brooch of probably the middle of the sixth century (above,p.168). Lower Shiplake 1 has multiple-line chevrons with internal stamps over its greatest diameter, and zoned ornament above, including a row of overlapping stamps.

The last two urns are less like the above series. Long Wittenham I, b, is sub-biconical with upper and lower chevron bands with stamps separated by two zones with impressed dots and pin-pricked ovals (Fig. 46i). A sherd with comparable ornament is known from Sutton Courtenay (Berisford 1973, fig. 27, AM 1933.534) and another from inside Long Wittenham I, BM 75,3-10,18 (Fig. 46j).

Abingdon I, B60^(Fig. 46k) with its linear chevron and hanging-arc ornament, supplemented by only bird-bone impressions, recalls the simpler styles of the fifth century (cf. my groups B3.2 and B6). Indeed, hanging arcs are an element of earlier continental pottery: a good, though unstamped, parallel for the Abingdon urn is Sancton, Myres no. 132 (Myres and Southern 1973, 21, fig. 14), which Myres, in turn, links with pots from Middle Germany of Schmidt's period IIa and b (c. 450-525). However, the arcs on all the continental pieces tend to be much shallower than those of the English series, which develop as containers for stamps just like the pendent triangles. The stylistic affinities of the Abingdon urn are, therefore, uncertain, though it may be much earlier than most of the other urns discussed here. It was, after all, disturbed by the undated B87.

Decorated sherds from Abingdon I, C65 (Fig. 46m) and Theale 4 (Myres 1938, fig. 22, 4) probably also belong within this group.

16. Unclassifiable

These urns have unbounded stamped decoration. Abingdon I, B19 is bi-conical with shoulder bosses and random rosette-like stamps over the upper part: according to Myres' stylistic criteria, it would belong in the sixth century (Fig. 46o). Long Wittenham I, s, has three neck lines and irregular panels of comb-impressions, accompanied by diagonal lines of impressed dots over the upper part (Fig. 46n). I know of no parallel for such ornament.

C. Small bowls and jars with decoration

I intend to follow Myres in distinguishing small bowls and jars from the larger urns (cf. Myres 1969, figs. 35-9, 41), though frequently their

decoration is the same. In general these small vessels come from inhumations, and it is notable that those which are from cremations are among the larger pots. The majority are sharply biconical bowls, sometimes with concave upper body and convex lower; by definition, a few should correctly be called jars.

1. Bowls and jars with facettled carinations

Abingdon I, B111 (Myres 1969, fig.37), East Shefford AM 1955.360 (loc.cit.)
Fairford 5 (loc.cit.).

Small biconical bowls with facettled carination are characteristic of the entire fifth century (Myres 1969, 88). The Abingdon bowl was found with an I2 spearhead which can scarcely pre-date the second half of the fifth century (above, p.316). It and the Fairford bowl are simply decorated, but the zoned stamped ornament of the East Shefford border might suggest an even later date (v. Myres, loc.cit.).

2. Bowls with bands of chevron ornament

Abingdon I, B24 (Myres 1969, fig.36), East Shefford III (loc.cit.),
Reading I, 13 (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig.14b).

Myres associates the Abingdon I, B24 pot with pottery of the 'warrior-grave' or laeti period, that is the late fourth and earliest fifth century, on the basis of its shape and chevron-and-dot decoration (Biddle, Lambrick and Myres 1968, 38; Myres 1969, 81-2). Although both features can be paralleled on the continent (eg. Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960, Taf.23, 169; Böhme 1974, Taf.10, 4 and 9, Taf.29, 10), most biconical bowls have their chevron decoration on or below the carination, unlike the neck-bands which characterise most of the English examples (Myres 1969, fig.36). Nevertheless, simple chevron-and-dot ornament of whatever type does seem typical of fifth-century pots in England (above, p.347), but it is not exclusive to the earliest fifth century. The East Shefford pot presumably belongs to the same period, and the groups of nicks on its carination may be an alternative to facetting. Curiously, it was found with a pin whose parallels occur in later sixth and seventh century

graves (above, p. 195). Undoubtedly from a fifth-century context is the pedestal pot from Reading 13, associated with several Late Roman, sub-Roman and 'Quoit-Brooch' workshop items. But more precise dating is difficult: the associated objects do not have to indicate an early fifth-century date (Evison 1969a, 158), nor does the addition of a single rosette stamp have to imply later dating.

3. Jars with bosses and simple stamped decoration

Abingdon I, Bl4 (Fig. 47a), Cirencester I (Fig. 47b), Wallingford B (Fig. 47c).

These jars share similar basic ornament, but differ in form; the Abingdon and Wallingford pots are most similar. The pedestal foot on the Abingdon pot suggests comparison with a pot from Great Chesterford grave 33, discussed by Evison and Myres, which, in turn, is related to the series of zoomorphic Buckelurnen (Evison 1969a, 158-60, 169-71). Evison argued for an early fifth-century date for the Great Chesterford pot, partly because she challenged Myres' later dating of Buckelurnen, and partly because of its similarity to Reading I, 13, which she thought came from an early fifth-century context; Myres recognised that zoomorphic Buckelurnen are not closely datable (1969, 48), and stressed the links, represented by the Great Chesterford pot, between these Buckelurnen, pedestal-foot biconical bowls and the series of shoulder-boss pots, especially the 'long-boss' bowls (in Evison 1969, 170-1). These stylistic interconnections are real, as can be seen by a comparison of the Abingdon pot with Wallingford B, Reading I, 13 and the 'long-boss' bowls (below, p. 358), but dating by stylistic sequence could involve a circular argument: the associated metalwork must decide the issue.

Of the zoomorphic Buckelurnen, only Alfriston 52 was found with a recognisable object: an inlaid iron buckle-loop, probably of fifth-century date (above, p. 249; Evison 1965, fig. 16). The latest object in the Great

Chesterford grave was a strike-a-light, which should belong to the middle or later fifth century (Evison 1969a,160; Böhme 1974,115). The Reading pot has already been discussed, and the 'pair' of disc brooches in Abingdon B14 may date this pot also in the fifth century, with the probability of burial in the later part of the century (above,p.128).

Of the two pots, which I have associated typologically with the Abingdon pot, only that from Cirencester was found with another object: this was a Group 5 shield-boss, which could be fifth or earlier sixth century; curiously Myres thought a late sixth-century date acceptable for the pot (1969,117,n.). It is likely that the Wallingford urn also belongs to this period, since the other three extant pots from the site - a Buckelurne, a 'long-boss' bowl and a plain biconical urn - suggest that cremation was confined to the fifth and earlier sixth centuries.

The associations do not permit a clear-cut division to be drawn between the various types; rather they indicate an overall 'early', that is primarily fifth-century, dating for the series, within which the stylistic interconnections of the individual types could have occurred.

4. Rectangular panel-style with stamps

East Shefford BM 93,7-16,27 (Myres 1969,fig.39), XVI (Fig. 47d), Frilford I, 12 (Fig. 47e).

The decoration of these biconical pots corresponds to that of the larger urns of my Group B11, while the pots themselves have links with both my Groups C1-3 and C5. The unstratified East Shefford bowl was classed by Myres as a 'long-boss' bowl; in fact, it has no bosses, though its stylistic link to that type is obvious. The slashed carination equally suggests links with faceted carination bowls and other fifth-century pots (cf. Myres 1969, fig.36,no.812, associated with two small-long brooches which are possibly early in the series; Zimmer-Linnfeld 1960,Taf.75,566). East Shefford XVI has a foot-ring, which links it in form, on the one hand, to the fifth-

century Reading I, 13 and Abingdon I, B14 jars, and, on the other, to bossed and unbossed panel-style pots, such as Reading I, C7. Its ornament - pendent triangles and full-length vertical panels - corresponds to that on the Wanborough II, 1 pot (Fig. 45n). The associated small-long brooches may be sixth-century (above, p. 176). It is surprisingly difficult to find a parallel for the logical rectangular panel-style of the Frilford pot: most examples of that style employ triangular motifs, whereas true rectangular panels occur generally with bosses (eg. Myres and Southern 1973, fig. 32, 2591 and 3751).

5. Bowls and jars with 'long' bosses

1. Abingdon I, C8 (Myres 1969, fig. 38), 23 (Fig. 47g), East Shefford AM 1955.359 (Fig. 47f), Long Wittenham I, 57 (Myres 1969, fig. 38), Wallingford A (loc.cit.).

2. Brighthampton 24 (Myres 1969, fig. 38), 27 (Fig. 47h), 43 (Myres 1969, fig. 38), Frilford I, 92 (loc.cit.).

3. Frilford I, 155, Long Wittenham I, BM 62,6-13,109 (?g.146), Reading I, 11, Wallingford 11 (Myres 1969, fig. 39), 16.

Myres discussed pots with 'long-boss' style at various points in his 1969 book (pp. 57, 92-4, 115-6). They are simply small versions of the widespread bossed rectangular styles, and their concentration in the Upper Thames Region may be evidence of local 'workshops'. They seem to divide into three groups according to size and profile: 1) medium-sized jars which are more commonly used for cremations, and thus form the link with the larger, bossed panel-style cremation urns of my Group B12; 2) small biconical or sub-biconical bowls, of which three, with omphaloid bases and similar profiles, come from one site and probably represent the work of one person; and 3) very small biconical bowls with concave upper bodies.

Myres dated the style to the early sixth century. Certainly the available associated grave-groups indicate such a dating: Frilford I, 155 contained Group 4.1 saucer brooches, Wallingford 11 two small-long brooches of

possibly late fifth-century date, but also a necklace of crystal, amber and glass beads more characteristic of sixth-century burials, and Wallingford 16 another necklace including crystal and amber. Long Wittenham I, 57 contained a worn Hawkes Type IIIB buckle, providing a terminus post quem of the early fifth century: Myres, relying on his dating of the pottery placed this in the early sixth, whereas Evison used the buckle as her dating guideline (Myres 1969, 92-4). Evison's dating is plainly fallacious, but a pre sixth-century date should not be ruled out simply because three datable pots out of fourteen are early sixth-century. It is notable that some of the bowls have linear and bossed ornament along (Brighthampton 43, Reading I, 11, Wallingford 11), and thus, apart from the position of their bosses, are very similar to Myres' 'Anglian' corrugated styles of the fifth century (cf. Myres and Green 1973, figs. 8-9). Indeed, Myres does not list East Shefford AM 1955.359 which might technically be classed as a corrugated pot, though within the Upper Thames corpus its best parallels for size, shape and ornament are with the 'long-boss' group. This simply emphasises, of course, the stylistic relationship of bossed panel-style with 'Anglian' rectilinear traditions which Myres recognised; but equally it calls for caution in using apparent stylistic evolution as the criterion of dating, when it is supported by only a limited number of datable associated grave-goods. Although 'long-boss' bowls were produced in the early sixth century, there is the possibility that they were also made in the late fifth.

6. Small, sharply biconical bowls with horizontal linear and stamped decoration

East Shefford XX (Myres 1969, fig. 41), Hampnett C (Fig. 47i).

If the nature of the ornament on these bowls is exactly the same as that used on the larger urns (Bl4), then their dating to the sixth century (above, p. 352) may be extended to the accessory bowls, though their retention

of the early, sharply biconical form, should be noted. Myres has even suggested that the form of stamping on the East Shefford pot, which is best represented by a series of pots from Sancton, is in imitation of wheel-made Frankish biconi (Myres 1969,107; Myres and Southern 1973,23). The lack of imported exempla for this imitation poses the question of how it could have occurred: the similarity might be more apparent than real.

7. Small, sharply boconical bowl with triangular stamped panel-style

Frilford I, 135 (Fig. 47j).

The decoration of this bowl corresponds exactly with that of my Group B15, and may be compared with another small bowl from Hut X.3 at Sutton Courtenay (Berisford 1973,fig.27,1).

D. Wheel made bottle vase

Asthall.

The fine bottle vase from the Asthall barrow has recently been republished by Evison in connection with the small group of comparable vessels. The hitherto unique roulette-stamp on it can now be paralleled from a probable mid seventh-century grave, grave 76, at St. Peter's, Broadstairs, but Evison leaves open the crucial question of whether these vessels are imports, probably from North France, or Kentish productions (Evison 1974).

Summary

The pots, which I have discussed above, can be assigned to one of the following date-brackets: fifth century, sixth century, seventh century, later fifth and earlier sixth centuries, and undatable (fifth to seventh centuries). The burials which these pots represent, rather than the pots themselves, can then be plotted on a histogram to provide some idea of the use of pottery in burial, and especially the incidence of cremation in urns (Fig. 48; graves with more than one pot are obviously counted once only). It must be reiterated, however, that the sample is heavily dependent not only on the material from Abingdon I, but on current ability to date pottery:

65 (39%) of the 166 burials represented are undatable. Of the remainder, it is significant to note that there is no difference between the number of fifth-century and sixth-century cremations; if this is true of the 'undatable' pots too, then it suggests that there was no decrease in the rate of cremation in the sixth century. However, it should be noted that at Abingdon the majority of datable cremations are fifth-century (18 fifth-century, 7 fifth/earlier sixth-century, and 13 sixth-century) with the implication that in the rest of the Region sixth-century urns are more common.

The number of inhumations with pots is more or less balanced, but is heavily weighted by the 'long-boss' group. I have put all these into the sixth-century column, though the possibility that some belong in the late fifth century could have moved many to the late fifth/early sixth-century column. Even so, the number of later sixth-century burials with pots is slight, and it might be argued that burial with an accessory vessel was more popular among the earlier generations of settlers. Seventh-century burials are relatively rare in the Upper Thames Region, so there need be no significance in the occurrence of only two certain pot-graves (Asthall and Standlake I, 17) in that century.

NOTES

1. This figure excludes pots from Dorchester VI, and the pot from Ewelme (Myres 1969, fig. 36, no. 817). The latter is quite unlike any Anglo-Saxon pot, which I have handled, in form, finish and ornament, and may be better compared with Iron Age stamped pottery (Elsdon 1975, esp. Pl. Vb).
2. It will be noticed that I have used many of Myres' original drawings in this thesis. I am most grateful to him for allowing me to trace them, thus saving me considerable time in my museum studies. They have, however, all been checked against the original, and I have rejected or altered any which are inaccurate.

Chapter 17: VESSELS OF GLASS, METAL AND WOOD

i. Glass

Glass vessels are very rare in the Upper Thames Region. Half come from the very southerly site of East Shefford, thus emphasising the lack from the heart of the area. Sadly, published studies of Anglo-Saxon glass are correspondingly limited: Dr. Harden's brief chapter of 1956 remains the classic survey and can be supplemented only by Miss Evison's recent work on 'Kempston-type' cone beakers (1972).

1. Cone beakers

Cassington II, AM 1940.220, Dinton, East Shefford XXIV, BM 93,7-16,1,3.

Cone beakers were the most popular glass-form in pre seventh-century England. The pale green vessel with a cracked off rim from East Shefford, 93,7-16,3, is a Late Roman form, though it might have been manufactured in the early fifth-century (Harden 1956,136). Evison has demonstrated the probable early fifth-century origins of the 'Kempston-type', three examples of which come from Cassington and East Shefford. East Shefford XXIV, with its early continental applied brooches (Group 1.3), is an important cog in the chronological argument, but the early dating of the Cassington beaker on the basis of an association with a bucket of Late Roman type is most doubtful: although the items of 1940 are said to be from one grave, they include a shield boss and brooches, suggestive of both male and female burials, and the report in Oxoniensia, 5, 1940, 163, definitely implies that several graves were involved. This removes the only evidence from a 'closed context' for the early fifth-century dating of near-colourless cone-beakers (Evison 1972, 54,56); all other arguments, involving the pale glass cones of France and the 'York' bowls, none of which come from datable contexts, depend on typological considerations (ibid.,59,61). Nevertheless, one must agree that the Upper Thames 'Kempston' cones most probably date from the fifth or earlier sixth centuries.

The olive green beaker from Dinton is squatter and ornamented with white trails. Harden cites parallels from Bifrons grave 1 and High Down grave 33; with the former was a buckle with an oval plate, set with a red glass inlay, which may belong to the late fifth or earliest sixth century (Arch.Cant.,10,1876,302).

2. Claw beakers

East Shefford 93,7-16,2, Fairford 7.

There is no modern study of this second most common pre seventh-century type. Harden argued for a typological 'rise and decline' of the form which placed the Fairford vessel in the 'degenerate' phase of the full sixth century. The associated material is certainly in agreement with such a dating (above,p.69). The East Shefford vessel is not as fragmentary as Harden implies: its squat proportions are similar to his 'fine' phase of the late fifth/early sixth century, but its claws are not particularly full.

3. Bowls and jars

Abingdon I, C10, Cuddesdon, East Shefford 93,7-16,4 (Fig. 49a).

The near-colourless bowl from East Shefford is another of Harden's 'borderline' Late Roman/earliest Anglo-Saxon types; its rim is most probably fire-polished. The green glass fragment from Abingdon is now lost. The Cuddesdon vessels are the only known seventh-century glass from the area (Dickinson 1974 12-15).

ii. Metal Vessels

Metal vessels are primarily the prerogative of wealthy male burials: eight out of nine identifiable graves belong to men, though there is a large number of unassociated vessels, and four contained more than one vessel.

1. Silver

There are at least six fragments of oxidised silver from the Asthall cremation barrow. One is a piece of moulded rim; another bears the impress of a low boss (or sunken disc, depending which is outside) surrounded by

a ring with a trace of another ring next to it. Assuming that all come from a single vessel, then the rim indicates a small cup or perhaps ladle (cf. Sutton Hoo 1, Bruce Mitford 1972, Pl. 25b,c). The 'boss' fragment is reminiscent, however, of the shallow discs which ornamented Late Roman silver (and glass) vessels (eg. Strong 1966, Pl. 50B) and which continued in use as border decoration on early Byzantine ecclesiastical treasure (eg. the Cleveland chalice, Syria, 28, 1951, Pls. XVIII, XIX). The kind of vessel cannot be known, but its very presence is important, for Bruce-Mitford has drawn attention to the virtual absence of antique silver in Germanic graves except for the astounding 16 items in Sutton Hoo 1 (Bruce-Mitford 1972, 65). Speake reports a single silver cup from Taplow (1974, Ch. 6), but this is neither Late Antique nor Byzantine.

2. Cast Bronze Coptic Vessels

Coptic vessels have been found in the two richest burials of the Region. A rim fragment and a loop for the suspension of a handle from Asthall presumably represent a bowl, probably of Werner's type B1. I have discussed the unique bucket from Cuddesdon and the overall significance of Coptic vessels elsewhere (Dickinson 1974, 15-17).

3. Late Roman Dish (Fig. 49c)

The bronze dish from Long Wittenham I, 26, is, I believe, unique among Anglo-Saxon grave-finds. It has a very thin body, simple moulded rim, and a very thin (?worn) foot-ring, cast in one with the body (H. 1mm). It may be compared with fourth-century Roman imports into North West Germany listed by Eggers (1951, 170, Type 117). How this dish reached its ultimate owner must be unknown, but the three patches of bronze, including a piece of colander, may indicate more than one repair and a very long life for the dish.

4. Sheet bronze cauldrons

Sheet bronze cauldrons with upright triangular lugs, known on the continent as Vestland and Gotland cauldrons, have recently been listed and discussed by several authors (see Vierck 1972, 32-3, 47, with references to earlier

literature). The carinated Vestland type of the fifth century is uncommon in England; the round-bodied Gotland type and the insular hybrid form with slightly concave-sided upper wall and rounded lower body of the sixth and seventh centuries are more frequent.

The eight Upper Thames Region examples are concentrated in two discrete areas: five come from Long Wittenham and three from the Fairford neighbourhood. Three of the former are unassociated, but may equal those recorded for graves 26, 36, and 106.

A. Vestland Cauldrons

Fairford 23, Long Wittenham I, 93 (Pl. 69b), BM 75,3-10,7 (Fig. 49d).

The probable development of this type from Late Roman forms and the contexts of insular and continental examples leave little doubt of their fifth-century date: Long Wittenham 93 is an excellent example. Its cauldron is unusual, however, for impressed on the base is a simple geometric pattern made up of lines of 'rice-grain marks' almost like embroidery, for which I know no parallel. Kennett (1971^a, 25) erroneously classified the other, fragmentary, Long Wittenham bowl as a Gotland type; it too may have been long-lived for it has a clumsy patch over part of the carination. There is also little doubt that the bowl recorded from Fairford is a Vestland type.

B. Gotland Cauldrons

Fairford AM 1961.170, Kempsford (Fig. 50a), Long Wittenham I, BM 75,3-10,8 9, II, BM 62,11-18,?16.

If the Long Wittenham cauldron 62,11-18,-, is from the 'Final Phase' cemetery II and not cemetery I, then it ought to be of the Gotland type (its fragments are too small for reconstruction). The Kempsford bowl had a patch on the rim, but regrettably its associated beads are lost.

5. Hanging bowls and other sheet bronze bowls

a. Bowls: Asthall (?), Bledlow I (Fig. 49e), Lowbury Hill Barrow (Pl. 67d), Milton II.

b. Escutcheons: Oving (Pl. 67f, Oxfordshire xi, Farnham M., BM 84,5-20,8 (Pl. 67e).

Despite numerous hanging bowl studies (the most recent is Fowler 1968), understanding of this class of Dark Age artefact is still very limited. My comments are therefore brief.

Most hanging bowls from datable contexts are found in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon graves and this is true of the one complete bowl from the Upper Thames Region, the Lowbury Hill bowl. Fortunately, all previous scholars are agreed that its trumpet-spiral escutcheons are typical of the later stages of hanging bowl development and that this phase is probably datable to the late sixth or seventh century (eg. Fowler's Group IV, Henry's Group B). They are far from agreed where such bowls were made, and, if they were made in Celtic areas, how they reached their final owners. Two of the three unassociated escutcheons, Oxfordshire (Farnham Museum) and Oving, also belong to this developed trumpet-spiral phase, but unlike the Lowbury escutcheons, these have multicolour enamels. The former is well paralleled by a set of mounts without their bowl from Lighthorn (Chesterton-on-Fosseway) (Henry 1936 Pl.XXXII,7). It is interesting that loose escutcheons are not uncommon in Saxon graves; sometimes there are perforated, as if for pendants, which is the case with both the Oxfordshire escutcheons. The other Oxfordshire escutcheon belongs to a distinct group with fine-line running scrolls, whose contexts and associations again suggest seventh-century production (Haseloff 1958).

The remainder of the bowls are less characteristic. Two fragmentary ones were found without context on the seventh-century sites of Bledlow I and Milton II. The former is only the top of a rim with inturned and hammered top; such rims are regarded as typologically early (Fowler 1968,292,fig.70,4). The latter is even simpler with just a thickened rim; it is very small and though two perforations might be from an escutcheon, the rivets set

round the rim make its function uncertain. It is a matter of speculation whether the sheet-bronze fragments in the Asthall barrow represent a hanging bowl. I have omitted the Ewelme bowl (v. Vol. II, p.102).

iii. Metal-bound wooden vessels

1. The Long Wittenham I, 93 Stoup (Pl. 69a)

This vessel is well known and it is generally agreed that it is the product of a fifth-century workshop in North France, since it is related to a number of other continental vessels with Christian scenes. It is particularly similar in design to the jug from Lavoye grave 319, a rich grave of the beginning of the sixth century (Chenet 1935, 87ff). Following Chenet, it is possible to read the four scenes as a chi with pendent alpha and omega, the Marriage at Cana, the Healing of the Blind Man, and Zacharias in the Tree. But there is no more necessity to think the boy from Long Wittenham a Christian than the Lavoye warrior.

2. Buckets

Metal-bound, stave-built buckets are not uncommon finds in Anglo-Saxon graves, though they occur more frequently in richer graves. Thirty-eight are known from the Upper Thames Region, occurring mainly but not exclusively with men: of 25 associated skeletons of known sex, 17 were men, 7 women, and one a child.

Miss Evison has been the only person to comment recently on English buckets, though she has never undertaken a lengthy exposition. Lack of general study means that my discussion is limited to available published examples and Evison's various commentaries may be taken as an introduction. These have concentrated on the decoration - especially escutcheons and pendant-triangle fringes - as the most immediately informative element; the significance of the number and size of the metal fittings has yet to be elucidated. Since I have been unable to examine in detail the Dorchester VI buckets, they are not fully incorporated into this discussion.

Most of the buckets discussed by Evison have been considered in the context of her hypothesis of a fifth-century Frankish invasion of England or in connection with other fifth-century Frankish material, and it is to this milieu that she assigns them. For only one group does she cite the evidence for these statements. We may begin with that from Brighthampton 31 (Evison 1965, fig. 11m): it has three binding-hoops, the upper one with a chevron fringe, bifurcated escutcheons terminating in open-jawed animal heads with projecting tongues, dome-headed rivets and repoussé-dot and stamped ornament. Evison unhesitatingly ascribed this to a Namur-region factory of the early fifth century (1965, 32). The profile of the escutcheons on the four-hooped bucket from Dorchester VI, 29, is very similar, apart from the omission of the 'tongue', but the Group 2 shield boss with it is unlikely to indicate a date before the later fifth century. Comparable escutcheons occur on the definitely sixth-century bucket from Mucking II, grave 600 (Evison 1973).

Evison assigns a larger group of buckets found both in England and the Frankish world to the same production area, but in the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries (1965, 22-3). These too may have repoussé-dot and stamped decoration, but their principal feature is the use of arcade-and-dot, the motif often representing human masks or trees, which links them to the vessels with Christian scenes produced in the same area. Nevertheless, they need not all have been made in North Gaul: Werner comments on the variation in quality of the Gallic material (in Breuer and Roosens 1957, 319) and the arcade-and-dot motif was widespread in Dark Age Europe, as has been intimated with reference to flat annular brooches (above, p. 144). No arcade-and-dot bucket has been found in the Upper Thames Region, but a number of local finds do have links to this group and suggest that its interpretation should be more subtle. Two of the buckets listed by Evison, from Brockbridge (probably the Droxford cemetery) and Petersfinger grave LX (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. CXIII, 2; Leeds

and Shortt 1953, Pl.X), have solid escutcheons; identical escutcheons occur on buckets without arcade-and-dot ornament from Long Wittenham I, 128 (Fig. 50c) and Kingsworthy grave 49 (Swanton 1974^a, fig.85a-d). Together, these four form a tightly-knit Wessex group. The Kingsworthy bucket was found with a Swanton Type J spearhead, an early continental form of seax, and a Group 3-type shield boss, which together may indicate a date of burial around or a little after AD500; the Petersfinger grave also contained an H2 spearhead and another Group 3-type shield boss.

A now-lost bucket from Souldern 1 has a very unusual escutcheon: the handle base terminates in a relief cast human head, from which spring normal bifurcated birds' heads (Pl. 70b). Such human heads occur rarely on Saxon buckets and Hawkes suggested that they are a revival of those on Iron Age buckets (Hawkes 1951, 198ff). Another human head occurs on the arcade-and-dot bucket from Fetcham, Surrey (Antiq.J., 13, 1933, 50), a curious example which is ornamented also with crescent-shaped pendants, rather like sixth-century Anglian stamped necklets, and cast bronze feet exactly like those on a plain bucket from (?) Molsheim (Behrens 1947, Abb.121).

The Long Wittenham I, 26, bucket (Pl. 70c) has not been discussed before, but its vandykes ornamented with 'palm-tree'-like fronds, repoussé dots and annulet stamps have affinities with the vandykes of arcade-and-dot buckets. The 'tree' motif, if it is such, would be even more at home on vessels with Christian scenes (cf. Smith 1923, fig.78) and the related Spangenhelme (De Paor 1961, fig.3). The association of this bucket with a Late Roman dish, a bronze cauldron, and a cast bronze spear ferrule might lend support to a fifth or early sixth-century continental origin for it too.

The bucket from Abingdon I, B93, survives in fragments, one piece of which is a vandyke ornamented with a face-mask and C-scrolls (Pl. 37a ii-iv, vii). Mask-vandykes are found on a distinctive group of continental buckets with broad upper bronze hoop, often edged with a strip decorated with bull's-

eyes, three lower iron hoops and cast bronze zoomorphic escutcheons, which occur in rich sixth-century graves (Pirling 1974, 112-4). A few have been found in England, mainly in the south-east (Evison 1969, 166ff; 1973). Although the continental buckets show variations in their escutcheons and vandyke stamps, they are remarkably similar throughout their long production period. Some, especially the English ones, are more varied and may indicate a different source: for example, the Mucking bucket has all-bronze hoops and bifurcated animal-head escutcheons, as does an example from Little Wilbraham, with a Style I animal in the vandykes and bird-headed escutcheons (Arch.J., 8, 1851, 172ff). The narrow binding hoop with repoussé-dot borders and the vandyke with the mask upside down of the Abingdon bucket are also not of classic Merovingian form. The disc brooch in the grave should indicate a date early rather than late in the sixth century. The bucket in the rich mid sixth-century grave Dorchester VI, 102, had a broad bronze hoop and three iron rings, but lacked the characteristic vandykes.

There seems no way at present of distinguishing the date or source of other Upper Thames buckets. The discussion so far should have indicated that vandykes, plain and zoomorphic bifurcated escutcheons, and repoussé-dot and stamped ornament are common on buckets of all periods (cf. Evison 1965, 22). Plain vandykes occur on a bucket from Fairford 24 (Fig. 49h). Dorchester VI, 61 has circular pendants, which are best known from the unstratified Rochester bucket (Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. CXII); loose pendants have been found in a fifth-century grave from Leagrave, Beds. (PSA, 21, 1906, 59ff) and a sixth-century one excavated in 1971 at Bidford-on-Avon.

Four Upper Thames buckets have plain bifurcated escutcheons. Evison argued that Fairford 30 (Pl. 70a) was early fifth-century and Frankish (1969^a, 65), yet it is barely different from the others (Brighthampton 56, East Shefford 6, Long Wittenham I, 43, (Fig. 50e); the Brighthampton example, found with a Group 1.3 saucer brooch, must be a sixth-century burial, as is

a continental example from Weimar grave 81 (Schmidt 1970, Taf.95,1).

Other bronze-bound buckets have no escutcheons or survive only in fragments. None has distinctive associations except the sixth-century bucket from Dorchester VI, 102, which has a bronze upper band and three lower iron ones like the continental group discussed above. The Ewelme one (Fig. 50b) is unusual in having five hoops fastened by square-headed rivets. The Cassington II bucket (Fig. 50d) lacks vertical strips, which Evison states is a Roman feature (1972,54), but there is no evidence for its association with the Kempston cone beaker. Nevertheless, Böhme insists that the burial of buckets is a peculiarly Germanic custom (1974,133), so this piece should be evidence of a very early Germanic grave at this site, if not of a German in a Roman-period grave, of which there are several at the same site.

A few iron-bound buckets are known. Large iron-bound cauldrons are particularly a feature of rich late sixth/early seventh-century graves (eg. Sutton Hoo 1, 2, Taplow, Broomfield), and the one example from Long Wittenham I, 25, associated with a C/E2 spearhead and a Group 4³ shield boss, would seem to conform to this dating. Small iron-bound buckets may be earlier, however: examples from Blewburton 20, with a belt-set imitating Late Roman military belts, Dorchester VI, 51, with a K1 spearhead and Group 1.1 shield boss, and 69, with a Group 1.2 boss, are all unlikely to post-date AD550 and may well be fifth-century.

iv. Other wooden vessels

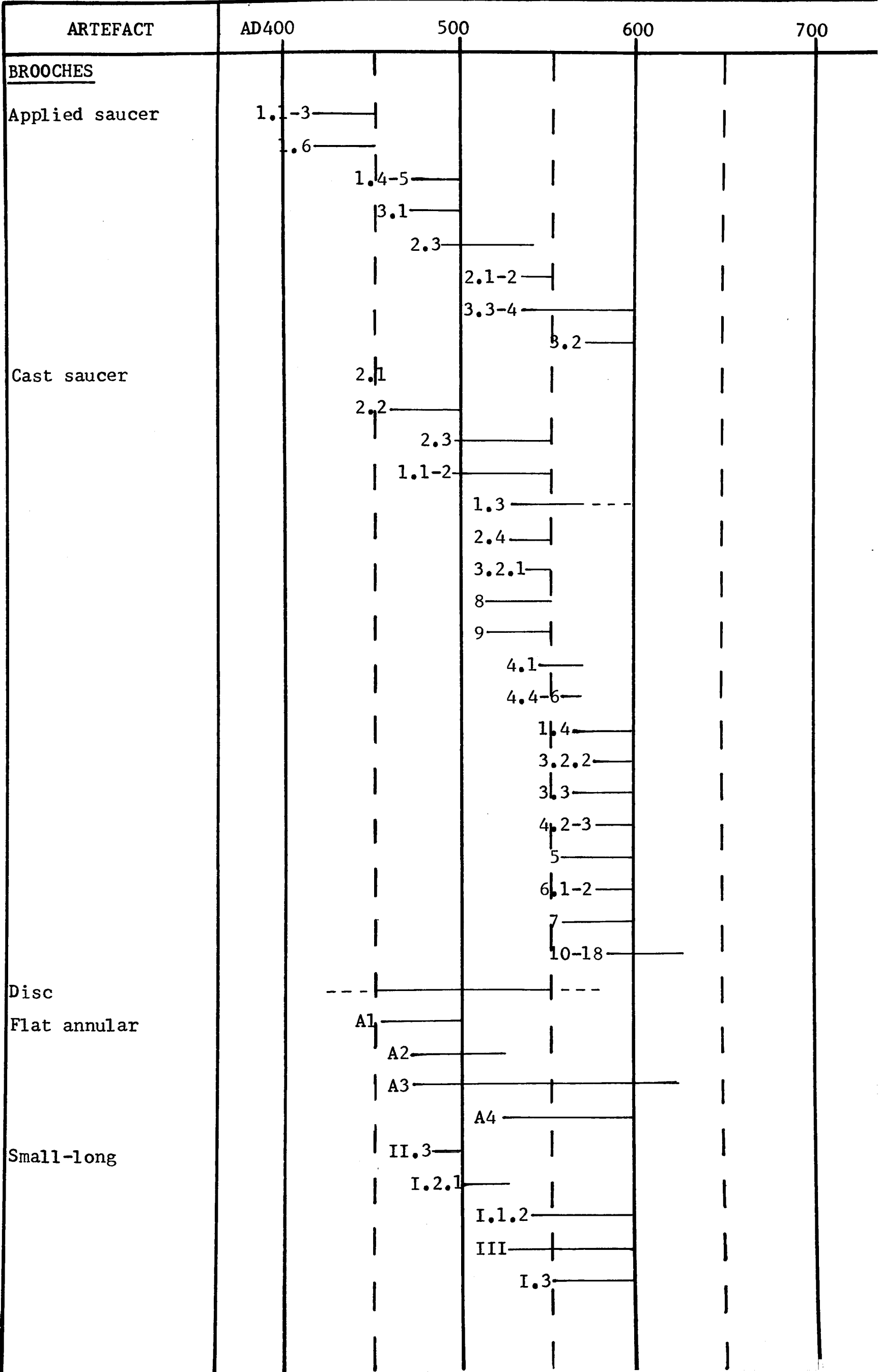
Abingdon I, B14, 34 (Fig. 49g), 70, 80, 88/89, 100, C37, 59, Dorchester VI, 141, East Shefford I, VII, Fairford AM 1961.149a, LM M.7727 (Fig. 50f), Wallingford 11, Wheatley 28 (Fig. 49f).

Evidence of wooden vessels is obviously rare, but characteristic bronze repair-fittings have been found on several occasions, though curiously on a limited number of sites. Unlike other vessels, these are more common with women (7 and probably 8 with women, 3 with men and 4 unknown). They are

represented by small rim-shaped U-sectioned pieces of sheet bronze, fastened at the base by rivets and sometimes sandwiching a fragment of wood, and/or rectangular staples. Abingdon B14 (Pl. 34gii), 100 and Wheatley 28 had both fittings and grave 100 also had a little bronze rivet with wood adhering and a bronze tab, the tab part rolled round a wood core. These fragments are normally found by the head or arms, preferred positions for vessels. A rim-fragment from Mucking grave 246 contained a piece of wood with a crack in it, clearly demonstrating the use of these fittings to repair cracked wood.

From Fairford (LM M.7727) comes a narrow bronze hoop with five rivet holes and three little rings on split-pins. Although it is similar to some drinking horn mounts (Kennett 1971^a, 15-16), the three rings must be for vertical suspension, quite different from the horizontal suspension of a drinking horn.

TABLE 13 : CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF PRINCIPAL DATABLE ARTEFACTS FROM UPPER THAMES REGION GRAVES



ARTEFACT	AD400	500	600	700
Tutulus				
Protocruciform				
<u>Stützarm</u>				
Equal-armed				
Cruciform		I		
		III		
Button				
'Anseate'				
'Hahnheim'				
Great square-head				
Small " "				
S-shaped				
Bird				
Maltese Cross				
Composite garnet-inlaid				
<u>OTHER JEWELLERY, ETC.</u>				
Pins	a-c	d	f	
Iron/bronze rings				
Silver rings				
Bronze bracelets				
Beads:				
Amber				
Crystal				
Silver				
'Pearl'				
Millefiori				
Amethyst				
Plain bicone				
Pendants:				
'Brighthampton'				
'Woodeaton'				
'Tear-drop'				
Bracteates: A				
'Ducklington'				

ARTEFACT	AD400	500	600	700
<u>LONG SHIELD GRIPS</u>				
<u>SPEARHEADS</u>				
	B2			
	A1			
		I-L		
		H1-2	-----	
		H3	-----	
			C1	
			A2	
			C2-3	
			D2	
			E2-3	
			F2	
			E4	
<u>POTTERY</u>				
	A1			
	B2	-----		
	B3-10			
	C1-3			
		A7		
		C4-5		
		B12		
		B14-15		
		C6-7		
<u>OTHER VESSELS</u>				
Cone beakers				
Claw beakers				
'Cuddesdon' bowls				
Vestland cauldrons				
Gotland cauldrons				
Hanging bowls				
Coptic vessels				
Stoup				
Buckets:				
'Solid escutcheon'				
'Mask vandyke'				

PART THREE : SYNTHESIS

Introduction

The scope of this thesis has been confined to a study of grave-goods; its aim has been to establish as comprehensive a chronology as possible for the Anglo-Saxon burials in the Upper Thames Region based on all available evidence, rather than, as has hitherto been the case, on only a selection. My main conclusions can be derived from this study alone, though obviously it now offers a more secure basis for further research on, for example, burial customs, social composition, settlement patterns and organisation, and even political history. Since I have not examined in depth the other evidence relevant to these topics, I cannot discuss them with authority; but, even at a superficial level, my chronological studies bear on them, and particularly on other scholars' attempts at exposition. In this section I shall attempt to extract from my detailed study as many conclusions as possible about the historical framework of the Region, and hence about its bearing on the problems of early West Saxon history, and I shall comment more selectively on allied problems.

In Table 13 I have listed the principal artefacts the dating of which I was able to establish in Part II (objects which may be dated anywhere between AD 400 and 700 have been omitted, eg. El spearheads, A 3 pottery). For each type of artefact the probable period of manufacture and burial is represented by the position of sub-group and/or a solid horizontal line; a broken line indicates that the general use of an object or the duration of its use is uncertain. Which grave-goods form contemporaneous groups, characteristic of any given period, can be readily appreciated by scanning the individual columns representing centuries and half-centuries; these correspond with the relative archaeological phases referred to in the introduction to Part II (p.25).

This chronological framework is the basis for my dating in the Catalogue

(Vol.II) of both individual graves and the period of use of the cemeteries in which they occur. It has not been possible to corroborate this dating by analysis of the phenomenon of horizontal stratigraphy, which has been of great significance in recent archaeological studies of some cemeteries. Plans exist for only two cemeteries in the Upper Thames Region with an adequate number of graves for such an analysis (Abingdon I and Dorchester VI, neither of which has been totally excavated); in both cases there is no apparent horizontal stratigraphy at all, and the location of graves in chronological terms would appear to have been relatively haphazard.

In Table 14 I have summarised the periods of use of 77% of the certain and probable sites in the Catalogue and 54% of the possible ones. These may be compared with the rate of burial in eleven of the largest sites in Table 16¹. Despite every effort to expand the basis of archaeological dating, it should be noted that it has been possible to date only just over one third of all burials. The average is 38% dated burials, the very low percentages relating to poorly excavated and recorded sites, and the higher ones to small sites where percentages are less meaningful.

The date-brackets used in Tables 14 and 16 vary between 50 and 150 years in length and are dictated by the limits within which it has been possible to date objects. For example, since I do not think that Anglo-Saxon pottery can be distinguished by a fine chronology, most cremations will have been allotted either to the AD400-500 or AD500-600 brackets, and sometimes to the AD400-550 one. Similarly, many objects, notably disc brooches and spearheads of types I-L, can be dated only within the period AD450-550, so that a large number of burials may belong either to the second half of the fifth century or to the first half of the sixth century. The number of items whose period of use can be narrowed to within fifty years is fairly small. So, although these tabulations are important, they suffer from a large number of date-brackets many of which overlap, and consequently from an often ludicrously low number

of graves or cemeteries in any one bracket. I have therefore reduced the date-brackets to simple round centuries in Tables 15 and 17, and applied the results to distribution maps in Figs. 51-53. Although this presents an historically crude chronology, it is what the archaeological evidence can bear, and, as will be seen, is little worse than that which may legitimately be derived from the documentary evidence.

TABLE 14 : CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DATABLE CEMETERIES

(Based on 92 certain/probable sites and 26 possible sites; see Figs. 51-53)

DATE-	400	450	400	450	500	550	500	550	600	650	600	700
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BRACKET	450	500	500	550	550	600	600	700	650	700	700	750
CERTAIN *	6	8	11	10	20	23	17 ^a	7	10	5	24 ^b	1
POSSIBLE*	-	3	3	5	-	-	13	3	-	-	7	-

a. Six of these sites are most likely to include earlier sixth-century burials.

b. This figure includes most of the 'Final Phase' cemeteries, nine of which include later seventh-century burials, but may also have earlier ones.

*. 'Certain' sites are definite or probable cemeteries with definitely datable graves; 'possible' sites are either sites which are only possibly cemeteries, or sites where the dating is possible rather than certain.

TABLE 15 : SUMMARY BY CENTURIES OF CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DATABLE CEMETERIES

(the figures in this table are not a total of those in Table 14, since many sites are entered more than once in the latter; this table takes account of this fact)

CENTURY:	<u>FIFTH</u>	<u>Fifth/Sixth</u>	<u>SIXTH</u>	<u>Sixth/Seventh</u>	<u>SEVENTH/EIGHTH</u>
CERTAIN	22	10	42	7	39
POSSIBLE	5	5	13	3	7
TOTAL	27	15	55	10	46

TABLE 16 : CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF BURIALS FROM ELEVEN SITES

DATE	ABINGDON I	BLEWBURTON	BRIGHTHAMPTON	DORCHESTER VI	EAST SHEFFORD	FAIRFORD	FRILFORD I	HAMPNETT	LONG	WITTENHAM I	READING I	WALLINGFORD	WHEATLEY
300 - 400 (Late Roman)	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
400 - 450	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
450 - 500	6	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	5	1	3	-	-
400 - 500	19	-	2	2	4	3	2	-	5	2	2	-	-
400 - 550	7	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
450 - 550	12	5	7	9	2	4	4	3	32	2	2	4 ^a	-
450 - 600	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
500 - 550	16	1	9	4	4	4	2	-	14	-	3	1	-
525 - 575	2	-	4	4	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
550 - 600	4	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	7	-	2	2	-
500 - 600	20	-	4	9	5	5	9	5	15 ^(*)	2	-	1	-
600 - 700	5**	-	-	3**	-	-	-	-	6**	-	-	1	-
TOTAL	93	12	30	37	16	22	37	10	85	7	13	9	-
% OF BURIALS AT SITE	41	55	38	39 ^b	21	33	16	66	34	54	43	19	-

* Asterisk with number in brackets indicates graves which possibly could be dated into the seventh-century.

** None of these graves contain indubitably seventh-century material; but their contents are typical of the late sixth and seventh-century, and their number suggests that some are early seventh-century burials.

a The distribution of datable graves in this cemetery suggests that these are likely to be, in fact, sixth-century.

b Percentage of inhumation only.

TABLE 17 : SUMMARY BY CENTURIES OF CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IN TABLE 16

CENTURY:	FOURTH	FIFTH	FIFTH or SIXTH	SIXTH	SEVENTH
ABINGDON I	-	27	19	42	5
BLEWBURTON	-	3	8	1	-
BRIGHTHAMPTON	-	3	7	18	-
DORCHESTER VI	-	5	10	19	3
EAST SHEFFORD	-	5	2	9	-
FAIRFORD	-	6	4	12	-
FRILFORD I	13	5	7	12	-
HAMPNETT	-	1	3	6	-
LONG WITTENHAM I	-	10	32	37	6
READING I	-	3	2	2	-
WALLINGFORD	-	5	3	5	-
WHEATLEY	-	-	4	4	1

The Roman Background

Before discussing this chronology and other evidence, something needs to be said of the area during the preceding Roman period, since the settlement pattern should be expected to have had a considerable affect on the subsequent Saxon one. During the Roman period the Upper Thames Valley did not have the focal character which it acquired in Early Saxon times, and this probably explains why there have been few attempts to study it in its entirety. Although Miss M.V.Taylor's brief survey is now over twenty years old (Martin and Steel 1954,85-95), modern research has not substantially upset the picture which she presented, and certainly has not stimulated a detailed reappraisal which could have provided a complementary background to this thesis².

The Upper Thames Valley was a prosperous rural area in the Roman period, distinguished by a great number of small peasant settlements, the Late Roman Oxford pottery industry, and a number of large and wealthy villas, whose owners may well have played a considerable role in the economic and

political management of the area. Although such an economy required the twin essentials of Roman commercial life, towns and roads, the Valley itself did not contain a major town which was the centre of a network of roads. The reason for this may be that pre-Roman tribal divisions also cut across the Region, and that the plantation of cantonal capitals, at Cirencester, Verulamium, and Silchester, determined the line of the principal roads and probably perpetuated the divisions of local government.

The most important of the Roman roads in this part of the country, Stane Street, The Fosse Way, and Watling Street, in fact inscribe a great triangle which virtually encloses the Upper Thames Region. However, the major towns which lie on this triangle were linked by a number of secondary roads, though these too tend to skirt the valley of the Thames itself (Fig. 51A; Margary 1967, 129ff); the road from Silchester to Cirencester crosses the Berkshire Downs, and Akeman Street links Cirencester with Verulamium in a great curve across the tail of the Eocene limestone and the eastern clay vale. The single road to cut through the heart of the Region is the road from Silchester to Towcester, crossing the Thames and Thame at Dorchester and the Ray just south of Alchester. Branch roads, like the Icknield Way and the road from Dorchester to Henley, are being recognised in increasing numbers as the result of local fieldwork (The Viatores, Roman Roads in the South East Midlands, 1964, routes 162-3, 166, 168, 173; CBA 9 NL, 3, 1973, 18; 4, 1974, 10-11). This layout suggests that the Thames itself was also a major routeway; it would have been most useful for the freighting of heavy goods like grain and pottery. Mr. Young has reminded me that the distribution of Oxford wares would certainly point to the use of the Thames for the latter.

The three cantonal capitals are peripheral to the area, and how they exactly divided it for the purposes of local government is unknown. Cirencester (Corinium Dobunorum) falls just within the Region; it was the second largest town in Roman Britain and it has been suggested that in the fourth

century it was the provincial capital of Britannia Prima (Antiq.J.,42,1962, 8), possibly controlling the Cotswolds as far east as the Cherwell. Excavations there have now been continuous for over fifteen years and from the interim reports the town emerges as one of great wealth and longevity, a centre for political, economic and artistic activity right through the Roman period, and perhaps beyond. Several town houses are now known, opulently floored with mosaics, suggesting the presence there, especially in the fourth century, of men of high standing. Evidence from the Forum, roadways, amphitheatre, and nearby cemetery demonstrates that urban life at Cirencester continued at least into the middle of the fifth century (Curr. Arch.,3,1971, 144-52, for summary of first eight interim reports; Antiq.J.,53,1973,197-205).

The wealth and power of Verulamium has long been known through excavations, and those of Professor Frere have established the fact of its continued occupation well into the fifth century (Frere 1966,97-8). It may have presided over the Chilterns and the area as far west as the Cherwell, and there is a reasonable case to be made for its continuation through the Dark Ages as a base of British power in the Chilterns.

The third town of major importance is Silchester (Callewa Atrebatum), but unfortunately it was excavated before the days of scientific archaeology, so that many aspects of its chronology are unknown. Certainly its many large town-houses and public buildings continued to thrive in the late fourth century, and its abundant coin series peters out only after 395 (Boon 1974, 73). It must have dominated the wooded country roudabout and possibly had responsibility for the Berkshire Downs and Thames Valley as far as the river itself.

The end of Silchester is an uncertain question since it relies on a series of stray finds and the date and function of Grim's Bank to the north of the town. In his latest appraisal, Mr.G.C.Boon has dismissed as purely

Roman in period many of the items previously listed as 'sub-Roman Celtic' (op. cit., 75-6; cf. Boon 1959), leaving only a few strictly Roman items (belt-fittings, glass, and pottery) in a late fourth/fifth-century context. However, he does prefer Sir Ifor Williams' dating of the ogham stone to about 450 to the seventh-century date proposed by Professor Jackson (op. cit., 77-8). The stone is unique in southern England and since we cannot know why it was erected at Silchester, it is idle to speculate on its historical significance, particularly since Boon has now removed from the argument the sub-Roman Celtic small-finds, which provided the stone with a feasible context. Indeed, the Celtic material which is left is seventh-century or later, and, as Boon remarks, is outnumbered by the amount of Saxon material. The significance of this latter material merits some emphasis.

The button brooch, rock crystal, and amber beads should all be sixth-century (above, pp. 150, 202-6), the palm cup and amethyst beads are seventh-century, and the lace-tags and pins may be later still. All but the last items are most likely to have come from a Saxon cemetery (the theory that they dropped off peasants tilling the fields is unrealistic! pace Boon 1974, 76), and they suggest some small community there in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The earthworks around Silchester are more difficult. Only Grim's Bank I and the reused phase of II need be sub-Roman, and neither are dated archaeologically more precisely than that. The 'date' of such earthworks has usually been arrived at by observing their topographical relationships and presuming that these had a strategic role in the political conditions of the fifth and sixth centuries (cf. O'Neil 1943, 1944; Hughes 1931; Wheeler 1934; Bradley 1968). But since there is barely any acceptable documentary evidence for such political conditions, arguments which involve them and lead to a 'date' for the earthworks are hypothetical, circular, and inadmissible. I shall return to this general point and the specific case of the Silchester

dykes at a later stage.

Within the Upper Thames Valley there were only two towns. Alchester may have replaced an early fort at the crossing of several roads (CBA 9 NL,3,1973,18), but the actual 25-acre site, now totally obliterated, was subsequently served only by a link-road to the important Akeman Street which by-passed it to the north. There is evidence of at least one building with mosaics in the town and of an extensive extramural settlement, and its coin series continues to the end of the fourth century. It presumably had an important, but local, economic role, though its broader hinterland was relatively unexploited (Martin and Steel 1954,88-90).

The role of Dorchester is much more ambiguous, and yet for the present study of vital significance. Its exact size is uncertain: the western and southern walls are known, but the position of the other sides is in doubt and it might have been larger than the diminutive 13.5 acres normally accorded to it (Aston 1974). Excavations have revealed fairly humble occupation with timber houses, their latest phases having stone footings, and industrial activity. However, a large town-house is known from the north-west of the town (CBA 9 NL,3,1973,15) and tessellated pavements have been found elsewhere. Moreover, a beneficiarius consularis, an officer in charge of supplies and often found at posting stations, is named on an early third-century altar, suggesting that Dorchester may have been the centre for agricultural produce in the Valley. The financial administration of the adjacent Oxford pottery industry may also have been managed by Dorchester. The remarkable feature of Dorchester is that its coin series actually increases in the Theodosian period, and there is evidence that it continued to be occupied through the fifth century, to emerge as a key settlement of the kingdom of Wessex (Dickinson 1973a, with references). A large cemetery at Queensford Mill, north of Dorchester (Durham and Rowley 1972) belongs to a type of cemetery which appears to be characteristic of the British population between the fourth and eighth centuries (Rahtz unpublished) and Carbon 14 dates indicate

that it represented a substantial British community of the fourth or fifth centuries. The evidence for a military presence at Dorchester rests on the belt-equipment found in the Anglo-Saxon graves from Dorchester I; their date and therefore interpretation must be reserved for later discussion, but Cirencester, Silchester, and Verulamium have all produced evidence of bastions and/or military-type belt-equipment to suggest that by the later fourth century they were defended by resident militia.

Along the major roadways, especially at river crossings and road junctions, there were also other settlements which probably served as small local foci. Wanborough, Speen, and Thatcham lay on the Cirencester to Silchester road, Asthall, Wilcote, and Fleet Marston on the Cirencester to Verulamium road, and Mildenhall on the Silchester to Bath road. Settlements of comparable size may also have existed in North Oxford and Reading (Ordnance Survey 1956).

The Roman villas were concentrated in the Cotswolds, especially north and west of Cirencester and to the north of Oxford in the valleys of the Evenlode and Glyme, and probably were particularly involved in sheep-farming. They include some exceptionally large and luxurious dwellings (eg. Woodchester and North Leigh) which were probably the homes of fourth-century magnates; many survived well into the fifth century, perhaps reflecting the continued economic strength found at Cirencester, though their latest phases of occupation often represented a considerably reduced standard of living (eg. Shaken-oak). Another large villa is known at Islip on the east bank of the Cherwell, and lesser houses and villas on the west near Banbury, in East Oxfordshire, the Ock Valley, the Swindon area, and along the foot of the Chilterns scarp. Settlement in the western Chilterns was in general sparse and though some sites continued into the late fourth century, it is doubtful whether they survived as long as those in the Cotswolds (v. R. Goodburn's review in Antiq.J., 53, 1973, 119-21, of K. Branigan, Latimer, 1971).

Elsewhere Roman settlement was of a different order. There is a dense distribution of simple hamlets and homesteads along the entire length of the Thames; some are enclosed within square hedges (Britnell 1970), often with associated fields and trackways (Benson and Miles 1974^a). Similar sites are preserved on the Berkshire Downs. Only the presence of Roman objects distinguishes them archaeologically from the Iron Age settlements out of which they have grown, and so makes it difficult to assess their fate after the demise of Roman culture. Although these areas did not attract villa-dwellers, it is possible that they formed the large estates which belonged to the villas, and thus supported the villa-owning classes. It is interesting that the two principal pagan religious sites in the Region, both developed from Iron Age temples, lie in the central valley area at Frilford and Woodeaton (sites 71 and 163 on Figs.51-53).

This basically agricultural area also supported from the second century a pottery industry. The kiln sites are clustered along the line of the Alchester to Dorchester road on the high ground between Headington and Dorchester, and must have provided work for many small communities of potters. Young (1973) has demonstrated how this industry captured vital sections of the market and extended its trade over a wide area of southern England. He makes some interesting speculations on the capital backing and organisation of such a venture; in our present knowledge it seems unlikely that wealthy capitalists lived locally, though they might be equated with some of the owners of the grander villas or town-houses in the cantonal capitals, and they certainly would have had an interest in the protection of their investments in this district. The dating of the end of the industry depends on the dating of the end of coin use and so is open-ended, but Young suggests that it may have been within the first quarter of the fifth century.

The Documentary Evidence

There are no documentary references to the Upper Thames Region before the second half of the sixth century, and there are really very few for the next one hundred and fifty years. This pattern is true of the country as a whole: the number of texts which refer to events in the fifth and early sixth century is minimal, but from then on there is an increase. For the seventh century there are, notably, the extraordinary works of the Venerable Bede, the probably contemporaneous writing of an Iona Chronicle (Smyth 1972), the composition of documents relevant to English royal government (laws, land charters, and the Tribal Hidage), and a few, but important, lives of saints.

This beginning of contemporary or near-contemporary composition was the result of the widespread establishment of Christianity in the British Isles by the seventh century, and hence of the means to write and preserve documents. But there are, in fact, relatively few documents which both pertain to and were written in this early period; scholarly interest in the past developed gradually, especially during the ninth century, and most of the texts which refer to our period were composed at a much later date. The earliest manuscripts date from the late seventh century (a few original charters) and the first half of the eighth century (some of the Historia Ecclesiastica), but the great majority was written between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries. The earliest insular text was composed in the middle of the sixth century (Gildas, De Excidio Britanniae; the writings of St. Patrick belong to the second half of the fifth century, but contain little information of great historical value³), but the other major narrative sources for Dark Age history were not produced until either the eighth century (Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica), the ninth century (Historia Brittonum, Dumville 1974; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Whitelock 1961), or even the tenth century (the Annales Cambriae, Hughes 1973, 1-12). These can be supplemented by a few continental sources (eg. Zosimus, Prosper, Constantius'

Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre, the Gallic Chronicles, Procopius), which are nearer in time to the events which they recorded, but whose comments are usually brief and elliptical.

These texts constitute the only substantial body of written evidence for the period AD400-700; in order to reconstruct any historical narrative, scholars have been obliged to quarry and manipulate them. But there has been an unacceptable tendency to assume either that they mention all the major events which ever happened, and therefore that they can be constructed into a single plausible pattern, or that they are an imperfect and variable record from which historians may pick and choose at will. The vital point is that nearly all these documents were written either long after the events which they report, or abroad and in a manner which begs the question of how informed their authors were of Britain. The only way to treat such texts is by a stringent analysis of the context in which they were written and the sources which were available to them. It is clear, for example, that dynastic and political circumstances affected composition: from the seventh century may be cited the Irish dynastic and ecclesiastical propaganda relating to the Ui Neill and St. Patrick (Smyth 1972; Byrne 1973, ch.V), and from the ninth century the Welsh material, notably poetry, genealogies, and the Historia Brittonum (the last was the subject of a Ph.D. thesis submitted by Dr. David Dumville to the University of Edinburgh; see also Chadwick 1958), and the English Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is also axiomatic that much evidence, particularly for the fifth and sixth centuries, derived from oral traditions; the possibility that genuine facts could have been transmitted in such a way must be carefully considered and the methods used to compute a chronology for them must be determined, if we are to place any trust in them at all.

These premises lead me to reject as bad or false evidence much of the traditional material purporting to deal with the fifth and sixth centuries. I would agree wholeheartedly with the contention advanced by Dr. Dumville (in

unpublished lectures in 1976 to the Medieval Society, University College, Cardiff, and the University of Oxford) that there is hardly any acceptable documentary evidence for the fifth century, and only a limited amount for the sixth century. If suspicion can be cast on a piece of evidence, it must be rejected; if there is no reason yet to suspect it, it must be allowed to stand, though it need have no superior value.

Nevertheless, documents do provide the sort of information which cannot be derived from archaeological evidence; so, before turning to the solely archaeological evidence for the initial Saxon settlement of the Upper Thames Region, it is important to establish any facts relevant to the general historical framework of fifth and sixth-century Britain.

Since Gildas, writing some time in the middle of the sixth century, is the earliest author to give a continuous narrative, his testimony has usually been accepted as essentially valid (Dr. Myres in his 1969 book, for example, although upsetting many conventional opinions on the archaeological, and therefore historical, chronology, utilises much of the basic structure of Gildas' narrative). The major stumbling block in accepting Gildas' version of the 'Adventus Saxonum' is that he makes it follow a series of events which happen after an appeal to Aetius datable to AD 446^{or soon after}; in other words, he appears to place the migration well into the later fifth century, which is not supported by other documentary references and is positively denied by the archaeological evidence. Bede, who borrows nearly all his knowledge of this period from Gildas, seems to have been aware of the problem; by telescoping the events after the Aetius appeal, he placed the 'Adventus' some time between AD 447 and 454 (Miller 1975a). Modern solutions have concentrated on liberating the narrative sequence from the 446 date. Dr. John Morris, following Mr. C. E. Stevens, has argued that the appeal was mistaken for one which was sent much earlier, at the beginning of the fifth century when Picts were raiding England, and that the Aetius appeal was not against Picts, but

against Saxons who had already been planted in the country by British rulers and had by then rebelled (Morris 1965; Stevens 1941). Dr. Molly Miller (1975a) proposes a bipartite structure for the historical chapters, 14-26, in which the first part relates to events in northern Britain, the raids of Picts and Scots terminating in the appeal to Aetius and a subsequent British recovery, and the second part to events in southern Britain, including a plague, the settlement and rebellion of the Saxons, and the recovery of the Britons culminating in the battle of Mons Badonicus.

Miller's ingenious idea must be rejected since it ignores the integral structure of the De Excidio. Gildas was writing a moralistic tract directed against the errant princes and clerics of his own day. He constructed his 'letter' for the maximum impact; part of his plan was the use of historical parable. In describing how the sins of the Britons caused divine vengeance to be wreaked upon them, ultimately and most devastatingly in the form of the Saxon conquest, he implies that if the current generation does not mend its ways, a similar catastrophic event might occur. This explains the episodic nature of the narrative and demands that it be treated as a single sequence (the logic of Gildas' argument is admirably stated by Winterbottom 1974-5, 282,n.22). It also means that we should not expect this part of the De Excidio to represent historical truth, since it has been deliberately contrived. For example, the three Pictish wars, the three appeals to Rome, the last of which coincidentally to a man who was consul on three occasions, and the three boatloads of Saxons do have a conventional tone. In addition, it should be remembered that Gildas, on his own admission (ch.4), had no insular written sources and very few foreign chronicles from which to derive his facts; most of his information must have been preserved in oral tradition, much of it for at least one hundred years and in only a general form. Thus both the sources available to Gildas and the context of his composition explain the well-known lack of proper dating, dearth of proper names, and the

errors about Roman history, and imply that his narrative cannot be accepted as trustworthy history.

Therefore I think that it is impossible to pick out an acceptable sequence of events from Gildas' narrative, though there are individual elements which cannot be criticised. Gildas speaks of a superbus tyrannus who invited in the first Saxons; Bede names this man as Uurtigernus (HE, I.14), but in his earlier Chronica Maiora he spelt the name as Vertigernus, while it appears as Uuertigernus in a ninth-century chronicle fragment (Dumville 1973). If one accepts Professor Jackson's dating of the sound-shift involved, then there is the implication that a very early written record of Vortigern once existed (Dumville 1973¹³; Jackson 1953, 385-94; Miller 1975a). If it is possible to believe in the existence of Vortigern and to presume that he was a man of considerable power, it is not possible to add anything to this, for all other information about him comes from much later sources, primarily ninth-century compositions written in the context of dynastic changes in North Wales (Dumville 1976 lecture). In particular, the date computed in the Historia Brittonum for the year in which he invited in the Saxons (AD 428) can be shown to be related to the death-date of Magnus Maximus, and Maximus was one of the traditional heroes of the Welsh by the ninth century (Dumville 1974, 444); the date is not an independent piece of evidence for the 'Adventus'⁴.

It would also appear from Gildas' use of the word cyulis and his reference to an English tradition of the prophecy concerning their coming to Britain (c.23) that he had some early oral traditions from the Anglo-Saxons themselves. This fact, the establishment of Vortigern as an historical personage, and known Late Roman policy in general all help to support a belief that the record of employing Saxons as mercenaries with a foedus is a genuine memory, even if it does not relate to any specific event. The subsequent rebellion may or may not have occurred, though plainly something happened which left the Anglo-Saxons as political masters.

It is difficult to deny the existence of a letter of appeal to Aetius, but we cannot know from whom it came, why it was sent, and what other information it contained. Finally, we can accept Gildas' report of an important battle at Badon between Britons and Saxons which took place in the year of his birth; that date and the date at which Gildas was writing cannot be known precisely, but the battle must have occurred about AD 500 (Miller 1975b). Where it took place is not recorded.

Bede, in fact, had little independent material to add to Gildas' narrative, apart from his knowledge of the origin legends of the Kentish royal family relating to Hengist and Horsa, which he associates with the Vortigern episode. This association also occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle sa 449 and in the Historia Brittonum, and is presumably borrowed by them from Bede. But Bede's greatest significance in this context is probably his attempt to apply the system of anno domini dating, which he had introduced to historical writing, to these early and basically undated traditions. His efforts at precision set a pattern for later medieval and modern historians.

To Gildas (and therefore to Bede who copied him) and to the author of the Historia Brittonum there was a single coming of the Saxons, because, as far as the British were concerned, the Saxons were a single enemy. But the various English kingdoms were more aware of their separate identities and so they retained and evolved individual traditions of their own origin. The best known of these origin traditions, for Kent, Sussex, and Wessex, survive in the early annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but others are preserved for Essex, East Anglia, and Mercia in certain twelfth and thirteenth-century chronicles (discussed by Dr. Wendy Davies at the Mercia Conference, University of Leicester, December 1975), and one for Bernicia occurs in a ninth-century chronicle fragment (Dumville 1973). Their factual content may be based partly on genuine oral tradition and partly (as in the case of eponymous heroes) on later attempts at explanation. Most of the material, which cannot

be criticised because of lack of other criteria, concerns warfare and was probably derived from heroic poetry; a poetic source is particularly apparent for the entry on the battle of Fethanleag in the Chronicle sa 584 (K.Sisam in Fox and Fox 1958,46), while the incorporation of similar material in Welsh poetry provides a probably apposite parallel. The example of Welsh poetry also urges caution, for it is well-known how later poets came to make connections between personalities and events for which there could have been little evidence; battles may be accredited to heroes who never fought them and insignificant encounters elevated in estimation by their recounting in verse. So it is impossible to know whether the battles recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are the most important engagements fought by the leaders to whom they are ascribed.

If individual events cannot be classed as false evidence, their dating can undoubtedly be shown to be suspect. Events in the early part of the Chronicle were dated by two means: those for Wessex depend on two regnal lists, one in the preface to the Parker manuscript, the other incorporated into the text, while those for Kent are hinged on AD 449, the date Bede used in his chronological summary (HE, V.24) for the arrival of Hengist and Horsa. The Sussex annals are fitted, probably artificially, in a sequence between those of Kent and Wessex. The annals include some evidence of a Kentish regnal list, but none of a Sussex one; this absence and the lack of a surviving royal genealogy for the South Saxons is usually explained by the decay into which their kingship had fallen by the later seventh century, which would have destroyed the environment necessary for preserving their traditions.

The association of Kent's origins with AD 449 cannot be accepted, because there is no justification for Bede's choice of that date (Miller 1975a). Morris (1965), following his argument about the mistaken context of the appeal to Aetius, which was the cause of Bede's 'Adventus' dating, suggested that the correct date for the 'Adventus' was c. AD 430, close to that recorded in

the Historia Brittonum, AD 428, and therefore the dating of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle events which hinged on that event should be raised by twenty years. Although this brought the Chronicle more into line with archaeological evidence and therefore was widely accepted by archaeologists (eg. Welch 1971,233), it should be remembered that it was only a ^{reasoned estimate} and that the AD 428 date cannot be used as independent evidence. The fact is, and it is hardly surprising, that no genuine date has been preserved for either Vortigern's invitation to Saxons or for the landing of Hengist and Horsa (the Kentish genealogy (HE, I.15) is no assistance, since it is impossibly short for the period which it purports to cover; either Oisc reigned much later than is recorded in the Chronicle, or a generation or more has been lost).

Dr. David Kirby has admirably pointed out how unusable the chronology derived from the Wessex regnal lists becomes for sixth-century events (Kirby 1965,14-21). The earliest Wessex entries are further marked by a series of duplications (Stenton 1947,22). Harrison (1971) has suggested that this resulted from their being remembered in terms of a pagan Saxon nineteen-year calendar, but this implies that the Saxons had an unbelievably sophisticated organisation for oral remembrancing (comparable to the Irish filid ?), for which there is no evidence. It seems more likely that the confusions occurred in collating and copying items entered retrospectively in nineteen-year Easter Table cycles (cf. Alcock 1971,6-9,18,40,48&9, and fig.1, where the Golden Year equals the year in the Metonic cycle which underlies both the Victorian and Dionysian Great Cycles; Dr.Davies has suggested that the first two annals in her 'Anglian' annal series were entered retrospectively into a Victorian Cursus).

It is evident that although the annals contain much factual material pertaining to the early settlement, they can provide no acceptable chronology and their real political significance cannot be assured. These criticisms apply equally to the later sixth and seventh-century annals relating to the

Upper Thames Region, though the events which they record did take place closer to the time when the first written records might have been made and they could therefore have greater value. However, I shall leave their discussion until a later and more relevant point.

The major insular sources provide therefore very little information which can be assuredly used in any historical reconstruction. Two continental texts, though in neither case first-class authorities, do seem to add to the meagre framework. In a brief qualificatory phrase, the later fifth-century Greek historian Zosimus reports that in AD 410 the Emperor Honorius told the civitates of Britain to look after themselves; coming not so long after the usurpations of Magnus Maximus and Constantine III, both of whom withdrew Roman troops from Britain, it is accepted as the official renunciation by Rome of authority in Britain. The other reference occurs in two related Gallic chronicles of the fifth and early sixth centuries; both have clearly been subject to retrospective entries and some chronological dislocation, but their early date makes them none the less important (Alcock 1971, 105-7). They report that Britain had passed into the power of the Saxons in a year which may be calibrated anywhere between AD 440 and 443. What exactly this phrase meant and to which part or parts of the country it referred are unknown and debatable, but the implication is that some major change had occurred which merited record. In fact, the Gallic Chronicles provide the most important documentary evidence for dating the Saxon migration; they imply a Saxon presence in Britain some time before the middle of the fifth century.

The final source worth a brief mention is the later fifth-century Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre by ^sContantius. In describing Germanus' first visit to Britain, it presents a picture of the survival of Roman culture and methods of government, while also reporting the presence of hostile Picts and Saxons; the description of the second visit is perhaps too brief for deductions to be

made from it. According to the contemporary chronicler Prosper, the first visit was in AD 429, the second in ^{about 446 or} AD 447; by the latter date Saxons must have been settled in this country, and they almost certainly were by the former, though there is no such reference to them by Constantius, unless we assume that the Saxons of the Alleluia Victory were rebellious settlers, not marauding pirates.

In summary, the following facts relating to the historical framework of fifth and early sixth-century Britain can be acceptably derived from the written sources. In AD 410 the Emperor Honorius acknowledged his inability to help Britain further (Bede linked this with his preoccupation with the Visigothic sack of Rome), and entrusted legal government of the country to the cantonal capitals. It is reasonable to assume that all Roman army units would have been withdrawn by that date. Roman governmental titles went on in use and presumably the town councils, under the control of leading land-owners, continued to manage affairs, both on a local individual basis and possibly also in concert. Vortigern, whose dates are unknown, would appear to have held some preeminent position, and it is not difficult to envisage how legalised local oligarchies evolved into rule by individual and outstanding men (the tyranni, that is illegal rulers, of Gildas). The extent to which hostile attacks by Picts, Saxons, and Scots, well attested for the late fourth century, continued in the fifth century is uncertain: Gildas and Constantius refer to Pictish raiding in an early fifth-century context, though Gildas' testimony has debatable value; Constantius is the only person to refer to Saxons; and Irish raiders, somewhere in western Britain and well into the first half of the fifth century, are reported at first-hand by St. Patrick. There is reason to believe that some Anglo-Saxons were first settled in the country as foederati at the request of British rulers, and by the early 440's Saxon settlement in and political control of parts of Britain was sufficient to warrant notice in the Gallic Chronicles. In

446 a group of Britons sent a letter of appeal against some belligerent enemy to the magister militum in Gaul, Aetius. Both Gildas and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle contain memories of warfare during these years; one outstanding battle was fought about AD 500 at Badon, which considerably reduced hostilities in the areas of Britain with which Gildas was acquainted and ushered in a period of relative peace during which native British kingship became established.

The Fifth Century

There are twenty-two Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the Upper Thames Region which can be definitely dated to the fifth century, and there are possibly five others. Any reconstruction of the origins and early development of Saxon settlement in the area must be based upon them.

I have used the term 'Anglo-Saxon' unquestioningly, but now is the time to justify this usage. On the continent, where Germanic elements commonly occur in late Roman cemeteries, especially in North Gaul, scholars have been most concerned with the problem of distinguishing truly Germanic burials from Roman ones. Debate has flourished since the publication of Werner's article 'Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation' (Archaeologia Geographica, 1, 1950, 23-32), in which these Germanic elements were taken as evidence of the burials of Frankish warriors and their families serving in the Roman army, either as regulars or as laeti, and which were the forerunners of classic Merovingian burials. The discussion has been reviewed most recently by Böhme (1974, 166-194) and his own detailed study provides some important criteria for recognising Germanic burials. The most diagnostic features are the occurrence of specifically Germanic objects, notably brooch-types with their densest distribution in Free Germany (eg. Böhme 1974, Karten 1-5, 7-8), and customs in the use of these objects, especially the wearing of brooches in sets. Equally important are burial rituals such as the burial of buckets, or of weapons with men, which appear to be quite alien to Roman custom. The occurrence of

full sets of Late Roman military belt-fittings, often in graves with weapons or in cemeteries which contain women with Germanic jewellery, has been taken as a particularly important indication of the presence of Germanic military personnel. Where the belts are complete and occur with other Germanic elements this is acceptable, but where they occur, as is far more common, as individual fittings, often worn and frequently in a civilian context, it is impossible to deduce any ethnic associations. Indeed, the commonly held opinion that these fittings were Germanic in taste is a fine example of inverted logic; Haseloff has amply demonstrated the intrinsically Roman nature of their zoomorphic ornament, which was subsequently copied and adapted by Germanic craftsmen (Haseloff 1973 and 1974), while the percentage of Germans in the Late Roman army has probably been overemphasised in response to the distribution of these fittings along the German limes (Morris cites the percentage as about 15%, Med.Arch.,18,1974,229). These belts were made primarily for military use, but only incidentally for Germanic use.

These criteria apply equally in Britain. Germans can be safely recognised by their possessions of particular objects, the majority of which find their best parallels in the traditional homeland of the English settlers, that is Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, and Jutland, and by their grave-rituals, notably burials of women with pairs or sets of brooches and men with weapons, and cremations in urns with the addition of unburnt miniature grave-goods. It is most improbable that Roman-Britons would have adopted these customs from the first generations of immigrants, though they might well have acquired the odd brooch, just as the immigrant Saxons acquired objects from them.

There are, however, two major difficulties in this simple justification of the term 'Anglo-Saxon'. Not every inhumation contains grave-goods which are characteristically Germanic, or even grave-goods at all, and thus is little different from inhumations in Late Roman cemeteries; indeed, the

relatively small number of identifiable fifth-century Anglo-Saxon graves (Tables 16 and 17) might imply that a greater proportion of poorly furnished and unaccompanied burials belong to that period, and that these are the graves of Britons. But whereas it is legitimate to justify the recognition of Saxons on the basis of positive evidence, it is not permissible to assume that negative evidence indicates Britons. Now I have already suggested that some Romano-British customs, such as the wearing of finger rings and bracelets, persisted through the fifth and sixth centuries (pp.198-200), and it might be thought that these customs would provide positive evidence for Britons; but many of my examples came from specifically Saxon graves. It is therefore impossible to demonstrate that those graves with British elements alone are the graves of Britons. This is especially true of graves with bracelets, since these are peculiar to children and babies, who rarely merited other diagnostic grave-goods; clearly not all female children were British !

The other difficulty is that after about the middle of the fifth century the British population of the Upper Thames Region ceases to be archaeologically recognisable. Unless one assumes that they had all been killed or driven out, hypotheses which are little favoured these days, it would seem that some so-called Anglo-Saxon settlements and burials belonged, in fact, to Britons. It is quite easy to envisage that by the sixth century many Britons would have adopted the material culture, and probably the customs and language, of their new political masters, especially in the heart of the Upper Thames Valley where the majority of Roman settlements had belonged to peasants with only a minimum of Roman culture to lose. It is therefore pointless to speculate on the ethnic affinities of those buried in later Saxon cemeteries, since there is no means of identifying Britons buried as Saxons. Assessment of the British element in the community may be more usefully pursued by analysis of those aspects of the resulting Anglo-Saxon

culture which seems to have drawn on Romano-British ideas and techniques.

The earliest identifiable phase of Saxon settlement is represented at six sites - Abingdon I, Dorchester I, II, and VI, Frilford I, and Minster Lovell - and in every case recognition is based on the occurrence in female graves of material of continental origin of Böhme's periods II (c.AD380-420) and III (c.400-450). This material forms a single and homogeneous phase, but the graves in which it occurs form part of three very different types of cemetery, which may suggest both the complexity and the nature of the earliest Saxon settlement.

The most famous graves are the pair from Dorchester I. They are the only Germanic graves known to have been discovered in this Roman cemetery just south of the town of Dorchester. Grave 1, the man's, contained a complete military belt of a continental type which may date from the end of the fourth century, but more probably belongs to the early fifth century; if the spearhead identified by Swanton was a genuine association, or if the ironwork thrown into the Thames at the time of discovery did include weapons, then this would be a classic example of a Germanic warrior-grave in a Late Roman cemetery. This may be established in any case by the burial of a woman in a neighbouring grave; she had a protocruciform brooch, dated typologically to about AD 400, and the backplate of an applied saucer brooch, as well as an insular buckle of Hawkes Type IB.

The female grave-group from Dorchester II has no known context, though it has been postulated that this too was in a Roman cemetery, in this case along the road leading north out of Dorchester. Its Germanic nature is demonstrated by the pair of Group 1.1 applied saucer brooches and the backplate of another; but the inclusion of a set of seven rings, including a second-hand ring from a military belt, and three Late Roman bracelets, which resemble a custom observed in some late graves in the Roman cemetery at Lankhills (Winchester), as well as a Roman key and a bronze finger ring,

indicates that this Germanic lady had acquired both British objects and customs. She seems to have established a degree of integration with the native population comparable with that which is suggested by the burial of two Germans in the Roman cemetery at Dorchester I.

Applied saucer brooches belonging to exactly the same phase as the Dorchester pair, which represent a distinct group in the earliest phase, have been found at two other sites. The first is Frilford I, where grave 159 is the only burial at this site definitely assignable to the first half of the fifth century. Like Dorchester I, this cemetery is Late Roman, possibly part of a religious complex attached to the Romano-Celtic temple. Inadequate records allow only thirteen graves to be identified, on the basis of their lead coffins, 'Charon's pennies', or similar evidence, as Roman and probably fourth-century, though it is likely that a great number of the unaccompanied burials from this site was also of that date. But this cemetery did not end with its early Saxon burials; it continued to be used for Anglo-Saxon inhumation and cremation into the second half of the sixth century. Two other burials are to be dated in the period AD400-500: grave 138 contained a pair of Group I cruciform brooches⁵ and an iron finger ring, while CXII is one of the thirteen cremation urns reported from the site. Two more burials date from the second half of the century (104 and 143) and seven might be fifth-century (10,35,106,116,140,142, and CVII).

Frilford is the only certain example of continuity between Roman and Saxon cemeteries within the Upper Thames Region, and possibly in the country as a whole. At Cassington II Roman burials are reported from around and possibly from within the area of Saxon graves, which itself has produced material of fifth-century date, but lack of adequate records again makes it impossible to know the relationship between them; the Roman and Saxon burials may have been discrete, contiguous, or overlapping. Myres has stated that the Saxon cemetery at Long Wittenham I was also a continuation of a Roman

graveyard (1969,121), but I know of no evidence to support this contention, and no grave at that site can unhesitatingly be dated within the first half of the fifth century.

The third site with imported applied brooches of Böhme's period II is Abingdon I, which is a large and purely Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Bl06 contained a Group 1.3 brooch as well as fragments of two tutulus brooches, a continental-style pin, and two reused Roman finger rings. Mention should also be made of C26 with Group 1.6 applied brooches of Böhme's period III together with a developed form of equal-armed brooch and a fragment of a Roman bronze object; it need not be an early fifth-century burial, but Bl22, with protocruciform brooches of a type more developed than that in Dorchester I, 2, should be. Abingdon is remarkable, however, for its number of other fifth-century burials (Table 17). The reason is the very high number of fifth-century cremation urns; eighteen may be dated within the period AD 400-500, as well as a further inhumation, B24, with an accessory pot, and another seven cremations can be dated within the period 400-550. Myres has already drawn attention to the number of very early cremations at Abingdon (Biddle, Lambrick, and Myres 1968,35-41); although I cannot accept his criteria for narrowing the date of several individual urns to the first half of the fifth century, the existence of inhumations of that date does make it most likely that some of the cremations are equally early.

Abingdon also stands out in the Region not only for the total number of its cremations (44%), but also for the complete change from predominance of cremation over inhumation in the fifth century (18:9) to predominance of inhumation over cremation in the sixth and early seventh centuries (35:13). The overall picture in the Region is that cremation was practised equally in the fifth and sixth centuries (Fig. 48), but since the figures on which this is based are heavily weighted by the Abingdon pottery, it implies that at other sites sixth-century urns are in the majority. It may be noted that

at Abingdon there is an increase in the number of inhumations during the second half of the fifth century; six are certainly of that period, and twelve might be. It is a moot point whether the proportion of earlier to later fifth-century inhumations should be reflected in the chronological range of the cremations, or whether the transition from cremation to inhumation was already occurring in the later fifth century.

Dorchester VI is also a purely Anglo-Saxon cemetery, though it consists almost entirely of inhumations. Two female graves may be identified as early fifth-century on the basis of their grave-goods of Böhme's period III-8 with an early type of equal-armed brooch and a disc brooch, and 64 with a Stützarmfibel - and two male graves (1 and 20), though they cannot be proved to be equally early, must have been buried during the fifth century. A further grave (83) is later fifth-century, and ten other graves might be.

Finally, there is Minster Lovell. Grave 3 has been dated within the first half of the fifth century on the basis of its early Germanic type of knife, but it also contained two disc brooches, a bronze finger ring, and a second-hand piece of military belt-equipment. The only other datable grave from this tiny site is sixth century, so the context of the early grave is enigmatic, and it may not be quite as early as the others already discussed.

There are a number of other sites, including some large and important cemeteries comparable with Abingdon I and Dorchester VI, which, though lacking any identifiable material of the earliest phase, do contain graves datable within the period 400-500. There is a probability that some of these came into existence before 450, though not necessarily as early as the beginning of the century.

Three large sites may well have begun before 450. East Shefford and Fairford both have a significant number of fifth-century graves (East Shefford XXIV included Group 1.5 applied saucer brooches, possibly made in the early fifth century, and a 'Kempston' cone beaker) as well as burials of the

periods 450-500 and 450-550. In both cases the standards of excavation were so poor that a very large quantity of unassociated material now represents the original grave-groups, though among this there is more early material: there is an imported fifth-century 'Mahndorf' brooch from Fairford, while at East Shefford there is a 'Quoit-Brooch Style' tubular attachment and two glass vessels of transitional Roman/Dark Age type. Long Wittenham I also has a substantial number of fifth-century graves as well as a considerable number which can be specifically assigned to the later fifth century. Among the former are two graves which might well be pre-450: grave 108 contained a Group 1.4 applied saucer brooch, which is a type made in England in the first half of the fifth century, though burial could be a little later, and grave 138 had a shield boss of early continental type. Long Wittenham also had a high number of cremations, but of the very few which have survived only two unassociated urns may be fifth-century; it is impossible to make what should have been a vital comparison with Abingdon I. Long Wittenham is also notable for the very large number of graves datable between 450 and 550, which is due to the high incidence there of disc brooches and Group 1 shield bosses. Statistically, many of these should, in fact, be later fifth-century, which would bring the total number of fifth-century graves into line with that at Abingdon.

There are four smaller sites which might also be pre-450. Cassington II has already been mentioned, and, with its Late Roman bucket, 'Kempston' cone beaker and possibly fifth-century spearheads, is a good candidate for an early cemetery. So too are Reading I and Wallingford, both with a relatively high proportion of cremations; indeed, at the latter site the inhumations cannot be dated before 450 (including grave 15 with two 1.4 applied saucer brooches and an A2 annular brooch), while two cremations belong between 400 and 500 and another one between 400 and 550. Souldern also has an urn of fifth-century type, though arguably late in the series. Single finds of Buckelurnen at

Harwell and Osney indicate fifth-century burial at both sites.

A pre-450 origin for Brighthampton is more debatable; the only graves which possibly belong between 400 and 500 (18 and 58) are dated by their continental-style pins alone, while there is just one definitely later fifth-century grave (31) and nine which might be. My inclusion of Dinton in this group rests on insecure evidence, since the only datable find from there was a cone beaker of primarily, though not necessarily exclusively, fifth-century type.

Three sites with only unassociated material may represent further fifth-century cemeteries (Aston Remenham, Pangbourne, and Stratton). The most tantalising of these is Pangbourne, for which there are confused accounts of both a Roman cemetery and material typical of a Saxon cemetery. The only extant object, a B2 spearhead, is typically Germanic, but could date from either the fourth or fifth century; but the record of a francisca, other iron weapons, and possibly cremation urns does imply Germanic burials of the fifth century and even later. Lack of information makes inferences dangerous, but this site may be comparable with either Dorchester I or Frilford and Cassington II.

Burial at five more sites and possibly another two appears to have started in the second half of the fifth century. These are Bishopstone I, where the amount of unassociated material, which notably includes a 'Quoit-Brooch Style' belt-plate, prevents recognition of more than a few datable graves, Blewburton Hill, Broughton Poggs, Hampnett, and Oxford II, and possibly Bassett Down and Kemble I, which have produced material of the 450-550 date-range as well as purely sixth-century material.

Another ten certain sites (Bishopstone II, Burford, Chinnor I, Cirencester I, Dorchester III, Eynsham I, Lockinge I, Lyneham I, and Oxford III and IV) and five possible sites (Boxford, Cirencester III, Shipton-on-Cherwell, Sonning, and Sutton Courtenay II) have only produced material

datable within the 450-550 range, and so it may be expected that some of them do contain later fifth-century burials.

All but one of the sites with material of the earliest phase lie in the centre of the Upper Thames Valley, on the gravel terraces at ^{or near} the confluences of the Ock and the Thame with the Thames (Fig. 51). Several of the other fifth-century sites are situated in the same area, or on similar gravel terraces at the mouths of the Cherwell, Evenlode, and Windrush. These two areas continued to support the greatest concentration of Saxon cemeteries, and, indeed, are the nucleus of the medieval and modern settlement patterns. But what is even more interesting is that the remaining fifth-century cemeteries have a very widespread distribution; this is true not only of sites which came into existence in the later fifth century, but also of ones which may well have begun before 450. These sites range from Fairford (65) in the west, to Hampnett (74) in the north-west, Souldern (129) in the north, Bishopstone (18) and Dinton (49) in the east, Reading (121) in the south-east, and East Shefford (60) in the south. In general this pattern is reflected by the distribution of sites which are possibly fifth-century, with the most noticeable extensions occurring in the west around Cirencester and also in the south-west at Bassett Down (16), and, in a single instance (Lyneham I, no.104), in the middle Evenlode Valley. But since the dating of these sites is debatable, they cannot be brought further into the argument about the extent of fifth-century settlement. The fifth-century sites are thus concentrated in two groups in the centre of the Upper Thames Valley, but with a small cluster near Aylesbury, and others, widely scattered, representing islands of Saxon settlement throughout most of the Region.

Recent attempts to explain the distribution of Saxon settlement have paid particular attention to their relationship to Late Roman sites. In the Upper Thames Valley, for example, there was a substantial Roman settlement on the opposite bank of the Ock to the Saxon cemetery at Abingdon (Biddle,

Lambrick, and Myres 1968,62; CBA 9 NL,4,1974,19-21), and another at Reading, while Long Wittenham I lies just to the west of a rural settlement (Benson and Miles 1974a, Map 35), and Dorchester VI is situated among the fields of some Late Roman community (CBA 9 NL,5,1975,41; cf. Myres 1969,89). However, since it is now known that Late Roman rural settlement was very heavy, and the Thames Valley provides a good example, it is hardly surprising that Late Roman settlements are commonly found close to Saxon cemeteries; it may be a simple matter of statistics, rather than of historical significance. It is the relationship of Saxon cemeteries to major centres of Roman settlement, like towns, and to roads, and the precise nature of any physical coincidence with a Roman site, which is likely to be of historical relevance.

The most striking feature of the earliest sites in the Upper Thames Region, and the one which has most frequently been noted by scholars, is that they cluster around the Roman town of Dorchester, where the final detectable phase of Roman occupation (Frere 1966,93-4) is contemporary with the earliest phase of Saxon burials. Close to Dorchester and its main roadway are three sites with burials of this earliest phase, one and possibly two being extra-mural Roman cemeteries. All three must indicate some important relationship between the new Saxon settlers and the sub-Roman community in Dorchester. Other sites on the Berkshire bank of the river - Frilford, Abingdon, Long Wittenham, Wallingford, Blewburton, and Harwell - are sufficiently close to suggest that they too had some association with Dorchester.

The grouping of Saxon sites (Cirencester I and III, Kemble I, and Stratton) around and even in the town of Cirencester might also be noted, but since these have produced material only of the period 450-550 with which to justify their fifth-century date, they cannot be reasonably added to the argument. If any of them did begin in the fifth century, then it was probably towards its very end, and discussion of their significance is best left to the section on the sixth century. However, Hampnett and Fairford

are certain fifth-century sites and not so far from Cirencester.

Examples of the actual coincidence of Roman sites with Saxon burials are fairly rare. The most obvious one, the use by Saxons of a Roman cemetery, has already been referred to several times; Dorchester I, Frilford I and possibly Cassington II and Pangbourne fall into this category and deserve careful consideration. Such a continuity implies an acceptance by both sides of the other community's religious and burial customs. Frilford is particularly interesting in this connection, since it was on the site of a Roman temple which continued in use to the very end of the Roman period (Oxon., 4, 1939, 1-70); the use of the cemetery from the very early fifth century not only for Saxon inhumations, but also for cremation, implies a real degree of tolerance on the part of the Britons. There are two other sites adjacent to or possibly close to Roman burials, but they do not fall into the same class. At Milton I the existence of Roman burials in the same place as the Saxon ones is not established, and the latter cannot be closely dated. The site at Uffington I is curious and one would wish for better records: the existence of a Roman cemetery in one barrow is certain, but the cremations in the same mound are only possibly Saxon, while the only datable Saxon burial in the other barrow was sixth-century. In the latter case, there may have been reuse of a barrow site, not proper continuity.

The relationship of Dorchester VI to the Roman fields in which it lies will be clarified when the site, and especially the ditch-sections, are published, but the interim plan does invite some comment (CBA 9 NL, 5, 1975, fig. 16). There are two ditch-systems, a narrow earlier one and a broad later one; not surprisingly the former is more frequently cut by burials, the only datable ones being grave 6 of the period 450-550 and grave 47 of the sixth century. One of the broad ditches cuts the site in two, and three of the earliest burials lie on one side and one on the other. Burial continued on both sides of the ditch without any chronological pattern, and

seemed to respect it except at its southern end, where a number of graves cut it, including grave 60 of the 450-550 period, and 24 and 43 of the sixth century. Possibly the broad ditches represented a viable field system when the cemetery was begun, two fields being taken out of use for it, but later, perhaps by the sixth century, they had become redundant and burial took place over them. I can find no pattern in the graves to suggest why they were divided between two fields.

There are only five examples of Saxon cemeteries lying over or next to villa buildings. Interestingly, none is fifth-century: Cirencester I and Wheatley have produced material of the 450-550 date-range, but I think that the latter is a sixth-century site, as is Abingdon IV, while Great Tew and Woolstone are seventh-century. Similarly, the actual temple site at Frilford (Frilford III), and the one at Lowbury Hill only received burials in the seventh-century, and it is possible that the temple at Woodeaton also had some Saxon burials of the sixth century. The use of Roman buildings would seem to be a phenomenon of the later period of settlement, by which time these structures were probably derelict and offered convenient holes in the ground and a ready supply of stones for low cairns.

The fifth-century burial sites have little relationship with Roman roads. Apart from the three Dorchester sites, the only one reasonably close to a major road is Hampnett, while Souldern was on a minor roadway up the Cherwell valley. It should also be noted that Wallingford did not, at this period, lie on a significant crossing point of the Thames, the Henley-Dorchester road lying on the Oxfordshire bank of the river, and the Icknield Way/Ridgeway crossing being to the south at Streatley, where only a single sixth-century burial is known. Nor was the apparently important cemetery at Long Wittenham, not far from Dorchester on the south side of the river, a bridge-head site sensu stricto; the river there is quite wide and flows in a sharp curve, which would have been unsuitable as a fording point. The Roman road

to Silchester crosses the Thames further east, near Little Wittenham, where there is only a putative Saxon settlement. Of course, since the major Roman roads surround the central settlement area in the Thames Valley, the chances of cemeteries lying close to them is obviously low. With the expansion of settlement in the sixth and seventh centuries into the peripheral areas of the Region, the number of sites on or close to Roman roads rises, a point to which I shall return.

The relationship of fifth-century sites to Roman settlement is thus of a defined order. Numerically, far more Saxon cemeteries of all periods lie in or close to prehistoric monuments than they do to Roman sites (Myres 1969, 121-2). Many are secondary to barrow sites: for example Abingdon I, Broad Town, Bledlow I, Chinnor I, Dorchester III, Hampnett, Lyneham II, Oddington (Glos), Standlake I, Stanton Harcourt I, Upper Swell I and II. Others occur in monuments like henges (Lower Heyford), hill-forts (Blewburton Hill, ?Little Wittenham, Lyneham I, ?Segsbury Camp, and Uffington I), and low-land fortifications (Cherbury Camp). As Myres observes, this same pattern occurs in pre-migration cemeteries in North Germany and probably reflects the Germans' attitude to proper places for burial of their ancestors; those places which were already ancient, and especially which already contained burials, were regarded with particular favour.

It is now time to examine that aspect of the Anglo-Saxon settlement which has been most studied by scholars seeking to explain its origins, namely the cultural associations of the early Germanic settlers. The earliest phase of burial is characterised and, indeed, has been recognised by imported items of jewellery. But a strong word of caution is necessary. By the beginning of the fifth century Germanic objects might be found anywhere between Southern Scandinavia and the Loire (v. Böhme 1974), so that individual examples cannot be used to demonstrate an origin from or even a direct connection with any

particular part of that territory. Equally, Late Roman Britain shared in the basic material culture of the western provinces, and this culture affected both the Germans who were settled within the limes in North Gaul and, to a lesser degree, those who lived outside, so that items of provincial Roman manufacture, unless of a precisely located type, cannot indicate connection with any specific part of the Roman world. For example, Evison's certainty that the two (reused) Roman finger rings in Abingdon I, B106 came from North Gaul is quite unjustified (Evison 1965,41); there can be no way of knowing from where or how they were acquired, and they may equally, and more probably, be British. It is well known too that pottery styles were not confined to distinct areas; in particular, the so-called 'Anglian' rectilinear designs can be found not only in east Jutland, but also along the entire west coast from Jutland to Frisia.

Given these reservations, the uniformity of the continental connections of the earliest material in the Upper Thames Region is remarkable. The brooches, which in nearly every case were worn in twos, are most important. The 'Dorchester' type of protocruciform brooch is rare and occurs only north of the Elbe, but both the preceding and succeeding forms, the latter occurring in Abingdon I, B122, are spread more widely, including Lower Saxony and, for the later types, Frisia. The notable group of applied saucer brooches from Dorchester II, Frilford I, 159, and Abingdon I, 106 are typical of the Elbe-Weser and Frisian areas, with just a few examples further south along the Lower Meuse and Lower Rhine; the applied brooch in Abingdon I, C26 and the prototypes for those in Long Wittenham I, 108 and Wallingford 15 belong to series with exactly the same distributions (Böhme 1974, Karte 7). The equal-armed brooches of Abingdon C26 and Dorchester VI, 8, and the Stütz-armfibel of Dorchester VI, 64 are paralleled on the continent almost exclusively in the Elbe-Weser area (op.cit., Karten 4-5). Like the protocruciform brooches, the 'Mahndorf' brooch is found commonly in Schwlswig-Holstein and

Mecklenburg, but, as its name implies, is a particular feature of some Lower Saxony cemeteries. Weapons cannot be ascribed to specific areas, but the styles of pottery favoured for the earliest cremation urns in the Upper Thames Valley include many examples of 'standing arcs', rosette stamps and dimples, and Buckelurnen, which were most popular in the Elbe-Weser area (Myres 1969,41,45; Biddle, Lambrick, and Myres 1968,41).

This consistency strengthens the traditional affiliation of the Upper Thames settlers with the Saxons, and suggests that the first group of settlers were, indeed, from the Saxony area. Later fifth-century connections are less easy to detect, since by that period there are few datable sites in North Germany, while most of the material in the Upper Thames Region was probably made in England, though it still betrays continental prototypes. The link in pottery styles continues, either because the Saxon tradition had been firmly established in the Thames Valley, or, as Myres would argue, because of continued migration from Saxony. Cast saucer brooches, which were developed in the second half of the fifth century in England, are sparsely represented at this time in the Upper Thames, though again the early continental examples are confined to Lower Saxony (Böhme 1974, Karte 8; above, pp.50-51). Similarly, there are a few later fifth-century small-long brooches in the Region, which were probably acquired from settlers in the East Midlands, though their ultimate inspiration came from the area between Southern Scandinavia and Thuringia.

This has, of course, simply documented in detail the traditional interpretation of the origin of the Upper Thames settlers, and no reference has been made to the Frankish connection advanced by Evison (1965, esp.31-4,39-41). Her thesis of a Frankish invasion of southern England in the middle of the fifth century has been severely and justly criticised (eg. by Myres in EHR,81,1966,340-5). Much of her argument was based on the occurrence of luxury items in graves, such as swords or vessels of glass or bronze, which

were made in the fifth century in North Gaul; but it has been objected that these are much more likely to be items given to or traded with the new barbarian aristocracy of southern England, especially in the light of subsequent 'trading' contacts with the Merovingian world, rather than possessions brought in by immigrants. Her idea of a mid fifth-century Frankish origin of 'Quoit-Brooch Style' has been overturned by both her own subsequent chronological arguments and the stylistic ones of Haseloff, which thus removes a large section of her thesis. Her failure to be precise about chronology has meant that early fifth-century material is often taken together with later fifth-century material to explain a single mid fifth-century invasion; and her final reinterpretation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1965,79-87) is so cavalier in its treatment of documentary evidence that it scarcely merits serious discussion.

Of the Upper Thames Region graves which she classes as Frankish the following must be rejected: Brighthampton 31, from which neither the sword nor bucket can be shown to be Frankish or to predate AD 450 (above, pp.257-263, 368); Long Wittenham I, 57, for which a single worn IIIB buckle, buried between fifty and one hundred years after its manufacture, is scarcely evidence for an immigrant Frank; Long Wittenham I, 111, which I have shown is a much later burial than has hitherto been supposed; and Reading I, 13 and Abingdon I, B106, which, with the previous grave, contained distinctly North Germanic items together with some Roman or sub-Roman objects which were or could easily have been acquired in Britain. Bassett Down is not 'mostly of an early date' and both the Roman bow brooch and spoon, which Evison cites as Frankish, were fragmentary and could have been found in Britain and buried at any time up to the end of the sixth century.

Curiously, Evison does not list East Shefford XXIV as a Frankish grave, though she comments on the distinctly North French group to which its applied brooches belong (above, p.105), as well as on the glass and other material

from this site, among which the grave XXIV 'Kempston' cone beaker might have been relevant to her argument. The vessels of North Gallic manufacture in Long Wittenham I, 93 could be accounted for by some kind of gift-exchange, but the position of the spearhead, pointing to the feet, is certainly unparalleled in the Upper Thames Region, though not among the Franks (op.cit.,32). There is no denying the probable manufacture in the Meuse Valley area of the swords from both the sword-graves at Abingdon (op.cit.,40). But if these four graves were of Franks, they hardly constitute a viable aristocratic leadership for the whole of the Upper Thames Region settlers; one would expect other members of their families to have revealed their Frankish connections with equal strength. In each case these are among the wealthiest recognisable graves in their cemeteries, so Evison is right to think in terms of an aristocracy; but they are also all datable to the middle or later fifth century, well after the initial Saxon settlement of the Thames Valley. May it simply be that by that time the leading members of the Upper Thames ruling families were sufficiently established to be able to acquire some of the luxuries which were percolating into southern England from the new Frankish domain? It would make good sense of Evison's distribution maps, and will become more evident when both the insular connections of the Upper Thames Region in the fifth century and the social nature of the graves are considered.

Insular connections between the Upper Thames and other defined regions are difficult to establish for the fifth century. In the early fifth century there was very little locally made Anglo-Saxon material which might indicate interchange between districts; instead many areas shared the same imported items, such as Stützarmfibeln, equal-armed brooches, and pottery styles (eg. Böhme 1974, Karten 4-5,7-8; Myres 1969, Maps 3,4a,5a,5b), indicative only of very early Germanic, in some cases specifically Saxon,

settlement.

As the innumerable parallels, which I drew on in my discussion of the grave-goods in Part II, should have made apparent, the most important links were with southern England, which shared a considerable body of material in common. Only specific examples of 'imports' and 'exports', however, can indicate the likely lines of communication, via which other imported objects presumably reached the Upper Thames Region. In the full fifth century the early sites of Surrey, Essex, West Kent, and Sussex appear to be most closely linked to the Upper Thames Region; the relative lack of recognisably early material partly explains the absence of obviously direct links with Jutish East Kent, while the late fifth-century origin of the Hampshire/Wiltshire Saxon settlements makes it difficult to gauge the extent of fifth-century rather than sixth-century connections with them.

Early links with the Saxons south of and along the Thames are best seen in the distribution of brooches. The Long Wittenham I, 108 floriate cross applied brooch might be a product of the Surrey/Sussex workshop, and the Wallingford 15 examples, though different, suggest similar affinities. In the later fifth century Surrey and Sussex specialised in cast saucer brooches with tightly coiled running spirals, and the single Upper Thames example (Frilford I, 143) may be an import. Among probable exports from the Upper Thames to these areas in the later fifth century are Group 2.2 cast saucer brooches (examples from West Kent and Sussex) and Group 3.1 applied brooches (a pair from Mucking in Essex).

These items imply that the Thames was a major line of communication for the Upper Thames Region with other Saxon communities. Given the lack of early fifth century sites in South Wessex, the Upper Thames Region probably also acquired its few 'Quoit-Brooch' objects, made perhaps in either Kent or Sussex, by the same route. Derivative flat annular brooches could have been

similarly obtained, and these may have stimulated local production of the form in the Upper Thames Region. It would be logical to argue that the luxury imports of the middle and later fifth century, like Frankish swords, glass, and bronze vessels, were also acquired by this means. The distribution of early glass vessels (Evison 1965, Maps 5-6) conforms with such an interpretation, especially the concentration of a number at East Shefford, which is comparable with other south-eastern cemeteries, but is unparalleled elsewhere in the Upper Thames Region. Since East Shefford is one of the most southerly sites in the Region, it would have been well placed to take special advantage of such a line of communication. But it is not really so close to the Thames itself; rather, it lies on a natural routeway between the Upper Thames Valley and the Winchester/Salisbury area, which may explain the occurrence there of several other late fifth or earliest sixth-century items best paralleled in South Wessex. These include the sword-scabbard from grave 1, paralleled at Black Patch, Pewsey, and the only example in the Upper Thames Region of the South Wessex type II spearhead. There are a few other probably late fifth-century examples of imports and exports between North and South Wessex: two examples of the Upper Thames Group 1.1.3 saucer brooches are known from Hampshire, while the Long Wittenham I, 128 bucket is of a type otherwise known only in South Wessex. But the best evidence of a connection is the distribution of types K and L spearheads, and, to a lesser extent, of types I and J. They are not exclusive to Wessex, but they are concentrated there, and I have already discussed (p.314) the idea that they are the products of a few specialised smithies working under aristocratic patronage, some arguably in the Upper Thames Valley itself in the later fifth century. So, although the Thames probably represented the principal fifth-century line of communication for the Upper Thames Saxons, the importance of a north-south routeway, once the South Wessex settlements had been

established, should not be underestimated. It may not be a coincidence that the only English parallel for the Frankish swords at Abingdon comes from Petersfinger in Wiltshire.

Since Leeds propounded his 'Ickniel Way' theory, scholars have tended to concentrate on connections between the Upper Thames Region and the Midlands, but these are, in fact, difficult to assess. Most of the features shared between the East Midlands and the Upper Thames Valley in the fifth century are common to Saxon culture in general; there are the early imported brooches and especially the pottery styles, and later the occasional example in the South Midlands of, for example, a running spiral saucer brooch. The occurrence of cremation burial at an early date and on a substantial scale represents a more impressive link with the areas to the north-east, in contrast to the Saxon areas to the south; but it too may indicate only a commonly inherited cultural trait. From the very beginning cremation and inhumation were equally practised in the Upper Thames, and the relative lack of cremation further south may be due both to a slightly later date of settlement in some areas, and to a greater influence from Roman customs in others. In the later fifth century the presence of a few variants of the Upper Thames Group 3.1 applied brooches in the South Midlands, and a few imports of small-long brooches into the Thames Valley, probably from the East Midlands, suggests occasional contact. There is a strong possibility, however, that disc brooches were first developed in Cambridgeshire through contacts with the Upper Thames Valley, but their significance cannot be established until the chronology of the Cambridgeshire brooches is demonstrated.

Since the Avon Valley settlement had barely begun by AD 500, there is little evidence of contact with them. The Group 2.2 saucer brooches at Broadway Hill, on the border between the Avon Valley and the Upper Thames Region, suggests that this site may be a late fifth-century outpost of the

latter. The broad U-shaped sword-chape from Bredon's Norton may be another link of about AD 500.

The connections of the Upper Thames Region cemeteries with British material culture is no less significant. It would now seem that the 'Quoit-Brooch' workshops of Kent and Sussex were operated by Britons, but for a Germanic market, and, to judge from the Mucking belt-set, were attempting to supply these Germans with belt-equipment similar to that previously supplied by official Roman workshops to members of the army. There are few examples of 'Quoit-Brooch' products in the Region, but there are other items which suggest that sub-Roman craftsmen might have been active there. These are the very simplified versions of the military belt found in some later fifth-century graves, together with the derivative IA and IA/IIIB buckles, possibly made in the same western workshops which seem to have supplied the earlier types I and II buckles (Hawkes 1973,148). Just as the 'Quoit-Brooch' workshops also produced a few, and expensive, brooches for the Germanic womenfolk, so from before the middle of the fifth century sub-Roman workshops in the Saxon areas seem to have initiated a large-scale production of flat annular and disc brooches, both based on 'Quoit-Brooch' products, which could satisfy growing Saxon requirements. It is, of course, debatable whether the craftsmen remained exclusively British, or whether Saxons took over both control and operation of the workshops. Two other objects, the Late Roman-style knife-sheath from Brighthampton grave 22 and the sword-chape from grave 31, might even have been specifically commissioned from British craftsmen.

Another facet of British-Saxon contacts is suggested by the possibility that the Saxons adopted some British customs, for example, the wearing of finger rings and especially of bracelets by children, and also the burial of collections of rings and of token combs (above, pp.198ff.,217).

What, then, can be inferred from this evidence about the initial Anglo-

Saxon settlement of the Upper Thames Region ? It has long been accepted that the Dorchester I, 1 grave is that of a German soldier, and the neighbouring grave 2, and possibly Dorchester II as well, suggests that his detachment of soldiers was accompanied by its own womenfolk. Usually these graves have been dated to 'c.400', implying a certain degree of precision, but the belt-set has now been shown to be more typical of the early fifth century (Böhme's period III), though it might have been acquired while Britain was still officially Roman, and the jewellery in both the women's graves should not be dated more closely than to Böhme's period II, c.380-420. The limitations on archaeological dating at this period mean that it is not legitimate to distinguish these three graves chronologically from the other earliest graves in Abingdon I, Dorchester VI, and Frilford I; all belong in the early fifth century (there is no good evidence for any predating 400). Nor can they be distinguished on other grounds. On present evidence Dorchester I appears to have been solely a Roman cemetery, so that there might seem to be some functional difference between the Saxon graves in it and those in the purely Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Abingdon and Dorchester VI. But the combination of a Roman and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Frilford demonstrates that such simple distinctions are misleading. The existence of a close working relationship between Britons and Saxons, implicit in Dorchester I and II, can be equally invoked in the case of Frilford; and there is nothing to distinguish the earliest inhumations and cremations at Frilford from those at Abingdon and Dorchester VI. Moreover, all these early graves display a common Saxon continental ancestry, So, however much previous ideas of a fine dating for these graves, as well as the suspected historical complexity of the period, might tempt us to provide individual explanations for the origins of each cemetery, the essentially homogeneous archaeological nature of the earliest graves cannot be denied.

The best explanation of the evidence - the accommodation and tolerance of Saxon warriors and their families, probably during the first quarter of the fifth century, in and close to Dorchester, where Roman Britons were still living - is that it represents the hiring of a group of Saxons as foederati. This interpretation is conventional (cf. Myres 1969,89) and relies for its historical model on known Late Roman policy and Gildas' description of the hiring of Saxon federates. But, since it is derived from archaeological evidence, which has to deal with the general, not the particular, and since there are no other relevant documentary sources, the political circumstances which surrounded such a development cannot be known.

For example, why and how this hiring took place cannot be explained. Gildas' story has been used to suggest that foederati were employed on a quasi-national basis and placed in strategic positions throughout southern and eastern England to protect British interests. The Upper Thames Region has never fitted this interpretation very well, since it seems too remote from specific and serious threats from Irish or Picts. Until the foundation dates of the other Anglo-Saxon settlements are established, the extent of any overall policy cannot be gauged. However, there is no reason why civitates should not have hired foederati on a more individual basis, to protect local interests, rather than against foreign enemies; the breakdown of political order after 410 may have been more rapid than is imagined, and the need for some sort of military presence more acute. Myres has suggested that the ruling council of Silchester initiated the Thames Valley settlement, placing its barbarian protectors at a discreet distance from itself. Lack of good evidence makes it impossible to comment on such an hypothesis, though at the moment there is much less evidence for a vigorous community at Silchester in the fifth century than there is at Verulamium or Cirencester. Certainly Myres' hypothesis is incompatible with Boon's suggestion that

Grim's Dyke was built in the early fifth century; one or other would have to be modified, though there is scarcely the evidence to support further hypotheses. Verulamium and Cirencester are both possible suggestions for the role of principal agent. The former, possibly cooperating with London, seems to have held a large area north of the Thames, including the Chilterns, as a British stronghold. If Mucking is also a federate settlement (Evison 1968,241), holding the entrance to the Thames, is it possible that the Upper Thames sites were intended to guard the other end of this major line of communication, which would have provided London with access to the rich inland agricultural areas ? On a more local scale, the Upper Thames federates would have supervised the approaches to the Chilterns. Alternatively, they could have been hired by the rich landowners and capitalists of Cirencester and north Oxfordshire, concerned to protect their investments and outlets. The Dorchester settlements are most obviously placed to protect the Oxfordshire pottery industry, but they would also have held the river passages for the transportation of produce from the Cotswold sheep farms and the valley arable areas. I see no way of deciding between these alternatives at present.

Similarly, it is not possible to demonstrate how this federate settlement developed from its nucleus around Dorchester into the substantial and widespread group of settlements evident in the later fifth century. Again, the conventional interpretation is based on Gildas' report that the federates, dissatisfied with the scale of their rewards, rebelled and thus made way for large-scale migrations of their kinsmen from the continent. Since the Saxon federates had the military power, their eventual acquisition of political control was inevitable. The question is, how soon did this happen ? It had certainly occurred by the second half of the fifth century.

Two archaeological features might be relevant. The first is the size

of the federate settlement, for it is probable that the larger it was, the faster would the Saxons' supremacy become irresistible. Plainly the few recognisably early graves are not representative: none of the known cemeteries has been totally excavated, more must await discovery, and, since few of the initial settlers probably had surplus possessions available for burial, many of the unaccompanied graves may belong, in fact, to this period. But, secondly, peaceable working relations must have existed for long enough to allow the permanent adoption of some British customs by the Saxons, perhaps partly through marriage with British women, and for Saxon patronage of British metalworkers to become an established part of the local economy.

If the general notions of rebellion and subsequent migration can be accepted as useful working hypotheses, then the archaeological evidence, at least from the Upper Thames Region, does not suggest that they involved the disturbed and disorganised conditions which continual and 'uncontrolled' immigration would have caused. There is a marked growth in wealth evident in the Upper Thames Region settlements in the later fifth century. Weapons became far more common: there are the special K and L spearheads, as well as the Group 1 shield bosses, and, perhaps most important, the emergence of a series of sword-graves (eg. Abingdon I, B42, 49, Brighthampton 31, Long Wittenham I, A, as well as others from around AD 500, such as Burford, Chinnor I, East Shefford 1, Fairford AM 1961.63, Long Wittenham I, 67). The importing of bronze and glass vessels, which occur in some male and female graves, and the establishment in the later fifth century of workshops making, for the first time in the Region, saucer brooches in the ancestral tradition are other indications of prosperity and stability. The exchange of these objects also makes it possible to detect important connections between the Upper Thames settlers and other Saxons lower down the Thames.

The distribution of the post-federate settlements is also remarkable, for, although the core of the Thames Valley is strengthened by further settlements, the other new sites are widely scattered. If there had been a simple mass migration, as is normally envisaged, one would expect the new arrivals to have remained close to existing Saxon communities, thus gradually building up a concentrated settlement area, from which substantial groups would move only as new areas were conquered from the Britons. But the discrete disposition of both those cemeteries which were or may have been established before 450 (eg. Minster Lovell, Fairford, Reading) and those which were settled in the second half of the fifth century (eg. Bishopstone, Hampnett) appears to be a deliberate plantation, similar in some ways to the initial settlement. The cultural links of these sites with the central Dorchester area and their date make it most unlikely that they too represent foederati, whether they were employed by sub-Roman rulers or by individual estate owners anxious to protect their own land after the breakdown of town government. So did the new Saxon rulers of the Dorchester area direct the placement of settlers throughout the area which their usurpation of British authority had left to their control ? Would new groups of Saxons, coming under their own leaders, have been willing to cooperate with the Dorchester chieftains in return for an assured allocation of land, which they would then hold and administer for them? This would explain how the Upper Thames Region was able to absorb new immigrants without disorder, while the increase of weapon graves in the later fifth century does suggest that these communities were prepared to protect and expand their territories by warfare.

If this reconstruction is correct, it implies that the area controlled by the Saxons based on Dorchester was already virtually equivalent to the territory allegedly captured by Ceawlin and his colleagues in the later sixth century. It also suggests that they had enjoyed unchallenged control of the

area for a considerable time. This is quite intelligible, for the British were poorly placed to resist a rapid takeover by the Saxon federates; the major towns were on the fringe of the settlement area and the centre was primarily occupied by peasant farmers, who would have acquiesced in, if not actually welcomed, the change in political leadership. Indeed, if this change occurred early in the second quarter of the fifth century, it was probably responsible for the final destruction of Romano-British life, of the end of towns like Cirencester and Silchester, of villas like Shakenoak, and of the Oxfordshire pottery industry. In particular, a powerful Saxon enclave based on Dorchester, but holding the Thames from Fairford to Reading, much of the Cotswolds, and the Aylesbury area, and with access to other Saxon settlers on the Lower Thames, would have isolated the Roman towns of the area from each other. Only at Verulamium, with its shrine of St. Alban, did effective British control probably continue, but within a circumscribed area.

The Sixth Century

The number of sites with sixth-century burials is almost double that with fifth-century ones. This great expansion is apparent from the beginning of the sixth century, for there is little difference between the number of sites in use in each half-century (Table 14) and the rate of burial in the largest datable cemeteries actually reaches its peak in the first half of the sixth century (Table 16), especially at the well-established sites of Abingdon I, Brighthampton, and Long Wittenham I.

Most of the fifth-century sites continue through the sixth century, though obviously those with material only of the period AD 450-550 (Stratton and those listed above, p.406) cannot be shown to last the century, and one or two others may have gone out of use before the later sixth century. The best example is Blewburton Hill with no graves demonstrably later than 550

(Table 16), while Reading I has only two burials datable to the 500-600 period, and the chronological distribution of graves at Frilford I suggests that it too may have been abandoned before the last quarter of the sixth century. However, this argument depends on negative evidence; East Shefford also lacks datable graves of the later sixth century, but its unassociated material indicates that such graves did exist. There are only five certain sites which appear to come into existence in the later sixth century (Coles-hill, East Garston, Streatley, Sutton Courtenay I and IV) and they all depend for their dating on a single grave or object. In addition, mention should be made of the uncatalogued sites of very late sixth-century or even early seventh-century date around Mildenhall in the Kennet Valley.

This evidence of growth is remarkable and can be demonstrated both by the internal development of existing cemeteries and the foundation of new sites. In general, new cemeteries lie close to existing ones and suggest expansion of the Saxon community within these areas and consolidation of their control over the land. There is some expansion in the densest area of settlement between the mouth of the Evenlode and the Goring Gap, with new sites at, for example, Abingdon IV, Cassington I, and Sutton Courtenay, as well as several probably with burials of the period 500-550 (Eynsham I, Oxford I, III and IV, Dorchester III, and Milton I). Expansion is more noticeable, however, in the peripheral areas and seems to have developed especially around the nuclei of settlement established during the fifth century, for example, around Reading in the Middle Thames Valley, around East Shefford in the Lambourn Valley, on the areas of raised ground suitable for settlement south-west of Aylesbury, in the Middle Cherwell Valley, and in West Oxfordshire (cf. Fig. 51 with 52). It is debatable whether the early sixth-century burial sites around Cirencester are new foundations, or whether they confirm the existence of these sites in the late fifth century.

In general, these areas of settlement were on land well suited to agricultural exploitation, but there are also some districts, which seem to receive Saxon settlement in the sixth century for the first time, that tend to be agriculturally less attractive (cf. Fig. 51A with 52): for example, sites are now found on the Corallian Ridge (Coleshill), in the Ock Valley (Cherbury Camp), on the scarp of the western Berkshire Downs (the single putative fifth-century site here, Bassett Down, becoming a certain sixth-century site), and in the area between the Cherwell, Thames and Thame in East Oxfordshire. The one area of good land to be newly occupied is around the head of the Evenlode Valley.

The spread of settlement into the peripheral areas, where the major Roman roads were, means that far more sixth-century than fifth-century sites are actually on or close to these roads. Although the seventh-century site at Bourton-on-the-Water is cut into the carriageway of The Fosse Way, implying that it was no longer in use by that date, the coincidence of sixth-century sites and Roman roads may not be entirely fortuitous; their association is particularly noticeable in the south and west, along the roads radiating from Cirencester. This may be the result of Saxons deliberately taking over estates close to roads. If so, then was it because they appreciated that such estates were well placed for the transportation and marketing of their produce, and was this appreciation stimulated by observation of Romano-British estates still in operation and utilising these lines of communication?

It may be objected that this pattern of sixth-century growth and expansion, which does not accord fully with normally accepted ideas on the Saxon settlement, is an artifice of my own dating techniques. Certainly these have had an effect: my dating of disc brooches between roughly 450 and 550 and of amber beads between 500 and 600 ensures a date in the first

half of the sixth century where they are found together; and, since I have followed Welch in lowering the dating of stamped panel-style pottery, urns which Myres would have placed in the later sixth century have here been dated anywhere between 500 and 600. Even more significant may be the actual increase in the number of grave-goods, especially of highly decorated and therefore distinctive items, and of links with Kent and hence of connections with a more secure chronology. There is thus a larger and more soundly based body of material on which to erect a chronology. Nevertheless, the apparent growth in population is not due solely to an increase in the number of recognisable objects; rather both are facets of the growing strength of Saxon settlement in the Region.

It has already been seen how the development of settlement in the fifth century was accompanied by an increase in wealth of grave-goods, especially noticeable in the number of well equipped warrior-graves. Some of the sword-graves which I listed above (p.423) may actually belong in the early sixth century, and, unless it is an accident of the dating potential of artefacts of this period, there was also a definite increase in the availability of shields and spearheads (Table 13). More spectacular is the appearance of a series of rich female graves, mainly in the last threequarters of the sixth century (eg. Brighthampton 22, 51, Cassington I, 7, Coleshill, Dorchester VI, 102, 107, Fairford 4, 7, Long Wittenham I, 71, 111, 123; Wheatley 14 is a similar grave of the early seventh century). These are characterised by their possession of cast or applied saucer brooches and/or great square-headed brooches (the most lavish of the brooch-forms available to Saxon women), long strings of amber beads together with beads of rock crystal and metal-in-glass, items of silver like finger rings, bracelets, and beads, and sometimes purses or châtelaines, buckets or glass vessels, or other rare objects. They may be compared with the very rich series of graves of the

middle decades of the sixth century in Kent (eg. Bifrons 41, Finglesham D3, v. Chadwick 1958,49), and with other examples from Saxon and Anglian districts (eg. Alfriston 28 and 43, Bidford-on-Avon 88, Holywell Row 11).

The immediate source of these rich grave-assemblages was the flourishing development of workshops by this date, both in the Upper Thames, producing notably cast saucer brooches, and elsewhere. But their productivity depended on a greater supply of metals than had hitherto been available; it is symptomatic that this period witnessed the appearance of silver objects in graves, albeit infrequently, and a greater use of gilding on bronze objects. Raw materials and labour could only be paid for, however, through surplus production from agriculture; the more general possession of metal objects and particularly the wealthy equipment of the leading families reflect the growing prosperity of the Saxon community.

The increased production of artefacts led to an increase in the number exchanged between regions, which, in turn, gives the impression of growing connections between the Anglo-Saxon settlements. Links with the Saxons south of and along the Thames remained strong, though the relative lack of distinctive later sixth-century graves in Sussex and Surrey makes connections with them less marked than during the earlier period. The export of saucer brooches from the vigorous Upper Thames workshops is the most obvious element in relationships with other Saxons, while the appearance of cremation urns, including panel-style pottery, at Kingsworthy and Fareham in South Wessex is most economically explained by some strong connection with the Upper Thames Valley (Myres 1969,112-3). Square-headed and button brooches were probably imported from south Saxon areas and even stimulated local production in the Thames Valley. More general southerly connections, already detected in the import of 'Quoit-Brooch' objects and strengthened by the establishment of the Hampshire/Wiltshire Saxon settlement, can be detected in the import and

copying of a range of items, such as 'anseate' and other miscellaneous brooches, Style I-and-garnet buckle plates, Group 3 shield bosses, and mask-in-vandyke buckets. It is debatable whether various later sixth-century spearhead types (C3-4,D2,E3-4,F2) and the Dorchester VI, 52 'low-cone' shield boss were also acquired from southern Saxon areas or directly from Kent, where they were most popular. The Kentish influence on Groups 10-18 saucer brooches and the occurrence of a few of these as exports in Kent might suggest that by the middle decades of the sixth century there were some direct connections with East Kent.

The Upper Thames Region's influence on the Avon Valley settlements in the sixth century is most evident; many of the 'Saxon' aspects of these cemeteries - notably the saucer and great square-headed brooches - find their closest parallels in the Upper Thames, and some of them seem to have emanated from workshops with a specifically western Upper Thames/Cotswolds market. Similar, though more diffuse, evidence of brooch exports and imports indicates a strengthening of links between the Upper Thames and both the South and East Midlands. From about the middle of the sixth century Group 4.1 and 10-18 saucer brooches were exported, and a few of Group 7 saucer brooches, Group 3.2 applied brooches, flat annular and small-long brooches, and occasionally other Anglian objects (eg. wrist-clasp, girdle-hanger and silver bracelet) were imported. However, the overall distribution of spearhead and shield boss types (eg. Swanton 1974a, figs. 24, 38, 40, 49) and pottery styles (Myres 1969, Map 9) remains the best evidence of shared cultural traits; but unfortunately it is rarely possible to isolate the original production centre of these, though unbossed panel style might have been developed first in East Anglia and later spread throughout most of Anglo-Saxon England.

The most fundamental implication resulting from this description of the development of Saxon settlement in the Upper Thames Region concerns the battle

of Badon. It has become an established canon of nearly all archaeological and historical writing that this battle caused a serious break in Saxon settlement, and in particular that it halted West Saxon expansion; moreover, though most scholars have acknowledged the conflict between the dates of early West Saxon battles given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Gildas' report of forty years of peace, none has been led to reject totally Gildas' testimony. The evidence from the Upper Thames Region demonstrates that in the first half of the sixth century there was no check to the growth of the Saxon community within the areas already settled, and that, far from there being an impediment to territorial expansion, there is evidence of vigorous development⁶. Not even Alcock's astute observation that Gildas actually calls Badon 'almost the last battle' (1971,27) can adequately explain away this evidence.

Two alternative explanations could be proposed. Either the normal inference from Gildas' report of a period of peace, that there was a break in Saxon settlement, is wrong, or the battle of Badon was so far removed from the Upper Thames Region that it had no effect on it. The former, as Alcock has urged (1971,115), can only be demonstrated by chronological analyses of all other Anglo-Saxon settlement areas comparable with that presented here; the latter can scarcely be established on the available evidence. For Gildas gives no information on the site of Badon. Since he addressed princes who ruled from Dumnonia to North Wales, it might be presumed that his knowledge was drawn from these areas and that an important battle fought anywhere along the boundary line between Anglo-Saxons and Britons from the Peak District to Dorset or south Wiltshire would be remembered in them.

Two factors have led most scholars to place Badon in the south. First and most important, the Annales Cambriae sa 665 record Bellum badonis secundo. The presumption is that this was also fought between Britons and Saxons,

and that therefore the site of Badon should lie in an area of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon expansion. The West Saxon conquest of the south-west peninsula has been thought most appropriate, though, if Badon is then equated with Badbury Rings in Dorset, it involves the assumption that Dorset was overcome after the Saxons had conquered the area around Exeter (battle of Posentesbyrig sa 661 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; v. Hoskins 1960). But there are more important objections than this, which centre round the context of the Annales Cambriae annal. It comes in the section for which almost all the sources are north British (Hughes 1973,7-9), and it may be remembered that the English conquest of north Britain was not yet complete, though admittedly Cumbria and south Scotland are not plausible areas for an earlier battle involving Anglo-Saxons about AD 500 (Jackson 1955). There is no reason to believe that the second annal entry is contemporary, let alone the first Badon entry sa 516; the former is associated, possibly falsely, with one certain northern event, the Synod of Whitby, and one probable, the death of Morcant (plausibly the descendant of Coel Hen who ends Genealogy X in Harleian MS 3859), and the use of the word secundo could be a later compiler's interpretation of the scraps of information before him. In any case, there is no evidence that the battle was fought against Saxons rather than against other Britons; internecine warfare particularly bedevilled the British principalities of the north.

The second factor predisposing scholars to a southern site for Badon is Gildas' description of the battle as obsessionis Badonici montis, implying an elevated and fortified site. Many Dark Age battles occurred at hill-forts and these are best known in Wessex. Professor Jackson (1958) has reviewed the philological evidence, best provided by Badbury place-names, and has suggested Badbury Rings, a hill-fort in Dorset, as the most plausible site. Mrs. Hawkes has put forward a cogent archaeological case for this being so

(O'Donnell Lecture in the University of Wales, 1974; also review in Arch.J., 130,1973,335; Early Anglo-Saxon Wessex: outline survey and policy for excavation and research, typescript memorandum prepared for the Area Archaeological Advisory Committee for Wessex, July 1976). She argues that the penetration of Saxon settlers from the south coast into Hampshire and Wiltshire during the second half of the fifth century would have posed a grave threat by about 500 to the integrity of Dumnonia. A major British victory in Dorset could explain why the South Wessex settlements remained geographically confined during the sixth century, only expanded into Salisbury Plain during the seventh century, and did not finally conquer Dumnonia until well into that century. Although the salvation of Dumnonia would have been of great significance to the Britons and worthy of association with the name of Arthur (cf. Alcock 1971,27), the failure of the battle to have any impact on the Upper Thames Region is a little surprising, especially given its important connections with the Hampshire/Wiltshire settlements from the late fifth century onwards. If Badbury Rings is the site of Badon (and the equation depends on a number of hypotheses, few of which rest on good evidence), then perhaps it was too far removed from the Upper Thames to have affected it. But a site in the North Midlands would also fulfill this requirement, and, if the association with Arthur has any relevance, then it is significant that the earliest Arthurian material has a northern and not a south-western background (Jones 1964; Bromwich 1963 and 1975-6). The reality of a post-Badon check on Saxon settlement can be established only by archaeological assessment; Mrs. Hawkes has produced positive evidence, I have produced negative evidence, but many more areas of Saxon settlement need comparable analysis.

The distribution and chronology of sixth-century cemeteries in the Upper Thames Region also have important consequences for an interpretation of

the career of Ceawlin. To the ninth-century chronicler the creation of Wessex, as he knew it, was achieved by Ceawlin and his family, who, he appears to imply marched out of South Wessex and by fighting Britons at Barbury Castle in 556, the Jutes of Kent in Surrey in 568, and more Britons at Biedcanford (571), Dyrham (577), and Fethanleag⁷ (584), made themselves rulers of a greater Wessex, with control of some adjacent Anglo-Saxon and British territories. The Anglo-Saxons of the early eighth century accorded Ceawlin the title of Bretwalda as a description of the form of over kingship which he exercised.

The significance of these Chronicle entries for the formation and organisation of 'greater Wessex' can only be established by study of the documentary evidence, which has so far failed to provide a truly satisfactory explanation, and probably always will. For it appears that these documents had probably been manipulated during the period 550-700 in the cause of dynastic propaganda (Kirby 1965), and since there are so few of them and nearly all come from a single text, it may prove impossible to demonstrate which elements are later constructions and interpolations and which are original statements of fact (I shall return to this in my final review of the archaeological and documentary evidence). The archaeological evidence can make a contribution to their assessment, but, by its nature, cannot produce political or military history on its own. In particular, it suggests that both some of the later sixth-century annals and certain modern hypotheses based on them are simplistic and misleading.

Myres (1969, 119-21) has suggested that the marked development in relationships between the Upper Thames Region and the Midlands, especially the East Midlands, during the later sixth century was the result of the hegemony established by Ceawlin. The best evidence for this strengthening of connections is the distribution of the products of the Upper Thames

saucer-brooch workshops, which were at the height of their activity in this very period. Only if the dates of Ceawlin's reign are lowered, as Kirby (1965,20) has shown might be possible, would his career coincide with the beginning of this great period of production; but if the Chronicle dates are accepted at face-value, which Myres did, then the increase in connections between the Upper Thames Region and the Midlands plainly predates the relevant battles, and appears simply as a culmination of existing links. This would apply equally to the evidence on which Myres mainly depended - the distribution of unbossed panel-style pottery - which he would date from the middle of the century and I would date from even earlier. The only development which might be attributed to Ceawlin's campaigns is the occurrence of direct links with Kent in the later sixth century, possibly consequent on the battle of Wibbandun in 568. However, it seems more probable that the growth in prosperity, which made possible the flourishing of metal workshops and the burial of certain individuals in a fairly lavish manner, also provided Ceawlin with the resources to finance his military activities.

I have also demonstrated that nearly all the area allegedly conquered in the second half of the sixth century was already settled by that date, and in some cases had been for over one hundred years. The inconsistency between the record of the battle of Biedcanford sa 571 - incidentally the only West Saxon annal of this period which does not personally involve Ceawlin - and the evidence for much earlier settlement in the areas around Limbury, Aylesbury, and Eynsham, three of the tuns said to have been captured as a result of the battle, has always received comment from scholars writing of this period (v. especially the works of E.T.Leeds). It must be presumed that this battle was fought, if not between Saxons and Saxons, at least between Saxons and Britons with Saxon support, and that the takeover of tuns already occupied by Saxons was a political assertion by Cuthwulf, and

presumably Ceawlin, of their dynasty's authority over them. Bensington (Fig. 52, site 17) is the only one of the four tuns which lacks good evidence of nearby Saxon settlement. East Oxfordshire west of the Thame was colonised only in the sixth century, and the area to the east, at the foot of the Chilterns, not until the seventh century (below, p.445); it could be argued that the so-called 'capture' of Bensington, in fact, represented its plantation as a royal vill to control the pocket of unsettled land between the Thames and the Aylesbury community, which lay so close to the heart of the Upper Thames settlement.

An inconsistency between the archaeological evidence and the annal for 577 recording the battle of Dyrham, the capture of the Roman towns of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, and the killing of three named British kings, has not been previously observed. Yet the evidence for Saxon settlement around and even within the town of Cirencester is quite substantial, and appears to be part of the general expansion of settlement in the Upper Thames Region in the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries. Even if Gloucester and Bath were captured from the Britons, it is most unlikely that Cirencester was still under purely British rule. It would seem that different political circumstances surrounded the takeover of the three towns and this casts doubt therefore on their chronological association in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as well as on their implicit connection with the three British kings. I have already remarked that there is no way of knowing whether the early Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries are chronologically and politically accurate (above, p.395), and this appears to be an example where they are not; this annal may be the result of a later chronicler's attempt to rationalise his individual memoranda on early West Saxon history.

Although the steady expansion and economic growth of the Upper Thames Saxons during the sixth century probably involved warfare not only against

Britons but also among the various local chieftains vying for power, there is little support in the archaeological evidence for the Chronicle's story of West Saxon development. The Upper Thames Region, apparently defined in the Chronicle by the battles of 556, 571, 577, and 584, was already colonised by AD 550; on the other hand, its southern boundary, the Kennet Valley, which could have been captured in the 550's according to the Chronicle, shows ^{little} evidence of settlement ^{except the sixth-century site at West Overton} and the appearance, c.600, of three graves near Mildenhall with typically Upper Thames style ornaments. But the archaeological picture, of a large and culturally unified area centred on the Abingdon/Dorchester district and maintained by a steady growth of prosperity, continues into the early seventh century, when the wealth of its ruling princes becomes most apparent.

The Seventh Century

There are slightly fewer burial sites of the seventh century than there are of the sixth century (Tables 14-15, Fig. 53). However, given that most seventh-century burials are simply furnished or unfurnished and are therefore less likely to have been recognised in the field, the number is higher than might have been expected. They fall into three very distinct types: early seventh-century burials in standard pagan cemeteries, rich male barrow-burials, and 'Final-Phase' or 'Christian' cemeteries.

A few of the fifth/sixth-century cemeteries - Abingdon I, Dorchester VI, Harwell, Long Wittenham I, and Wheatley - continued to be used during the early seventh century. Their latest graves are characterised by a distinct group of artefacts, as well as by a few objects, such as long combs or buckles, typical of the seventh century. The former includes, in particular, weapons especially characteristic of seventh-century Kent, such as 'low cone' shield bosses and E3 and E4 spearheads, and also the largest and latest of cast saucer brooches. These items could date from the late sixth

century, but their number, homogeneity, and the fact that there is no reason for these cemeteries to have been abandoned before the second third of the century, when Christianity was introduced to the Region, argues for an early seventh-century dating. Similar material occurs at four other sites: Mildenhall, Ashendon, and Stone are sites represented by only one or two graves, though the last may have come into use during the sixth century, while grave 19 at Standlake I was related in some way to a cemetery with burials of both the early seventh century and the later 'Final Phase' (Dickinson 1973b). The large saucer brooches from Dorchester vi must also represent a burial of this period in the Dorchester area.

Although this material demonstrates the use of some pagan cemeteries in the early seventh century, its absence from the majority of sites in use in the sixth century raises a series of questions. Were these sites, in fact, abandoned about AD 600 ? Or should the 'time-lag' burial factor be applied especially to objects of the later sixth century, thus extending their period of use and burial into the early seventh century ? Or was there a shift away from burial with ostentatious grave-goods, so that the majority of burials of this date lacks recognisable grave-furniture, in just the same way as most burials in 'Final Phase' cemeteries ?

The last suggestion is most plausible. 'Final Phase' cemeteries are most frequently de novo foundations, so that their relative lack of grave-goods, one of their leading characteristics, appears to be an essential part of the overall change in burial custom which they represent. This change is most often attributed to the introduction of Christianity, so that in the Upper Thames Region 'Final Phase' cemeteries should not be expected before AD 635. However, though most do seem to date from a later period than the one in question, a considerable number of the artefacts found in them cannot be so finely dated. Nor are all 'Final Phase' graves found in distinct and

separate cemeteries, as Standlake I in the Upper Thames Region or Finglesham in Kent exemplify. So, although classic 'Final Phase' graves and grave-goods are easily recognised, it cannot be shown that all their elements are innovations, nor that these post-date the arrival of Christianity. I have already suggested that the custom of comb-burial was changing in this period, before the coming of Christianity (above, p.219), and it is possible that there was also an increase in burials without grave-goods of note.

The latest recognisable phase of burials in standard pagan cemeteries is distinctive for another reason. Most of the burials rank in wealth and status with the rich graves of the sixth century; the enormous saucer brooches of the women, which must have been costly, are matched by the relatively rare and possibly imported weapons of the men. The three seventh-century graves at Dorchester VI (22,28,52) are particularly noticeable for their proximity in the centre of the excavated burial area.

It would seem that while the mass of the population was forésaking burial with weapons and jewellery, a few high-ranking families continued to display their wealth in burial. This phenomenon also occurs in 'Final Phase' cemeteries, but whether the very few wealthy burials in those represent the only rich members of the community, or simply those who have not fully accepted the customs practised by the rest, is a moot point. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the latest phase of burial in the major cemeteries is marked by a few wealthy graves and a large proportion of simple burials add a significant dimension to assessment of my second group of seventh century burials.

These are the four richly furnished burials of men, three certainly and the other probably under primary barrow mounds. Two are datable to the first half of the century (Cuddesdon and Asthall) and two to the second (East Ilsey I, 3 and Lowbury Hill). The former pair are linked by their rituals and grave-assemblages to a series of outstanding graves, including

the barrows of Sutton Hoo, Broomfield, Caenby, Coombe, and Taplow, which are the richest burials known in Anglo-Saxon England, ranging in date over the late sixth century and the first four decades of the seventh. I have suggested elsewhere that they are the burials of persons of 'princely' rank and that Cuddesdon was the barrow-burial of a member of the West Saxon dynasty. Cuddesdon, with its possible human sacrifices, is a fully pagan burial, datable within the first third of the seventh century, and may have belonged either to a junior member of the ruling Wessex lineage or to a scion of that dynasty who ruled as a sub-king over part of the Upper Thames Region. It is possible that the Sutton Hoo-style pyramidal stud from Dorchester ix represents a comparable burial from within Dorchester itself (Dickinson 1974).

Asthall, despite the fact that it was a total cremation burial and was excavated in a most inexpert and partial manner, has an impressive grave-assembly, including at least six vessels, two of bronze and one of silver. It should be ranked with the other 'princely' burials, though it lacks any object which may date it closely; it may belong to any time within the first half of the seventh century. Total cremation under a barrow is very rare in England, and though cremation with the ashes placed in a metal vessel and unburnt grave-goods added before interment is known from several wealthy burials of this period, the only parallel to Asthall is Cold Eaton in the Peak District (Ozanne 1962-3, 37). Sutton Hoo mound 4 may have been a total cremation with the bones in a metal vessel, while mound 3 contained unburnt grave-goods, but lacked an actual container for the ashes (Bruce-Mitford 1975, 100ff.). But total cremation was a standard burial rite in Norway and Sweden, the most spectacular examples being the great mounds at Old Uppsala. Other aspects of the classic Scandinavian ritual - notably animal sacrifice, including a horse, and the burial of gaming pieces - are found at Asthall, as well as more generally in the Anglian cremating areas

of England, the culture of which was closely allied to that of Scandinavia (Vierck 1970-1; 1972, esp. 34-5, Abb. 5). Gaming pieces occur in cremation urns from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon settlement (eg. Caistor-by-Norwich N59), but in the late sixth and seventh centuries they are found most frequently in barrow-burials, including, for the first time, inhumations in southern England. They are also specifically associated with male graves, whether inhumation or cremation (cf. *Antiq. J.*, 54, 1974, 89, n. 5; Lackford 48, 2474 is a rare exception, a female burial). This fact and the occurrence of the large number of vessels, another characteristic of rich male graves, suggest that the principal burial at Asthall was of a man, not a woman as Leeds believed. However, the bones of a young adult of slender stature and the presence of a girdle-hanger might imply that there was also a woman, and, given the evidence of animal sacrifice and the possible association between cremation rituals, sacrifice, and Odin worship (Ellis Davidson and Webster 1967, 9-11), it is possible that Asthall, like Cuddesdon, involved human sacrifice.

The position of Asthall, on the edge of Wychwood, the strongly Anglian nature of its burial ritual, and its broad dating link it, not with a West Saxon dynasty centred on Dorchester, but with the period of Mercian expansion into Wessex. The first evidence of this is Penda's battle in 628 at Cirencester, but it is followed by his expulsion of Cenwalh in 645 and the latter's subsequent concern with expansion south-westwards, his apparent creation of a 'buffer territory' on the Berkshire Downs under his kinsman Cuthred, and his final withdrawal of the bishopric in the 660's from Dorchester to Winchester. The complex campaigns of Wulfhere and Aethelred of Mercia and Cadwalla and Ine of Wessex between the 660's and 680's in Sussex, the Isle of Wight, and Kent reflect their struggle for ascendancy over the minor kingdoms of the south. Mercian control of the area north of the Upper Thames was consolidated by the middle of the seventh century through the

creation of the sub-kingdom of the Hwicce, an administrative and fiscal unit subservient to Mercia, but governed by its own dynasty (Finberg 1961, 167-80; Davies and Vierck 1974, 225-6, 237). Finberg has argued that this dynasty stemmed from a group of exiled Bernician princes. Although this cannot be proved, the imposition of Mercian rule would most probably have involved princes of Anglian origin. It is possible that Asthall is the burial of either one of the early and still pagan princes of the Hwicce, or some Mercian Angle charged with administration of this district.

East Ilsey I, 3 and Lowbury Hill are in classic barrow situations, high up on either side of a dry valley in the eastern Berkshire Downs. Both contained sugar-loaf shield bosses, which with the one from Milton II, a few miles to the north in the Thames Valley, are the only examples of this type in the Region, and both represent the burials of adult male warriors of the later seventh century. Lowbury Hill is the more lavish burial, with a full weapon set and a bronze bowl, but it is much less grand than the group of rich burials discussed above. These graves may represent local thegns, and are paralleled by barrow-burials in other upland areas, such as the Peak District and Salisbury Plain, though it has never been explained why such pagan expressions of status should have continued in these territories, while elsewhere simple burial in 'Final Phase' cemeteries or even churchyards was preferred.

But it is the incidence in the early seventh century of, on the one hand, a few 'princely' burials and a small number of wealthy graves in flat inhumation cemeteries, and on the other hand, of an apparent general decline in burial with grave-goods that is most interesting. Does this polarisation of burial custom reflect a polarisation in society? I have suggested that the appearance of a series of sword-graves in the late fifth century and of even more relatively wealthy graves in the sixth century reflects the establishment of a number of local leading families, whose power and wealth

was based on the general growth in prosperity of the Anglo-Saxon community. The appearance throughout England of lavish barrow-burial during the last real period of paganism coincides with both the time of greatest gold supply and the emergence of large kingdoms with ordered administrative sub-units. Barrow-burial became appropriate to members of royal dynasties, and was copied and continued by lesser members of the aristocracy throughout the seventh century. But the rise of these powerful royal dynasties could have involved only a few families, and must have been at the expense not only of the other local leading families, but of the entire populace. In Ireland, for example, the rise of new dynasties during the Early Christian Period tended to displace and demote conquered tribes (eg. Byrne 1973,130ff.), while Irish clientship was also weighted towards a general debasement within society. Dr. Charles-Edwards (1972,9-11) has suggested that the weakening of the kin, apparent in the seventh century, may have been aggravated by an increase in population, and he has argued that a similar loosening of the tie between status and wealth, especially for the ceorl class, is apparent in the late seventh-century laws of Ine of Wessex. The demise of the Anglo-Saxon kin-group system has long been recognised as a corollary of the growth of territorial lordship and kingship (eg. Loyn 1974). So the apparent link between wealthy burials and the emergence of a ruling class might suggest that the dichotomy in burial customs which occurs in the early seventh century has as much to do with political and economic pressures as with a new religion.

I have already had to refer several times to 'Final Phase' cemeteries, but they must now be considered in their own right, for they constitute by far the largest proportion of seventh-century cemeteries. These sites are characterised throughout England by west-east burials, often in rows, and most frequently unaccompanied or simply furnished with a knife and buckle, or other item for fastening clothing; male graves normally lack weapons,

especially swords, and females no longer wear brooches and long strings of beads, but delicate pins, pendants, sometimes of gold, plain glass beads, and long châtelaines with distinctive appendages. Lethbridge called these cemeteries 'Christian' (1931, 47-8, 82-4), and he has been followed in this interpretation by Hyslop (1963) and, with the qualification that 'proto-Christian' is more apt, by Hawkes (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, esp. 50-6; Hawkes 1973a, 186). I have preferred to follow Leeds' use of the term 'Final Phase' (Leeds 1936, ch. VI; Dickinson 1973b), since it involves only chronological assumptions. For these cemeteries represent the final recognisable stage of Anglo-Saxon burial with grave-goods; Kentish graves with sceattas and the Kidlington grave with a long seax date their end within the first half of the eighth century, coinciding with the archiepiscopal decree of the middle of that century that burial was henceforward to be in churchyards. The beginning of these cemeteries, as I have pointed out, is less easy to establish. Grave-goods which may be more finely distinguished in date - gold-and-garnet pendants, the Milton II composite brooches, thread boxes, and broad seaxes - do belong to the period after 635, that is after the establishment of Bishop Birinus at Dorchester; but other regular items in these cemeteries - triangular- and rectangular-plate buckles, glass beads, Style II ornaments, narrow seaxes, and even long combs - could date from an earlier period. Meaney has pointed out also that these cemeteries contain many examples of heathen rituals, even proportionately more than in earlier cemeteries, so that a straightforward 'Christian' interpretation of them is not possible (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 29-33); but it cannot detract from the fact that these sites do represent an archaeological 'Final Phase'. However, it should be added that the appearance of a single new material culture throughout England, in place of the various regional cultures, can only be explained sensibly by the arrival of a powerful and universal influence. This must be Christianity, but it does not mean that all those who acquired the material

by-products of Christianity were actually or even nominally Christian.

The distribution of 'Final Phase' cemeteries in the Upper Thames Region is somewhat different from that of the earlier cemeteries and interpretation is not simple. There are a few sites in the heartland of the Thames Valley around Dorchester (nos 53, 71, 99, 107); those like Long Wittenham II and Dorchester IV appear to be classic examples of the shift of cemetery site from a pagan to a 'semi-Christian' one (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 53-4), and it could be reasonably argued that all these sites do represent communities of converted Saxons. Their position so close to the seat of the West Saxon bishopric⁸ would make their rapid conversion inevitable, while the rich grave-goods from Milton II suggest that some of those buried were people of very high standing, possibly connected in some way with the royal administration of the area.

Most of the 'Final Phase' cemeteries occur, however, in more peripheral areas, where they form distinct clusters. Only the small group at the head of the Evenlode Valley (23, 29, ?152) and the single site at Cirencester represent a clear continuation of earlier settlement. But the other clusters are preceded by a single earlier site at the most. The sites on or just below the crest of the Chilterns scarp (6, 91, 61; Bledlow I (20) contains cremations, which are not a classic 'Final Phase' feature, but some of the grave-goods and therefore its dating do belong to the 'Final Phase'), in the lower and middle Evenlode Valley (64, 97, 109, 131, 35), to the north of Aylesbury (79, ?113), and in the Vale of the White Horse (96, 120) are all on land of marginal or secondary agricultural value (cf. Fig. 51A with 53); they could be interpreted as evidence of seventh-century colonisation. However, the gravel terraces on either side of the lower Windrush, where there is a remarkable concentration of sites, preceded only by the cemetery at Brighthampton, can hardly be described as marginal land. I have suggested elsewhere (Dickinson 1973b, 250) that Standlake I, which began in the very

early seventh century, represented a local shift of settlement, and possibly many of the other sites reflect complex changes in local settlement. Taylor (1974) has reminded us that such changes were a continual element in rural life. The foundation of many of the 'Final Phase' cemeteries may therefore be the result primarily of economic factors, though the occurrence of classic 'Final Phase' grave-goods in most of them implies that these settlers were in close association with communities which had adopted the new culture and probably the new religion. Indeed, the explicit crosses from Ducklington 2, North Leigh, and Standlake I, 8 might indicate that some of the people buried in these cemeteries were Christian.

The major puzzle concerning the 'Final Phase' sites is their absence from several areas of old established Saxon settlement, such as the Reading area, the district around Oxford between the Evenlode and the Cherwell, and on the Berkshire Downs. It may be simply accidental that sites have not been found yet in these areas, and a deliberate policy of investigation might solve the problem. But if this is not the case, then more unexpected hypotheses will be required.

By its nature, the evidence from seventh-century burial sites in the Upper Thames Region does not provide a unified picture, and can contribute little to knowledge of the general history of the area. Since both 'princely' burials and 'Final Phase' cemeteries are found throughout England, it is no longer possible to detect regional differences or connections, though Asthall is distinctly Anglian, and the Dorchester pyramidal stud suggests a high level connection with the royal court of East Anglia. I have argued elsewhere that this stud, gold coinage, and other items from Dorchester, and the proximity of the 'princely' burial at Cuddesdon imply that Dorchester was the early seventh-century centre of royal administration and that this explains its choice for the site of the first bishopric in 635

Dickinson 1973a,1974). The importance of this district continues to be apparent in the incidence of 'Final Phase' cemeteries there. There is also evidence for important new settlement, especially in Wychwood and the Chilterns. The latter area may have been taken over from Britons, while the former came under Mercian control in the middle of the century. Both these districts appear in the Tribal Hidage as important administrative units, but archaeology cannot detect whether they were settled by Angles, or by Saxons from the Upper Thames, nor what these administrative and political changes meant for the core of the West Saxon settlement in the Upper Thames Valley.

Summary: The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and the history of Wessex

My analysis of the burial sites of the Upper Thames Region, and especially of their chronology, has produced a general picture of the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement there. Its origin during the early decades of the fifth century as a settlement of foederati may be inferred from the nature and location of the earliest sites in and around the Roman town of Dorchester-on-Thames. Some time before the middle of the century the leaders of these federates assumed sole political control and began the expansion of Saxon settlement which can be traced both within the heartland of the Upper Thames Valley and throughout most of the Region. The colonies, which they may have planted, were consolidated during the sixth century and areas of more marginal agricultural land were gradually taken over for Saxon settlement in that and the succeeding centuries.

This exceptionally large Region contained a culturally unified and prosperous community. Ethnically, it was founded by Germanic folk, primarily from Lower Saxony, who gradually asserted their culture over the native and subject Britons; at the same time, the resulting 'Anglo-Saxon' culture included a number of British elements, just as on the continent the Gothic and Frankish cultures were an amalgam of Germanic and Romano-Celtic features.

The grave-goods provide little evidence for dividing the Upper Thames Region into smaller districts; most artefact types and sub-types are found throughout the Region, and only a few have a distribution which suggests that the workshops which made them served a more limited area. However, the location of settlements and the incidence of artefact types does suggest that there were real differences between the Upper Thames Region and adjacent Anglian and Saxon territories.

Archaeology cannot demonstrate whether such cultural cohesion was matched by political and administrative unity. However, my discussion of the Saxon settlement has frequently involved the identity and role of its leading members. The focal point of the Region does appear to have been Dorchester-on-Thames; the administrative and military role which it presumably had while the Britons maintained authority over their foederati was continued after the latter had usurped control. From the fifth to seventh centuries this district is distinguished by the size and wealth of its cemeteries; Dorchester VI and Long Wittenham I are particularly notable for their high percentage of weapon graves (24% and 26% of recorded inhumations respectively, compared, for example, with 17% at Abingdon I), and the latter also has a remarkable number of bronze vessels, characteristic of the richest male graves. The evidence for a concentration of important families in this area and of its continuous political and administrative significance reaches its culmination in the early seventh century with the 'princely' burial at Cuddesdon, the evidence for a very rich community in Dorchester itself, and the choice of the town for Birinus' bishopric. I have suggested that it was the early Saxon chieftains of this district who planted out other groups of settlers in the more peripheral areas of the Region. The richer burials at sites like Brighthampton, Burford, East Shefford, and Fairford may be equated with the leaders of these settlers, though it is impossible to know whether these local chieftains continued a dependent

alliance with Dorchester, or established independent enclaves. As yet, there is no evidence of 'princely' burials comparable and contemporary with Cuddesdon in these areas, though the idea may help to explain some of the apparent conflicts between the archaeology and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (below, p.459).

The nature of both archaeological evidence and of the particular documentary evidence for this period means that a direct comparison between this picture of the Upper Thames Region and the written evidence for the early history of Wessex cannot be made. But now that one of the principal bodies of evidence for the period has been more firmly established, there are good reasons for rejecting a number of hypotheses which have previously been advocated and for offering some alternative theories for criticism.

The first thesis which requires consideration is Vierck's attempt to equate archaeological 'settlement areas' with the tribal groupings of the Tribal Hidage, for it is the only major attempt at combining the evidence from cemeteries and documents in order to reconstruct social and political history (Davies and Vierck 1974, 276-85). Since Tribal Hidage is a later seventh-century Mercian document and since it lists the major southern kingdoms (Kent, Sussex, and Wessex) after the main body of subject tribes, it is usually assumed that the latter were situated north of the Thames; the one exception is the Isle of Wight (Wihtgara), though Davies suggests that the Nox gaga and Oht gaga were also in Sussex or Hampshire. Consequently, Vierck's analysis and his maps omit most of the cemeteries south of the Thames, which causes a serious distortion in the Upper Thames Region and, with the omission of a number of other sites, makes assessment of his so-called 'settlement areas' difficult (cf. Davies and Vierck 1974, Maps 5 and 8 with my Figs. 51-3). The lack of obvious boundary areas and of cultural distinctions between the cemeteries of the Upper Thames Region, together with doubts about the environmental basis for the definition of 'settlement areas' (above, pp.8-10), makes me sceptical about their reality.

For example, although there was extensive woodland on the tail of the oolitic limestone, it did not form a clear-cut boundary between the lower Windrush and the lower Evenlode and Cherwell. Moreover, and perhaps significantly, the lower Windrush does not emerge as a dense 'cemetery group' until the seventh century; before that date the few cemeteries there are part of the general scatter of settlements between Oxford and Cirencester, which might equally have belonged to a single social unit or to a whole series of individual units.

Obviously, Saxon cemeteries do concentrate in certain favourable areas, but were these always discrete and exclusive social units, which can be equated with the groups named in Tribal Hidage ? Tribal Hidage is an instrument of Mercian administration; it is an ordering of territories, tribal groups and kingdoms, which Mercia had conquered or from which it claimed tribute (Davies and Vierck 1974,225). Four of the larger tribes in it - Hwicce, Lindesfarona, Westerna, and Wocensaetna - were seventh-century creations of Mercia, designed to administer newly conquered territory (ibid.,236-8), and it is possible that the Cilternsaetna were also created for this purpose. The Hwicce and the Cilternsaetna do, as Vierck proposes, correspond well with the general areas of settlement in the Cotswolds and Vale of Aylesbury/Chilterns scarp (though most scholars would add the Avon Valley and the later diocese of Worcester to the province of the Hwicce, eg. M.Wilson, 'The Hwicce', in Trans.Worc.Arch.Soc.,3rd s.,2,1968-9,20-23); they appear to be good examples of Mercian rationalisation of territory carved out of what, in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, must have been part of Wessex. The lack of recognisable tribal groups which can be located in the Thames Valley may be explained as a result of this very political change; Vierck's assignment of the minor Faerpinga to the Cherwell Valley, including the dense cluster of cemeteries north of Oxford (the place-name on which this hinges is at Charlbury in the Middle Evenlode Valley, which again was not colonised

until the seventh century), of the unknown Unecung ga to the main Dorchester area, and the Hendrica to the Middle Thames Valley jars somewhat with the traditional identification of this area with the centre of the West Saxon kingdom. But by the 660's Wessex had surrendered this area to Mercia, so it is conceivable that it was split into convenient administrative units (plainly taxation districts must be based on settled areas, not deserts !), but these need have had no close correspondence with earlier West Saxon organisation. It is interesting that Cuthred's 3000 hides on Aescdown is a contemporary Wessex creation comparable in size with some of the tribal units which Vierck associates with the Thames Valley. I am doubtful therefore of the relevance of Vierck's analysis to fifth and sixth-century settlement development in the Upper Thames Region, though, were sufficient archaeological data of the period contemporary with the composition of Tribal Hidage available, analysis of the kind which he has attempted might be profitable.

The other hypotheses which require comment concern the central problem, the origin of the kingdom of Wessex and its relationship to the Saxon settlement of the Upper Thames Region. So far my archaeological analysis has dealt only with specific aspects of the burial sites of the Region which seem to have a bearing on the history of Wessex, and I have refrained from drawing more general historical conclusions. However, the overall impression, which I have developed, of a vigorous and independent political unit in the Upper Thames Region, might seem to gain powerful support from theories, based on different evidence, that this was a separate political entity.

Kirby (1965), in his important study of the genealogies, which are a principal repository of early West Saxon tradition, has argued that they reflect two distinct lineages; one half is the 'line of Cynric', which he equates with the settlement of Hampshire and Wiltshire, that is South Wessex, the other half is the 'line of Ceawlin', which he places in the Upper Thames Valley, that is North Wessex. He suggests that the two are first united

under Cenwalh, and that the North Wessex genealogy was only attached to the line of Cerdic and Cynric when Cadwalla and Ine finally took over South Wessex in the late seventh century. Myres (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 403-4) has suggested that the name Gewissae, which Bede records as the former name of the West Saxons, in fact, relates to the settlers of Hampshire and Wiltshire, while those of the Upper Thames Region had always been known as 'West Saxons'; and he has offered one interpretation of Wansdyke which envisages Ceawlin as the creator of an Upper Thames Region hegemony, who turned only in his later years to the conquest of the 'Cerdicing' princes of South Wessex (Myres 1964, 22-6).

These three hypotheses cannot be judged, however, from an archaeological standpoint, but must be assessed on the validity of the documentary evidence which has produced them. So the discussion must turn from the bearing of the documentary evidence on the archaeology of the Saxon settlement, which is to write quite another thesis from that which I first proposed. However, some comment is necessary, because I have serious criticisms of all three hypotheses and therefore do not wish to use them in support of my interpretation of the archaeology.

Kirby's study of the genealogies must be considered first, for potentially it is the most important. There is no disputing the existence of distinct genealogical lines in the text of the Chronicle (Table 18), some of which are short and therefore more likely to be genuine, but, regrettably, they cannot be reduced to a consistent system or systems; even the complexities discussed by Kirby are a simplification !

The fundamental basis of Kirby's theory is that it is possible to detect in the annals evidence for two distinct lineages whose activities are separated geographically, 'Ceawlin and his kinsmen' being associated with the Upper Thames Region, 'the princes of Cerdic's line' with Wiltshire (Kirby 1965, 22). The evidence for this theory is exiguous. No annal later than

sa 552 associates any of the 'line of Cynric' with South Wessex. The earlier annals, which do deal solely with south Hampshire, always combine Cynric with Cerdic, and Cerdic, as Kirby notes (1965,20) is a very nebulous character; he may well be an eponymous hero (cf. Hogg 1972). These very early annals are marked by other eponymous heroes and by duplicated entries; they also include entries claiming an original West Saxon conquest of the Isle of Wight, which look suspiciously like propaganda developed in the later seventh century when Mercia and Wessex were vying for control of that territory. It would be rash to use this evidence to support a South Wessex connection for the descendants of Cynric; the only clear association of this sort is that of Cynric fighting at Searoburh, upon which I shall comment later.

Another important strand in Kirby's argument is provided by the genealogies cited in various entries. But it is worth pointing out that several important personages in Wessex are not given a genealogy (notably Ceawlin, Ceol, Cwichelm, and Cenwalh), and that it is in the context of the years of the subreguli and their aftermath, 672-688, that every new king is provided at his first notice with a genealogy. Again, it seems dangerous to draw far-reaching conclusions from the presence or absence of full genealogies going back to Cerdic, Cynric, or Ceawlin. In particular, there is no genealogical reason to deny the filiation of Ceawlin to Cynric, an essential point in Kirby's analysis. In fact, it seems impossible to establish a full genealogical table of the Wessex kings or even reliable ancestries for individuals. Major difficulties are the repetition of names and the use of the same diminutive for several different full names.

For example, the Chronicle genealogies name four Cynegils, Cynegils son of Ceola (sa 611), Cynegils son of Ceolwulf (sa 676), Cynegils son of Cuthwine (sa 688), and Cynegils father of Cwichelm (sa 647); in addition Bede names Cynegils the father of Cenwalh (HE III,7), which occurs in the Chronicle sa 642. Since the genealogy of Cynegils sa 676 is headed by

Ceolwulf, it is uncertain whether he is the King Ceolwulf, grandson of Cynric (sa 597), or Ceolwulf the son of Cynric (sa 674); nor is it clear whether Ceola, father of Cynegils (sa 611) is the same man as King Ceolwulf (sa 597), thus conflating the two Cynegils, or is the previous king of Wessex, Ceol (sa 591) ! Kirby equated Ceola with Ceol (1965,23), and Whitelock linked Ceola with Ceolwulf (1961,Table 1). Depending on which Ceolwulf is chosen as the grandfather of Centwine, there is a single or double generation gap between Centwine and his contemporary subregulus, Aescwine. As Kirby noted (1965, 26), there would be an exactly similar dislocation whichever of the three Cynegils (sa 611,676,688) was father of Cwichelm and grandfather of Cuthred. Kirby's solution was to invent yet a sixth Cynegils as a son of Ceawlin (1965,27) !

The confusions caused by the pet-form Cutha for names with the proto-theme Cūð - are even worse. There are two Cuthas in the genealogies, one a son of Cynric and father, apparently, of Ceola and Ceolwulf, the other a son of Ceawlin (sa 685). The genealogies of Ine (sa 688) and the aetheling Oswald (sa 726) record another son of Ceawlin called Cuthwine. But the ninth-century genealogies of Aethelwulf (Parker MS Preface and sa 855) insert an extra name, Cuthwulf and Cutha respectively, between Cuthwine and his son Ceolwold. Are the interpolated names brothers who have become sons ? This idea may have occurred to later copyists of the Chronicle who seem to have been anxious to explain the apparent links between names in the annals and genealogies. In MS 'E' Cuthwulf, who fought at Biedcanford sa 571, is called Cutha, and in MS 'F' the Cutha who fought with Ceawlin at Wibbandun sa 568 is said to be his brother. Kirby follows the ninth-century genealogies (1965, 27), though this would make Ine a generation younger than his contemporary Cadwalla and even the aetheling Oswald. The canons of textual criticism should make the earlier and shorter genealogies preferable.

I am inclined to accept Kirby's suggestion that Cenwalh was the son of Cynegils, the son of Cuthwine, because this does make the best sense of the generations and of Cenwalh's obvious connections with the Upper Thames Valley, and so, by implication, with Ceawlin. I would thus recognise the existence of a substantial 'clan' of Ceawlin's descendants and of other lineages claiming descent from Cynric, but not a simple bipartite division, still less two completely separate dynasties. For, if this discussion of names has revealed one point, it is that Kirby's 'two dynasties' are not only both consistently C-alliterative until the later seventh century (are the vowel-alliterative names the result of intermarriage with Angles or Jutes ?), as Myres observed long ago (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 404, n.3), but they share the same protothemes and even the same names. It is inconceivable that they should be anything but branches or clans of a single royal dynasty.

Kirby's implication, deriving from his theory of two dynasties, that the regnal list of the 'kings of Wessex' in fact records at one time kings of South Wessex and at others kings of North Wessex is equally difficult to accept. If the house of Cadwalla and Ine was responsible for reconstructing the genealogies as propaganda, it is difficult to understand why they should have retained such obviously eminent and unchallenged kings of South Wessex (on Kirby's theory) as Ceolwulf at the expense of kings of their own line in the north. I think that the Chronicle's use of the concept of a 'kingship of Wessex' is a genuine record of an acknowledged right to political authority over a single area. The interesting thing is that this right could and did pass between various lines of a single royal dynasty. Successful warriors like Ceolwulf (he fought the South Saxons and allegedly also Britons, Picts, and Scots) or Cenwalh would have been accepted by the other lines, but weaker claimants may have had to face opposition from other eligible members of the royal dynasty. The situation in contemporary Ireland (cf. Ó Corráin 1972,

37-42, especially on 'dynastic segmentation') provides a plausible parallel.

Without genealogical support for the concept of two kingdoms of Wessex, Myres' hypotheses concerning the Gewissae and Wansdyke lose much of their attraction. They are, in any case, weakly based. If Gewissae is a genuine record of the former name of the West Saxons⁹, then I would fully concur with Walker's argument (1956) that the distinction between the names is purely chronological and not geographical. There is no doubt that Bede used both terms indiscriminately, and it could equally be argued that Gewissae was the name of the inhabitants of the Upper Thames Valley. Indeed, if Gewissae does mean 'confederates', it would be an apt description of the sort of alliance which I have suggested might have existed between the fifth-century Dorchester chieftains and the leaders of the other groups of Saxons settled throughout the Region.

Arguments which depend on an interpretation of Wansdyke cannot be acceptable (v. above, p.384). There is no close archaeological dating of this earthwork, and its dating and interpretation therefore form a circular argument; that argument is worse confounded because it depends on hypotheses of political circumstances in a period for which there is barely any written evidence at all ! I would fully agree with Myres that Wansdyke was a major, north-facing boundary line cutting across the land which became accepted as the kingdom of Wessex, and therefore it must represent some important chapter in the history of that territory. But there is no way of knowing what that chapter was, 'for the premises on which an historical proof can rest are not at present among the facts before us, and perhaps they never will be' (Myres 1964, 26).

In the light of these criticisms, perhaps I should offer some alternative explanations of the political nature of the kingdom of Wessex and its relationship to the archaeological picture, although I can claim no expertise in the documentary field. Nevertheless, by ending on a more speculative note

I may tempt some scholar to analyse more thoroughly another of the primary sources of evidence for the history of Wessex, the documents, in the same way that I have tried to set out the archaeological evidence.

On the evidence available, it would seem that there was a single royal dynasty, claiming descent from Cynric, which provided the chief 'king of Wessex'. At the same time, there is evidence of lesser princes and sub-kings, many of whom may have belonged to the royal dynasty, and who controlled various provinces within the 'overkingdom' (Dickinson 1974,33). Since eligibility to the kingship of Wessex passed to every member of the royal dynasty, it is not surprising that political conditions were frequently in a state of flux, nor that our knowledge of them is so imperfect. It remains, however, to consider the origins of this dynasty.

I have already cast doubt on the usefulness of the earliest annals relating to Cerdic and Cynric. This leaves Cynric's battle against Britons at Searoburh (Old Sarum) sa 552, the battle at Barbury Castle sa 556, within the Upper Thames Region, which he fought with Ceawlin, and the battles of Ceawlin and his allies (or family) in and around the same Region. Until the reign of Cenwalh all subsequent recognisable geographical locations, when given, are to the Upper Thames Region (the location of Beandun sa 614 is not assured). The argument that Ceawlin was originally an Upper Thames king is thus well established, but the idea that Cynric was also has been less canvassed. Just as I have argued that it is most unlikely that Ceawlin fought only Britons at Biedcanford and Cirencester, so it is improbable that Cynric fought Britons at Searoburh, for by the middle of the sixth century the valleys around Old Sarum contained several well established Saxon settlements. Although there is no specific genealogical information to deny Ceawlin's filiation to Cynric, it is a commonplace in genealogical theory that the relationship of heads of lineages to the ancestor figure can never be assured. But since I have argued for a single dynasty there must have been a close

familial relationship between Cynric and Ceawlin, and perhaps both Cerdic and Creoda were common ancestors.

Whether Cynric and Ceawlin were members of a Dorchester-on-Thames ruling family is impossible to know, but I do suggest that about the middle of the sixth century they launched a great expansion of their family's political power. The capture of Saxon settlements within the Upper Thames Region may have been necessary because local Saxon lords had either asserted their own independence or allied themselves with rival claimants to overall control; while the battles fought all around the Region, against Anglo-Saxons and Britons, established their claim to 'overkingship' of a much wider area. A power base in the Upper Thames Region is far more probable on archaeological grounds, than one in Hampshire and Wiltshire; the latter area, which already had close cultural ties with the Upper Thames Region, would have been absorbed in these conquests, possibly as a result of the battle of Searoburh. In view of my criticisms of the arguments in favour of Cynric and his kin being associated with South Wessex, it may not be legitimate to suggest, nevertheless, that since Ceawlin and his sons clearly retained the Upper Thames as a base, some of the 'Cynricing' might have been given control of Hampshire and Wiltshire. However, all new territories would have required sub-kings to administer them, and these would have been drawn primarily from the royal dynasty.

From the time of Ceawlin onwards, then, Wessex would have consisted of the Upper Thames Region and Wiltshire and Hampshire, and the right to kingship of it would have passed amongst the heirs of Cynric and Ceawlin. The Dorchester area remained the centre of the kingdom, for it was there, in 635, that their first bishopric was established. But the growing menace of Mercia eventually forced the West Saxons to abandon this area in favour of Winchester and the south-west. It is possible that the annals suggesting a southern origin were composed in the context of a southern-based Wessex, now

anxious not only to reassert its control over the north, but also to maintain and justify its power in the south.

NOTES

1. In Tables 16 and 17 I have ignored any notes of uncertainty about the suggested dating expressed in the Catalogue in order to keep the figures as uncomplicated as possible; relatively few graves are affected and, since they are evenly distributed in time, they are unlikely to have introduced any bias into the final figures.
2. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Christopher Young for reading an earlier draft of this section and for discussing the problems with me.
3. There can now be little doubt that Patrick died not, as is commonly accepted, in AD 461, but about AD 493 (Smyth 1972, 43-5; Dumville 1974, 440-1), so that his youth should be placed in the second quarter of the fifth-century.
4. Dumville also argues that the 425 accession date for Vortigern is computed by conflating dates and consuls in the author's Victorian *Cursus* and his copy of Prosper's *Chronicle*, so that the 'fourth year' of Vortigern's reign is calculated from 425 and 428. I find this difficult to accept since it involves the assumption that the author calculated the 428 date under the impression that Maximus died in AD 388 (AP 361) and that forty years separated this event from Vortigern (c.31), while, according to Dumville, he computed the adjacent date of 425 on the basis that Maximus died in AD 425 (AP 398) and was contemporary with Vortigern. I wonder whether the 'fourth year', which sounds like a fragment of a regnal list, was part of the written document with Vortigern's name (that document would hardly have had a single and isolated name on it), and so the 425 date was calculated from it and the computed 428 date; it would then have been simple to look up the right consuls for each of the years involved.

5. Since my section on cruciform brooches was typed and Fig. 10 prepared, I have received from Professor R.G.Calkins of Cornell University photographs and a draft copy of an article, 'Grave Goods from Frilford Cemetery', which are to be published in The Age of Bede, ed. R.T. Farrell. It would appear that the integral upper knobs of the grave 138 cruciform brooches, which are owned by Cornell, are semicircular in section, while the sole, and now loose, lateral knob is fully circular; the brooches are therefore more developed, according to Åberg's scheme, than I have suggested. It also appears that Leeds' illustration of them (1933, Pl. XXXIIIa), from which I copied my figure, shows the full face of one and the profile of the other.
6. Myres' argument (1969, 115), followed by Alcock (1971, 115), that the absence of certain pottery types from the Upper Thames Region is indicative of a check on settlement there, has already been rebutted (above, p. 351).
7. Three sites have been proposed for Fethanleag: Frethorne on the Severn, a site near Stratford-on-Avon, and Stoke Lyne in north-east Oxfordshire (F.M. Stenton in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th s., 22, 1940, 19-20).
8. Dr. St. Joseph (The Uses of Aerial Photography, 1966) has suggested that a large and oriented cemetery, in association with ditched enclosures and timber buildings, at Priests Moor Lane on the opposite bank of the Thame from Dorchester is the site of Birinus' bishopric. Without excavation this cannot be demonstrated, for there is little to distinguish the cemetery from oriented graveyards of the Late Roman period like that known from Queensford Mill.
9. Unfortunately, I have been unable to make use of M. Gwyn Jenkins, 'Gevissae ac Iwis: Dwy Ddrychiolaeth', BBCS, 20, 1962-4, 1-11, which suggests that Bishop Daniel, Bede's informant, misread Glevissae, the inhabitants of the Gloucester area, as Gewissae.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. Museums and other repositories

Ab.M	Abingdon Museum
AM	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Department of Antiquities)
Ay.M	Aylesbury Museum
BM	British Museum (Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities)
Br.M	Bristol City Museum
Camb.M	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
Cor.M	Corinium Museum, Cirencester
Cornell U	Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, U.S.A.
DM	Devizes Museum
Farnham M	Pitt Rivers Museum, Farnham
FD	National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh
FM	Filkins Museum
Gl.M	Gloucester City Museum
LM	Liverpool City Museum
NM	Newbury Museum
OS	Ordnance Survey (Archaeological Division)
Ox.M	Oxford City and County Museum, Woodstock
PR	Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
RM	Reading Museum
RUM	Department of History Museum, Reading University
TM	Taunton Museum
Worc.M	Worcester City Museum
V. & A.M	Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Department of Metalwork)

II. Other abbreviations used in Catalogue

a.	adult
ad.	adolescent (about 12-16 years old)

c.	child	N - S	North to South
D.	depth	o.	opaque
dia.	diameter	r.	right
ext.	extant	Refs.	references
f.	female	t.	translucent
GD.	greatest diameter	th.	thickness
GW.	greatest width	U/P	unprovenanced
H.	height	U/S	unstratified
L.	length	w.	width
l.	left	W - E	West to East
m.	male	y.	young / young person

III. Bibliographical Abbreviations

Akerman MS	<u>Notes on excavations in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Yelford, Brighthampton, Oxon; Long Wittenham and Milton, Berks, and Dinton, Bucks - conducted by J.Y. Akerman 1858-1860, transcript by E.T. Leeds, January 1930, AM Archives.</u>
<u>Antiq.</u>	<u>Antiquity</u>
<u>Antiq. J.</u>	<u>Antiquaries Journal</u>
<u>Arch.</u>	<u>Archaeologia</u>
<u>Arch. Cant.</u>	<u>Archaeologia Cantiana</u>
<u>Arch. J.</u>	<u>Archaeological Journal</u>
B.A.R.	British Archaeological Reports
<u>BBCS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</u>
<u>BBOAJ</u>	<u>Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire Archaeological Journal</u>
BCS	W. de G. Birch(ed.), <u>Cartularium Saxonicum</u> I-III, 1885-1893.

<u>Beds. Arch. J.</u>	<u>Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal</u>
<u>Berks. Arch. J.</u>	<u>Berkshire Archaeological Journal</u>
<u>B.R-G.K</u>	<u>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission</u>
<u>BROB</u>	<u>Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek</u>
<u>Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.</u>	<u>Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications</u>
<u>Camb. Antiq. Soc. Q.P.</u>	<u>Cambridge Antiquarian Society Quarto Publications</u>
<u>CBA 9 NL</u>	<u>Council for British Archaeology Group 9 Newsletter</u>
<u>Coll. Antiq.</u>	<u>C. Roach Smith, <u>Collectanea Antiqua</u> I-VI</u>
<u>Curr. Arch.</u>	<u>Current Archaeology</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>HE</u>	<u>The Venerable Bede, <u>Historia Ecclesiastica</u></u>
<u>JBAA</u>	<u>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</u>
<u>Manning MSS</u>	<u>Manuscript Collection of Percy Manning, Ashmolean Museum (Department of Antiquities)</u>
<u>Med. Arch.</u>	<u>Medieval Archaeology</u>
<u>Oxon.</u>	<u>Oxoniensia</u>
<u>Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society</u>
<u>Proc. Hants. F.C.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club</u>
<u>Proc. OAHS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society</u>
<u>PSA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London</u>
<u>Rec. Bucks.</u>	<u>Records of Buckinghamshire</u>
<u>Richborough IV</u>	<u>J.P. Bushe-Fox, <u>Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent</u> (1949)</u>
<u>Shakenoak I-IV</u>	<u>Brodribb, A.C.C., Hands, A.R., and Walker, D.R., <u>Excavations At Shakenoak</u> I (1968), II (1971), III (1972), IV (1973)</u>

<u>Surrey A.C.</u>	<u>Surrey Archaeological Collections</u>
<u>Sx. Arch. Coll.</u>	<u>Sussex Archaeological Collections</u>
<u>Trans. Birm. and Wark.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire</u>
<u>A.S.</u>	<u>Archaeological Society</u>
<u>TBGAS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire</u>
	<u>Archaeological Society</u>
<u>T.N.D.F.C.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club</u>
<u>Trans. Worc. Arch. Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological</u>
	<u>Society</u>
<u>UJA</u>	<u>Ulster Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>VCH Beds I, Berks I,</u>	<u>Victoria County History of Bedfordshire I (1904),</u>
<u>Bucks I, Oxon I,</u>	<u>Berkshire I (1906), Buckinghamshire I (1905),</u>
<u>Warks I, Wilts I</u>	<u>Oxfordshire I (1936), Warwickshire I (1965),</u>
	<u>Wiltshire I, ^{Part I (1957) and Part} 2 (1973)</u>
<u>WAM</u>	<u>Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine</u>

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