

ANGLO-SAXON COSTUME:

A STUDY OF SECULAR, CIVILIAN

CLOTHING AND JEWELLERY FASHIONS

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Anglo-Saxon Costume: A study of secular, civilian clothing and jewellery fashions

The thesis consists of five parts: Introduction; Archaeological Evidence; Representations in Art; Literary and Linguistic Evidence; Conclusions.

The archaeological evidence firstly considers costume in the pagan period through an examination of finds from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; the dress is reconstructed from the positions in which fasteners and ornaments have been found in relation to skeletal remains. The evidence is arranged according to county of origin, thirty counties being considered alphabetically, and is followed by a discussion. Secondly, the smaller corpus of fasteners and clothing adjuncts from the Christian Saxon period is considered. Thirdly, the materials from which the dress was made are discussed with reference to a list of leather and textile fragments surviving from Anglo-Saxon clothing. Points considered include techniques of manufacture, origins of unusual fabrics and the functions of different materials.

2.

The discussion of art examines representations of figures in what may have been contemporary costume. Information is derived from illuminated manuscripts, the Bayeux Tapestry, stone sculptures, ivories and metalwork.

Evidence of costume from Old English, Latin, Welsh and Old Icelandic texts is followed by consideration of Old English garment names and other Old English words related to clothing. The terms are arranged according to the probable function of the articles they represented: materials, outer garments, body garments, loin and leg coverings, footwear, headgear, accessories, general terms and clasps. A discussion follows.

The conclusions include descriptions of the probable appearance of men and women during the successive centuries of the Anglo-Saxon era; with suggestions as to the cultural influences which may have contributed to the changes in dress which took place during this time.

Gale R. Owen

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ABBREVIATIONS IN TEXT AND NOTES

Bd	Bedfordshire
Bek	Berkshire
BM	British Museum
BTD	Bosworth and Toller's <u>Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</u>
BTS	Toller's <u>Supplement</u> to BTD
Bu	Buckinghamshire
Ca	Cambridgeshire
Cambridge Museum	Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
Chesh	Cheshire
CHM	Clark-Hall's <u>Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</u> with supplement by Meritt
Cleopatra (glossary)	BM MS Cotton Cleopatra Aiii
Corpus	The Corpus Glossary
Cumb	Cumberland
Db	Derbyshire
<u>De Gestis</u>	William of Malmesbury's <u>De Gestis Regum Anglorum</u>
Do	Dorset
Du	Durham
<u>Etymologiae</u>	Isidor's <u>Etymologiarum sive Originum</u>
Ex	Essex
<u>Gesta</u>	The Monk of St. Gall's <u>De Carolo Magno</u> (<u>De Gestis Caroli Magni</u>)
Gl	Gloucestershire
Ha	Hampshire
Harley (glossary)	BM MS Harley 3376

<u>HE</u>	Bede's <u>Historia Ecclesiastica</u>
Het	Hertfordshire
HEW	Holthausen's <u>Etymologische Wörterbuch</u>
<u>Historia</u>	Paulus Diaconus' <u>Historia Langobardorum</u>
Hu	Huntingdonshire
Julius (glossary)	BM MS Cotton Julius Aii
Junius/BM (glossary)	Bodleian Library MS Junius 71, BM MS Additional 32246
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Le	Leicestershire
Li	Lincolnshire
<u>MED</u>	<u>Middle English Dictionary</u> , eds. Kurath and Kuhn
MS	Manuscript
Mx	Middlesex
Nf	Norfolk
Nh	Northamptonshire
Nb	Northumberland
O	Oxfordshire
OE	Old English
<u>OED</u>	<u>The Oxford English Dictionary</u> , eds. Murray <u>et. al.</u>
R	Rutland
<u>Rule</u>	<u>The Benedictine Rule</u>
So	Somerset
St	Staffordshire
Sf	Suffolk
Sr	Surrey

Sx	Sussex
TCS	Toller and Campbell's enlarged <u>Supplement</u> to BTD (especially Campbell's Corrigenda and Addenda)
<u>Vita</u>	Einhard's <u>Vita Caroli Magni</u>
Wa	Warwickshire
Wi	Wiltshire
Wo	Worcestershire
WW	Wright and Wülcker's <u>Vocabularies</u>

SYMBOLS

/ /	phoneme
< >	grapheme
[]	contain definitions of Latin words

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

A. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

This work is concerned with costume in the Anglo-Saxon period. Study of costume provides a unique and personal link with bygone ages. Thus, in the popular imagination, Elizabethans are associated with ruffs and Victorians with crinolines. Such impressions are justifiably derived from pictures, from documentary evidence and from the garments themselves, faded but whole, in museum galleries. Reconstruction of the clothing of the English in the so-called Dark Ages is, for reasons indicated below, less straightforward. There is no direct testimony such as the complete garments which, having been preserved in peat bogs, offer tangible proof of early costume in Scandinavia. Evidence of Anglo-Saxon costume is indirect and must be drawn from a variety of sources. No single branch of scholarship supplies information about the whole period, because of the very nature of the early history and culture of the Anglo-Saxon people.

In the six centuries between the arrival of Germanic settlers in England and the Norman Conquest (c. A.D. 449-1066) the life-style and culture of the Anglo-Saxon people were transformed. The most important single feature in this development was the conversion to Christianity, which began with Augustine's mission in 597 and continued throughout the following century. The watershed of the conversion divides the Anglo-Saxon period and to some extent compartmentalises study of it.

Since the invaders were illiterate pagans, evidence of costume in the first century-and-a-half after the settlement is dependent on archaeological excavation of their cemeteries. The pagan dead were

apparently buried in their clothing, and although only small fragments of textile survive, the metal fasteners and ornaments associated with the clothing may be found in situ. Some reconstruction of the appearance is therefore possible. Bede,¹ the prime documentary source for the period, claimed that the invaders consisted of Jutes (who settled Kent, the Isle of Wight and the coast opposite the island), people from Old Saxony (who settled the areas which became the East, South and West Saxon kingdoms) and others from Angeln (who settled Mid Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria and other Anglian areas). Modern historians give qualified acceptance to this differentiation. It is now clear that the invaders were of mixed stock, Frisian and (probably) Frankish elements² mingling with those mentioned by Bede, but that there existed regional variations among the settlers which became more marked in the century following the invasion. Thus, there is justification for subdivision and the application of the cultural labels "Angle" and "Saxon" in the pagan period. There are clear distinctions in the culture of Kent, shared with the Isle of Wight and other regions, though these developed after the settlement and are less justifiably called "Jutish".

Archaeological evidence therefore offers a potential source of information about the costume of the Anglo-Saxons for the century-and-a-half after the invasion, for development of fashion within that period and for regional variation between the known subcultures.

The nature of early Anglo-Saxon culture precludes the survival of evidence about clothing from other native sources, although continental literature and art offer useful supplementary material. Being illiterate³ the pagans have left no contemporary descriptions of

their clothing. Some traditional aspects of life in the pagan period may have been preserved by orally-transmitted poetry to be written down in the Christian era; but in the poetry which survives, references to costume are confined to the armour which is associated with the heroic tradition.

Nor have the settlers and their immediate successors left any impression of their clothing through art. Zoomorphic and geometric patterns dominate the decoration of their metalwork. Naturalism and the human figure occur rarely in surviving pagan art.

Archaeological evidence of costume declines in correspondence to the decline of paganism in the late sixth and the seventh centuries. The Church discouraged the deposition of grave-goods, and churchyard burial eventually replaced the use of the pagan cemeteries. Archaeological finds from the Christian period are fewer and offer less evidence of clothing. However, innovations in art and the advent of non-runic literacy were consequences of the conversion. These new media supply evidence of costume in the Christian period.

The human figure came to be portrayed with increasing frequency in Christian Anglo-Saxon art, though often in a stylized manner. The figures, usually representing biblical characters, which appear on the earliest sculptures and manuscript illuminations, wear the costume of an imported Eastern Mediterranean tradition and are uninformative about English secular clothing. Similarly, costumes depicted in the later Winchester Style carvings, sculptures and drawings may owe more to inherited iconography than to contemporary life. However, there are also representations of costume which may reflect contemporary

fashion. The earliest examples are to be found on the eighth-century Franks Casket, and some Northern sculptures. Similar costumes are represented in many art works of the tenth and eleventh centuries, a culturally productive period. The most important sources from this time are manuscript illuminations and the Bayeux Tapestry, which not only depict secular persons in the course of daily activities, but also include representations of historical figures.⁴

The earliest surviving writings of the Christian English are scholarly works and correspondence in Latin. Some references to clothing in such texts provide evidence of costume in the two centuries after the conversion. Old English texts, which mostly survive in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, contain no direct descriptions of clothing, nor do later Latin texts from England; but it is possible to derive, from Old English laws, wills and literary texts and from Latin-Old English vocabularies, a corpus of lexical items which appear to be Old English garment names and the names of other items associated with clothing.

The Viking settlement of north and east England brought about a major cultural division between this area and the rest of England, united under the kings of Wessex, in the last two centuries before the Norman Conquest. Meanwhile, any regional and idiosyncratic variations in costume, as in other matters, between the Anglo-Saxon areas became obscured by the imposition of literary and artistic standards.

Evidence of costume at different times during the Anglo-Saxon period must, it has been shown, be drawn from a variety of sources which may offer very different types of information. In the following study,

evidence of costume in the pagan period derives chiefly from archaeological finds; in the early Christian period mainly from Anglo-Saxon carving in bone and sculpture in stone and from Latin writings; and in the last two centuries of the Anglo-Saxon era from art: illumination, needlework, sculpture and metalwork. A vocabulary of clothing terms is compiled from material mainly written down during this latter period, though some of the words may have been established in the vocabulary much earlier, in some cases since before the conversion.

B. SURVEY OF EARLIER WORK

Despite the numerous costume histories published in the last and present centuries, Anglo-Saxon clothing still lacks a full treatment differentiating it from costume of later periods and from medieval dress elsewhere in Europe.

All costume historians illustrating this period rely heavily on the clothing of figures in manuscripts and/or the Bayeux Tapestry. Two major limitations should be taken into consideration in examining this evidence. Firstly, not all illustrations represent contemporary insular clothing. Secondly, this evidence is only valid for the last part of the Anglo-Saxon period, since the manuscripts under consideration were mostly illuminated in the last century-and-a-half, and the Tapestry was executed shortly after the Norman Conquest. Few costume historians have clarified these limitations and attempts to fill the gap of evidence for the earlier period have been inadequate.

The earliest study of the subject was made in the eighteenth century by Strutt, who accompanied his engravings of figures from illuminated manuscripts with a description of the Anglo-Saxons' "Dress and Habits" deduced from these.⁵ Strutt's dating of manuscripts

is no longer acceptable, and he failed to recognise the artists' debt to established iconography. Many of his points are still nevertheless valid, but only for the tenth and eleventh centuries, not for the eighth and ninth as he believed. Strutt supported his evidence with a single archaeological find (the flourishing of Anglo-Saxon archaeology was to come later) and post-conquest literary evidence, both concerning jewellery not garments;⁶ and with literary descriptions of Frankish clothing.⁷

Planché⁸ and Clinch,⁹ writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, respectively, attempted to deal with the early period by citing literary evidence. Clinch utilized Sidonius Appolinaris's description of the Franks in the fifth century, and Planché described sixth-century costume by means of evidence from Aneurin and seventh-century by citing a Latin letter. Both authors then concentrated on the late manuscript evidence.

Fairholt,¹⁰ a nineteenth-century scholar, gave some consideration to the pagan period, describing the types of brooch in use and touching on their distribution and function. He also mentioned Douglas's excavations. Fairholt used manuscript evidence for the later period indiscriminately, however. He failed to recognise that some figures, particularly biblical characters, may have been depicted in costumes which had become traditional through iconography, rather than in the clothing of everyday life. Fairholt also illustrated women's costume with, among other figures, a drawing derived from an illumination in BM MS Harley 2908, depicting the ascent of the Virgin. This example was perhaps chosen for the elaborateness of the dress, but this very feature (exemplified in the headdress, elaborate outer gown and short, full, outer sleeves) is unlike the women's costume shown in most Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The costume is, however, almost exactly

paralleled in a German manuscript (Munich MS Cod. lat. 4453).¹¹

Other features in the ornamental repertoire of the Harley artist confirm the German associations, and the manuscript contains, among other things, an Augsburg calendar. The illustration chosen therefore, is scarcely appropriate evidence of Anglo-Saxon costume since it may be continental or at least influenced by continental styles.¹²

Anglo-Saxon England has largely been subordinated, or omitted, in the accounts of Western European costume by authoritative twentieth-century writers such as Boucher¹³ and Laver.¹⁴ Despite some concentration on the period in his Costume (1963a), which included evidence from chronicles and miniatures, Laver's description of women's costume apparently conflated the archaeological evidence of the pagan period and the pictorial evidence of the late Christian.

Less academic costume historians have sometimes depended on secondary sources or speculative reconstruction in their accounts of the Anglo-Saxon period. For example, Truman based his description of Saxon clothing on an account in Scott's Ivanhoe,¹⁵ and Yarwood was reduced to the absurdity of describing, unsupported by other evidence, the garments invisible in manuscript illuminations.¹⁶ The archaeological evidence available for study of the pagan period has never been fully recognised by costume historians and has been badly misrepresented in one popular history of the period.¹⁷

English archaeologists, by contrast, have long been aware of the evidence of costume before them. Douglas, a pioneer of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, noted as early as 1793 that his findings indicated "that the dead not only had a funereal garment to cover them entirely,

but that they were also entombed with their accustomary apparel when alive".¹⁸ Baldwin Brown, drawing upon the cumulative experience of a further century of excavations of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, agreed that "the corpse was certainly dressed in the clothes worn in life".¹⁹ Some of the many archaeologists who have excavated cemeteries have made deductions about costume from their finds, but there has been no satisfactory correlation of the evidence from different sites. Cumulative evidence has led to the acceptance of certain points: that clasps were worn at the wrist rather than in other positions; that a certain type of hook functioned as a "girdle hanger"; that some grave-goods are characteristic of male, others of female interments. Studies of grave-goods have not, however, concentrated primarily on the reconstruction of costume and appearance; the decoration, typology and chronology of pottery and metalwork have been the chief concern of archaeologists studying the pagan Anglo-Saxon period.

Costume historian and philologist have attempted to establish the names of ancient garments. The second volume of Fairholt's (and Dillon's) Costume in England consisted of a glossary, useful for general costume study but of little relevance for the Anglo-Saxon specialist. It failed to isolate the Old English period, or to relate Old English terms to the Anglo-Saxon illustrations reproduced in the first volume of the work. It did record the derivation of later terms from Old English.

Several costume historians²⁰ have attempted to assign names to the garments they have described and illustrated. This exercise has produced some useful and valid correspondences (notably in Planché)

but does involve over-simplification of the problems of Old English terminology. The assumption that a single Old English noun corresponds to a garment illustrated in manuscripts ignores the many synonyms in the language and fails to consider the possibility of change within the period -- change in terminology as well as in fashions of clothing. There have been some misinterpretations of linguistic evidence. Laver, in particular, failed to take account of context, and both Truman and Laver misleadingly juxtaposed Old English with non-Old English terms.²¹

A scholarly study of Old English clothing terms was made in a 1904 dissertation by Stroebe.²² This remains valid apart from a few points revealed by recent study of glosses. The terms were listed alphabetically, without attempt to isolate secular from ecclesiastical. The functions of the garments indicated by the terms were briefly discussed and the introduction included evidence of costume in Latin texts (although this was not exhaustive) and from continental archaeology. The considerable amount of archaeological work which had been carried out in England was not mentioned.

Some indication of the lack of correlation of the available evidence can be gained from two successive editions of a recent standard book on the Anglo-Saxons. In the first edition of his The Anglo-Saxons,²³ Wilson summarised the sources of evidence available for reconstructing costume. Literary evidence and archaeology, both English and continental, were mentioned. Despite the author's judicious selection of material and awareness of its limitations, his conclusions about women's costume were immediately challenged.²⁴ In the revised edition of The Anglo-Saxons²⁵ Wilson incorporated the interpretation which had been suggested, but remained tentative on the subject of

women's clothing: "It is difficult ... to say anything about female fashion in the Anglo-Saxon period ... From the tenth century onwards we have a fairly good idea of the appearance of the clothes ... from manuscript drawings ... But for earlier periods it is perhaps wiser not to speculate."

Thus, despite the wide range of evidence available, and the extensive study which the various disciplines have received, the popular costume historian remains confused and the academic archaeologist non-committal in discussing Anglo-Saxon clothing.

C. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESENT WORK

The geographical scope of the present enquiry covers the area which c. A.D. 800 constituted Anglo-Saxon England. In time, it spans the years between the Anglo-Saxon Conquest (c. A.D. 449) and the Norman (A.D. 1066). It confines itself as far as is practicable to secular, non-military clothing, in the belief that although figures in ecclesiastical dress may have been commonplace in Christian Anglo-Saxon England, their costume belongs to a different branch of costume history from the present one. Ecclesiastical vestments derive from Roman, not Germanic tradition. Similarly, it is felt that helmets and coats of mail belong properly with military or heroic studies. Indeed the limited evidence from the Anglo-Saxon period on the latter topic is already documented.²⁶

The paucity or ambiguity of other evidence, however, has sometimes necessitated the inclusion of material in these fields. In

the absence of other information the correspondence of Churchmen has been included to illuminate the early Christian period. Some Old English texts intended for monastic use yield lexical evidence of clothing, and since it appears that persons in holy orders, when not wearing mass vestments, may have been dressed in a similar way to seculars, this evidence has been included. Military equipment is easily excluded in discussion of illustrations, but since the many pagan men who were buried with their weapons may or may not have worn distinctive military clothing, the distinction is inevitably blurred in discussion of the earlier period.

The study begins (Part Two) with consideration of archaeological evidence. There has been no attempt to discuss the typology of artefacts such as brooches and buckles. The chief consideration has been to establish the function of such articles. Firstly an examination of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries offers the possibility of reconstructing the costume from the positions in which articles were placed in relation to the body at interment. The material is arranged according to the county of origin, thirty counties being considered alphabetically. This survey is followed by a discussion augmented by evidence of comparable continental costume. The smaller corpus of fasteners and clothing adjuncts deriving from the Christian Saxon period is then considered. Thirdly, surviving textile and leather fragments are discussed. (They are listed, again according to county, in Appendix 1.) The majority survive through attachment to metalwork. Most derive from the pagan period, but some later examples have also been recorded.

Christian period costume, mentioned in Part Two, is attested to a greater extent in Part Three with an examination of representations of clothing in art. Emphasis is placed on material executed in England. The major sources of information, manuscript illustrations and the Bayeux Tapestry, are considered first, and in supplementary sections evidence from stone sculpture, ivories and metalwork is discussed.

Literary and linguistic evidence is then examined (Part Four), writings of Romans and Franks supplementing the scanty information available from English literary texts. Old English garment terms are listed according to the probable function of the articles they represent, and are discussed, in a survey compiled independently of Stroebe.

The order of the material in each Part has been dictated by the evidence available. Thus, since brooches offer the most important archaeological evidence, these, and the garments fastened by them, have been considered first in Part Two B. Evidence from art suggests that the gown and hood were characteristic of women's costume, the tunic of men's. These garments therefore, open each discussion in Part Three. The large volume of lexical evidence about outer garments precedes smaller sections in Part Four C. Where relevant the order female costume, male costume, children's costume has been observed.

The study essentially covers a wide range of areas, and such a spread demands limitations to the length and depth of treatment. The Anglo-Viking material deserves individual study. Deeper analysis of interpretations of Latin words than appears to be available is obviously

required. It has been considered impractical to pursue these matters more fully here. In contrast, the detailed examination of pagan archaeological evidence is necessarily long. Generalisation can only be made after all relevant evidence has been examined. No other methods of showing the archaeological evidence (such as lists or charts) have been found capable of revealing all the aspects required.

The study is concerned to examine in detail and without prejudice the evidence of Anglo-Saxon costume from various fields; and to assemble relevant material from different disciplines more fully than has been done before. Correlation between material of different dates is, predictably, limited, yet the material from one discipline will be seen to supplement that from another. Our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon costume is increased, and at the same time it is possible to test the assumptions and generalisations which have been made about the subject in the past two hundred years.

PART TWO: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

PART TWO: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A. INTRODUCTION AND ORGANIZATION

1. Pagan burial practice

Reconstruction of early Anglo-Saxon costume is dependent on the pagans' practice of burying their dead with grave-goods. Excavations of inhumation cemeteries have revealed brooches, buckles, clasps, pins and other personal articles positioned on skeletons as they were on the corpses at burial. Analysis of excavation reports suggests that the placing of such grave-goods was not random. They have been found consistently in similar positions in relation to different skeletons at various sites. It seems reasonable to suppose that the dead were buried in their clothing, the brooches and other fasteners being functional as well as ornamental.

2. Problems of interpretation

Various objections to this assumption must be acknowledged. Firstly, there must be considered the graves which lack these relics of clothing. Most inhumation cemeteries contain some unfurnished graves as well as burials, which though furnished, do not include clothing fasteners among their grave-goods. There are also a few unusual burials, such as execution and battle cemeteries and other results of violent deaths, which are usually poorly furnished.

A further problem is that the age and quality of grave-goods differs. In some cases old women seem to have been buried with a lifetime's accumulation of jewellery, the style and decoration varying according to date of manufacture; others have been equipped with metalwork showing no sign of wear, which must have been new when buried.

Thus Lethbridge excavated from Holywell Row, Sf, the skeleton of a young girl who had been buried in a string of beads too large for her, and a brooch which was old when it was buried: he concluded that the grave furniture had been picked from a family remnant chest.¹

A rare description of Germanic, pagan funeral rites and one which has previously been cited in explanation of Anglo-Saxon practices, is provided by a description in the tenth-century writings of Ibn Fadlan, an Arab traveller.² Ibn Fadlan related the practices of the Rus, a Scandinavian people, who, although removed geographically and chronologically from the pagan Anglo-Saxons, evidently had some practices in common with them.³ The corpse of the Rus chief was re-clothed for the final cremation ceremony, although there is no suggestion that the clothing was unlike that worn during life, except in its richness. The servant girl sacrificed with her master, on the other hand, removed her jewellery before the ceremony.

The lack of grave-goods in Anglo-Saxon battle, execution and other unusual burials may be the result of such deliberate stripping of valuables. Other corpses appear to have been laid out with some care, and while some may have been buried in the clothes in which they died, it is likely that some, like the Rus chief, had been specially dressed for the grave. The costume of these was probably not unlike that worn in everyday life -- there is no reason why an entirely different costume should be adopted and no evidence, archaeological or literary, to suggest that it was -- but in many cases it may have been an elaborate version of the usual dress, the costume worn for important occasions. The unfurnished graves in the cemeteries of peaceful settlements may be those of servants or other poorer members of society, who could not afford elaborate jewellery, whose clothes were stitched,

not clasped, together, or fastened by clips of perishable material. No doubt practice varied from settlement to settlement, family to family, and was partially dependent on the affection or greed of the next of kin.

All the archaeological evidence presented is subject to the reservation that the objects buried in graves may not have been used as they were during life. Pins and brooches, in particular, may have clasped shrouds; personal belongings may have been laid in graves, not worn on the person. Yet, though such practices may explain the positioning of a minority of grave-goods, it will be demonstrated that the majority of objects were placed consistently. The evidence presented in Section B is based on the premise that from the fasteners and ornaments of the clothing of the dead, it may be possible to reconstruct the costume worn in life.

3. Description of survey, Section B, below

Section B below consists of a survey of the contents of pagan graves, and is the result of a comprehensive examination of the published records of Anglo-Saxon inhumation graves, plus some unpublished material. (Over eleven hundred sites have been studied). The material has been arranged alphabetically, by county⁴ (Sections I to XXX) and is followed by a discussion (Section XXXI). Sites have been named according to the designations in Meaney's Gazetteer. The term "primary evidence" has been used of grave-goods which appear to have been worn on the body, and the positions of which are recorded in relation to skeletal material. "Secondary evidence" has been drawn from incompletely recorded inhumations and occasionally from cremations and stray finds. Variations in burial practice and types

of grave-goods make it possible to distinguish cemeteries of the conversion period (seventh-century) from earlier sites (fifth-and sixth-century).⁵ In the survey of each county the dates of sites have been noted, but the material from sites of different dates has been deliberately juxtaposed in order to test the possibility of a change in costume at the conversion. Evidence of women's costume in the seventh century has then been separated from earlier material in the discussion (Section XXXI).

The survey of each county considers the occurrence and function firstly of articles which may have fastened the clothing, and secondly of adjuncts to the costume. Brooches have been identified by established names, for example "saucer brooch", "cruciform brooch". The term "paired" brooches has been coined to describe the fashion in which two brooches were worn symmetrically on either side of the upper part of the body. They have usually been found on the clavicles of skeletons, but instances varying from "on either side of the neck" to "on the breasts" have been included as "paired". The term "paired", within inverted commas, refers to position, and need not indicate that brooches worn in this way were matching, though in fact they were sometimes identical. The term "single" has been applied to any brooch found in a grave containing no other brooches, and the term "third" to any brooch found in conjunction with "paired" brooches, and usually worn at the upper part of the body. "Paired" brooches have been considered first in each county, then additional brooches, third brooches, other arrangements involving two brooches, and single brooches.

The survey continues with consideration of pins, which may have been used to fasten shrouds or garments, or to secure the hair or headdress, where relevant considering first pin suites, two or more pins linked by chain. Wrist clasps are then considered, where relevant. These articles when complete, consist of at least four parts, two interlocking plates worn at each wrist.⁶ (Fig. 10).

Buckles, in their usual function as belt fasteners, and in other roles, are then discussed. Attention is paid to the conjunction of different types of fastener, in order to establish if, for example, the garment supported by "paired" brooches was also belted. Additional belt fittings and rings which may have fastened girdles are also discussed. Rare evidence of headgear and footwear is included where relevant.

The positions of adjuncts to the costume are then considered, since, as well as contributing to the overall picture of the appearance of the Anglo-Saxon, they may add to information about garments, in particular about belts. Knives are frequently found in positions consistent with having been thrust into or suspended from belts. Even a knife which is described as having been found "in the hand" may have been attached to the belt, since the hands of corpses were frequently folded over the body. Many graves otherwise unfurnished contain knives, which therefore provide the only evidence of the clothing in those graves. Other articles which may have been suspended from the girdle include tools, keys, and the key-like objects commonly called girdle hangers; chatelaine chains and objects attached to them; thread-boxes and spindle whorls; pouches and purses; and personal items such as manicure sets and tweezers. Many of the skeletons equipped

with such objects lack girdle buckles, so only the presence and position of such objects may testify to the wearing of a girdle.

Items of jewellery such as armlets, beads and finger rings have also been included in the survey. Beads, the most common of this group, are so frequently found in female graves that their presence has sometimes been considered sufficient grounds for assuming that a skeleton is female. There is some evidence that beads could be used as toggles, and this function has been considered in the survey where large, single beads occur in suitable positions.

4. Burial practices after the conversion

The decline of paganism resulted in the discontinuation of burying grave-goods with the dead. Increased numbers of unfurnished graves in cemeteries dating from the seventh century testify to this change, which may have included the abandonment of burying the dead in their clothing. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries from after this seventh-century transition period, lacking distinctive grave-goods, are rarely distinguishable from burials of other, later centuries. Since the Christians were encouraged to bury their dead in churchyards, many early graves may have been lost under successive burials in the same area.

5. Description of Christian period evidence, Section C, below

The evidence from the Christian period discussed in Section C is therefore much less than that for the pagan period. Post-seventh-century artefacts have rarely been found in association with skeletons, so the manner in which they were worn can only be guessed. Most of the objects discussed in Section C were stray finds or

excavated from occupation or other non-cemetery sites. (A few items of jewellery which are not archaeological finds but which have been identified as Christian Anglo-Saxon have been included in this section.) The items discussed in Section C include brooches, pins, finger rings and strap tags.

6. Description of textile and leather evidence, Section D below and Appendix 1

The evidence concerning Anglo-Saxon textiles and leather which is considered in Section D is mostly dependent on the recovery of articles described in Sections B and C, since most surviving examples have been preserved through attachment to metalwork. The majority derive from pagan graves. Section D consists of a discussion of surviving Anglo-Saxon textile and leather fragments. All published and some unpublished finds of these materials from secular context are listed in Appendix 1. This chart gives the association of the fragments (where known), and as much technical detail as possible. The finds are arranged in the chart alphabetically according to their place of origin, county by county. Pagan sites are distinguished by the names used in the Gazetteer. The related discussion explains the circumstances and nature of the finds and distinguishes techniques of manufacture. It introduces the chart, analyses the material presented there, and discusses individually some cases of particular interest.

7. The quality of source material

The published evidence in the following sections has been drawn chiefly from the records of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pioneers in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, from local histories, museum catalogues and records, and most often from excavation reports in the journals of

county and national archaeological societies which date from the beginnings of the study of the subject to the present day.

The quality of the records varies considerably. Some sites have been scientifically excavated, others accidentally disturbed as the result of building or other work. Some excavation reports record the precise associations and location of finds, others generalise. The most valuable records for the purposes of Sections B and D in the present study have been of inhumation cemeteries, particularly those in which the sex of each skeleton has been deduced on anatomical grounds, and the positions of the grave-goods described in relation to the surviving skeletal remains. Such records make it possible to deduce that certain objects are characteristic of one sex or the other, and to observe the positions in which clothing fasteners or adjuncts were worn. In many excavation reports, however, the sex of a skeleton is only deduced from the grave-goods, or not at all; finds are assigned to numbered graves but their positions are not recorded; or the position of an object is described in ambiguous terms, such as "near the ear" or "on the stomach".⁷

Where complete data are not available, the judgement of the experienced archaeologist as to the positioning of grave-goods and the sexing of skeletons, has usually been acceptable. For example, if beads and two matching brooches are found in a grave, analogy would suggest that the skeleton they accompanied was that of a female, and that the brooches had been worn on the shoulders. There are many less clear-cut cases. The degrees of probability vary considerably, therefore, so many of the statements in the survey in Section B are necessarily tentative. Where sufficient evidence is available, the

survey records the number of occurrences of particular fashions at individual sites; but analysis of numerical occurrences is not the primary aim. The ambiguity of much of the evidence would be a major drawback to such a treatment. Instead, the aim has been to establish recurrent customs of costuming, by including general as well as precise records.

B. PAGAN GRAVE-GOODS

I

Bedfordshire1. Sites

Many of the Anglo-Saxon burial sites in Bedfordshire were discovered during the nineteenth century, and some were not systematically excavated or completely recorded. Thirty-one sites are noted in Meaney's Gazetteer,¹ nine of which offer primary evidence: Chalton (Chalgrave);² Dunstable, Five Knolls;³ Kempston;⁴ Leighton Buzzard II, Chamberlain's Barns A and B;⁵ Limbury, Wallud's Bank (Leagrave);⁶ Luton I, Peddar's Way (Argyll Avenue, Biscot Mill);⁷ Pegsdon Common, Shillington;⁸ Toddington I, Sheepwalk Hill;⁹ Totternhoe, Marina Drive.¹⁰ Supplementary evidence has been drawn from Farndish¹¹ and Shefford.¹² Leighton Buzzard II B and Totternhoe are seventh-century cemeteries, the others are earlier, Dunstable and Kempston probably being used from the fifth into the sixth century. Some of the Dunstable skeletons appeared to have been executed.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches appear to have been worn by women buried at Limbury, Luton, Toddington and Kempston. At Limbury disc brooches were certainly "paired" in one instance, and probably in another. These two were the only burials documented from the site. There are three recorded instances of "pairing" from Luton (disc, saucer, and brooches of unrecorded type being used). There may have been others as many burials were incompletely recorded, though more than half of the graves from this site were unfurnished. The recording of the Toddington I

site was similarly incomplete, but there is one recorded instance of square-headed brooches being "paired".

The positions of the grave-goods from the numerous burials discovered at Kempston were rarely mentioned in Fitch's "Journal of Discoveries", but reference to his catalogue of grave-goods shows that in a number of cases two similar brooches were taken from the same grave, which suggests that the brooches had been "paired". The position of the brooches was only given in the report of a child's burial recorded on December 10, where two small bronze brooches were said to have been found near the teeth of the skeleton. (The "paired" brooches from the other Bedfordshire sites were found on the clavicles or shoulders.) R. A. Smith recorded that brooches were "generally worn in pairs" by women at this site.

3. Third brooches

C. R. Smith's account of Kempston included the information that "one, two and sometimes three fibulae or brooches, cruciform, circular and saucer-shaped, were worn on either shoulder as well as on the breast". This suggests that third brooches were sometimes worn, and the catalogue of grave-goods shows that in at least one case (February 8) three brooches (two saucer and one larger saucer) were recovered from the same grave.

4. Single brooches

There is at least one instance of a single brooch being recovered from a grave at Kempston (March 17, cruciform). At Farndish, one small horned brooch accompanied a skeleton equipped with amber beads, therefore probably female. A single applied brooch was found on the chest of

a female skeleton at Toddington.

5. Brooches in male graves

R. A. Smith stated that "brooches ... appear to have been found even in the graves of men at Kempston". Wyatt's account of the cemetery mentioned two such instances: one of "a bronze fibula set with garnets" said to have been found in the grave of a man equipped with shield boss, sword and two knives; the other of "a pair of fibulae" said to have been recovered from a grave containing a shield boss. These graves were, however, discovered by workmen digging for gravel and the positions of the objects not recorded.

6. Absence of brooches

No brooches were recovered from the probable execution site at Dunstable, but the absence reflects the general paucity of the cemetery. The lack of grave-goods may therefore represent a deliberate stripping of finery for ignominious burial. However, as there were a few personal objects recovered from the site, it seems unlikely that the dead in this cemetery were buried naked. They may have been dressed, like those buried in apparently unfurnished graves on other sites, in some simpler costume which did not require brooches as fasteners.

7. Secondary use of brooches

Leighton Buzzard II B and Totternhoe, both late sites, each yielded only one brooch. Both brooches were found in circumstances which suggested they were not functional. Both lacked pins. Hyslop suggested that the Leighton Buzzard example (from Grave 32) had been sewn to the garment, and Matthews, noting that the Totternhoe brooch

was apparently "two or three generations older than any other datable object in the cemetery" suggested that it had been sewn to the sleeve, since it was found on the forearm. As there were other small objects with it, it is possible that it, and they, had been contained in a bag, or some other perishable object. Since both brooches were found with children, they may have been playthings.

8. Pin suites

Two sets of linked pins were recovered from Leighton Buzzard II B (Graves 39 and 55). The pins from Grave 39, of silver and garnet, linked by a silver chain, lay just below the chin of a skeleton, which, since it was also equipped with a necklace, was almost certainly female. The pins had been worn vertically, on either side of the body, and were attached to the garment below the necklace. The necklace lay between two layers of textile linked by the pins. The pins were covered by a coarser fabric which was thought to represent "either a shroud or a cloak".

9. Pins

A pin which had perhaps fastened a cloak was recovered from Limbury. The metal had stained the left clavicle of a skeleton which was equipped with two disc brooches. (The position of these was not recorded, but they were probably "paired" as there is an instance of "paired" disc brooches in another burial from the site.) The pin was over 6" long and had two spangles, probably having originally had three. Baldwin Brown considered that such pins with Klapperschmuck functioned as hair pins¹³ but the recorded position of the Limbury example demonstrates that this was not necessarily so. There is no evidence that

pins were worn at the head in Bedfordshire, although there are other indications that headdresses of some kind were worn.

10. Possible headgear

Two male skeletons at Totternhoe had apparently worn some kind of headgear. Two small iron clips were found on the skull of a youth (Grave B2) and a triangular bronze plate on the skull of a man (Grave D2). Female headdresses are indicated by iron remains and a bronze buckle found beside the skull of the skeleton in Grave 39 at Leighton Buzzard II B, and by beads. Single beads were found beside the heads of three skeletons from Leighton Buzzard II B, including the one in Grave 39, and "earrings" both of wire and beads were recorded from three graves at Totternhoe (E2 and 3 and C5) two of which contained skeletons of children and one a woman. Any of these rings-and-beads, if not attached to the ear, might have adorned a head garment.

11. Clasps

Wrist clasps were recorded at Kempston, the most northerly of the inhumation sites of this county, but not from any of the other sites. There are no published details of the finding of the clasps, but R. A. Smith's account mentioned that they were found "near the wrist" of skeletons. A find of two small brooches near the hands of a skeleton (discovered October 31) may indicate an alternative means of fastening the type of sleeve usually fastened by the clasps.

12. Buckles

Buckles were found at Kempston, and though there are no details of the finds, it is recorded that in at least one instance a buckle

was in the grave of a female also equipped with saucer brooches (February 8). There is no evidence for the wearing of girdle buckles by women from other Bedfordshire sites. Buckles found with two male skeletons at Totternhoe (B8 and G4) had evidently fastened belts and were centrally positioned. Buckles were the only clothing fasteners recovered from the supposed execution cemetery at Dunstable, but although they were associated with skeletons (Nos. 35 and 42) they were not positioned as they might have been during life.

13. Adjuncts to costume

Despite the small number of girdle buckles recovered from Bedfordshire, evidence suggests that girdled garments were worn by both sexes in this county. Knives have been found at the waist or hip of skeletons of both sexes at most of the Bedfordshire sites. The position of the knives is the only primary evidence from Chalton and Pegsdon Common. (There were no knives from the Dunstable site.) Both the male skeletons with buckles from Totternhoe had knives, but the majority of knives found have been associated with skeletons without girdle buckles. Analysis of the finds from Totternhoe, the only site from which full details are available, shows a preference for wearing the knife on the left side, and that it was sometimes carried with handle downward. Two male skeletons from this site had had knife sheaths (Graves C4 and F4) and objects described as "sheath hangers" at the waist had presumably been attached to belts. Another tool had apparently been carried in the same sheath in Grave F4. Some persons had been equipped with more than one knife. Two knives were found in Grave 13 at Leighton Buzzard II A, one on each hip of the skeleton. Grave 3, Leighton Buzzard II B, contained two knives which were found on the

left hip of the skeleton. Threadboxes from female graves at Kempston (found November 16 and January 18) were in positions consistent with suspension from the right side of a girdle, one possibly having been carried in a pouch. In neither instance was there a buckle at waist or hip. (Threadboxes were also recovered from Totternhoe but the positions of these and other adjuncts to the costume from this site did not suggest that they had been worn at burial, rather that they had been laid in the grave.) Female skeletons from Kempston (November 20 and March 19) also had metal rings and ivory fragments at the legs and hips. These, particularly the ivory examples,¹⁴ may have been the remains of pouches or other attachments to the girdle, although one at least was considered to have been a bracelet. Other probable attachments to women's girdles include a key found to the right of a skeleton from Dunstable (No. 42) and another found with a knife at the left hip of a skeleton from Leighton Buzzard II A (Grave 15). A girdle hanger was found with a knife below the waist of a skeleton from Toddington, and a rare type of bronze girdle hanger accompanied the skeleton of a child from Totternhoe (Grave F2). Another child's skeleton from the same site (Grave E3) had a spindle whorl by the left thigh, which might have been attached to the girdle.

The extensive evidence for the wearing of girdles or belts which had not been fastened by buckles, suggests that in many cases the girdle had simply been tied, or fastened by a clasp made of some perishable substance.

14. Possible toggles

Alternative fastenings may be indicated by single amber beads found at the waists of two skeletons at Leighton Buzzard II A

(Graves 2 and 3). Other beads were present in one of these graves, but the bead at the waist was isolated. Such beads might have functioned as toggles for the fastening of a girdle, or of another garment.

15. Other jewellery

Beads recovered from other Bedfordshire cemeteries appear to have been ornamental rather than functional, and confined, as far as can be seen, to female interments. Large quantities of beads were recovered from the graves at Kempston, and were almost always found near the necks of the skeletons. A typical example is the grave discovered on October 20, which contained the skeleton of an aged female, equipped with one-hundred-and-eight beads. A more elaborate necklace recovered on January 25 included beads, amethyst pendants and silver rings. Possibly these finds represent a necklace of the ring-and-bead type. Ring-and-bead necklaces were recorded from five graves at Leighton Buzzard II B (in addition to beads and rings which might have been ornaments for the ear or head) and ring-and-bead festoons were found at Totternhoe. These festoons were found suspended from the shoulders of a female skeleton (Grave D10) and of a child (Grave F2). The choice of suspension point for the beads at a site where "paired" brooches were not in use, may indicate that the fastening of the gown was still on the shoulders although metal clasps were no longer used by the period of these burials. The festoons might, however, have been sewn to the garment, a conscious or unconscious relic of the time when "paired" brooches provided a convenient suspension point.

Festoons of beads were also recovered from Luton, a site early enough to have "paired" brooches. Only one brooch was recorded from

Grave 22, however, which had a festoon on the breast, which may indicate that even in the period when "paired" brooches were fashionable, they were not considered necessary for the attachment of a festoon of beads at the shoulders.

An unusual feature of women's costume in earlier Bedfordshire sites is the apparent fashion for wearing beads as arm ornaments. A skeleton recovered from Kempston (March 19) in addition to more than two hundred beads found near the neck, was equipped with other beads which were thought to have been worn on the upper arm. R. A. Smith's record of the cemetery included reference to a skeleton with one-hundred-and-twenty amber, crystal and glass beads at the neck and others near the left wrist. A female skeleton in Grave 27 at Luton was found to have a festoon of beads by the "upper part of the stomach" and other festoons by each knee. As the skeleton was found in a bent position it is probable that these were displaced, having originally been worn at the breast (there were "paired" brooches in the grave) and at the arms.

The Totternhoe excavations revealed the practice of equipping the corpses of children with small quantities of beads. (Graves A1, C5 and D6.). These were found at or near the neck. The grave of another child at this site (E3) contained an unusually elaborate necklace, which was found encircling the neck and had been fastened by means of two silver cones. The necklace consisted of amber, amethyst, fishbone and paste beads, with pendants of fishbone and beaver tooth. Pendants were also found with festoons at Luton and Totternhoe, and a pendant made from a pierced coin was on the breast of a female skeleton (No. 22) in the execution cemetery at Dunstable.

The female skeletons from Toddington had finger rings. In one instance (the skeleton with "paired" brooches) the ring was found on a finger of the left hand.

II

Berkshire1. Sites

Fifty-one sites are listed in the Gazetteer.¹ Primary evidence is available from fourteen of them: Abingdon I;² Blewburton Hill, Blewbury;³ Cross Barrows, East Ilsley;⁴ Frilford I;⁵ Frilford II;⁶ Harwell;⁷ Lowbury, Aston Upthorpe;⁸ Milton;⁹ East Shefford;¹⁰ Sutton Courtenay II;¹¹ Wallingford;¹² White Horse Hill, Uffington;¹³ Long Wittenham I;¹⁴ Long Wittenham II.¹⁵ Secondary evidence from Lockinge Park¹⁶ and Streatley¹⁷ has been included in the survey. The large sites at Abingdon and Long Wittenham, and the smaller site at East Shefford were recorded in detail. The site at Frilford was also large but the records are less full. Frilford II, Lowbury, Long Wittenham II and probably Cross Barrows and Milton are seventh-century burial sites. The others are sixth-century, Abingdon and Harwell at least having been in use from the fifth. Some of the persons buried at White Horse Hill may have died violently and been uncereemoniously buried.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were evidently worn at Abingdon, Blewburton Hill, Frilford I, Harwell, East Shefford and Long Wittenham I. Brooches were found in thirty-eight of the one-hundred-and-twenty-two Abingdon graves, which in seventeen instances were probably "paired", twelve times on the shoulders, four "on the breast" or "breasts" and once below the breasts. There were nine further possible instances. In these cases two brooches were found on either side of the body, but

their arrangement was not symmetrical, perhaps the result of the disturbance of "paired" brooches during burial. In four other instances two brooches were found on the same side of the body but some distance apart. For example, the brooches in Grave 26 were found at the top of the right arm and at the right of the cervical vertebrae. In two other such instances the brooches were found on the left.

The "paired" and possibly "paired" brooches were mostly associated with the skeletons of adult females, although twice they were found with female children and once with a child of unidentified sex. In two instances the associated skeletons were thought to have been adult males. These were Grave 18, in which the brooches were at the right shoulder and below the left shoulder, and Grave 95, in which one brooch was "under the right ear" and the position of the other not recorded. It may be significant, however, that neither these nor the other apparently male Abingdon skeletons with brooches were accompanied by weapons, although weapons were found in other furnished male graves.

There was considerable variety in the types of brooch used for "pairing" at this site. In order of popularity, they were: disc, saucer, square-headed, annular and possibly penannular. Trefoil-headed, button and applied brooches were each found "paired" in a single instance. The brooches used for "pairing" often differed in size and decoration and there was one instance of the "pairing" of brooches of unlike type: in Grave 106 an applied brooch was "paired" with a "domed" brooch, a fifth-century, continental type.

"Paired" brooches were certainly found in two of the graves at Blewburton Hill, where they were worn on the shoulders. Both were associated with female skeletons, and the brooches were of applied type in one case, disc in the other. There were other possible instances of the fashion. Two brooches were found "close to the skull" of another female skeleton — they were of dissimilar type, but both circular, one being annular, the other penannular — and two penannular brooches were beneath the chin of the skeleton of an adolescent.

There were two further cases in which similar brooches were associated with skeletons. In Grave 4 two disc brooches were found close to the upper part of the sternum, and in Grave 3 a disc brooch was found on the right shoulder and an annular close to the left temple. Both these graves were considered to have contained male skeletons, but, as with the alleged males with brooches from Abingdon, these skeletons were without weapons, while the only male at Blewburton Hill to be equipped with weapons (Grave 7), did not have brooches.

Over one-hundred-and-seventy graves were excavated at Frilford I but few were recorded in sufficient detail to supply primary evidence. Disc brooches were "paired" on the shoulders of a young female skeleton excavated on March 17 1865, and an old woman, excavated April 1 1868, had saucer brooches over the breasts. It is possible that applied brooches may also have been "paired" at this site.

Disc brooches were "paired" above each clavicle of a skeleton at Harwell. The skeleton was said to be over six feet tall, but

as it also had beads, it is likely to have been female (Grave 4). There is another possible instance of the fashion from Grave 1 on this site. A small square-headed brooch was found over the left clavicle and an applied above the fourth cervical vertebra. Since the applied brooch was worn centrally, and the two did not match in type, this is a less probable instance than those from Abingdon and Blewburton Hill.

Peake and Hooton, recording the 1912 excavation of East Shefford, described the positions of the brooches in general, in terms which suggest that these resembled the Abingdon and Blewburton Hill positions: "the brooches were always found in pairs and were usually found over the clavicles, though sometimes the cloak which they had fastened had slipped to one side and they were found together near the shoulder". The earliest finds from the site had included a female grave with two circular brooches "on the breast", probably also an instance of the "paired" fashion. Brooches were found in eight of the twenty-seven graves recorded by Peake and Hooton. All were thought to have contained females. The wearers were mostly persons in their early twenties or over fifty years of age. The brooches were mostly of like type, although there were some differences in size. Applied, disc and square-headed types were employed. There were two instances of dissimilar types being "paired" and in both cases one member of the "pair" was an equal-armed brooch. One was associated with a cruciform brooch (Grave 10) the other with a saucer brooch (Grave 18). These associations may be compared to the finds from a cremation burial at Abingdon (No. 26) which had contained the remains of an applied brooch and an equal-armed one.

The excavations of Long Wittenham I revealed brooches in forty-nine of the seventy female graves, forty of which contained two brooches. Of these forty, thirty-four skeletons had brooches "paired" at the shoulders. In another instance one brooch was found at the shoulder and the other in the mouth, positions suggesting that one of a "pair" of brooches had been displaced during burial. The positions of brooches were unrecorded in two instances. The positions of brooches at the right shoulder and the throat of another skeleton (Grave 129) may also be the result of displacement, or may represent an alternative fashion. Brooches employed for "pairing" were disc, saucer and long (small and large cruciform) types. Penannular and applied types each occurred once. Grave 95 contained a saucer brooch and an applied brooch, but this should not, perhaps, be considered an instance of the "pairing" of unlike types, since the difference between saucer and applied types lies in the technique of manufacture rather than the appearance of the finished product. The brooches in Grave 129, possibly "paired", were dissimilar: the one found at the right shoulder was a disc brooch, and the one at the throat was an oval, probably Roman, example.

Two circular brooches were found with an isolated burial at Lockinge Park. These may have been "paired".

The evidence attests the popularity of the "paired" brooch fashion in these Berkshire cemeteries, and shows that a variety of types were used. It is noticeable that where odd brooches were "paired" together, one of the "pair" was usually a rarity, Roman or continental, or the equal-armed type which probably did not continue to be made for long after the settlement of England.

These rarities were "paired" with more common Anglo-Saxon products.

3. Asymmetrical brooches

There are so many instances of asymmetrical positioning, at Abingdon, Blewburton Hill, Harwell, apparently at East Shefford and at Long Wittenham I, that it would appear either that an appearance of symmetry was not always considered necessary in this area, or that there was considerable carelessness at burial. It is possible, though, that some of these brooches should not be considered "paired" and that they functioned differently. Many of these doubtful cases could represent two garments: one fastened centrally, at the throat or centre chest, and another clasped at the shoulder.

4. Two brooches not "paired"

There are several other instances from the county of two brooches being found in the same grave. In Grave 14 at Abingdon, which contained a skeleton considered male, brooches were found on either side of the lower ribs. Unless these had been displaced from the shoulders, they must have fastened or decorated a garment near the waist. There are two occurrences at Abingdon of brooches worn high on the right and low on the left of the body, indicating a diagonal aperture or fold. In one instance saucer, and in the other disc brooches were employed in this manner, being found on the right shoulder and left ribs of a female aged about twenty years and of a child aged about eight.

A longitudinal opening of the garment was also suggested by two graves from Long Wittenham I, although in these instances the

positioning was not diagonal. Saucer brooches were found at the waist and left breast of a skeleton in Grave 123; and a disc brooch at the left wrist and another brooch at the left shoulder of a skeleton in Grave 151.

A further variation may be represented by a skeleton at Blewburton Hill, which was equipped with two disc brooches, both on the left clavicle. The skeleton was thought to be male, but was without weapons, and equipped with beads as well as the brooches.

5. Single brooches

There is no evidence of third brooches from Berkshire, but there are some instances of single brooches. Two were found with female skeletons at Abingdon. One, a saucer brooch, was by the left scapula and the other, an annular brooch, on the chest. A penannular brooch was found "under the left ear" of a skeleton thought to be an adult male. A fourth single brooch, a broken Romano-British example, was found by the left hand of a male child. It might have been suspended from the belt or laid by the hand, or even, since it was broken, have been a toy or talisman.

The Blewburton Hill finds included a single applied brooch which was found close to the left shoulder of a female skeleton, and Akerman's account of Frilford I included a female grave with an oval brooch, which was probably single. A Kentish polychrome brooch was found on the breast of a skeleton at Milton and a female skeleton with a cruciform brooch on the left shoulder was among the earliest discoveries from East Shefford.

A brooch was on the shoulder of a skeleton found in one of two barrows at White Horse Hill. The two burial mounds were thought

to contain the dead from a battle, one Anglo-Saxon, the other Romano-British. (The skulls of the skeletons in the two barrows were of different types.) The brooch was in the barrow considered Anglo-Saxon although it was a circular, inlaid example of Romano-British type. The sex of the skeleton, which had been decapitated, was not recorded, although Meaney's account (p. 53) supposed it to have been female.

Single brooches were found in nine graves at Long Wittenham. They occurred twice on the left shoulder and once on the left breast of skeletons, and once on the right shoulder. The others were also found on the breast or shoulder of the associated skeletons, but the side of the body was not recorded. The types used were disc (in three instances worn on the left of the body), saucer and cruciform (worn on the right). Six of the skeletons with single brooches were described as young, although none were children and only one was sufficiently young to be called a girl. This tendency may reflect a preference for a type of costume fastened by the single brooch among young adult females, but it may be the result of a tendency evident at Long Wittenham I to furnish the graves of young persons less richly than those of their elders.

6. Distribution of brooches in relation to age

Akerman included estimates of the age at time of death of many of the persons buried at Long Wittenham I. This makes it possible to consider the appeal of different brooch types to different age groups (although saucer, disc and long brooches were also worn by persons of indeterminate age). Disc brooches, the most popular

type in this cemetery, had been worn by persons of all ages. Saucer brooches, also common, were found in more graves of young people than of old. (Akerman called disc brooches "circular" but distinguished them from saucer brooches, which he called "dish-shaped".¹⁸) Long brooches may have been worn only by the middle-aged, while the less common types (penannular, applied and the Roman brooch) appeared only in the graves of young persons.

7. Brooches in male graves

Excavators considered that brooches had accompanied men buried at Abingdon and Blewburton Hill, but, as stated, all the relevant graves lacked the weapon characteristic of many other male burials.

8. Alternative fasteners

Some unusual objects, which may have replaced brooches as fasteners, have been recovered from Frilford I and Lowbury. Two metallic buttons, one found at the head of the humerus, accompanied the skeleton of an old woman excavated from Frilford I (May 3 1850). A flat bone rectangle, perforated at each end, was found on the left shoulder of a male skeleton at Lowbury (the only Anglo-Saxon interment from the Romano-British site).

9. Pin suites

Pin suites were found at the neck and breast of two young, female skeletons at Long Wittenham II, a seventh-century site where there were no brooches.

10. Pins

Pins were found in eight Abingdon graves. The associated skeletons were of an aged person of indeterminate sex, four female adults and three female children. All except an infant had been equipped with brooches (one with a single brooch, the others with two). In the majority of cases the pins were found at the upper part of the body, at the right armpit, right breast or at the centre of the chest. Twice they were lower down the body at the left side (at the left pelvis and left elbow) and once at the head. The last mentioned instance, Grave 38, was the burial of the infant without brooches. Two pins were found at the left and one at the right, all under the skull. They may have fastened a headdress, or the cradle clothes. In Grave 32, which contained a single brooch, the pin and brooch were at the same side of the body, the brooch at the shoulder and the pin at the armpit.

Two skeletons from Blewburton Hill had pins. Both also had brooches. The pins were on the chest of the skeleton of a child, and at the left ribs of a female. A pin was found near the skull of a skeleton at Cross Barrows. Details of two graves with pins were recorded from Frilford I. Both contained female skeletons with "paired" brooches, and in both cases the pins were found on the left breast.

Pins were associated with three female skeletons at East Shefford. One was recovered from the breast of the skeleton of a young woman. (Another female skeleton with a pin was aged over fifty.) Metal fragments described as "pins or buckles" accompanied the skeleton of a male child, but the position was not recorded.

Twelve female skeletons at Long Wittenham I had pins. They were preponderately young (two girls and five young women) and seven of them were equipped with brooches. (Two had single brooches, five had two.) One of the skeletons without brooches had a buckle. In three cases the pin was the only object in the grave. Possibly these were shroud pins of persons buried without grave-goods and unclothed. One of the pins was found "in the lap" of the associated skeleton, the others were all found at the upper part of the body. Seven were at the breast (once, specifically, at the left) and one at the shoulder. The pin found "in the lap" was associated with a single brooch.

11. Possible headgear, clips

Clips were found in graves of a man, woman and child at Abingdon. Those with the child were near the head. The positions of the others were not recorded. At East Shefford, bronze objects with rivets, which had probably fastened leather, were found under the neck of a male skeleton, and in association with a female.

12. Buckles

At Abingdon, buckles were found in twenty-two inhumation graves, associated with persons of all ages, and with both sexes, although the majority of the associated skeletons were female. Buckles were found in female graves with "paired" brooches, with single brooches and without brooches. The buckles were mostly found at waist or hip, consistent with having fastened belts. They were more often at the right side than at the left, a preference demonstrated by both sexes.

Two male skeletons had had two buckles, which were found some distance apart, but had been worn at the same level of the body, and one male skeleton had a buckle at the right breast. In two instances buckles found with female skeletons had been associated with chatelaines.

Buckles occurred at Blewburton Hill in female graves with and without brooches, and in the apparently male graves with brooches. They were found at the pelvis and among the ribs of the skeletons. A preference for the right-hand side was noticeable among the females. A male equipped with weapons (Grave 7) had worn an elaborate belt just above the pelvis. Iron-bound wooden sections were found at the front of the body, and there were buckles at each side.

A buckle was found with a skeleton at Cross Barrows, but the position was not recorded. The grave contained weapons so the corpse was evidently male. Buckles were worn by both sexes at Frilford I. Akerman noted a female grave furnished with a pair of brooches and a buckle, and a buckle was found on the pelvis of a male skeleton with weapons (April 1 1868). Baldwin Brown, however, recorded the low proportion of buckles recovered from this site.¹⁹

The only buckle from Harwell was associated with the skeleton equipped with (dissimilar) brooches at clavicle and neck. The single Anglo-Saxon skeleton from Lowbury had a buckle at the right of the waist; the remains of an object which might have been another was found under the backbone at waist level.

Buckles were found in seven of the East Shefford graves recorded by Peake and Hooton and a "girdle buckle" was found earlier with a skeleton equipped with a brooch. Two of the Peake and Hooton graves contained male skeletons, of an adolescent and a young man, and the

others skeletons of females ranging in age from early maturity to over sixty years. An unusual feature of this cemetery was the tendency for females to be equipped with two buckles. There is no record of the positions of these, but it is unlikely that they substituted for the more usual brooches on the shoulders since two of the graves with two buckles also contained two brooches. In three cases the buckles were both of iron; in the fourth one was iron the other bronze. The remaining female grave and the male graves each contained a single buckle.

A male skeleton at Streatley had a buckle, and the skeleton of a youth at Wallingford had two. One of these, which was found at the right lower ribs, had evidently fastened an elaborate belt, since three belt plates lay level with the buckle. The knife and other equipment found with this skeleton had evidently, from their positions, been attached to this belt. A second buckle was found lower down the body, at waist level.

Buckles were associated with eighteen skeletons at Long Wittenham I; eleven with females of all ages, and seven with males who were all old or of indeterminate age. Nine females and five males had buckles at the waist or "in the lap". The description suggests that they were worn centrally. One male had evidently worn the buckle at the right, since it was found by the right hand. Four of the females with buckles in these positions were equipped with brooches. None of those females with buckles which were described as young were also equipped with brooches.

Two female skeletons and one male at this site had buckles at the upper part of the body. They were found at the neck and

breast of the woman, and at the right shoulder of the man. Other grave-goods suggest that the corpses had been clothed: neither of the females had brooches, but one may have had a girdle at the waist since a knife was found "in the lap". The male was also equipped with a knife, but this was found at the right side, a position which could indicate that it was suspended from a girdle, or that it was attached to a strap fastened by the buckle on the right shoulder. This fashion of wearing a buckle at the upper part of the body was also exhibited at Long Wittenham II, where the only buckle from the site was found on the breast of the skeleton of an old woman.

13. Belt fittings

A tag which had probably been attached to a girdle was recovered from a cremation grave at Long Wittenham I.

Articles which were identified as "clasps" and were thought to have fastened the girdle were found in four graves at Long Wittenham I. They accompanied two adult female skeletons, one female child and one other child, and were found at the waist or right hip. The illustration of one of these objects²⁰ suggests, however, that they were more likely to have been attached to the girdle than to have fastened it, and were perhaps a species of girdle hanger or openwork mount.

14. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found in positions suggesting suspension at the belt at many Berkshire sites, often indicating the presence of a belt which had not been fastened by a buckle. Thirty-six of the fifty Abingdon graves with knives were without buckles, and fifty-seven out of more

than seventy graves with knives at Long Wittenham I were without either buckles or "clasps". The presence of knives in such positions also suggests that belts were worn without buckles at Blewburton Hill, Cross Barrows, Frilford II, East Shefford, Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham II. Skeletons (with belt buckles) at Harwell and Lowbury also had knives.

Knives were worn by both sexes and by persons of all ages. The East Shefford burials included two infants with knives. The skeletons were aged about twelve months and twenty months; the children had probably been too young to carry knives during life.

The prevailing angle of the knives at Abingdon was point upwards, although some had also been carried with the point down or sideways. The knife at Lowbury was also point upwards. The Abingdon and Blewburton Hill graves exhibited a preference for carrying the knife at the left. The Long Wittenham I inhabitants had also preferred the left side to the right, although some women and many of the men at this site were found to have the knife "in the lap" which suggests central positioning. The Cross Barrows, Frilford II, Lowbury and Sutton Courtenay knives were found at the left of the skeletons. In nine cases at Abingdon the knife was found under the body, where it had perhaps been tucked into the back of the belt.

Only rarely was a skeleton equipped with more than one knife. A female at Abingdon had a Roman knife as well as an Anglo-Saxon one. The former was found with remains of a chatelaine, and may have been a trinket rather than a functional object.

At Long Wittenham I there were several cases in which the knife was found at the upper part of the body at shoulder or breast.

This occurred in the graves of both sexes, but was more noticeable among the males. It is possible that the knives had been laid in the graves on the bodies, but it is also possible that they were suspended in these positions by some strap or other arrangement. There was one such instance at Abingdon, where a comb as well as the knife was found along and above the upper vertebrae.

Other articles which had probably been attached to girdles were strike-a-lights, found with male skeletons at Abingdon and Wallingford and possibly at Lowbury; tweezers, found with both sexes at Abingdon, with a male at Long Wittenham I and at East Shefford; combs, found with males at Abingdon and Sutton Courtenay, and with a female at Long Wittenham I; and, associated only with females, chatelaines, evidenced by metal rings, hooks and other fragments at Abingdon; toilet articles at Abingdon, Blewburton Hill and Long Wittenham I; keys at Blewburton Hill and Long Wittenham I; a satchel and pouch frame at Abingdon and the remains of other pouches and spindle whorls at Long Wittenham I. Shears were found at the waist of the male at Lowbury, and an item described as a "pouch guard" at the waist of one at Long Wittenham I.

In many cases, however, such items were found at the upper part of the body where they might either have been laid on the corpse, or suspended from the garment. A toilet set was on the left shoulder of the skeleton of an old woman from Frilford I, a position which suggests it might have been attached to one of the "paired" brooches. Toilet articles were also found at the shoulder, breast or centre chest of female skeletons at Abingdon and Long Wittenham I. The frequency of this position may have been a regional variation, since

these items are more usually found at waist or hip. At Long Wittenham spindle whorls were also sometimes found at the upper part of the body, and in male graves, there were instances of tweezers and a purse guard being worn in this position.

15. Possible toggles

Single beads which might have functioned as toggles were found at Abingdon and East Shefford, and single beads which might have adorned or fastened the headdress at Abingdon and Blewburton Hill.

16. Other jewellery

Beads and other items of jewellery appear to have been chiefly female adornments, except for a sword bead at Abingdon.²¹ (The excavator of Blewburton Hill did suggest that one skeleton with beads and brooches was male, which seems unlikely in the light of the other evidence. A child and a disturbed skeleton, thought male, at East Shefford, had beads.)

Beads from this county were mainly of amber and glass, although there were some of more unusual materials: crystal and jet from Abingdon, stone and quartz from East Shefford. There were many pendants, mostly perforated coins or pieces of metal, but also individual items such as a dog's tooth and the lid of an enamelled Roman box, both from Abingdon. At Abingdon, East Shefford and Long Wittenham I, beads were evidently worn as necklaces and festoons at the upper part of the body; but they were also found near the arms and waist, which suggests that they had also been used as bracelets and ornaments

to the waist or to the girdle. The limited evidence from Frilford I supports this impression. The beads found at Harwell were at the elbow of a skeleton, and those from Blewburton Hill were found as the neck ornament of one skeleton and below the ribs of another.

The number of beads varied greatly from grave to grave. At East Shefford, for example, the numbers ranged from seven to over one-hundred-and-twenty-eight. Grave 71 at Long Wittenham had two-hundred-and-eighty beads between the right arm and the body. At the same site there were seven instances of small quantities of beads (one or three) being worn at the neck. Several of these instances were associated with children, and it was noticeable at this site that none of the most elaborate bead ornaments were associated with the skeletons of young people. The unusual find of a "collar" composed of amber beads and a spiral silver strip was made at Long Wittenham I.

From Long Wittenham II there came three glass beads and two "earrings", found at the neck of the young female skeleton in Grave 3. This seventh-century skeleton was also equipped with a pin suite, and it is possible that the "earrings" had in fact formed part of a ring-and-bead necklace, a type typical of this period and association.²²

Additional items of jewellery were finger rings and bracelets, all feminine grave furniture. The rings were found on the hands of skeletons at Abingdon (found on both hands) and Long Wittenham I. None of the graves with finger rings was poorly-equipped and all the associated skeletons had "paired" brooches. The corpse in Abingdon Grave 53, which contained three finger rings, was equipped with

unusual elaborateness, having, in addition to the brooches, fifty-eight beads at the centre of the body and other ornaments at pelvis, right shoulder and left hand. Bracelets were found in Long Wittenham graves without brooches, and an incomplete wire "bangle" was found in a grave with two wire brooches at Blewburton Hill.

III

Buckinghamshire1. Sites

The Gazetteer¹ lists twenty-four sites in Buckinghamshire, seven of which offer primary evidence: Bishopstone, Cursley Hill;² Cop Round Barrow, Bledlow;³ Dinton;⁴ Ellesborough;⁵ Mentmore;⁶ Newport Pagnell;⁷ Taplow.⁸ Secondary evidence has been drawn from Ashendon;⁹ Stone II;¹⁰ High Wycombe.¹¹ Apart from the seventh-century barrow burial at Taplow, the sites so far discovered have not been rich in grave-goods. Sites have yielded small numbers of inhumations and no site has been consistently recorded in detail. The High Wycombe finds may be seventh-century. The others are probably earlier.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were never recorded in situ, although two matching saucer brooches found at Ashendon, other brooches, including matching saucer brooches, from Bishopstone and "two iron brooches" found with a skeleton at the same site suggest that "paired" brooches were worn in the county.

3. Single brooches

A single brooch was found with the skeleton of a woman at Newport Pagnell, but its position was not recorded. A saucer brooch was found at Mentmore and another at Stone II. Several unmatched brooches were recovered from Bishopstone. Some or all of these may have been worn singly.

4. Brooches in male graves

The iron brooches from Bishopstone may have been worn by a male, since they were found near weapons which were associated with a skeleton. It is possible, though, that more than one burial was represented.

5. Pins

A pin which had probably secured the hair or headdress of a woman was recovered from Newport Pagnell. It was found near a bucket which was at the head of the skeleton. Pins were also found at Bishopstone and Cop Round Barrow, but their positions were not recorded.

6. Clasps

Clasps were found at Mentmore and Taplow. Only parts of the femur and vertebrae survived from the Taplow skeleton which had been orientated roughly east-west, but it was possible to plot the positions of the grave-goods from these remains. A pair of triangular, gold clasps was found "at the left and parallel with the middle line of the body". The clasps were thought to have secured a belt. A single clasp was found at Mentmore; the associations were not recorded.

7. Buckles

The positions were recorded of buckles found in graves of a young person at Dinton and of men at Ellesborough and Taplow. A buckle was also among the finds from Bishopstone. The Dinton buckle (or tag) was near the waist of the skeleton. The position of the Ellesborough buckle was described as below the upper part of the body

(under the body or lower than the chest?) not far below the armpits.

The associated skeleton was of a middle-aged man.

The Taplow buckle, which was 4" long, was found three feet east of the femur to the left of the line of the spinal column. Stevens assumed that it had held the garment "at the throat", but it is more often assumed to have been worn at the shoulder. A wavy line of gold "fringe" extended two yards from the area of the buckle, diagonally downward. The gold was assumed to have edged a garment clasped on the shoulder by the buckle, and worn over another garment clasped at the waist by the belt. It is possible, however, that the buckle fastened and the gold ornamented a baldric which had hung diagonally from the shoulder. This opinion is given by E. Crowfoot and S. C. Hawkes after consideration of the three existing plans of the deposit and of the gold braids themselves (Section D, 16, p.452) The Taplow grave offers unique evidence of the costume of a wealthy male of the seventh century.

8. Adjuncts to costume

Knives suggest the wearing of belts by corpses at Bishopstone and Cop Round Barrow. A knife was found to the right of a skeleton with weapons at the former site, and one was behind the lumbar vertebrae of a male at the latter. The Cop Round Barrow knife had probably been carried in a sheath and was found point upwards. A knife may have been carried at the left by the Taplow corpse, and knives were found also at Ellesborough and Mentmore, the associated skeletons having belt clasps, a buckle and belt fittings respectively. The female at Newport Pagnell had a knife across the breast.

Other articles which might have been suspended from the belt include a comb and a cowrie shell amulet associated with the skeleton of a man aged about twenty-five years, at Ellesborough. The shell was at the right of the waist and the comb among the ribs. The skeleton was without a buckle.

Tweezers were found at Bishopstone. The excavator assumed them to have been an exclusively female adjunct. Other pairs, however, were found in association with male burials elsewhere in the county, one with the knife at the lumbar vertebrae of the Cop Round Barrow skeleton, others at Taplow.

9. Possible toggle

A single glass bead was found, with a shield boss, between the thighs of a skeleton which must have been male, at Bishopstone. This bead is not included in Evison's list of sword beads¹² (although there was a sword in the grave). It may have functioned as a toggle.

10. Other jewellery

Three strings of beads which were described as "necklaces" and consisted mostly of amber beads were recovered from Bishopstone. Two were found "encircling the arms" of the female skeleton at Newport Pagnell. Glass beads and a pendant have been found at High Wycombe but no association recorded.

IV

Cambridgeshire1. Sites

Forty-six Cambridgeshire sites are listed in the Gazetteer.¹

Primary evidence is available from seventeen: Allington Hill, Bottisham;² Barrington A;³ Barrington B;⁴ Bran Ditch, Fowlmere;⁵ Burwell;⁶ Cambridge I, St. John's Cricket Field;⁷ Cambridge IV, Barnwell;⁸ Foxton;⁹ Girton;¹⁰ Haslingfield;¹¹ Linton A;¹² Linton Heath B;¹³ Melbourn;¹⁴ Sawston;¹⁵ Shudy Camps;¹⁶ Soham C, Waterworks;¹⁷ Little Wilbraham.¹⁸ Secondary evidence has been drawn from Cambridge II, Town;¹⁹ Newnham;²⁰ Little Shelford;²¹ Wisbech.²² The Allington Hill, Burwell, Foxton, Melbourn and Shudy Camps burials are seventh-century. Some of the cemeteries established earlier, Barrington B, Cambridge I and Soham, evidently continued in use in the seventh century, Barrington B and Cambridge I having existed since the fifth. Girton and Little Wilbraham appear to have been in use during the fifth and sixth centuries, and the other sites in the county are sixth-century. The Bran Ditch burials may have been the result of a massacre.

The evidence from Girton and Little Wilbraham is largely dependent on grave groups, rather than the recorded positions of objects. The grave numbers assigned to groups of objects from Barrington A and Little Wilbraham in Cambridge Museum do not correspond in every case to the numbers in the published reports of these sites, so it has not always been possible to be numerically precise in discussing them.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were worn at Barrington A, Barrington B, Girton, Linton Heath, Soham and Little Wilbraham. Matching or similar brooches which may have been "paired" were found at Cambridge I, Cambridge II, Newnham, Little Shelford and Wisbech.

Brooches were "paired" in two Barrington A graves, in both cases being dissimilar types. Brooches which Babington described as "small square-headed", but which are shown by illustration to have been small-long brooches, one with a trefoil headplate, the other horned, were found on either side of the neck of one skeleton. The second skeleton had a square-headed brooch on the right shoulder and a saucer brooch on the left.

At Barrington B brooches were "paired" on the shoulders in over twenty-five graves. In the majority of cases the brooches were of similar types. The brooches used were, in order of popularity: square-headed, saucer and/or applied, cruciform and, in one case, annular. Different varieties of small-long brooch were found together in four graves: twice square-headed brooches were "paired" with cruciform and once a square-headed with a brooch with horned headplate. One cruciform brooch was "paired" with a Roman brooch. In only one case were brooches of dissimilar shape "paired" together, when a cruciform brooch was worn on the left and a disc brooch on the right shoulder.

O'Reilly (1932) stated that brooches found at Girton "were often worn in pairs, one on each shoulder, sometimes with a third in the middle of the breast". Details of a Girton grave described by Lethbridge and Fox demonstrate that in one grave a Romano-British brooch was "paired" with an Anglo-Saxon one. Records of grave groups

containing two brooches of similar type, which, in view of O'Reilly's generalisation had probably been "paired", suggest that the most popular type of brooch worn as a "pair" at Girton was the small-long, either square- or trefoil-headed, with one possible case of a square-headed being "paired" with a trefoil. Cruciform brooches were also probably "paired" and there was one instance each of applied, disc, penannular and (dissimilar) "quoit" brooches.

Brooches were "paired" on the shoulders at Linton Heath, long brooches being preferred, but saucer brooches being used once in this way, and possibly annular.²³ Neville described the long brooches as "cruciform", but some of those in the Cambridge Museum collection are square-headed, large and small. The brooches were often dissimilar in size or decoration. The Barrington and Girton "paired" brooches were all associated with female skeletons. A Linton Heath grave group, believed to be associated with a male, contained two disc brooches, which might have been "paired" although their position was not recorded.

Dissimilar "paired" brooches accompanied the skeleton of an old woman at Soham, a cruciform brooch on the right clavicle and a small-long, worn "foot" upwards, on the left. Another female at this site was equipped with small-long brooches, also "foot" upwards, one on the sternum, the other at the left clavicle, partly under the chin. This may be an instance of "pairing", or may represent a different use of brooches.

Three Little Wilbraham graves described in detail by Neville and Lethbridge contained "paired" brooches: annular brooches were found on the collar bones of a child and on the shoulders of one adult, cruciform brooches below the lower jaw of another adult. Long brooches

were preferred to circular. Neville described the former as "cruciform" but square-, trefoil- and semi-circular-headed small-long brooches and large square-headed ones are preserved from the site. A cruciform brooch was apparently associated with a circular in one grave. Many other "pairs" differed in size and ornament.

3. Additional brooches

Additional brooches were found in graves at Barrington A and B, Cambridge I, Girton, Linton Heath and Little Wilbraham. The single instance at Barrington A resembled the fashion of wearing brooches at the upper and lower trunk (subsection 5, p.61, below), combining this with the "paired" fashion: a saucer brooch at the left hip matched the brooch on the left shoulder which was "paired" with a square-headed one. A more elaborate variation appeared at Linton Heath where a skeleton with "paired" brooches had an annular brooch by the right hand and a florid square-headed brooch (called "cruciform") at the left shoulder.

4. Third brooches

The wearing of a brooch at the shoulder in addition to the "pair" was evidenced at Barrington B. There, the skeleton in Grave 82 had "paired" brooches at the shoulders. These were small cruciform brooches. A larger cruciform was found on the right shoulder, lying over and across the "paired" brooch at that shoulder, suggesting that the third brooch fastened a garment or covering worn outside the garment secured by "paired" brooches.

O'Reilly's generalisation (subsection 2, p.57, above) implied that third brooches were common at Girton and that they were worn at

the centre of the upper body. The fashion was also perhaps current at Linton Heath where three cruciform brooches were found by the head of one skeleton and three at the neck of another. In the latter case one brooch was larger than the other two.

Between one quarter and one third of the Little Wilbraham graves with brooches contained more than two, suggesting that the same fashion was common there. Fox recorded that a Roman brooch was found with two annulars in association with the skeleton of a woman found at Cambridge I, probably a further instance.

Third brooches in Cambridgeshire appear to have normally been of long type, and often unlike the "paired" brooches, differing from them in size or shape. At Girton, in two cases graves were found to contain two cruciform brooches and one small-long, in one case two square-headed and a trefoil, and in a further instance two disc and one cruciform. Neville's report suggested that the third brooches at Little Wilbraham were always cruciform, associated with two brooches of different type or with two other cruciform brooches of different design. The Cambridge Museum collection from this site suggests, however, that some third brooches were square-headed, often of florid style. In one instance (Grave 10) a Roman bow brooch was associated with two (dissimilar) semi-circular-headed brooches.

5. Two brooches not "paired"

Several Cambridgeshire graves contained two brooches which had not been worn in the "paired" position. In three Linton Heath graves, brooches were found together at the right shoulder or breast. Twice

applied brooches were used in this way and once two "penannular rings" which might originally have been brooches.

Two annular brooches found inside the left tibia of a Soham skeleton were thought to have secured a skirt. The burial had not been properly laid out, however, and was much disturbed.

One skeleton at Barrington B and two at Linton Heath had one brooch at the upper part of the body and a second lower down the trunk. At Barrington both brooches were of disc type, one being on the breast and the other, larger one at the right hip. At Linton Heath a cruciform brooch was found at the collar bones and a circular at the left hip of one skeleton; and a cruciform at the neck and a smaller one at the middle of the body of the other.

6. Single brooches

Single brooches were found at Barrington B, Burwell, Cambridge I, Girton, Linton Heath, Melbourn, Newnham, Sawston, Shudy Camps and Little Wilbraham. A seventh-century gold-and-garnet brooch found "on the breast" of a skeleton at Allington Hill may have been worn singly, as such brooches were in other counties, but the similarity of the brooch to another, recorded as a find from "Alton Hill", suggests that the two may have come from the same grave.

Single brooches, one disc, one square-headed, were found at the necks of Barrington B skeletons. A single bird-shaped brooch was found in another grave at the site but its position was not recorded. A single disc brooch was found at the neck of a girl's skeleton at Cambridge I and a single small-long at the left clavicle of a Girton skeleton, a fashion unusual at that site. Single brooches were found near the heads of male skeletons at Linton Heath (one cruciform,

one Roman) as well as in two other graves where the sex of the skeletons was not obvious. (Again, one was cruciform, one Roman.) The only brooch recorded from Melbourn, an annular example, was found on the breast of a skeleton tentatively described as male. An unusual S-shaped brooch from Sawston was found at the left of a skeleton with weapons. An annular brooch accompanied a skeleton with a spear at Little Wilbraham. Single brooches were found in several other graves at the site. They included cruciform and other long types, and a circular brooch with garnet decoration. A single cruciform brooch, position unrecorded, accompanied a skeleton, evidently female, at Newnham.

7. Brooches in male graves

Neville considered that brooches had been worn by males at Linton Heath, both on anatomical grounds and because of association with weapons. There were at least two instances of single brooches, and one of two disc brooches being found in such circumstances. An annular brooch may have accompanied a male at Melbourn, and an S-shaped brooch a male at Sawston.

8. Secondary use of brooches

At Burwell, where brooches were not found at shoulder or breast (except for an object in Grave 17, which might have been a buckle or a brooch), two graves contained annular brooches which were found with chatelaines. Both brooches had probably been re-used as suspension rings, or may have been merely trinkets. The only brooch found at the similarly-dated site of Shudy Camps was of safety-pin

type and was also associated with a chatelaine.

9. Pin suite

A suite of linked pins was found at the upper end of a child's grave at Shudy Camps.

10. Pins

Pins were found at the chests and shoulders of skeletons at Barrington B, Burwell, Linton Heath and Soham. Several female skeletons at Barrington had pins in these positions, including one in Grave 45 where the pin lay across the "paired" brooch on the right shoulder in corresponding position (and perhaps corresponding in function) to the third brooch in Grave 82 at the same site. Similarly, Grave 24 at Linton Heath contained "paired" brooches and a pin found "over the left shoulder", a position occupied by a third brooch in Grave 21 at the site. A "bodkin" found on the breast of a Barrington skeleton may have functioned as a pin. A pin described as a fastener for the veil was found above the clavicle of a female at Burwell. Two pins were on the clavicles of Soham skeletons, one on the left, the other, a Kentish example, on the right of a skeleton thought to be male. A pin found on the breast of a skeleton in Burwell Grave 6 may have been a fastener, but might have been part of a set of toilet articles. Another pin at the site, found at the left wrist, was considered by Lethbridge to have been a shroud pin.

At Barrington B and Melbourn pins were found in positions suggesting that they had secured hair or headdress. At Barrington, two

were at the head of a child and one to the right of the skull of an adult. At Melbourn, a pin which was thought to have been a hood fastener was found under the head of a female, and another, which had a perforated head to which a ring might have been attached, was at the left of the skull of another female.

Pins were found at Girton, in unrecorded positions, one in association with beads, the others with grave-goods not typically feminine. One pin was found at Little Wilbraham in association with brooches.

11. Alternative fasteners, clips

Other articles from the county which might have fastened the garments included a flat, hooked rectangle of bronze, measuring just less than 1" by just over $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It was found under the skull of a Burwell skeleton and was interpreted as a cloak- or shroud-fastener. A "hook-and-eye" was found just below the pelvis of a female skeleton at Melbourn and clips were recovered from Bran Ditch and Little Wilbraham. A clip was found under the left femur of the only Bran Ditch skeleton with grave-goods and two clips were at either side of the head of a female at Little Wilbraham. At Linton Heath, studs may have substituted for wrist clasps (subsection 12, below).

12. Clasps

Wrist clasps were recovered from Barrington A and B, Cambridge I, Girton, Haslingfield, Linton Heath, Newnham, Soham and Little Wilbraham. They were apparently always associated with females. They were not uncommon finds in the county, at the earlier sites, but were

not worn by the majority of women. (Neville recorded forty-six Little Wilbraham graves with brooches, only thirteen with clasps; Foster thirty-one Barrington B graves with brooches, eleven with clasps.)

At Girton clasps were found in graves containing two or more brooches, and at Barrington B and Little Wilbraham they occurred in graves with one, two and three brooches, and in graves without brooches. Clasps were found in the Barrington grave in which a third brooch overlaid one of the "paired" brooches and also in the grave in which a pin was found in the same position.

At Soham clasps were found on the left wrist only of a skeleton. In several instances at Linton Heath only one pair instead of two accompanied a skeleton. Bronze studs or buttons found at the right wrist of the skeleton in Grave 9 (subsection 11, p. 64, above) perhaps counterbalanced the pair of clasps which had been worn at the other wrist.

13. Lace tags

Shoe-lace tags were associated with skeletons at Burwell and Melbourn. They were found on the ankle bones of the skeleton of a middle-aged female at Burwell, and in the graves of both sexes at Melbourn. A skeleton thought to be male had a single tag, and two females each had two tags by the ankles.

14. Buckles

Buckles appear to have fastened belts at the hip or waist at Barrington A and B, Burwell, Foxton, Linton Heath, Melbourn, Soham

and Little Wilbraham. A Kentish buckle and belt plates were found at Cambridge I, but no associations recorded. Both sexes appear to have worn buckles, though there were apparently more male than female wearers at Melbourn and Shudy Camps. O'Reilly described the buckles from Girton only in terms of male skeletons: "Buckles at the waist, shoulder or knee were usually their the males only ornaments." Buckles were associated with only two typically female grave groups from Girton.

Buckles were worn centrally or at one hip. A slight preference for the left side was demonstrated at Barrington B, Linton Heath and Melbourn. At Burwell there was a preference for the right side, and at Foxton a buckle decorated with a fish motif was found at the right side of a skeleton. One Melbourn skeleton had two buckles, one at each side.

Buckles were found at the upper part of the body at Barrington B, Burwell, Girton, Linton Heath, Shudy Camps and Soham. At Barrington, two female graves each contained two buckles, in one case both being found at the neck, in the other, at the shoulders. It is possible that they had substituted for "paired" brooches. Two Girton graves and one at Soham contained buckles placed both at the upper and the lower part of the body, an arrangement which resembled that of some brooches in the county. At Girton the buckles were at waist and shoulder in one grave and at right hip and right shoulder in the other. At Soham one buckle was at the right shoulder, the other at the right knee.

A single buckle was at the left shoulder of a Linton Heath skeleton. A child and adult male at Burwell and a skeleton at Shudy

Camps also had buckles in this position. A buckle was found at the chin of a child at Shudy Camps, and one was found "on the shoulders" of a Burwell skeleton. The object from Grave 17 at this site which was considered to be either a brooch or a buckle (subsection 8, p. 62, above) may also be considered in this category.

15. Belt fittings

Strap ends were found in the grave of a female at Linton Heath, and at Shudy Camps.

16. Girdle rings

Rings which might have been used to fasten the girdle, or to support attachments to the girdle, were found at Girton and Linton Heath.

17. Adjuncts to costume

Finds of knives at waist or hip demonstrated that girdles had been worn in graves which did not contain buckles at Barrington A and B, Bran Ditch, Burwell, Cambridge IV, Foxton, Girton, Linton Heath, Melbourn, Shudy Camps, Soham and Little Wilbraham. (Some graves with knives also contained buckles at all these sites except Bran Ditch and Cambridge, but the majority were without fasteners.)

Knives were worn by both sexes and all ages. There was a marked preference for wearing the knife at the left at Burwell, Linton Heath, Melbourn and Shudy Camps. At Barrington B, the left side was preferred by many women, while men had a greater tendency to wear the knife at the right. A knife was also found to the right of the Bran

Ditch skeleton. Knives were worn equally at left and right at Barrington A and Foxton, and at both sides at Little Wilbraham. Eleven of the forty-four knives from Burwell had been worn point upwards. Skeletons at Melbourn and Soham had two knives. At Soham, one of the two was found at the knee. A knife found at the knee of another skeleton at the site was thought to have been contained in a bag. One was found in comparable position under the knee of a Burwell skeleton. This might also have been carried in a bag, but it is possible that all had been thrust into garters or socks. Bones found at the lower legs of skeletons at Foxton and Soham may also have been carried this way. An adze which might have been carried on the person accompanied a male skeleton at Soham, and an axe was found at Girton.

Other adjuncts to the costume found in Cambridgeshire were: girdle hangers from Barrington B, Burwell, Girton, Soham and Little Wilbraham; pouch rings from Barrington B, Girton and Soham; keys from Burwell and Little Wilbraham; and chatelaine chains from Burwell and Shudy Camps. These items were all found with female skeletons. A needle-case and other containers were found at Burwell with female skeletons. Metal containers had also been carried at Barrington B. Tweezers accompanied both sexes at Barrington B and Girton, and males at Linton Heath and Shudy Camps. A male at Barrington B and females at Burwell, Melbourn and Shudy Camps had shears. These were usually carried at the waist, but in one case at Shudy Camps were found at the upper part of the body. Strike-a-lights accompanied both sexes at Burwell and a male at Shudy Camps. Sharpening steels were found

with both sexes at the latter site. Toilet articles accompanied a male skeleton at Girton, and females at Burwell, Linton Heath and Little Wilbraham.

Combs may have been worn on the person, possibly attached to the belts of females at Burwell and of a male at Melbourn. One was strung with the beads at the breast of another Burwell skeleton, and one found at the humerus of a female at Melbourn. At Cambridge I a comb was found against the skull of a girl. It was not too large to have been worn in the hair ($3\frac{1}{2}$ " long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ " at the widest point) although this does not appear to have been a regular feature of the costume.

18. Possible toggles

Four single beads at Burwell were found in positions from which they might have secured girdles, and one at Melbourn, accompanying a male skeleton. Lethbridge suggested that beads had functioned as toggles in two Shudy Camps graves. In one instance there was a single bead, in the other three. There was one possible toggle bead at Soham, and at Little Wilbraham three graves contained single beads, apart from the three sword beads recovered from this site.²⁴

19. Other jewellery

Bead ornaments have been recovered from skeletons at Barrington A and B, Burwell, Girton, Linton Heath, Melbourn, Shudy Camps, Soham and Little Wilbraham. Beads appear to have been worn both round the neck and in festoons at Barrington B, and at Girton they were "often worn not round the neck but slung from the shoulder brooches". Beads were worn near or round the neck at Little Wilbraham, and were found at the collar bones of skeletons, including one thought to be male,

at Linton Heath. More than one hundred amber and glass beads found between neck and waist of a Barrington A skeleton were thought to have functioned as buttons, but it is likely that these also had been festooned or hung round the neck. Most of the beads from this county were amber or glass, but a necklace of amethyst beads was found round the neck of a Melbourn skeleton. Amethyst beads were also found at Shudy Camps and Little Wilbraham, and crystal at Linton Heath.

Pendants were found in association with beads or as separate ornaments at several sites. Most were pierced coins, but there were also uncommon objects such as a re-used escutcheon (at Shudy Camps). Ring-and-bead necklaces or festoons were found at Burwell (including a bead on wire associated with a pendant, with a skeleton considered male), and objects which were interpreted as "earrings" but which might have derived from similar festoons or necklaces, were also found at this site. Ring-and-bead necklaces were also found at Shudy Camps, and some rings were associated with beads at Little Wilbraham. Single beads strung on rings were found at the upper bodies of skeletons at Melbourn and Soham.

The quantity of beads found in graves varied, the number at Linton Heath, for example, ranging from three to one-hundred-and-forty-four. At Burwell the quantities were generally small. Four children's skeletons at the site had single beads at the throats. Four graves at Girton, one of which was a child's, contained single beads. There were seven instances of single beads being found at the throats of Shudy Camps skeletons but not all of these were young people.

Beads or pendants were found at the waists of skeletons at Barrington B, Linton Heath, Melbourn and Shudy Camps. They may have decorated the girdle.

Single beads were found near the heads of skeletons at Barrington B, Linton Heath and Soham. They might have decorated the headdress, if they were not displaced neck ornaments.

Other items of jewellery from Cambridgeshire include a spiral silver armlet found on the left wrist of a well-equipped skeleton at Barrington A, and finger rings found on the hands of skeletons at Barrington B, Haslingfield, Linton A, Linton Heath, Soham and Little Wilbraham. Where detailed observations were made, the rings were on the left hands of female skeletons. The Linton A skeleton and one at Linton Heath each had two rings. At Soham and Linton Heath, finger rings were associated with brooches. A Linton Heath skeleton with one finger ring was also equipped with "paired" brooches, clasps and beads, but the other Cambridgeshire graves with finger rings were not distinctively rich.

V

Derbyshire1. Sites

Meaney's Gazetteer lists thirty-eight sites in Derbyshire,¹ omitting Bonsall and Youlgrave. Primary evidence is available from eleven sites: Brundcliff, Hartington;² Brushfield, Lapwing Hill;³ Calver Low;⁴ Chelmorton;⁵ Cowe Lowe, Green Fairfield;⁶ Garratt's Piece, Middleton Moor;⁷ Hurdlow, Hartington Middle Quarter;⁸ Pilsbury, Hartington Middle Quarter;⁹ Sharp Low, Tissington;¹⁰ Stand Low, Newton Grange;¹¹ Swarkeston.¹² Secondary evidence has been drawn from Benty Grange, Hartington Middle Quarter;¹³ Bonsall;¹⁴ Carder Low, Hartington Town Quarter;¹⁵ Duffield Castle;¹⁶ Galley Lowe, Ballidon;¹⁷ Kenslow Knoll, Middleton;¹⁸ Tissington;¹⁹ White Lowe, Elton;²⁰ Wigber Low;²¹ Wyaston;²² Youlgrave.²³ The majority of the sites were excavated before the middle of the nineteenth century, although the finds have been reconsidered in recent studies of the settlement of the Peak District. No site has produced large numbers of interments, several consisting of single burials. The majority of finds from the area are seventh-century, only the burial from Swarkeston providing positive evidence of sixth-century costume. The shortage of primary evidence from Derbyshire is due partly to the burial customs of the conversion period (burying grave-goods in containers rather than on the person, for example) as well as to insufficient recording of excavations.

2. "Paired" brooches, third brooch

One of two corpses buried at Swarkeston had probably been accompanied by "paired" brooches and a third brooch, since one cruciform

and two annular brooches were found in the grave. Two bronze rings found at Youlgrave were probably originally annular brooches, and may have been a further instance of "pairing" but the report does not state that the objects from the site came from only one grave.

3. Single brooches

Only the broken foot of a cruciform brooch was recovered from what may have been a sixth-century, female burial at Duffield Castle. Since the bones had been disturbed, it is impossible to tell if the brooch had been buried whole, and if it was worn singly.

A brooch of Celtic manufacture, but thought to have been recovered from Anglo-Saxon context, was found at Bonsall, and another un-typical brooch was found at Borrowash. This had been placed in a box, but was found with other items thought to be Saxon. A penannular brooch from Kenslow Knoll may have belonged to a Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon burial.

A silver penannular brooch was found with a female skeleton at Wigber Low, and this had evidently been worn singly. The associations of an annular and a penannular brooch from Wyaston are not recorded. A gold brooch decorated with garnets had been placed in a box in a grave at White Low. This, together with the Borrowash brooch, also found in a box, suggests that brooches were still worn during life, even at the period when it was no longer thought desirable to bury the dead in clothing which required a brooch as fastener.

4. Pin suites

A pin suite of gold and garnet was found near the neck of a skeleton at Cowe Lowe, a female interment without brooches, and another suite at Wyaston. The position of the latter was not recorded.

5. Pins

Other pins were found at Galley Low, Wigber Low and Youlgrave. Two elaborate examples found at Wigber Low were made of silver, and had cruciform heads set with garnets. These, like the bone pin from Galley Low and the pin suite from Cowe Lowe, were associated with typically late necklaces. The Youlgrave pin (called a "needle" but illustrated as a pin in the report of the site) was silver.

6. Buckles

Two buckles, one bronze, the other iron, were found in the presumably female grave at Swarkeston. There is no evidence that buckles continued to be part of the female costume in this area, since they have never been found in association with linked pins or seventh-century necklaces. Buckles were found, however, in the grave of an armed man at Benty Grange, so they evidently remained part of the male costume. Buckles were among the finds from a barrow at Tissington which had contained two skeletons.

7. Adjuncts to costume

A knife was found in the Swarkeston grave, and knives continued to be worn by both sexes in the later interments. Except for the knife

found at Calver Low (the position of which was described as at the pelvis) in every case where the position of the knife was recorded, it was found at the left of the waist or hips, never at the right. There were instances of this positioning in association with female skeletons at Hurdlow and Stand Low (two knives found with the skeleton) and with a male at Brushfield. (The knife in this case was found under the sword.) Knives were found at the left of skeletons of unidentified sex at Brundcliff and Pilsbury.

A chatelaine from Stand Low appears to have been worn at the left side of the body. Another, found with a threadbox and other remains in a female grave at Hurdlow, had probably been placed in a container and was not worn as in life. A Youlgrave skeleton also had evidently been equipped with a threadbox. Three hones accompanied a tall person interred with a knife at Carder Low. They might have been carried on the body.

8. Possible toggles

A large bead found at Wigber Low was thought to have been a toggle, although its position was not recorded. A single bead from Cowe Low may have been used as a fastener. It was found close to the pin suite which lay near the neck of the skeleton. Since the constituents of an elaborate necklace had been buried in a box, not on the corpse, in this grave, it is likely that this remaining bead functioned as a fastener for the clothing.

9. Other jewellery

Beads have been recovered from Cowe Low, Galley Low, Stand Low, Swarkeston, White Low, Wigber Low and Youlgrave. Five beads

were found by the head of the female skeleton at Swarkeston having perhaps been worn as a necklace or festoon. A necklace consisting of eleven glass beads and one of silver was found in a position corresponding to "where the neck had been" during the excavation of the Stand Low grave. Glass beads and one of silver were also found at Youlgrave. A ring-and-bead necklace may be evidenced by finds from Wyaston, which included beads, knot rings and other rings which were interpreted as "earrings". Pendants of silver, wire and glass, and an animal's tooth, which had probably originally formed a necklace, had been placed in a box in the Cowe Lowe grave, as were the beads recovered from White Low. A gold cross, a stray find, may have been originally associated with the White Low jewellery, and it is probable that this too had been worn at the neck. Rings, beads, a boar's tusk pendant and a gold pendant were recovered from the female grave at Wigber Low, and at Galley Low there were found glass, enamel and gold wire beads, and thirteen gold pendants, eleven of them set with garnets. M. J. Fowler²⁴ compared finds from the latter site with those from Cowe Lowe, and Meaney²⁵ pointed out the resemblance between the metal bead from Stand Low and those from Galley Low.

Two escutcheons found in a grave at Garrat's Piece may have been worn as pendant ornaments. One, which was circular, was found on the right shoulder of the skeleton.

The only other items of jewellery recovered from the county were a finger ring found at Wyaston and a "silver collar or bracelet" from White Low.

VI

Dorset1. Sites

Nine Dorset sites are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ from three of which primary evidence is available: Maiden Castle, Winterbourne St. Martin;² Oakley Down, Wimbourne St. Giles;³ Woodyates, Pentridge.⁴ Secondary evidence has been drawn from Hardown Hill (Whitchurch Canonorum Parish).⁵ The Maiden Castle and Woodyates burials were seventh-century, the others earlier. The few Dorset sites excavated have not been rich. Evidence of male costume is limited to the late, possibly military, burial at Maiden Castle.

2. Brooches

There is no evidence of "paired" brooches in Dorset. The only brooches recovered from the county were found singly. A button brooch was "near the left ear" of a female skeleton at Oakley Down and a small square-headed brooch was recovered from Hardown Hill. The head of the latter brooch was perforated and it lacked a pin when found, so it is possible that it was not functional at burial, having perhaps been stitched to, or suspended from the costume. There were no typically feminine grave-goods associated with this brooch, but there were several spearheads in the same barrow, so it may have accompanied a man.

3. Belt fittings, adjuncts to costume

Iron belt fittings were found at the waist of a male skeleton at Maiden Castle. A knife and scramasax had been carried in a sheath and were found across the left thigh. The metal belt fittings may have been part of some military equipment associated with the weapon.

No belt fasteners have been found in position on skeletons in Dorset, although a buckle and what may have been the remains of girdle adjuncts (a hook and an ivory ring) were found in the same tumulus as a female skeleton at Woodyates. Pieces of iron, including a ring, which may have been attachments to the girdle, were found at the left side of the female skeleton at Oakley Down. It therefore appears that both sexes wore girdled garments, though buckles were uncommon, and that women suspended objects from the girdle as in other areas.

4. Other jewellery

The Oakley Down skeleton was accompanied by many small glass beads, two large glass beads and twelve amber ones, said to have been found round the neck although they are displayed at Devizes attached to two rings, as if they had been festooned. At Woodyates there were found the constituents of a necklace typical of the end of the pagan period, two glass beads, one of them on a loop, the other on a gold chain, a jet bead and a small millefiori glass pendant.

VII

Durham1. Sites

The Gazetteer lists seven Durham sites,¹ including one from the Christian period "for comparative purposes". The few sites excavated have been poor, and there is no primary evidence from the county. Secondary evidence has been drawn from a "rock tomb" burial, probably seventh-century, at East Boldon² and from a sixth-century site at Darlington.³

2. Brooches

The Darlington finds include two circular and two cruciform brooches, which suggests that female costume in the sixth century resembled that of other areas, although there is no direct evidence that the brooches were "paired" or even that they were worn by women. At East Boldon there was found a gold-and-garnet fastener which might have been a brooch or a buckle.

3. Adjuncts to costume, other jewellery

Other finds from Darlington included pins, a pair of tweezers, beads of amber, glass and stone, and a chalk object, possibly a spindle whorl, "which may have been round the neck of one of the persons interred".

VIII

Essex1. Sites

The Gazetteer lists nineteen burial sites in Essex,¹ excluding the site at Mucking² where excavations still continue. Primary evidence has been drawn from Mucking and Saffron Walden,³ secondary from Feering-Kelvedon,⁴ Prittlewell⁵ and Rainham.⁶ Mucking appears to have been occupied from the fifth century, Feering-Kelvedon, Prittlewell and Rainham during the sixth and seventh centuries, and at Saffron Walden burials evidently took place from the seventh century until the late Saxon period. The majority of the detailed information on Essex has been derived from Mucking, but since only the silhouettes of skeletons remain in most of the inhumation graves at this site, some details are conjectural.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were common at Mucking, and may have been worn at Prittlewell and Rainham. At Mucking "pairs" usually consisted of similar brooches (an exception was found in Grave 322, where dissimilar disc brooches were "paired") small-long (square-headed and cruciform), disc and button types being utilized. Long brooches were worn diagonally, "heads" downward. Some of the Mucking "paired" brooches were worn high up on the shoulders, or on either side of the neck.

A Prittlewell grave group contained two saucer brooches which had probably been "paired". Two square-headed small-long

brooches were found at Rainham, but since they were dissimilar and not certainly associated together, there is less evidence of the "paired" fashion at that site.

3. Two brooches not "paired", additional brooches

Some Mucking graves contained two brooches which had not been "paired". Two small square-headed brooches were found in an area corresponding to the centre of the chest of the skeleton in Grave 93. They lay parallel, both with "heads" to the right, as if they had clasped a central opening. Two applied brooches were found, one above the other, in the waist area of the skeleton in Grave 249. A penannular brooch was found in line with the others, lower down the body. (The grave also contained a buckle, so none of the brooches are likely to have fastened the girdle.)

Two button brooches, found in a grave which also contained "paired" brooches, may have functioned similarly to the applied brooches mentioned above. They were worn one above the other in a position considered roughly equivalent to the navel. (This grave, 99, did not contain a buckle.)

4. Third brooch

One Mucking grave with "paired" brooches contained a third brooch worn at the centre of the neck. The third brooch was equal-armed.

5. Single brooches

Single brooches were found at Mucking, a disc brooch to the right of, and under the chin of a skeleton, and an annular brooch,

without a pin when found, which lay at the centre chest of another skeleton. A Feering-Kelvedon grave group contained one "cross-shaped" brooch. One large square-headed brooch was among the finds from Rainham. This may have been worn singly, or, if associated with the two smaller brooches from the site, as a third brooch.

6. Pins

Pins were found in probably female graves at Mucking. In Grave 102, which contained "paired" brooches, a pin lay across the beads which had hung at the middle of the corpse's chest. A pin which had originally belonged to a penannular brooch was found in a similar position in relation to the skeleton in Grave 252, which had a single brooch to the right of the chin. A pin which might have been a clothing fastener or a toilet article was found at the left side of another skeleton (Grave 322) where it lay under the knife.

7. Clips

Two clips were found in the grave of a child at Mucking. The skeleton had entirely disappeared, so, although the excavators considered that the clips had been at the foot of the grave, there was no certainty that this was so. (Such clips have mostly been found at the heads of skeletons.)

8. Buckles

Buckles have been not uncommon finds in Essex, occurring at Mucking, Saffron Walden, Feering-Kelvedon and Prittlewell. They occurred at Mucking with a frequency parallel to that of brooches and were found with both typically masculine and feminine grave-goods.

An elaborate buckle suite decorated with Quoit Brooch Style ornament was found in Mucking Grave 117; belt fittings lay in positions corresponding to the front, back and sides of the body. Other buckles at Mucking were mostly found to the right of the waist or hip, less often at the left or centrally. Two interments at Mucking, one male, one female, had been equipped with two buckles. The female had a buckle just below the left pelvis and another outside the left femur. The latter had probably been attached to some appendage of the girdle, such as a pouch, evidenced by the remains of iron and a coin which were found to the left of the skeleton. The male corpse had had one buckle at the right pelvis, another on the lower chest, perhaps for the fastening of a diagonal strap. A similar arrangement may have existed in another grave, where a buckle was found on the right pelvis and a belt plate on the right of the chest.

Buckles were found at Prittlewell (one inlaid with silver wire) and at Saffron Walden but their associations were not recorded. The Feering-Kelvedon grave group with typically female grave-goods, mentioned above, included a buckle. Among other finds from the site there was a buckle decorated with garnet.

9. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were worn by both sexes at Mucking, mostly at the waist or hip, and occurred equally in graves with and without buckles. They were mostly carried point uppermost, and almost always worn at the left side. In three Mucking graves knives were found at the upper part of the body, always at the left. These three graves had all apparently contained male skeletons. One of them had a second buckle

at the chest, which may have fastened a strap from which the knife was suspended. The others, however, were without buckles. Their presence may indicate the wearing of a strap, other than a belt, which was not buckled.

Other adjuncts to the girdle found in Essex include tweezers found at Mucking. They were placed at the left side of the chest of a male skeleton (with the knife), and at the left of the waist of the skeleton with an annular brooch, which may have been of either sex. An iron ring and a strike-a-light (or purse mount) were found by the left pelvis of a Mucking skeleton which was probably female, and a strike-a-light and shears at PrITTLEWELL. Girdle hangers were found at PrITTLEWELL and Rainham.

Twenty-two flat, wire rings lay "on the lower part" of a Saffron Walden skeleton. They have been compared to eighteen rings thought to have laced together the fastening of a garment at Guildown, Sr,⁷ (XXV, 9, pp.256-7), but the position and arrangement of the Essex rings are different, and it seems unlikely that they could have been anything but a chatelaine chain.

10. Other jewellery

Beads were found at all the sites under discussion. At Mucking they were never found in graves with weapons, therefore probably confined to females. They were mostly found at the necks of skeletons. The excavators noted that where beads were found in this position they always appeared to have been suspended from "paired" brooches, not hung round the neck. There were variations in the

positions of beads at Mucking, some of them unique. Thirty-four amber and glass beads were found in a circle at the centre chest area of one corpse (Grave 93) below the brooches which lay parallel at the middle of the chest. Five were found at the centre of a child's grave (125) and in another (256) beads lay in two groups, in positions corresponding to the upper and mid-chest area. In another case (Grave 281) beads were found to the right of the body. Perhaps the most elaborate of the Mucking bead ornaments was a festoon of ninety-two beads, amber, amethyst and polychrome, in Grave 99.

On the neck and breast of a female skeleton at Saffron Walden, there were found beads of carnelian, crystal, glass and silver, together with a pair of bracteate pendants and a bronze pendant which had been the central ornament.

A festoon of beads was among the grave group with saucer brooches from PrITTLEWELL. Other PrITTLEWELL graves contained pendants, one decorated with a cruciform motif, these graves evidently being later than those with buckles and girdle adjuncts mentioned above.

Beads and pendants, including a bracteate, were found at Rainham. Amber and earthenware beads were recovered from Feering-Kelvedon.

Other items of jewellery from Essex include finger rings from Mucking and Rainham, an expanding armlet from the left side of a child buried at Mucking, and possibly another arm ring from Rainham.

IX

Gloucestershire1. Sites

The Gazetteer lists seventeen sites in the county,¹ to which may be added Bishop's Cleeve,² excavated since publication of the Gazetteer. Primary evidence is available from four sites: Bishop's Cleeve; Broadwell;³ Burn Ground, Hampnett;⁴ Fairford.⁵ Secondary information has been drawn from: Chavenage;⁶ Kemble I;⁷ Oddington;⁸ Upper Swell I, Pole's Wood South Barrow.⁹ The excavation of the largest site, Fairford, was observed by Wylie, who made generalised statements about the positions of grave-goods, but did not record the details of every grave. The only Gloucestershire finds likely to be later than sixth-century are the constituents of a necklace from Chavenage.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were worn at Burn Ground and Fairford, and possibly at Bishop's Cleeve, Chavenage, Kemble and Oddington. At Burn Ground, disc brooches were "paired" on the shoulders of two skeletons, one female, the other considered male, although, unlike other male burials at the site, it was without weapons and was equipped with a pendant. Wylie noted that brooches found at Fairford were "universally" positioned on the breasts of skeletons "generally in pairs one on either breast, but sometimes both on one breast".¹⁰ Wylie described two female graves with "paired" brooches, one with button, the other saucer brooches. Other graves contained similar

disc and penannular brooches which had probably been "paired".

3. Two brooches not "paired"

Wylie's record of a grave (discovered July 2 1850) noted that two dissimilar saucer brooches were found, one below the other, on the right breast of the skeleton. Jessup, describing such a grave, considered that the brooches were positioned "as though to secure the overfold of a tunic". Wylie's general comment on the positions of brooches in this cemetery suggests that this was a noticeable minority fashion.

Similar saucer brooches were found on a skeleton at Bishop's Cleeve in such positions as to suggest that a garment fastened in the usual way (by "paired" brooches) had been "slewed" round. It is possible, however, that these brooches had been deliberately worn at the same side of the body, as at Fairford.

Brooches of similar type were recovered from Chavenage (annular and saucer), Kemble and Oddington (saucer). It is likely that these had been "paired".

4. Single brooches

Single brooches were worn at Fairford, and possibly at Bishop's Cleeve and Burn Ground. They were found in two Fairford graves described in detail. A penannular was found at the throat of one skeleton (July 14 1851) and a square-headed "on the breast" of another (March 3 1851). The latter was one of only two square-headed brooches found at the site. Wylie considered them indicative of social or military rank. A single saucer brooch was found with

a "disorientated" burial at Bishop's Cleeve. At Burn Ground a bronze disc consisting of two plates was found under the chin of the skeleton of an old woman (Grave 2). This might have been the remains of an applied brooch, although the excavator expressed doubt about this.

5. Brooches in male graves

The skeleton of a middle-aged male at Burn Ground (Grave 6) was equipped with a buckle or annular brooch, and another skeleton at the same site, with "paired" brooches (subsection 2, p. 86, above) was considered male.

6. Pins

A pin was found near the right shoulder of a female skeleton at Broadwell. The grave did not contain brooches.

7. Buckles

Buckles were not common finds in most Gloucestershire cemeteries. Two were recorded in the grave of a woman without brooches at Upper Swell, and some were found at Chavenage. None were found at Burn Ground apart from the doubtful object in Grave 6 (subsection 5, p. 88, above) and apparently there were none at Fairford.

8. Belt fittings

Metal belt fittings were found in the graves of a child and an adult male at Fairford. The excavator considered that a

rectangular metal plate with inset garnet "clearly had belonged to bracelets", but the resemblance of the object, as illustrated, to unpublished belt plates found at Mucking, Ex, suggests that the object had decorated a belt, a further instance of an elaborate belt which was not buckled.

9. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found in graves without buckles at Broadwell, Burn Ground and Fairford, and in the Upper Swell grave with two buckles. They were mostly in positions consistent with suspension from the belt. Five of the six Burn Ground knives were at the left side, and the one detailed record of a knife in the belt area from Fairford also mentioned that the object was found at the left. Wylie noted that knives at Fairford were found by the necks and ribs of skeletons and that they were "usually found in every grave".

Other objects which may have been attached to girdles include shears found with the knife at the left of a male skeleton at Fairford and tweezers found by the arms of two other male skeletons at the same site. One of these was equipped with belt fittings, the other with a bead which might have functioned as a toggle. Tweezers attached to a ring were found near the shoulder of a skeleton at Bishop's Cleeve.

10. Possible toggles

Three female skeletons at Fairford had large single beads of amber or glass in positions consistent with having fastened the

girdle. One male skeleton also was equipped with a glass bead which might have functioned as a toggle. It is possible that this was a sword bead -- there was a sword in the grave -- but Evison considered this unlikely as the objects were not found close together.¹¹

11. Other jewellery

Beads were found at Burn Ground, Chavenage, Fairford and Oddington. Wylie considered that Fairford beads had been worn as "chaplets" as well as necklaces. Some of the graves described in detail had groups of beads near the waist, so it is possible that beads had decorated girdles. One skeleton, which had an amber (toggle) bead at the hip, had "great numbers" of beads "about the body" but the precise quantity was not stated. Knot rings found by the head of another skeleton were thought to have been earrings, but they might have formed a necklace with the beads which were found near them.

A group of one-hundred-and-fifty beads was found by the left elbow of the skeleton of a young female at Burn Ground. This was the only grave at the site to contain beads. They may not have been worn, as it was considered that they had been deposited unthreaded, in a heap. The associations of beads found at Chavenage and Oddington were not recorded. The Chavenage find included amethyst beads, and beads strung on rings.

Apart from the possible earrings at Fairford, other items of jewellery found in the county included finger rings and a bronze armlet, all associated with female burials at Fairford. Both

the graves with finger rings had "paired" brooches, elaborate neck ornaments and possible toggle beads. There were two finger rings, both on the left hand, of one of the skeletons. The bronze armlet had been worn on the upper part of the arm.

A coin pendant was found, without beads, in a grave at Burn Ground. It was thought to have hung between the "paired" brooches, in a burial which the excavator considered male.

Hampshire and the Isle of Wight

1. Sites

Forty-four sites in the area are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ six of which supply primary evidence: Bowcombe Down, Carisbrooke, IOW;² Chessell Down, IOW;³ Portsdown Hill I, Cosham;⁴ Preshaw, Exton;⁵ Snell's Corner, Horndean;⁶ Winnall II, Winchester.⁷ Secondary evidence has been drawn from: Alton;⁸ Droxford;⁹ Shalcombe Down, Brook, IOW.¹⁰ The number of sites considered here is small because many of the sites in the area were discovered in the nineteenth century, and most have produced little evidence of costume. Hillier made useful generalisations about the positions of objects in the Chessell Down burials, although not every grave was documented in detail. The smaller sites at Snell's Corner and Winnall have been more fully recorded. Portsdown Hill, Preshaw, Snell's Corner and Winnall are seventh-century sites, the others sixth-century.

2. "Paired" brooches

The "paired" brooch fashion was not common in this area. Brooches were found on the shoulders of a female skeleton in Grave 31 at Chessell Down, but did not match: on the right there was a circular brooch and on the left an "equal-armed fibula with two semi-circular ends with projecting knobs" (Baldwin Brown's description). Two penannular brooches recovered from Winnall Grave 8 might originally have been "paired", although they were both found at the left side of the body, one at the humerus, near the shoulder, the other on the left clavicle. The excavators noticed that several of the corpses in this cemetery appeared to have been lowered by the right arm, and

although Grave 8 was not mentioned in this connection, the fact that all the grave-goods were found at the left of the body suggests that they might have been displaced by this method of burial.

Two matching, openwork brooches with garnet ornament, found at Shalcombe Down, might have been "paired", as might some of the brooches from Droxford. Button, saucer and square-headed brooches were recovered from this site in 1901, and two saucer brooches which might have been worn together were found in later excavations.

3. Centrally-placed brooches

Hillier's account of the Chessell Down brooches suggests that they normally fastened a garment down the front rather than at the shoulders. Hillier always found more than one brooch with female skeletons, and their positions were regular enough for him to reconstruct the garment: "The position which the fibulae retained on the skeletons, seemed to point to the conclusion that the part of the Anglo-Saxon attire to which they had been attached was either a long dress, open partly down the front, or a tunic, which, being confined round the waist by a belt of leather or some other substance, was closed at the breast and neck by the fibulae. When two were found they were invariably removed from these positions, and when three were exhumed, it was clear that a similar arrangement had prevailed, with less space between them." These female graves contained "only the smaller kind of fibulae" while two larger brooches from the excavation were thought to have been associated with males.

4. Additional brooches

Hillier's Grave 31, which was described in detail, contained, in addition to the "paired" brooches (subsection 2, p. 92, above), three square-headed brooches in the central position which was more usual in this cemetery. The three brooches were found at the centre of the body, above the buckle which had been worn at the waist, at the middle of the rib area and at the breast bone. The "heads" of the top and bottom brooches were to the right, that of the middle one to the left. The three brooches were parallel, and their pins must have been horizontal.

Bowcombe Down Grave 21 also contained several brooches. The skeleton was described as male, but was without weapons and equipped with beads as well as brooches, so the identification may be unreliable. One brooch was found under the chest at the right, three others at the right side of the waist.¹¹ The excavators considered that these brooches had not fastened the clothing: "All these brooches had iron pins and had been bound with string, fragments of which still adhere to the original pins. This fact would prove that these fibulae had been laid in the grave with the body and were not, as is usually supposed, fixed to the dress to keep it together as during life." Given the presence of functional pins, the string would not seem sufficient evidence that the brooches were not functional. Threads spun in such a way as to resemble modern string may be observed on the backs of other Anglo-Saxon brooches (Section D, 11, p. 440, below). The position of three of these brooches paralleled that of three found at the left hand of the skeleton in

Dennett's Grave 4, Chessell Down. One was a bird-shaped brooch, the others circular, one larger than the other.

5. Single brooches

A brooch found at Winnall was also considered to have been laid in the grave rather than attached to the clothing, but in this instance the pin had already been lost at the time of burial: "The brooch seems to have been buried in this condition -- not clasping the clothing, therefore, but deliberately laid in the grave in the position in which it would have been worn when intact." The brooch was of disc type, ornamented with garnet and shell, the skeleton that of a young girl. Brooches were rare in the cemetery and this the only brooch in the grave.

Single brooches seem to have been unusual but not unknown at earlier sites. Single brooches, one of them bird-shaped, were found in two of the Chessell Down graves excavated by Dennett, but their positions were not recorded. The large brooches which Hillier attributed to males had apparently been worn singly.

6. Brooches in male graves

At both Bowcombe Down and Chessell Down brooches may have accompanied men, but at the former site associated grave-goods were more typical of a female burial than of a male. Associations were not recorded from Chessell Down.

7. Pin suite

A pin suite was found at Winnall, on the left shoulder of the skeleton of a middle-aged woman. The two pins were silver, with

looped heads, and were attached to a silver chain. Unusually, this pin suite was associated with brooches (Grave 8) which may originally have been "paired" although found at the left of the body. Evidence from elsewhere suggests that pin suites were normally worn across the neck. The Winnall suite may have been worn in a different way, or it may have been displaced, with other objects in the grave, as suggested above (subsection 2, pp. 92-3).

8. Pins

Pins which may have fastened the hair or headdress were found at Chessell Down, Snell's Corner and Winnall. At Chessell Down a pin was found at the back of the head of a middle-aged female. In a grave at Snell's Corner, a site without brooches, a pin was found under the jaw. One Winnall skeleton had two pins, under the chin and at the upper, front part of the skull. The skeleton was female.

9. Alternative fastener

Another object which may have been a clothing fastener was a bone "button" mentioned by Wright as one of the Chessell Down finds. (This must have been among objects found by Skinner.)

10. Clip, possible headgear

A clip was found at Winnall, near the incomplete disc brooch (subsection 5, p. 95), but it is uncertain whether this could have been a clothing fastener. There may be evidence of headgear in the area from miscellaneous finds: a clasp riveted to wood found at the head of a male skeleton

at Bowcombe Down; at Snell's Corner a ring found at the left of the skull and shoulder of a female, and iron fragments at the back of the skull of a male.

11. Lace tags

Lace tags were found at each shin of the skeleton of an elderly female at Snell's Corner. They were at the inside of each leg, about six inches above the ankles. Iron fragments were found inside the knees of the same skeleton. These may have derived from garters, clasped or buckled at the knees and hanging down to the shin where they were fastened off with tags. A tag for a narrow strap or lace was found in the grave of an elderly female at Winnall, and two objects which were also probably lace tags were found in the grave of a female child at the same site. The objects had been disturbed in the former, and the position was not recorded in the latter case. The excavators noted that "the dating of these tags, and the fashion they imply, is consistently seventh-century", stating "it is reasonable to suppose that it the Winnall tag was used, like the rest, on a shoe or garter strap". A lace tag was also found in a Chessell Down grave, position unrecorded, suggesting that the fashion was, in fact, known in the sixth century.

12. Buckles

Buckles were found with both sexes at Bowcombe Down, Chessell Down and Winnall, but at Snell's Corner only with male burials. At Chessell Down they were usually on the right of the body, a preference

demonstrated by both sexes, but at Snell's Corner there was a slight preference for the left side of the waist, and at Winnall all the buckles found at waist or hip were on the left side. Belt plates were associated with the buckles in several Winnall graves.

One male skeleton at Winnall had a buckle on the left shoulder, and one at Snell's Corner a buckle on the right shoulder in addition to one near the waist.

13. Belt fitting

A strap tag was found at the right thigh of a male skeleton at Bowcombe Down, which was equipped with a buckle.

14. Adjuncts to costume

As in other areas the presence of knives at waists or hips suggests the wearing of belts even in the absence of buckles. Knives were found at the left of skeletons at Bowcombe Down, Chessell Down and Portsdown Hill. At Snell's Corner and Winnall, some were found on the right, but the preference was for the left side. At both these cemeteries knives were also found at the upper part of the body. Two skeletons of young males at Snell's Corner had knives inside the left upper arms. One of these had, in addition to the buckle at the hip, a second buckle on the right clavicle, which might have fastened a strap from which the knife was suspended. A knife found by the left clavicle of a female at Winnall might have been worn in the same way, but two other knives found at the heads of bodies in this cemetery were likely to have been laid in the graves, so this may have been a local custom.

Objects, apart from knives, which might have been attached to the girdle include a crystal ball and a spoon found near the knees of the Chessell Down skeleton with five brooches. This skeleton also had a key. Keys were found at Alton and tweezers at several sites. Tweezers accompanied a male skeleton at Alton. A female at Snell's Corner had a chain at the left pelvis, which was probably part of a chatelaine. An elaborate ring found at the hip of a female at Winnall had probably also served to suspend objects from the belt. Sharpening steels were found at Snell's Corner and Winnall. Male skeletons at both sites had probably carried the tools at the left of the belt, but a female at Snell's Corner had probably worn the steel as two males wore their knives, since it was found parallel to the left humerus.

Combs were found at several sites. One, at Winnall, may have been worn at the upper part of the body. It was found at the front of the chest, partly under the right humerus of the female skeleton.

15. Other jewellery

Beads were found at Alton, Bowcombe Down, Chessell Down, Droxford, Snell's Corner and Winnall. Two beads accompanied two skeletons with swords at Alton, perhaps toggles or sword beads. At Bowcombe Down single beads were at the waists of two male skeletons. Both were equipped with buckles, so the beads are unlikely to have been toggles for fastening the belts, but they may have decorated them or fastened other garments.

The skeleton in the rich Chessell Down Grave 31 was said to have a large number of beads round the neck. Amber and glass beads were

found at the neck of one Bowcombe Down skeleton, and beads were found with a ring and a bronze pendant near the knee of another. This was considered male, but had brooches. Beads found at Droxford, Snell's Corner and Winnall were always in small quantities. The Snell's Corner finds included a single bead at the throat of a female, and in two graves the association of a ring with a bead or beads. The position of beads at Winnall was such that their original function was uncertain. Two found in the skull of a female skeleton, and two penannular rings (not brooches) found close by, may have been constituents of a ring-and-bead necklace or decorations of the headdress. Beads were only found with one other Winnall skeleton and their position not recorded.

A pendant accompanying the skeleton of a child at Winnall had apparently been made from the central roundel of a Kentish garnet brooch. At Preshaw, a gold-and-garnet pendant and a bracteate had hung from a gold chain which was round the neck of a skeleton.

Two bracelets accompanied a female at Snell's Corner, and a finger ring was worn on the left hand of the same skeleton. The grave was well-equipped in comparison to others at the site, having a pin, beads and a sharpening steel. Finger rings were also found at Chessell Down in association with luxury items. There, a spiral ring was found on the finger of a skeleton which was probably female, since it had brooches, in a grave containing a glass vessel. Two other skeletons at the site had two rings. One spiral ring and one thick iron ring were found on the forefingers of a skeleton with two beads, one of which was decorated with gold leaf. The skeleton in Grave 31 had a gold ring on the little finger of the right hand

and a spiral ring on the little finger of the left. The items in this grave, the many brooches, the numerous beads, crystal ball, spoon, rings, plus a gold-ornamented headdress (Section D, 16, pp.453-4, below) and weaving sword may have made up a ceremonial regalia, paralleled in various respects by some sixth-century burials in Kent (Chart, p.359).

XI

Hertfordshire1. Sites

Ten Hertfordshire sites are listed in the Gazetteer.¹ Primary evidence may possibly be derived from one of these: Redbourne.² The evidence depends on Wright's conjecture that a skeleton, believed by the twelfth-century writer Roger of Wendover to have been that of the martyr St. Amphibalus, was an Anglo-Saxon burial, and that the "lances and knives" found with the bones were the knife and spearhead typical of Anglo-Saxon grave furniture. Further primary evidence has been taken from a find at Wilbury Hill, Norton,³ which is not included in the Gazetteer but was considered an Anglo-Saxon burial by Fox. Additional information has been drawn from: Ashwell;⁴ Furneaux Pelham;⁵ Ippollitts, Pound Farm;⁶ King's Walden.⁷ The Ippollitts burial was seventh- or eighth-century, the others earlier. The paucity of burials and lack of scientific excavation limits the evidence of costume from this area, but the information available suggests that this was not unusual in any way.

2. Brooches

Two matching small-long brooches, which might have been "paired", a trefoil-headed brooch and the remains of an applied brooch were among objects found at King's Walden. The records stated that a "woman's burial" had been excavated at the site, but as no bones survived the attribution of all the grave-goods to one burial must be conjectural. Brooches were also found at Ashwell, but no details of the finds are published.

3. Buckle , belt fittings

A buckle and tag were found with the skeleton at Ippollitts, which was accompanied by a scramasax, so certainly male. A belt tab "probably of late provincial Roman workmanship" was found "on the middle" of a skeleton at Wilbury Hill.

4. Adjuncts to costume

The Ippollitts skeleton, furnished with the belt equipment mentioned above, also had a knife, which may have been carried at the belt, though the positions of objects in the grave were not recorded. The Redbourne skeleton had a knife "near the breast".

A pair of girdle hangers and tweezers were found at King's Walden, both of which may have been attached to the costume.

5. Other jewellery

Two "necklaces", consisting of amber, earthenware, glass and "pearl" beads may have originated from burials at Ashwell.

XII

Huntingdonshire1. Sites

Nine Huntingdonshire sites are listed in the Gazetteer.¹ Primary evidence is available from two: Little Paxton;² Woodstone.³ Additional evidence has been drawn from: Hartford;⁴ St. Neots, Avenue Road.⁵ Evidence is limited since some of the finds from the few sites in this county derive from cremation graves. Abbott's excavations of the inhumations at Woodstone were recorded in detail, but earlier finds on the site were not scientifically excavated. There is some confusion about the attribution of grave-goods since there appear to have been two cemeteries at Woodstone. The second is listed in the Gazetteer as Peterborough I (Woodstone), Nh,⁶ and this division is accepted in the present survey. None of the Huntingdonshire sites appear to be later than sixth-century.

2. Brooches

The positions of brooches have not been recorded from any of the sites, but the discovery of two very similar small-long brooches at St. Neots suggests that the "paired" fashion was known. Brooches of various types were apparently found at Woodstone, although none were recovered by Abbott. Early-nineteenth-century discoveries had included one square-headed and four cruciform brooches, and later-nineteenth-century finds consisted of a saucer and two "round" (presumably disc) brooches. Cruciform and radiate-headed brooches

found by Walker may have derived from either Woodstone site.

3. Pin

A pin was found at Hartford in association with an annular brooch, but the objects were not with a skeleton. They may have derived from a cremation grave.

4. Clasps, alternative fasteners

Clasps recovered from Woodstone were in positions consistent with attachment to the wrist. In two instances detailed by Abbott, skeletons were equipped with only one pair of clasps. In one of these cases (Grave 7) the clasps were found at the left wrist of the skeleton, which was almost certainly female, while at the other wrist there were three small beads. These may have been used as buttons to fasten the other sleeve or wristband.

5. Buckles

Buckles were found in three of the Woodstone graves investigated by Abbott. One, at the pelvis, had probably fastened a belt, another was found at the right knee of a skeleton, where it had apparently formed part of the chatelaine complex. Another buckle was found at the neck of an old person.

6. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were probably carried at the belt at Woodstone, in one case specifically at the left. The corpse with a knife in this position was equipped with a second knife which was found near

the right knee. It appeared to have hung from the belt with other objects comprising a chatelaine. A knife found at the left knee of another skeleton at the site had perhaps been carried the same way. A knife accompanying a male skeleton at Little Paxton was found under the right humerus. It might have been attached to the arm, or slung under it on a strap.

Chatelaines were found with two Woodstone skeletons, one hanging at the left, the other at the right side. One included two iron rings, one key and the remains of another, and an ivory ring which had probably been attached to a pouch. The knife and a buckle were found with these objects. The other also comprised an iron ring, keys and a knife, plus a girdle hanger, a coin, a Roman ring and a "rod-like" object.

7. Other jewellery

Two beads were found at the neck of the skeleton of a child at Woodstone. There are no other records of the positions of beads from the county, except for their possible use as buttons mentioned above (subsection 4, p. 105).

XIII

Kent1. Sites

One-hundred-and-thirty-three burial sites in Kent are noted in the Gazetteer¹ to which Orpington may be added. Primary evidence has been drawn from thirty-three sites: Barham Downs;² Beakesbourne I;³ Beakesbourne II, Aerodrome;⁴ Bifrons, Patricxbourne;⁵ Breach Downs, Barham;⁶ Broadstairs, Valetta House;⁷ Buttsole;⁸ Chartham Down;⁹ Chatham Lines;¹⁰ Crundale;¹¹ Dover II, Old Park;¹² Faversham II, King's Field;¹³ Finglesham, Northbourne;¹⁴ Gilton, Ash;¹⁵ Guston;¹⁶ Holborough, Snodland;¹⁷ Horton Kirby I;¹⁸ Kingston;¹⁹ Lidsing, Boxley;²⁰ Lyminge II;²¹ Milton-next-Sittingbourne I, Huggins Fields;²² Newington;²³ Orpington;²⁴ Osengal (various spellings), Ramsgate;²⁵ Polhill (Kemsing);²⁶ Riseley, Horton Kirby II;²⁷ Rochester II, Watts Avenue;²⁸ Sarre;²⁹ Sibertswold-Barfriston;³⁰ Stowting;³¹ Wingham;³² Wye I.³³ Kent has produced more archaeological evidence from the period than any other county, but several sites, explored and published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, offer inadequate evidence for the present purpose. Of the sites under consideration, those at Beakesbourne I, Breach Downs, Chartham Down, Dover, Faversham, Finglesham, Gilton, Guston, Holborough, Kingston, Milton, Osengal, Polhill, Riseley, Sarre, Sibertswold, Wingham and Wye appear to have been in use in the conversion period, Polhill being used as late as the eighth century. Burials had, however, been made at Faversham, Finglesham, Milton and Sarre from the sixth century, and at Dover, Osengal and Riseley from the fifth. Other sites went out of use

before the seventh century. Most were sixth-century, Beakesbourne II, Chatham Lines and Lyminge having been in use from the fifth.

The peculiarities of the culture of Kent have long been recognised.³⁴ There remain for consideration the questions whether the costume of Kent differed from that of other areas, or whether only the type and decoration of the jewellery which clasped it did so; and whether the successive cultural influences upon the county as mirrored in the changing jewellery brought about a change in the garments.

2. "Paired" brooches

It is evident that "paired" brooches were worn in this county as in others in the fifth and early sixth centuries, also that "paired" brooches formed part of the elaborate regalia worn by a small number of females in later-sixth-century graves. At Bifrons, Chatham Lines, Lyminge, Orpington and Riseley, brooches were found in this position, and it seems almost certain that there was at least one instance from Finglesham. In addition a further use of matching or similar brooches may be observed from Bifrons, Chatham Lines and Finglesham, where in some cases they were found on either side of the waist, sometimes in addition to brooches "paired" on the shoulders. The term "paired at the waist" is here applied to this fashion.

At Bifrons brooches seem to have been "paired" in eighteen of the twenty-one graves known to have contained brooches. They appear to have been worn high, as their position was described as "at the neck". The type of brooches found in these positions was not recorded in every case, but the types utilized included small-long, radiate-headed, square-headed (always worn "head" downwards),

bird-shaped brooches, annulars and small disc brooches with garnet decoration. There was one instance of unmatching garnet brooches, and in another case an annular brooch and a small-long may have been "paired" together. These brooches, like all the others from this site, appear to have been associated with female interments.

Brooches were "paired at the waist" in five Bifrons graves. The types employed in this position were: square-headed, radiate and (dissimilar) annular. Other possible instances were "long" brooches found at the left elbow and waist of a skeleton (Grave 77) and two saucer brooches (Grave 5) the position of which was described ambiguously, but in relation to objects which were found at the girdle rather than to a pin which lay at the chest. In three instances skeletons with brooches "paired at the waist" were also equipped with brooches "paired" at the neck, and in each case those at the neck differed in type from those at the waist. Brooches "paired at the waist" were also found twice in association with single brooches at the upper body (again, of different type) and in one case in a grave containing no other brooches.

At Chatham Lines button brooches may have been "paired" on the clavicles of the skeleton in Tumulus II³⁵ and in addition there were two sets of brooches found further down the body. Two radiate-headed brooches were found near the lower vertebrae, on the left side of the skeleton, and two square-headed brooches lower down the body on the same side. The positions of other brooches at Chatham Lines were not specified, but it seems that long brooches were worn in pairs at this site since the finds from Tumulus VI included two square-headed brooches, and from Tumulus XVIII one

radiate- and one square-headed.

The rich Grave D3 at Finglesham contained five brooches, two bird-shaped brooches, two radiate- and one square-headed. The positions of individual grave-goods were not recorded at the time of excavation, but in her reassessment of the site, S. C. Hawkes, utilizing the evidence of a photograph taken at the time of excavation in which the grave-goods were replaced by stones, suggested that the bird-shaped brooches were worn at the shoulders ("paired") and the radiate-headed brooches at either side of the waist.

At Lyminge brooches were "paired" at the shoulders in four of the eight graves containing brooches. In one instance the brooches were equal-armed, and were found on the skeleton of a child aged about five years. The other brooches were associated with adult females and included "paired" saucer brooches and two occurrences of unmatching brooches. A penannular quoit brooch was found on the right and an applied on the left shoulder of the skeleton in Grave 10, and the skeleton in Grave 25 had an annular brooch on the left shoulder and a "plate" brooch on the right (probably a disc brooch or the backplate of an applied). The skeleton with saucer brooches (Grave 39) had in addition two identical square-headed brooches lower down the body. One was found "head" upwards on the lower chest, and the other, "head" to the right, at the left of the waist.

Brooches at Orpington were always found in pairs and were usually worn at the shoulders of female skeletons. Types utilized were disc, saucer, button, square-headed and bird-shaped brooches.

At Riseley "paired" brooches were found in four female graves out of the eleven at the site containing brooches. They were worn at the clavicles, the types employed including disc and saucer. In Grave XCVI a square-headed brooch was found on the right and a disc on the left shoulder.

3. Additional brooches

The fashion of wearing more than two brooches appears to have been common in Kent, and is often found in graves containing objects of unusual or valuable character. It is possible that the females with whom numerous brooches are associated were wearing some regalia which varied according to the individual but often included headgear, mostly gold-beribboned, crystal balls and perforated spoons (Chart, pp. 359-60). The number of brooches was sometimes multiplied by the wearing of additional pairs of matching brooches lower down the body than the shoulders, as described above, but there apparently existed other variations.

This elaboration is demonstrated at Bifrons (apart from the three graves already mentioned which contained brooches "paired" at the shoulders and additional pairs lower down the body) by two graves containing brooches worn singly at the upper part of the body plus two brooches near the waist. The single brooches were worn centrally at the neck and chest (Graves 64 and 6 respectively). This arrangement was inverted in Grave 15, which contained brooches "paired" at the neck and a third, rectangular brooch at the waist. The same arrangement of jewellery may have existed in a grave excavated in 1866, before Faussett's systematic explorations of the site, in which

there were small, round garnet brooches possibly "paired", and an object described as a "long brooch or buckle". As there were "two or three other buckles" in the grave, it seems probable that the object was a third brooch. Grave 41 contained two matching, bronze brooches in addition to two others which did not match. These were a bird-shaped brooch and a large square-headed brooch which was found on the right of the chest.

At Chartham Down brooches were not found in the "paired" position, although brooches were certainly recovered from three female graves. One of these graves contained three brooches, two of which were described as "oblong fibulae" and said to have been found at the left side of the skeleton.

The Chatham Lines grave with five or six brooches is discussed above (subsection 2, p. 109). Finglesham Grave D3 contained a fifth brooch which may have been worn on the lower ribs in addition to two pairs. Another instance of multiple brooches at Lyminge in addition to that discussed above, in which two pairs of brooches were found, was Grave 44, which also contained gold braid, a crystal ball and a spoon. Two identical brooches with keystone garnets were found at the left of the skull and over the chest, and a square-headed brooch with "head" to the right was found at the pelvis.

The catalogue of grave contents in Cumberland's report on Riseley mistakenly identified objects from Grave LVI as brooches, an error perpetuated by Fisher. An illustration shows that the five objects were the pendants of a necklace. The only instance of more than two brooches being found in a grave from this site occurred

in Grave XCVII where a broken brooch was found by the left elbow of a skeleton with "paired" saucer brooches.

Four brooches were recovered from Grave 4 at Sarre. (There is no evidence of "pairing" at the upper part of the body at this site, most brooches having been worn singly.) In Grave 4 two square-headed brooches were found near the crystal ball which was recovered from between the thighs of the skeleton. Two circular brooches were found near the centre of the grave, and had apparently been attached by loops to the wire from which the beads were suspended. The excavator suggested that the brooches had been "suspended from the same wire" as the beads, but it is possible that the brooches had been the suspension points for the string of beads as attested in other counties. The positions of the sets of brooches in this grave were apparently lower down the body than in comparable graves at other sites, but their associations (crystal ball, spoon and gold braid) suggest a similar costume. Possibly the brooches and the beads at Sarre were slightly displaced.

A skeleton at Stowting which was associated with gold braid was also equipped with several brooches. One, which Brent described as cruciform but other writers have called square-headed, was found by the left side of the skeleton. A small, circular garnet brooch was near it. A button brooch and a large, circular garnet brooch were also found in the grave, but their positions were not recorded.³⁶ An object described by the excavator as a girdle ornament, but more correctly described by Baldwin Brown as a Romano-British brooch, may have been worn in the area of the waist, in view of Brent's supposition. The costume of the woman buried in the Stowting grave

appears to correspond in some respects to the regalia of those in other cemeteries, although apparently the brooches at Stowting were not matching pairs and their positions are uncertain. "Paired" brooches do not appear to have been found in other Stowting interments (although only three graves containing brooches have been recorded in detail).

The Kingston grave from which the famous gold- and-garnet brooch was recovered contained two additional brooches, but they differed in both type and function from the additional brooches found elsewhere in the graves of Kent and other counties. The polychrome brooch was found near the neck of the skeleton, towards the right shoulder, corresponding in this positioning to late Kentish brooches elsewhere. The two other brooches, which were small silver "spring" brooches of the safety-pin type, were found by the left thigh of the skeleton. Baldwin Brown suggested that they had fastened the hose. Another possibility is that they had fastened down the edge of a garment wrapped round the body, like the pin of a Scottish kilt.

4. Two brooches not "paired"

There were some instances in Kentish graves of the wearing of two brooches which had apparently not been "paired". Two round brooches which were both attached to a chain were found in Bifrons Grave 71. Since the chain was described as running "up the chest to the neck", it appears that one brooch was worn higher than the other. A similar positioning of brooches occurred at Lyminge and Sarre. In Grave 16 at Lyminge a button brooch which may have supported a festoon of beads was found at the chest. A radiate-headed brooch was found at the waist, and as the "head" of the

brooch pointed to one side (the left) the brooch appears to have fastened a vertical opening. It is unlikely to have clasped the girdle, since a buckle was also found at the waist. In Grave 260 at Sarre, a small saucer brooch was found between the knees of the skeleton of a child, while a smaller, circular garnet brooch was found "nearer the head".

5. Single brooches

Single brooches occurred in the earlier Kent graves, among interments with "paired" and other arrangements of brooches, but it is noticeable that in the late-sixth- and seventh-century graves the prevailing fashion was the single brooch. The large, late, cloisonné brooches which are considered typical of the "Kentish" phase of culture appear to have been worn singly, although the simpler key-stone garnet brooches often appeared in pairs and in the "paired" position.

At Bifrons single brooches were found in five graves. They were either round or small-long types, and appear to have been worn centrally, either at the neck or at the waist. The positions of the single brooches are comparable to the positions of third brooches in Graves 6, 15 and 64 at the same cemetery (subsection 3, p. 111, above). A single round brooch was found at the neck of the skeleton in Grave 74, while a round brooch found in a similar position in relation to the skeleton in Grave 64 was found in association with two brooches which had probably been "paired at the waist". Grave 6 also had contained one brooch worn at the upper part of the body (centre chest) and two lower down. The single small-long brooch

in Grave 23 was found at the centre of the grave, which may be compared with Grave 15, where "paired" brooches were found at the shoulders and a rectangular brooch at the waist.

At Horton Kirby I a gilt saucer brooch with an inset garnet was found on the left shoulder of a female skeleton (recorded by Coates) and another (?) saucer brooch with chip-carved decoration and representations of the human face was found on the left shoulder of another (?) female skeleton (recorded by Jessup). It is likely that the single brooch fashion coexisted with the "paired" at this site, for although there is no primary evidence for "pairing", other finds from the site include matching saucer brooches, which are more likely to have been "paired" than worn in any other position.

At the nearby site at Riseley, the occurrences of single brooches outnumbered those of "paired", single brooches or brooch-like objects being found in six female or probably female graves. Positions were recorded in only three instances. A penannular brooch lay on the upper lumbar vertebrae of the skeleton in Grave XCV and brooches of unidentified type were at the right breast of the skeleton in Grave LXXXII and at the centre of the breast in Grave LXIX. The latter brooch lacked a pin when found, but it is not clear whether it had been buried in this condition or if it had been functional at that time. In Grave XXII an object described as "a circular buckle" and found at the left shoulder, may have functioned as a brooch.

In addition to the cases mentioned above, an object thought to have been a brooch was found with the burial of a male equipped

with weapons (Grave LXXV). The "brooch", which was described as triangular, was found between the lower legs of the skeleton and rested on the floor of the grave. The position makes it unlikely that the object had clasped the clothing unless it had fastened the leg covering or the shroud. The boss of the shield, however, was found on the knees of this skeleton, and it is possible that the object, an unusual shape for a brooch, had been attached to the shield. A brooch of unusual shape was, however, found at the waist of a male at Lyminge. One female at the site had a single (S-shaped) brooch at the neck. At Osengal a circular brooch, with cells which had presumably contained garnets, was found with a female skeleton, at the centre of the breast.

The finds from Bifrons, Horton Kirby I, Osengal and Riseley suggest that single brooches might be worn contemporaneously with "paired". Single brooches have also been found in cemeteries where numerous brooches were contained in unusually rich graves. A silver brooch was found in the female grave under Tumulus IV, and a circular garnet brooch was in Tumulus XII at Chatham Lines. A single annular brooch was at the breast of the skeleton in Grave C2 at Finglesham (without a pin when found). Stebbing recorded a brooch at the left hip of the skeleton in Grave D4. The object was fragmentary, and its position suggests that it may have been a buckle rather than a brooch. (A suggestion also made by S. C. Hawkes in her reassessment of the site.)

At Stowting a bronze brooch was found on the right shoulder of a female skeleton excavated in 1881. A single brooch was found with a skeleton equipped with beads at Beakesbourne II, and a circular

brooch in a female grave at Faversham. Other brooches were found at both sites, but their associations not recorded. Evidence from Breach Downs is also limited since the most recent finds from this site have not been fully published and information about brooch fashions is dependent on Conyngham's nineteenth-century finds. Only two brooches were recovered at that time, and both were worn singly, probably by females. One, described only as "a fibula", is shown by illustration to have been annular in shape, and could have been either a brooch or a buckle. It was found under the head of a skeleton. The position of the other brooch, which was circular and decorated with garnet, was not recorded.³⁷

Single brooches were found in ten of the Gilton graves excavated by Faussett. There was never more than one brooch in any grave excavated by him. Five were circular brooches with garnets, two annular, one possibly Roman, and the others of unspecified type. The brooch in Grave 42 (a circular example) was found at the right breast. The position of the others was described as in the neck area, or as "lower" than the beads which were found at the neck. The ambiguity in this description leaves open the possibilities that the beads were worn over the brooch, or that the beads were worn higher up the body than the brooch. The skeletons with brooches recorded by Faussett were all female, but Baldwin Brown noted that a square-headed brooch from this site was associated with a male (presumably found by Rolfe).

At Guston a circular garnet brooch was found on the breast of a skeleton which was also apparently equipped with weapons, and therefore male.

The Kingston site yielded three single brooches in addition to the polychrome brooch which was accompanied by two small safety-pins (subsection 3, p. 114, above). (The latter should perhaps be considered an additional example of the single brooch fashion since the other brooches were not decorative and probably fastened leg coverings rather than a body garment.) All were circular garnet brooches and were found in the neck area, that in Grave 15 "near the neck or shoulder", similarly placed to the famous brooch (Grave 205) which was found at the neck towards the right shoulder. Brooches were rare in this large cemetery, only occurring in these four graves, which all contained elaborate specimens. Grave 299 contained a second brooch, a less elaborate circular brooch with keystone garnets, which was found in a box at the feet of the skeleton. This suggests that although more than one brooch might be owned, and treasured, one was sufficient to fasten the costume in which the corpse was buried. This implies that it was not the custom to attach all the deceased person's jewellery to the burial costume whether or not it was necessary, although as some of the persons buried at Kingston had come under Christian influence this restraint may have been the result of the new teaching.

A gold-and-garnet polychrome brooch was found on the chest of a female skeleton at Milton, and another near the neck of a Sibertswold skeleton, equipped with beads, therefore probably female. A circular garnet brooch was recovered from a Wingham grave containing typically feminine objects.

6. Brooches in male graves

A single brooch accompanied a male skeleton at Lyminge, and an object which may have been a brooch accompanied a male at Riseley, as discussed above (subsection 5, pp. 116-7).

7. Secondary use of brooches

Two brooches found at the thighs of female skeletons at Polhill, a late site, had probably decorated, or been carried in, bags. Both were without pins when found. The brooch in Grave 37 was cloisonné, that in Grave 53 a Roman long brooch. At Osengal an annular brooch was re-used as a keyring.

8. Alternative fasteners

Unusual objects which may have clasped the garments as substitutes for brooches include "bronze fasteners" found in Grave LXIX at Riseley, at the centre of the breast of a skeleton which was probably female; and a "clasp" recovered from Chartham Down Barrow A. This object was found near the pendants which had presumably adorned a woman's necklace, therefore had probably been worn on the chest. Mortimer described it as "a piece of gold six tenths of an inch in diameter, consisting of four corded gold wires forming so many circles within each other and closed in the middle with a cross of the same wire. On one side was fastened a shank of gold $\frac{1}{4}$ " long with a hole through it; and a gold pin 1" long with a small chain 1" long fastened to it. I imagine this must be one side of a clasp to fasten some garment, and that there was such another piece of gold wire with two shanks which fitted into this; and so the pin going through all three of them fastened to one edge of the garment to prevent the pin

being lost." Though unique, and incomplete when found, the object is of interest since the cruciform motif suggests that it derived from the conversion period, a time when the use of brooches was changing and diminishing; and that in its structure of two parts linked by a chain, it is comparable with the contemporary pin suites found in other areas.

9. Pins

Pins may have been used to clasp garments at neck or chest at several sites. Two associated with skeletons at Bifrons were found at the left shoulder or left side of the chest. One was in a grave with "paired" brooches, the other in a grave with three brooches (not "paired"). Another was found at the neck of a skeleton without brooches. Pins were also found at the necks of skeletons at Chartham Down (two cases), Crundale, Dover and Sibertswold, and at the chins of two Holborough skeletons. They were found at the chests of skeletons at Finglesham, Holborough (two cases), Kingston and Polhill, and at Osengal the position of a pin led C. R. Smith to deduce that a garment with a front fastening had been worn. These pins were all associated with females. A "bodkin" found at the left shoulder of a male at Lyminge may have fastened the clothing. A child at the same site had a similar object at the right shoulder. Objects found in two Riseley graves were considered to be either pins or nails. It is possible that these too were clothing fasteners, since in Grave XCV one such object was found over the left scapula of the female skeleton.

Pins which may have fastened the hair or headdress were associated with female skeletons at at least nine sites. One was

found under the skull of a female at Beakesbourne I, another beyond the skull of a skeleton at Bifrons. One, associated with a "small silver wire ornament", was found by a skull at Breach Downs. Two were near the skull of one Chartham Down skeleton, six were found at the heads of Kingston and seven of Sibertswold skeletons. At Faversham there was found a pin which the excavator described as a "hairpin". A pin was found at the back of the head at Finglesham and two among the remains of a skull at Gilton.

Twice pins may have been worn by males. One was found "at the head" of Grave 81 at Sarre, which contained weapons, but the description of the pin's position is too vague to prove it had fastened a headdress. A male skeleton at Lyminge had a pin at the skull.

10. Clips, possible headgear

Small metal clips were found at Lyminge and Riseley. At Lyminge they were found at the right of the skull of a girl aged about ten years (Grave 37). The nine clips, which extended away from the skull in diminishing sizes, did not contain wood or other material, and may have belonged to a headdress. The arrangement of the clips is unparallelled, but several features of the costume at Lyminge appear to have been unusual. Clips at Riseley were found near the skull of a male skeleton, having probably belonged to a leather vessel, rather than a garment; and beside the right arm of a female, where they had probably been attached to a leather strap. A bead and a buckle found on top of a male skull at Polhill (Grave 65) may have belonged to a headdress. Beads may have decorated a gold-braided headdress at Stowting; and a single ivory bead at Bifrons, found at the forehead, may have been part of a headdress.

11. Shoe buckles, lace tags

Two sets of shoe buckles and two lace tags were found at the ankles of a male skeleton at Polhill (Grave 28) and similar buckles and tags accompanied male and female skeletons at Finglesham (Graves 95, 198; 20, 157). A bronze, cone-shaped lace tag was found below the feet of the skeleton in Polhill Grave 30. Other examples were found in Finglesham Graves 68, 163 and 180. S. C. Hawkes suggested that these shoe fittings reflect foreign influence. Metal shoe buckles and tags had come into use on the continent, particularly in Frankish areas, among the upper classes, in the sixth century.

Objects which were considered to have been the remains of copper lace tags were recovered from Riseley Grave V, but these lay across the lower spine.

12. Buckles

Buckles were normally but not exclusively found at the waist or hip of Kent skeletons. Evidence will be considered from Beakesbourne I, Bifrons, Breach Downs, Broadstairs, Chartham Down, Chatham Lines, Crundale, Finglesham, Gilton, Holborough, Kingston, Lyminge, Milton, Polhill, Riseley, Rochester, Sarre, Sibertswold, Stowting and Wingham.

Buckles were found in three graves at Beakesbourne I, twice being positioned at the right hip. One of these buckles, being accompanied by a chatelaine, was evidently worn by a woman. No brooches were recovered from this site, but the evidence suggests that the buckled belt continued as part of women's costume after brooches had ceased to be popular.

At Bifrons buckles were found in thirty-two graves. They had been worn by both sexes, including women with and without brooches. The majority appear to have fastened belts, and were mostly found centrally at the waist. One female had worn the buckle at the left and one male at the right, and in four cases which included both sexes, buckles had been placed at the back. One male and two females were equipped with two buckles each, though the male had probably not worn the second at burial. (It was found at the feet.) In the female graves one buckle had probably fastened the belt in the usual way, the second being attached to an object suspended from the belt, since in both cases the second buckle was found lower down the body, once with chatelaine components. Both these female graves were otherwise well-equipped, one containing brooches "paired at the waist" as well as "paired" at the shoulder. Four Bifrons females with buckles had brooches at the lower as well as the upper part of the abdomen. The association demonstrates that these brooches were not substitutes for buckles.

One male skeleton at Bifrons had a buckle on the left forearm, and two, one female, the other of unidentified sex, had buckles at the upper part of the body. One was found "below" a pin on the left shoulder of the female skeleton, and the other was found with objects at the left side of the chest.

At Breach Downs buckles were worn by both sexes, and were placed at the waist in at least two cases. One massive buckle, associated with a gold-and-garnet brooch, was ornamented with perforations. Buckles were worn by both sexes at Broadstairs, and where the position was recorded, they were found at the waist.

One at least of the buckles found at Chartham Down was worn at the left side, but the majority at that site appear to have been worn centrally. A number appear to have been found in the 1730 excavations, and three during later exploration, but there is no indication of the overall numbers or the proportions worn by each sex. There were apparently several buckles in some graves. Meaney, paraphrasing Douglas/Faussett, stated that "At the waist of three or four were small silver buckles",³⁸ but the account actually recorded that in several of the barrows, there were found about the waist of the skeletons "two three or four silver buckles".³⁹

One male and one female at Chatham Lines had worn buckles, the female at the left side, the male centrally. A buckle was found at the left hip of one of two skeletons in Grave 18 at Crundale. At Faversham there was no primary evidence of buckles although one was certainly associated with a male. An object, which at the time of excavation was considered a brooch but which might in fact have been a buckle, was found at the left hip of the skeleton in Grave D4 at Finglesham. Buckles had apparently been worn by both sexes at Gilton, but again, there was no primary evidence.

Buckles were found with both sexes and with the skeleton of a child at Holborough, a site from which no brooches have been discovered. In two cases the buckles were at the right of the waist. The buckle accompanying the child's skeleton was decorated with perforations. One skeleton had two buckles. One had been apparently used to fasten a purse which may have been attached to the belt.

Buckles were found in at least nine graves at Kingston, including those of both sexes and a child. There are no details of their position, but apparently there was nothing unusual about this (they were probably at the waist), except in one case (Grave 142) where the buckle was found in a box.

The detailed recording of finds from Lyminge has produced more information about the thickness and method of wearing belts than most other sites. There were buckles in eighteen graves, nineteen buckles being found. Eleven of the associated skeletons were male and five female, the remainder being of unidentifiable sex. One of these was an infant of six to twelve months.

A buckle found at the left arm of the male skeleton in Grave 30 was associated with a purse mount, and unlikely to have been used to fasten the belt, which must have been clasped by some other means. A buckle in Grave 12, also a male burial, probably functioned in the same way. It was found, with a small buckle plate, at the pelvis, the tongue of the buckle pointing towards the feet. There was, in this case, a second buckle at the waist which must have fastened the belt.

In five instances the buckle was found at the left, and in eight at the right of the waist. In six cases belts had been ornamented with decorative plates, and a tag was found to the right of one female skeleton with a buckle. The belt equipment may have been quite elaborate in several cases and two buckle plates were ornamented with cloisonné decoration.

In seven cases the tongue of the belt pointed towards the right, indicating that the strap had passed from right to left across

the front of the body. The seven instances included the graves of both sexes, leading the excavator to conclude that sex did not determine which side the belt was fastened.⁴⁰ It was noticeable, however, that the four burials which exhibited the less popular method of fastening the belt (the buckle tongue pointing to the left) were all male. The positions of rivets indicated that belts at Lyminge were 1/16" thick.

There were more buckles than brooches recovered from Osengal, and strap ends were also found, but there was no record of their positions.

At Polhill, buckles were found at the waist or pelvis of only twenty-one skeletons though there were over one hundred graves. The buckles accompanied two children of indeterminate sex, and nineteen adults of which fourteen were certainly male. Buckles did not accompany any skeleton positively identified as female, leading S. C. Hawkes to comment on a change of fashion: "the buckled belt, though it might be retained as an optional extra, was clearly no longer a functional necessity to women".

Buckles were found in the graves of both sexes and a child at Riseley, and were associated with eighteen interments. In most instances they had fastened a belt at the waist. Three were found at the left of the waist and five were positioned centrally.

Three buckles at Riseley were found at the upper part of the body. One, "a circular buckle", was found on the left shoulder of a female skeleton, and was perhaps associated with the suspension of

a "short iron weapon" (perhaps a knife) which was found on the left breast, but it is possible that the circular object was a brooch. A penannular brooch attributed to this grave is in the Borough Museum, Dartford. A buckle was found near the breast of a child, and a broken buckle under the left humerus of a skeleton which was probably male. The latter buckle was associated with an iron band shaped "to fit the body".

Four male skeletons at Rochester were equipped with buckles. One of these had two buckles, a large one at the right and a small one at the centre of the waist area, perhaps a further instance of the smaller buckle having fastened a pouch carried at the belt. Two others had the belt buckles at the right, and one centrally.

Details of buckles from Sarre were mostly not recorded. Thirteen were found, and accompanied both sexes. They were worn at the waist, one well-equipped female having the buckle on the left. A male skeleton in Grave 68 had an elaborate buckle, also a belt tag and studs. The ornamented belt indicated by these objects may have supported the sword.

One male skeleton (Grave 26) had worn a buckle on the breast. This may have fastened a baldric for the skeleton was accompanied by an unusual piece of equipment -- a double sheath which contained the knife and an object described as a "dirk". This sheath may have been attached to a strap over the chest.

Buckles were found in twelve graves at Sibertswold. Six of the associated skeletons were certainly male, and one was a child. All the buckles, some of which were decorated with cruciform motifs, had probably fastened belts at the waist. Two were at the right and

one at the left, but most had been worn centrally.

There are few details of the buckles from Stowting, although it is apparent that they were worn by both sexes, and that belt plates and studs were also found. The detailed evidence about buckles from this site concerns examples which had not fastened belts. One buckle was found at the neck of an old person, and one at the right knee of a male skeleton.

A buckle and belt tag were found in the lap of an adult skeleton at Wingham.

13. Belt fittings

Three Bifrons graves with buckles also contained studs, and at least eight had tags and strap ends which had probably been attached to belts. Grave 35, which was not rich and contained no buckle, had two strap tags, found by the right leg of the skeleton, which was probably female. The tags could have been attached to the hanging ends of the girdle, though they might have belonged to garters.

At Broadstairs, studs had been attached to the belts of one male and one female. At Chartham Down there were found "two or three silver staples, to pass the end of the strap under". One skeleton at this site, not equipped with a buckle, had a pair of silver strap ends and one "brass" strap end at the right hip. These were associated with leather, probably from a belt. The impression given is that absence of a buckle need not indicate poverty, and that belts without buckles could be ornate. A female at Chatham Lines had elaborate belt mounts but no buckle, and shoe-shaped studs accompanied another skeleton without a buckle at the same site.

Belt fittings and strap ends as well as buckles were among finds at Faversham, and at Kingston a male and female without buckles were accompanied by belt mounts and strap tag, respectively.

Decorative plates and a strap tag were among the belt fittings at Lyminge, already discussed in detail. At least two male skeletons at Polhill with belt buckles had studs at the waist. At Milton-next-Sittingbourne, from where there are no recorded finds of buckles, a male skeleton was equipped with three studs and other belt fittings.

Grave LXXV at Riseley contained an iron belt fitting and a piece of bone which had provided backing for the belt. This may have reinforced the belt which had to support the sword which was found in the grave.

There were five tags at the waist of the skeleton in Grave 9 at Stowting, which was not accompanied by a buckle.

14. Girdle rings

Skeletons in several cemeteries were found to have rings at the hip or waist. The function of these is uncertain. They might have been attached to the girdle as fasteners, as suspension rings, or might have been the frames of pouches or other objects now decayed. Six were found at Bifrons, one with a male, the others with females. Four of the associated skeletons were without buckles, therefore the rings may, in those cases, have provided a means of fastening the belt. Rings were found at the left hand of a male at Broadstairs (without a buckle), the left leg of a male at Lyminge and the left hip of a Rochester skeleton.

15. Adjuncts to costume

Knives in Kent cemeteries were usually found in positions consistent with attachment to the belt, and the position of these and other objects which were found near the waist often attests the presence of a belt in graves without buckles.

At Barham Downs two knives were found in a female grave. One was at the left side. The other, with a sheath, was found at the left shoulder. There was no buckle present. Knives were found in four graves at Beakesbourne I, including a woman's burial and a child's. The objects were positioned at the left hip. In Grave 30 of this site, the remains of the leather belt to which a knife had been attached confirmed the means of suspension.

Knives, sometimes called "daggers" by Faussett, were recovered from forty-two graves at Bifrons, accompanying both sexes and children. In sixteen cases the knife had apparently been worn centrally, in twelve at the left, three at the right, and in three at the back of the belt. No fashion appeared limited to either sex. Of the thirty-four cases in which the knife appeared to have been carried at the belt, only nineteen skeletons were provided with belt buckles. Of the remaining fifteen, two had single beads which might have functioned as toggles and one had a ring at the girdle. The others were without girdle fasteners.

Five knives were found at the chest areas of skeletons at Bifrons, three male, two of indeterminate sex. One of these skeletons had a buckle at the chest which may have been associated with the suspension of the knife (one of those called a "dagger"), two others had buckles at the waist.

Detailed evidence of the Breach Downs finds derives only from the earliest excavations (Conyngham's of 1841), but from these it appears that knives were carried by both sexes. They were found in seventeen graves and were usually found at the side, where specified, at the left. Ten were not associated with buckles. At Broadstairs, also, knives were found with both sexes, with and without buckles, and in the two instances in which the position was specified, they were at the left side.

Faussett found knives in four graves at Chartham Down, three at the left and one at the right hips. One skeleton was equipped with a buckle, the others apparently not. Bloxam mentioned two male skeletons with knives found at this site, one with, the other without a buckle, stating that in the former instance the knife may have been carried in a sheath.

At Chatham Lines and Crundale knives were worn at either hip. One at each site accompanied a buckle and one did not. From Dover II there is recorded the find of only one knife, which was recovered, with other objects, from the left side of the chest of a female skeleton.

Nine graves of the original excavations at Finglesham yielded knives. They were found with both sexes and always carried at the belt. In Grave 2 one knife found at the right hip had perhaps been stuck through the belt, while a second knife recovered from the right thigh had perhaps hung from the belt. Knives were found at the right side in four instances at this site, in one case between the legs, and in only one recorded instance at the left. This grave (D4) was the only one to contain a metal object which might have fastened the belt.

Faussett found knives in ten graves at Gilton, and two more were associated with later discoveries. The details of only one find were recorded, however, that of a male without a buckle. The knife was found at the right hip.

The five knives at Holborough were associated with two males, two females and one child. Both young and old adults were represented. The males and the child wore buckles, the females did not. A knife was found at the right hip of one female, the others at the left hip or waist. Knives were said to have been found at the left hip of most of the Horton Kirby skeletons "especially women", but individual details were not recorded.

At Kingston knives were found in at least twenty-three graves, but as at other sites of the conversion period these and other personal objects were sometimes not worn, but buried in containers. Knives were found with at least one male and seventeen females, although four knives in Grave 142 (female) were contained in a box. Two females were equipped with two knives. The positions of knives were only recorded in six instances. Four were found at the left hip. The positions of the others were ambiguously described, but not inconsistent with suspension from the belt. Only one skeleton with a knife possibly worn at the belt was equipped with a belt buckle.

Knives were found with twelve skeletons at Lyminge, including six male and five female of which two were children. Eight of the knives had been worn at the left of the waist and two at the right. Only three of the skeletons with knives apparently carried at the belt were without belt fastenings. Seven had buckles and one a brooch at the waist. One knife was found at the upper part of a body.

It was recovered, with a purse mount, from the left shoulder area of the skeleton of a girl.

"Daggers" were found at Milton, and it was generally observed that these were found at the left arm, which indicates that they were probably carried at the left side of the belt. The detailed evidence from the site partly agrees with the general observation: knives were found at the left of skeletons in Graves E and G, the former with, the latter without a buckle, but the knife in Grave I was recovered with other objects from between the thighs, so had evidently been suspended centrally.

There were no buckles in two graves with knives at Osengal, one of a male with the knife at the left side, the other of a child, also with the knife at its side. Knives were associated with both sexes at Polhill, the females and some of the males being without belt buckles. The knives were usually found at the left of the waist. Grave 11 had two knives, one under, one upon the sacrum, both placed handle downward. The inversion of the knife is not unusual in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries as a whole, but the angle is rarely mentioned in reports of Kent sites.

Riseley yielded thirty-one graves with knives. Seven of the associated skeletons were male, five probably female. Twelve of the knives were found at the left sides of skeletons and seven at the right. Three were at the centre of the back. Only eleven of the associated skeletons were equipped with buckles.

At least fifteen graves at Rochester contained knives, including five male and two female burials. Nine of the knives were found at

the left of skeletons, one at the right and one at the back. Two graves contained two knives, which in one case at least, were both carried at the left. Only four of the associated skeletons (all male) were equipped with buckles, and two of the other skeletons had objects which might have functioned as toggles for fastening the belt. The remaining nine were without fasteners.

At Sarre at least twenty-one graves had been equipped with knives, but in two cases these were found at the feet, not on the body. The knives were associated with at least seven males and seven females and a child. Six knives found at the left of the body, and one other "across the lower part of the body" may have been carried at the belt. Two knives were found at the upper parts of the bodies. One was near the shoulder of a male skeleton, the other at the left shoulder of a child. Nine of the skeletons with knives also had buckles, but the positions of these were not usually recorded, and one knife in such a grave, being found at the shoulder, cannot have been associated with a waist belt. It appears that eleven of the skeletons with knives were without buckles or other belt fastening.

At least thirty graves of the combined Sibertswold-Barfriston sites contained knives. The associated skeletons included five males, twenty females and a child. The positions of the objects were rarely described, but the knives in general appear to have been found at the hip, and in the two instances where the side was specified, they were found at the left. Buckles were associated in only two cases.

At Stowting eight graves contained knives; the skeletons included three of each sex. All but one of the knives were probably carried

at the belt, twice specifically at the left side, including two knives (8" and 15") carried in a double sheath.

There is little detailed evidence from Wingham, but a knife was found at the side of a female skeleton there. A knife found on the breast of a male skeleton at Wye is the only primary evidence from that site, a cemetery without brooches or buckles.

The Kent graves provide ample evidence of other adjuncts which were attached to the costume at the belt and elsewhere. The crystal balls and spoons of which more have been found in Kent than in any other county appear to have been adjuncts of the female costume, occurring in the sixth century, and part of a specialized regalia usually including numerous brooches and a gold-embroidered garment (Chart pp.359-60). The combination of crystal ball and perforated spoon was found in graves at Beakesbourne II, Bifrons (three cases), Chartham Down, Lyminge and Sarr. One other grave from Bifrons had a crystal ball, and one from Chatham Lines also had a ball. Crystal balls were found at Gilton, but there is no primary evidence about them. One of the Chatham Lines graves, which also contained several brooches, had a perforated spoon but no ball. These objects were always found between the legs of skeletons, consistent with suspension from the centre of the belt, except for the crystal ball at Chartham Down which was found at the feet (the spoon was between the thighs), and the Chatham Lines and Gilton finds where the position of the objects was not recorded. Despite the weight of these objects, a buckled belt was apparently not necessary to support them in most instances.

The skeleton of a child at Holborough was also equipped with part of a spoon which was found with other objects at the left hip, but the other contents of the grave did not resemble the regalia of the other, apparently earlier, sites.

Chatelaine chains were found in association with female skeletons at Beakesbourne I, Gilton, Kingston, possibly at Milton, and at Polhill, Rochester, Sibertswold and Wingham, being characteristic of later burial sites. They were not uncommon objects, occurring in about twelve graves at Sibertswold and fourteen at Kingston. The Kingston chains were often found in two lines on either side of the body, sometimes with keys attached. A similar arrangement was found in one grave at Beakesbourne I, with shears attached at the right and an object which may have been a key at the left. Otherwise, the chains had hung singly, beside the leg, or as at Wingham, centrally. A chain measured at Gilton was two feet long. The chain at Milton (in Grave I) was considered by Payne to have "probably encircled the wrist". It was found at the left hand, but since this lay near the right elbow, it is possible that the chain lay at the right hip, rather than having the unusual function suggested by Payne. A chain and hook which were interpreted as objects for suspending a pot were found in Grave 34 at Chartham Down. They lay at the left hip of the skeleton and had perhaps served as, or substituted for, a chatelaine. At Sarre a ring was found between the knees of a child, and others were in this position relative to skeletons at Stowting. Too low to have fastened the girdle, these rings may have been used in the suspension of girdle attachments, as may a perforated, circular object found at the waist of a Stowting skeleton equipped with a buckle.

Keys were found in many Kent cemeteries, but in many cases their position was not recorded. They were found at the right of the waist of a skeleton at Dover II, and between the thighs of one at Bifrons. Three others at Bifrons as well as persons buried at Holborough, Horton Kirby I, Lyminge, Rochester and Sarre had carried keys at the left hip. The associated skeletons were apparently all female, including children. These keys were the typical Saxon "latch-lifters". A Roman key was found by the right knee of a male skeleton at Stowting, and another was found in a similar position in relation to a skeleton of unidentified sex at Chartham Down. These souvenirs of an earlier culture may have hung from the belt. The Chartham Down key was associated with two "armillae". It is possible that it had been suspended from these as three (Saxon) keys at Osengal had been from an annular brooch. The brooch had been reused as a key ring, the keys being attached by wire. S. C. Hawkes noted that, at Polhill, the women buried with "latch-lifters" were not the women with jewellery. She suggested that the keybearer was the housekeeper, not the lady of the house.

Girdle hangers, usually considered typical of Anglian areas, do occur in Kent, for example at Gilton and Sarre, but there is no primary evidence about their position. A hook found at the left hip of a Rochester skeleton, in association with the chatelaine complex, may have fulfilled the function of a girdle hanger. Other hooks were found at Breach Downs and Sarre, but their position not recorded.

Tools may sometimes have been carried on the person. Two males with buckled belts at Lyminge had axeheads, one at the right, one at the left. Possibly the axes had been stuck in the belts. A male skeleton at Sarre, with an axe at the feet, had a chisel which was

found at the shoulder. Another skeleton at Sarre had a plane, and one at Bifrons an awl, but the positions of these were not recorded.

Shears appear to have been carried at the belt, having been found at the hips of skeletons at Barham Downs, Kingston and Milton (at the left), Chartham Down (right), Bifrons, Polhill, Rochester and Sibertswold. The shears appear to have been associated with females in these cases, but were found in a male grave at Sarre.

Tweezers were found in association with male skeletons at Lyminge and Rochester, where they had evidently been attached to the belt. The three skeletons all had buckles, and the tweezers were found near the left arm of the Rochester skeleton, and to the left of one, to the right of another at Lyminge. The tweezers were found with males at the sites yielding primary evidence, and also at several other Kent sites, but with a female at Broadstairs.

Other objects which may have been tools include a stylus found at the right hip of a Chartham Down skeleton and objects found with female skeletons at Dover II and Breach Downs. The Dover object was found on the chest of the skeleton. The objects were pins in the shape of human figures which were contained in sheaths, and have been compared by Evison to similar items, without sheaths, from Birka, Sweden. The latter were recovered from female graves, were often associated with tweezers and were considered "some kind of toilet or domestic implement". The Breach Downs figure (discussed below, Part Three, E, 1, p. 515), apparently originally had a close-fitting head-covering, perhaps "a hood or helmet with a lappet or neck guard hanging down the back".

The Dover object was blunt-ended, made of iron and sheathed in wood, which Evison suggested might have been a sharpening steel or the iron core of a wooden spoon. The sheath, however, had been padded with textile, which suggests that the object might have been sharp, perhaps a stiletto for piercing textile.

All these objects might perhaps have been used in the preparation of textile. The suggestion is made firstly because the textile arts seem to have been a female occupation at this period, textile equipment being found in womens' graves, and secondly in view of the connection made between weaving and warfare. (The Breach Downs figure may have been a warrior.) Weapons may have been used in the preparation of cloth, since swords and spears were re-used as weaving beaters, or sword-like objects made for this function; and a figurative connection made between the subjects in the "Loom Riddles" De Lorica and Web in the Loom suggests that the association was one made by the Anglo-Saxons themselves.⁴¹

Small boxes which had probably held needle and thread were associated with female skeletons at several sites, and evidence from Holborough, Kingston, Polhill and Sibertswold suggests that they were carried at the girdle, at Holborough specifically at the left side. Such boxes have been recognised as characteristic of late cemeteries.

The occupation of spinning among the female population is attested by the spindle whorls which are found in many graves. A bone whorl, through which an iron spindle passed, was undoubtedly functional. It was found at the left hand of a female skeleton at Wingham and had perhaps been attached to the belt ready for use. Other large beads which have been identified as spindle whorls were found at the left hips of two Beakesbourne I skeletons, in the same position in relation to one at Bifrons and at the right hip of a

skeleton at Horton Kirby. One of the Beakesbourne finds was associated with other objects and buckles were found there and at Bifrons, but in the other cases there was no buckle. It is possible that in these circumstances the whorls might have functioned as toggles.

Purses and pouches, usually only attested by their frames, appeared at several Kent sites, found most often with males, and suspended from the belt. They were also occasionally associated with females, and sometimes found at the breast. A purse (and a spatula) had probably been attached to the waist of a male buried at Holborough, and the man accompanied by a plane at Sarre had a purse mount on the chest. Purses were particularly popular at Lyminge where they were associated with five males and one female child. Three were found at the left pelvis, two centrally at the waist, only the child's being at the shoulder (under the knife). The remains of a pouch were found between the knees of a male skeleton from the same site. The purses may have contained fire-making materials in some cases. One Lyminge example had contained flints, and flints were found near another. A pouch or purse found in Grave 6 at Sarre had probably held gaming counters.

There were other adjuncts to the costume recovered from Kent graves, which, judging from the evidence of other areas, had probably been worn on the person, but there is no primary evidence from Kent. Ivory rings which may have been attached to pouches were recovered, for instance, from Bifrons and (in boxes) Kingston.

Personal implements including an earpick were also found at the latter site.

Combs often accompanied their owners to the grave, and it seems they might sometimes have been worn on the person, perhaps suspended round the neck, or attached to the belt. Two examples were found at the upper part of the body of females at Kingston (one at the right breast, the other near the right shoulder) although two others at the same site had been contained in boxes. A Polhill skeleton, probably female, had a comb at the right arm. A comb at Sibertswold was recovered from a position "lower than" the beads and a richly-furnished female grave at Sarre contained a comb found at the left of the body.

16. Possible toggles

A few beads occurred singly at hip or waist, and it is possible that these, like the large beads identified as spindle whorls (subsection 15, ^{pp. 140-1,} above), may have hung from the belt, or sometimes acted as toggles. Single beads were found at the waists of skeletons at Bifrons, Lyminge, Rochester (three instances) and Sibertswold, and near the left hand of one at Wingham. (The Lyminge skeleton was male and was equipped with a buckle.) A burial at Broadstairs contained two very large beads found near the waist of the skeleton.

17. Other jewellery

Beads, common in Kent as elsewhere, were most often worn as neck ornaments by women. Beads and/or pendants which decorated the neck area, either by hanging in festoons or by encircling the neck, were found at Barham Downs, Beakesbourne I, Bifrons, Breach Downs, Broadstairs, Buttsole (the only primary evidence from this site), Chartham Down, Crundale, Gilton, Kingston, Lidsing, Lyminge, Milton,

Newington (the only primary evidence from the site), Orpington, Osengal, Polhill, Riseley, Rochester, Sarre, Sibertswold-Barfriston, Stowting and Wingham. Jessup recorded that beads on rings were found near the pelvis of a skeleton at Chatham Lines, but he suggested that they might have been worn on the chest. S. C. Hawkes suggested that the fifty-two beads and three bracteates found in Grave D3 at Finglesham had been festooned from the bird-shaped brooches which, in her reconstruction, were worn at the shoulders. The description of the position of beads in the original report as "over and around the body" seems to imply, however, that the beads were found at the back as well as the front of the body. Also, since there were five brooches in the grave, it is possible that the beads were attached to more than two of them, giving the excavator this impression of their extent.

Records of necklaces being found round the neck are rare. A child buried at Lyminge (Grave 24) had had one arrangement of beads on the chest, another round the neck, and beads were found "around" the neck of a female skeleton at Stowting. A metal clasp was associated with one of the many finds of beads at Kingston. The position of beads was most often, however, "at the neck" or "near the skull". Notable variations include six cases from Bifrons where the beads were said to have been found running "up the chest to the neck" and at Riseley an arrangement of beads from the breast bone to the hips of a skeleton (Grave XCIII) which, it was thought, had been laid in a skein over the body.

Triple festoons were evidenced from both Bifrons and Lyminge, although they were unique at each site. In Grave 64 at Bifrons

the ornament had consisted of one festoon of beads, one of gold pendants and one of rings. In Grave 16 at Lyminge the festoons were composed of one-hundred-and-five beads and a bracteate pendant, plus an amber bead which had apparently hung separately.

Sometimes the neck ornaments were simple. Single beads had hung at the necks of skeletons at Bifrons, Milton (several cases), Riseley, Rochester and Sibertswold (a child). Although graves which were rich in other respects were often provided with large numbers of beads, they might also have simpler arrangements. For example, the otherwise richly-furnished grave of a woman at Lyminge (Grave 44) contained only a single bead, which had been attached by a silver wire chain to a brooch.

Apart from single beads, there were also simple arrangements of two or more. For example, a child at Bifrons was provided with two beads, and at Crundale the only detailed evidence about beads was that five were found at the neck of a skeleton. The number of beads found in each grave varied widely at individual sites. At Gilton, for example, where the details of beads in fifteen graves were recorded, the number varied from five to thirty-nine, and in the seven graves recorded from Stowting, from one to sixty. Rarer graves with very elaborate bead necklaces included a rich Bifrons burial containing over one hundred amber, glass and porcelain beads, the Lyminge grave with one-hundred-and-five (already mentioned), and one at Sarre containing a festoon of more than one-hundred-and-forty beads apparently suspended from loops on the "paired" brooches, in addition to an arrangement of six bracteates which had probably hung above the beads, being found between the shoulders of the skeleton.

Glass, earthenware and porcelain beads were common. Amber beads were also found, perhaps proportionately less than in some other counties, and featuring less obviously in the later burials, but nevertheless popular at, for example, Buttsole and in some graves at Osengal. Amethyst beads occurred frequently in graves dating from the latter half of the sixth century onwards, and rare beads of gold and silver occurred in seventh-century context. Beads of crystal, having perhaps some prophylactic value in common with the crystal balls discussed above (subsection 15, p. 136), have been recovered from Breach Downs and Chartham Down (where they may have been worn as a bracelet).

Although bead necklaces without additional ornaments appear to have been the norm at Broadstairs, Buttsole, Crundale, Lidsing, Newington, Stowting and Wingham, pendants were extremely popular in Kent. The perforated coins which have been found attached to necklaces in many other counties are infrequent finds in Kent. They were found in two graves at Gilton, a late-sixth- to seventh-century site, and in a seventh-century grave at Orpington. Bracteates, pendants of which the designs were derived from coins, but which themselves were ornamental, occurred in graves of the early and middle sixth century in Kent, detailed records of their position being available from Bifrons, Lyminge and Sarre.

Other metal pendants were evidently in use in the sixth century (at Bifrons) but pendants of precious metals, together with bullae (gems, mostly amethyst and garnet, cut en cabochon, often in gold settings), are characteristic of the early-seventh-century burials. Small pendant crosses which attest the influence of Christianity were found at Chartham Down and Kingston, in the latter case in association with amethyst and other beads, and bullae (Grave 142).

Pendants were mostly, but not always, associated with beads. A gold pendant and a knot ring were found without beads at the neck of a Gilton skeleton, and a single bulla was at the neck of a child at Beakesbourne I.

Rings appear to have been used in necklaces during the sixth century (at Bifrons), but became more common in seventh-century burials: nine graves at Kingston contained rings which had evidently been part of the necklace although they were not strung with beads, and a single knot ring was found at the neck of a skeleton with a pendant at Gilton (above). "Finger rings" found with beads near the heads of Polhill skeletons probably adorned necklaces. The ring-and-bead necklace, in which beads were actually attached to the rings, was found in seventh-century burials at Chartham Down, Kingston and Sibertswold, but the fashion was anticipated by a single ring upon which a bead was strung, found near the left shoulder of a skeleton at Bifrons (Grave 5).

It has often been suggested, particularly by nineteenth-century archaeologists, that beads on rings were earrings. This suggestion was made in reference to the Bifrons example, and rings found on either side of the skull in Grave I at Milton were similarly interpreted by Payne. Faussett thought that beads on rings in Grave 6 at Kingston and "blue drops" in Grave 103 were earrings. It may be that this is an unnecessary complication in some cases, for instance at Milton, where twenty-nine beads and an amethyst pendant were said to have been found in the same position, and obviously constituted a neck ornament. It is possible that excavators were influenced by the resemblance of some objects to the modern "hoop" or "drop"

earring in identifying the function of their finds. Rings with attached beads have recently been shown to be characteristic seventh-century neck ornaments,⁴² and the amethyst beads which were popular at the same period are often drop-shaped; so unless the position of such objects was clearly distinguished by excavators from the position of the necklace constituents, there is no necessity to consider a different function.

The recovery of beads from lower down the body (apart from the single beads which might have functioned as toggles, discussed above, subsection 16) is less marked in Kent than in some other areas, but not unknown. There were seven instances at Bifrons, including the rich Grave 6, in which thirty-nine beads were found under the ball and spoon which appeared to have hung from the girdle. It was suggested that the crystal ball might have been strung with the beads. Apart from the beads on rings which may or may not have been from the pelvic area of a skeleton at Chatham Lines (above) this fashion did not occur in seventh-century context.

Other uses for beads occurred only in isolated examples. Records often note the recovery of beads from near the skull, but without more precise information it is impossible to judge if these had decorated the hair or headdress, or simply hung at the neck. In Grave 9 at Stowting small beads were found near the gold braid which lay at the skull. The excavator questioned whether these had been worn, or scattered at the time of burial. It is perhaps possible that they had been sewn to the headdress, since a distinctive head garment appears to have formed part of the regalia associated with numerous

brooches (Chart, pp. 359-60). A single ivory bead found at the forehead of a skeleton at Bifrons (Grave 6), associated with similar regalia also indicates a distinctive (but dissimilar) headgear (mentioned above, subsection 10, p. 122).

An unusual use of beads occurred in Grave 39 at Lyminge, which was rich enough to contain two pairs of brooches. In addition to beads attached to one of the brooches, nine large beads were found at the right ankle. The wearing of anklets appears to have been a peculiarity of the inhabitants of Lyminge, since a spiral bronze bangle was found by the right foot of the richly-equipped skeleton in Grave 16. (A silver expanding ring, diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ ", was found at the left foot. It could, perhaps have been worn on one of the smaller toes, but such a piece of jewellery would be unique in Anglo-Saxon context.)

Bead bracelets may have been worn at Broadstairs (where eleven beads were found "round" the arm), at Chatham Lines and at Stowting (where eight large beads found by the left hand might have decorated arm or girdle). Metal bracelets were more common as arm ornaments, and unlike the bead ornaments, appear to have been worn by men as well as by women. Four, one possibly a re-used penannular brooch,⁴³ were found at Bifrons, three on the left and one on the right arm of the associated skeletons, two of which were certainly female. Faussett identified six at Kingston, but this figure included an ivory ring found in a box, which was probably a pouch ornament rather than an armlet. Only one (a "brass" example) was found round the arm. A silver bracelet was on the left arm of a skeleton rich enough to be equipped with three finger rings, at Breach Downs, and another was found in another grave on the site. A female buried at Wingham also had a silver bracelet. Wire bracelets were found round the left arms of the skeletons of a girl at Lyminge and a woman at Sarre.

A bronze armlet was found on the arm of a skeleton at Milton which was equipped with weapons and so evidently male. A male skeleton with an armilla was recorded from Gilton (Grave 89) but since the sword in this grave was not Saxon, and it appears likely that the grave had been tampered with during excavation, this evidence should perhaps be discounted.

Finger rings were apparently worn by women, and were very often found in graves which were otherwise well-equipped. At Bifrons, finger rings were found in the grave with ball and spoon, and in four other rich graves. Two ^{corpses} had rings on both hands, the others, where specified, wore the rings on the left hand. In Grave 42, the skeleton was found to have a plain silver ring on the left and a silver-and-garnet ring on the right hand. Other rings from the site were spiral silver ones. Three finger rings were found at Breach Downs in a grave which also contained a bracelet, and two were found in another grave which also contained a crystal ball. At Polhill silver finger rings were several times found near the necks of skeletons, with beads, but a bronze finger ring was on the left hand of a female accompanied by a comb, brooch and other objects.

At Rochester, a skeleton which had an elaborate necklace was also found to have two finger rings by the right hand, and at Sarre a burial with a gold bracteate was equipped with a large finger ring, which, it was estimated, was too large for a woman unless worn on the thumb.

XIV

Leicestershire1. Sites

Thirty-seven burial sites in Leicestershire are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ but since the majority were discovered in the course of digging gravel and other materials during the nineteenth century, the positions of finds are not included in the records. The only primary evidence for the county concerns a knife recovered from Melton Mowbray,² therefore secondary evidence has been drawn from other sites listed in the Gazetteer and from two additional ones: Baggrave, Hungerton;³ Barkby Field, (Queniborough);⁴ Beeby;⁵ Billesdon Coplow;⁶ Breedon-on-the-Hill;⁷ Caves Inn;⁸ Glen Parva;⁹ Husband's Bosworth;¹⁰ Ingarsby;¹¹ Leicester, Abbey Park;¹² Leicester, East Gate;¹³ Leicester, High Cross St.;¹⁴ Oadby;¹⁵ Rothley Temple;¹⁶ Stapleford Park, Saxby;¹⁷ Sysonby;¹⁸ Tugby, Keythorpe Hall;¹⁹ Twyford;²⁰ Westcotes, Leicester;²¹ Wigston Magna.²² Brooches from Husband's Bosworth and Ingarsby were considered seventh-century. The other sites were earlier, most apparently sixth-century.

2. Brooches

Grave groups from Beeby and Glen Parva suggest that the dress of women in the sixth century was supported, as in other Anglian areas, by "paired" cruciform brooches, with a third cruciform brooch of different design. Only one skeleton was recovered from each site, but each was equipped with a variety of objects, and both were apparently female.

In each case two of the cruciform brooches matched, while the third, although of similar size, was differently shaped and decorated. The Glen Parva brooches were considered characteristic of the first half of the sixth century, and the Beeby ones of the later part of the same century.

The popularity of the cruciform brooch in the area is attested by finds from Caves Inn, Oadby (one brooch from each), Rothley Temple (three and part of a fourth), Stapleford Park (at least five), Westcotes (at least two) and Wigston Magna. They may not always have been "paired" together, however, since the Wigston Magna example was found in the same grave as the backplate of an applied brooch, and one from Rothley Temple was found in the same grave as a flat bronze brooch.

Annular brooches were also popular in the county. Examples have been recovered from Caves Inn, East Gate (one from each), High Cross St. (two), Stapleford Park (five) and Twyford (two). It seems likely that some of these, such as the two from Twyford, had been "paired". Two identical small-long brooches from Westcotes are also likely to have been worn in this manner.

Square-headed brooches may have been worn singly. One was found at Billesden Coplow and the broken remains of a large, jewelled one at Ingarsby. Alternatively they might have been worn "paired" or as third brooches since they were also found at Rothley Temple, Stapleford and Westcotes, where there were other brooches. There were two square-headed brooches at Rothley Temple, one whole and part of a second at Stapleford Park, and one small example at Westcotes.

Other brooch finds from the county include an applied brooch from Rothley Temple and a swastika brooch from Caves Inn. A single

quoit-shaped filigree gold-and-garnet brooch recovered from near Husband's Bosworth suggests Kentish influence on clothing fashions in the late sixth or early seventh century, but as this was an isolated find and an unusual type of brooch no further conclusions can be drawn at present.

3. Clasps

Women appear to have worn wrist clasps, since these were found with the female grave group at Beeby and with typically feminine articles at Caves Inn. Three clasps of the "hook-and-eye" type were found at Beeby, (probably representing one-and-a-half pairs,) and the same number were found at Caves Inn, where the single clasp did not match the pair. One spiral clasp was found at Twyford, where it was associated with a skeleton also equipped with a ring.

4. Alternative fastener

A circular, perforated, bone object, which Douglas considered had "served to receive the latchet of a dress" was found at Baggrave. However, (in information incorporated by Nichols,) Douglas later re-assigned it to a grave containing weapons. Cottrill considered it a spindle whorl or large bead.

5. Pin, buckles, belt fittings

Other objects which may have formed part of the clothing include a pin from Stapleford Park, and buckles from Barkby Field, Stapleford Park and Sysonby. The associations of the Stapleford Park objects

were not recorded, but the Sysonby buckle, found with a bronze ring accompanying skeletons and weapons,^{may} have come from a male burial. Several buckles were found at Barkby Field, and were thought to have come from a single grave. Nichols illustrated three, an unusual quantity for the costume of one person. Weapons were associated with the buckles.

A bronze tag, which might have been attached to a strap or belt, was associated with typically female objects at Caves Inn, but no buckles were clearly associated with feminine grave-goods in the county.

6. Adjuncts to costume

Knives have been recovered from Melton Mowbray, Rothley Temple, Stapleford Park and (fragmentary remains) from Tugby. The Melton Mowbray example was found near the right ribs of a skeleton with weapons. Three other knives were found during the same excavations. As other weapons were found, but no typically female grave-goods, it seems likely that these knives also accompanied men. The Tugby knife also probably accompanied a male. The associations of the others were not recorded.

Other accessories to the costume which may have been attached to the belt, included: girdle hangers, found with the Glen Parva burial and at Stapleford Park; an ivory pouch ring also associated with the Glen Parva skeleton; keys from Rothley Temple and Stapleford Park; combs from Stapleford Park and the probable male burial at Tugby; tweezers from Stapleford Park and toilet articles on a ring from East Gate, which were not associated with a skeleton when found.

7. Other jewellery

Beads were found at Beeby, Caves Inn, Glen Parva, Stapleford Park and Twyford. The seventy beads found with the Beeby skeleton were thought to have formed a necklace. They included amber and crystal examples. The Glen Parva beads were less elaborate, but included a large crystal bead and eight others, plus an animal's claw amulet. Crystal and amber examples were also among the finds from Twyford, and there were amber beads at Stapleford Park. Roman coins found at Rothley Temple, Stapleford Park and Westcotes may possibly have been used as ornaments. One of the Westcotes coins was pierced for suspension.

In addition to the bone object from Baggrave (subsection 4, p. 152, above), another large single bead (or whorl) was found in a Wigston Magna grave, in association with an object which may have been a brooch.

Other items of jewellery were rare. An armlet was found at Westcotes, and two objects which may have been large finger rings were associated with the female burial at Glen Parva.

XV

Lincolnshire1. Sites

Sixty-eight burial sites in Lincolnshire are mentioned in the Gazetteer¹ but the practice of cremation at some, and insufficient documentation of others results in primary evidence being available from only three sites: Ruskington;² Searby;³ and Sleaford.⁴ Secondary evidence has been drawn from Welbeck Hill.⁵ All the sites are apparently late-fifth - and/or sixth-century.

There appears to have been a large cemetery at Sleaford, and although less than half of the graves were systematically excavated, the finds were recorded in considerable detail, and some uniformity in the positioning of grave-goods is apparent. The site was considered unusual among Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, in that the skeletons were mostly found lying on the left side, bent, rather than laid out supine as at most sites; and in the character and disposition of the grave-goods. The festooning of the beads and the association of wrist clasps with leather rather than textile, which were thought unique at the time of the original report, have, however, been paralleled elsewhere since the Sleaford excavations.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were worn at Ruskington and Sleaford. There was only one certain case from the former site, where small square-headed brooches were found on the clavicles of a female skeleton, although it is possible that there would have been further instances had these been recorded in detail. Annular brooches (presumably two)

were found with the skeleton of a child, and there were other, un-associated brooch finds. The "paired" fashion may also have been practiced at Searby, since two matching square-headed brooches were among finds from that site.

Sleaford, however, provides more information. Brooches were found in seventy-three of the graves excavated in 1882 by Thomas. Fifty-four of these contained two or more brooches, which in thirty-one cases were described in such a way as to suggest that brooches were "paired" at the shoulders. There is no evidence to suggest that where two brooches were worn, they were worn in any other way. It is noticeable that at least one quarter, an unusually high proportion, used brooches which did not match in style or even in type.

The brooches employed for "pairing" were annular in a possible twenty-six cases. (In at least four instances the two annular brooches were not identical, being of different metals or different designs.) In seven instances cruciform brooches were used, and in six, small-long brooches which were described as "spade-shaped". Circular (probably disc), penannular, radiate and S-shaped brooches were all "paired" once. There were nine instances of the "pairing" of brooches of unlike type. In the majority of cases (six) two long brooches were found together, a small-long brooch being associated with a large or small cruciform, while in three instances an annular brooch was found with a cruciform. In the remaining cases the type of brooch was not recorded or no longer recognisable.

3. Additional brooches, third brooches

One of the Searby graves contained four brooches, but the positions were not recorded. They included two unmatching annulars, one disc and one cruciform. No other case of numerous brooches has been recorded from the county, but third brooches were common at Sleaford. Thirteen Sleaford graves contained three brooches, seven of which had two brooches in the "paired" position. It appears that at this site the third brooch was usually worn centrally, for in six cases the position was described as at the centre chest or breast, and once as at the throat. In five instances the group consisted of two annulars and one large cruciform brooch, and in two instances a cruciform, "spade-shaped" and annular brooches were found together. The following combinations each occurred once: two annular and one saucer brooch; two annulars and one penannular; two penannular and one annular; two cruciform and one cruciform set with garnet; two cruciform and one annular; two cruciform and one swastika brooch.

4. Single brooches

Single brooches were common in the county. There appear to have been three cases at Ruskington, two of single annular brooches being found in the graves of children (one specifically found at the skull) and one penannular brooch in a grave which may have been male. (All the other graves containing brooches in Lincolnshire were certainly or probably female.) A single radiate-headed brooch was found in a grave at Searby and single brooches occurred in nineteen Sleaford graves. The records of positions suggest that the single brooches were not consistently placed. Five were found at the shoulder, twice specifically at the left shoulder, and one was found

at the sternum, a position corresponding to the placing of the third brooches. Again the most popular type of brooch was the annular, occurring singly in ten graves, including two of those recorded in detail, one at the left shoulder, the other at the sternum. Twice large cruciform brooches were found singly, once a small-long, which was found on the left shoulder, and once each, square-headed and Roman brooches.

5. Pins

Pins were found at all three sites. Their exact function at Ruskington and Searby is not clear. At the former site the pins were in the two children's graves containing single brooches, and like these, they were found near the skull. (A photograph demonstrates that these were not the pins of the annular brooches, Kendrick, 1946, Plate X, 8 and 9.) The Searby grave with four brooches also contained a pin with Klapperschmuck, of the type which Baldwin Brown has suggested were used as hair pins.⁶ Evidence from the present survey suggests that this was not the sole function of such pins. However, the association of four brooches and a possible head ornament suggests a tentative comparison with the rich female graves of Kent (Chart, pp. 359-60), although this grave is probably earlier (late-fifth- to early-sixth-century) and lacks the more elaborate and rare features of the Kentish regalia: crystal ball, spoon and gold embroidery.

None of the Sleaford pins appear to have been worn on the head, however. They were found in nine graves and were an exclusively female ornament. There was one unusual instance in which a pin was "paired" with a ring (Grave 203). The two objects were found "in the usual place of the fibulae", that is, one at each shoulder.

The positions of seven other pins (only one was unrecorded) were at the chest or breast, and as no pin was found in a grave containing a third brooch, it seems likely that pins had fulfilled the same function as the third brooches, which also occupied a central position. Five of the graves with pins contained two brooches, and three contained one (including one grave with a single brooch at the shoulder).

6. Clasps

Clasps were recovered from Ruskington and Sleaford, where their position indicated that they had been worn at the wrist. A pair found in this position at Ruskington were associated with a skeleton tentatively identified as female, which was without brooches, and clasps were found with another adult female skeleton without brooches at this site. There was one possible association of a wrist clasp with brooches at Ruskington: an object described as "a bronze clasp" was found in the grave of a child equipped with two brooches, but the position of the clasp was not recorded. Clasps were found in thirty-seven graves at Sleaford, all of which were almost certainly female. The clasps were at the wrists, and many were embedded in leather. It was suggested that they had been used to fasten leather bands (bracelets) at the wrist. The suggestion was disputed by Leeds, who argued that if the clasps had fastened leather they would have been riveted, giving an example of a clasp (from Norfolk) which had been riveted. However, recent finds from Welbeck Hill include wrist clasps associated with leather, which confirms the Sleaford evidence^{and suggests} that the fashion was popular in this area. Evidence from elsewhere suggests that wrist clasps were more usually employed to

fasten textile (Section D, 13, p.443, below). Analysis of textile fragments attached to wrist clasps, has suggested that the clasps fastened a band which edged the sleeve, drawing the loose sleeve tight round the wrist. In the light of this evidence it seems likely that the view that the Sleaford clasps fastened leather bracelets should be modified. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Sleaford clasps secured garments which had been edged with leather, in the way that modern sportswear sleeves may be edged with leather to prevent fraying.⁷ Finds from Grave 121 included "hooks-and-eyes" at the wrist, embedded in leather, proving that the spiral clasp functioned in the same way as the straight clasp. The resemblance between the spiral clasp and the modern hook-and-eye caused some earlier archaeologists to assume that these clasps had fastened the main aperture of a garment.⁸

Many of the graves with wrist clasps did not contain the full set of four pieces. Sleaford Grave 90, for example, had fragments of one clasp only. Grave 124/5 contained one pair, Grave 209 one-and-a-half, while others contained two full pairs.

Only three of the graves with clasps contained buckles, and one other contained a girdle hanger which suggests that a belt was worn. The fact that many of the graves with clasps contained no evidence of a belt, suggests that the garment fastened by the clasps was not belted, although it might be worn in conjunction with a belted garment.

In twenty instances the clasps occurred in graves also containing two brooches, and four times with three brooches. Six graves

with clasps also had single brooches, and seven of the graves with clasps were without brooches. In five instances clasps were found in graves which also contained pins, four times with two brooches and once with a single brooch.

7. Buckles

Buckles were not very common in the county, and although some examples were found at Ruskington and Searby, they were not associated with the recorded grave groups.

Twenty-five of the Sleaford graves contained buckles, the grave-goods suggesting that nine of these were male and eleven female. The buckle in Grave 136 was found at the shoulder of the skeleton, which was also equipped with weapons, but the others were all found at waist or hip where they had apparently fastened belts. One female skeleton (Grave 49) had two buckles. Six of the females with buckles were also equipped with two brooches, two with three brooches, two with single brooches, and one was without brooches. It appears that the buckled belt might be worn with all the types of female costume found in this cemetery.

8. Belt fittings

A belt ornament set with garnets was found in addition to the buckle accompanying one of the male skeletons in Sleaford Graves 218/9, but otherwise the belt equipment was not elaborate. Two skeletons, both with two brooches, had tags at the waist which may have been attached to girdles, although neither was accompanied by a buckle.

9. Girdle rings

Nine Sleaford skeletons had rings at the hips. They included both sexes. It is possible that these rings were used to suspend the girdle adjuncts, or, since only two were associated with buckles, to fasten belts. The ring in Grave 191, which had contained a male skeleton with buckle, had an animal's tooth amulet suspended from it.

10. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found with both sexes at Ruskington, but their position was not recorded. Two small knives were found by the right thigh of a skeleton at Searby which was evidently female, but was not equipped with brooches or a buckle. The position suggests that they had been attached to a belt. At Sleaford sixty-seven of the graves numbered by Thomas contained knives, and included the burials of males, females and children. In addition, knives were found with skeletons equipped with weapons during the earlier (1858) excavations. Most were found at hip or waist, under the hands or at the elbow, all probably having been attached to belts. The report of the burials did not specify right- or left-hand sides. In one instance the knife had apparently been suspended from the belt by a bronze strap, together with keys (Grave 233). Three knives were found higher up the body, two of which might have been suspended from the costume. The knife in Grave 166 was found on the left side of the skeleton, at the breast, and that in Grave 186 was found at the chin of the skeleton. Both graves had contained male burials.

Belt buckles were associated with only sixteen of the skeletons with knives, and since the positions of most knives suggest suspension from belts it is evident that a majority of persons (including both sexes) buried at Sleaford, had worn belts which were not buckled.

Other adjuncts to the girdle included girdle hangers and keys. Hangers were recovered from all three sites, although there is not detailed evidence from Ruskington. At Searby girdle hangers were found in association with the female equipped with knives. Like the knives they were found in the area of the right thigh. Another set of girdle hangers from this site, which were not associated with any skeleton, were unusual in having attached to them small rings for the suspension of articles. Girdle hangers accompanied seven of the Sleaford skeletons, all of which were probably female. Five of them were also accompanied by the remains of ivory rings. One of these rings (Grave 86) was found near the hips of the skeleton, and a bronze attachment for a suspension strap was found with the one in Grave 143.

Keys were found at Ruskington and with seven skeletons at Sleaford. In six cases the Sleaford keys were near the waist or hips, twice associated with rings from which they may have been suspended. The fragments of key found in Grave 50 were on the chest of the skeleton. (A ring of deer horn was close by, but the excavator did not suggest that it had suspended the keys.)

Tweezers accompanied eight Sleaford skeletons, five of which were probably male, and one female. Where the position of the tweezers was recorded, they were found at the hips.

The remains of toilet articles were found with the Searby skeleton which had knives and girdle hangers, but the toilet articles had not been attached to the girdle as they were found at the chest.

Only four of the Sleaford skeletons accompanied by objects probably suspended from the girdle, were also equipped with buckles (one with girdle hangers, three with tweezers). One with a key, and one with girdle hangers and a pouch, had rings at the waist which could have fastened belts. Thus, the evidence of the girdle adjuncts confirms that of the knives, that there were many girdles which did not require buckles or other metal fastenings.

11. Other jewellery

Beads were found with female skeletons at all three primary sites. At Sleaford, Thomas noted that the beads were worn in one or more festoons attached to the shoulder brooches, rather than passed round the neck. He did not indicate the method of suspension in those graves which did not contain "paired" brooches. His report mentioned in several cases that the beads formed "necklaces", but as these instances include some graves with two or more brooches it is not clear if he intended to distinguish between the festoons which he considered unusual and circlets of beads round the neck; his "necklace" may have been synonymous with "festoon".

Beads at Ruskington and Searby were found in association with brooches and without brooches. At Ruskington they accompanied skeletons of an adult and child, both with brooches, and an adult without. At Searby they were found at the neck of a skeleton without brooches, and with the skeleton equipped with four brooches. The

latter had an elaborate necklace consisting of sixty-seven amber, glass and porcelain beads.

Beads were found in sixty of the numbered Sleaford graves, mostly, but not exclusively, at the neck. Thirty-nine of the skeletons with beads were equipped with two or more brooches, and one with a "paired" pin and ring. Seven of the skeletons said to have festoons had single brooches and nine were without brooches. In these cases the beads may have been stitched to the garment or attached by perishable fasteners. It is clear, however, that the function of brooches was independent of beads. The brooches were not necessary to suspend festoons of beads, and beads did not invariably accompany "paired" brooches.

The beads found in the county were mostly amber and glass. There were also earthenware beads at Ruskington and porcelain at Searby and Ruskington. Five Sleaford graves contained crystal beads, usually occurring in conjunction with the more elaborate necklaces, for example, crystal and porcelain beads were in the same group with pendants. The number of beads at Sleaford (the only site where they were regularly counted) varied in number, but the largest quantity found with one skeleton was two-hundred-and-seventy-one in Grave 143. The beads in Grave 141 had, unusually, been strung on wire.

Twenty-four skeletons were equipped with pendants of some kind, which were usually strung with the beads, although in five graves pendants occurred without beads. The commonest type of pendant was the perforated coin or metal disc. Other pendants were an animal's tooth, a Roman intaglio, silver bullae (found in two graves) and beads (single and clustered).

In nine instances the excavator at Sleaford considered that the remains of an earring had been found. The objects in five instances were beads, in the other four, wire.

Nine Sleaford skeletons had bracelets. In four cases these were composed of glass, or amber and glass beads. One of the skeletons (Grave 50) had two bracelets, each composed of nine beads. Two skeletons were equipped with two flat, metal bracelets and one with two of wire. One of those with two bracelets of metal also had two of beads (Grave 50). The metal bracelets in this grave were found attached to leather remains, perhaps the same type of cuff edge as associated with wrist clasps at this site. Two skeletons had only one bracelet, one described as metal, the other wire. The wire bracelets were found with children's skeletons, and the burial in Grave 50 was also a young person, so it seems that the fashion of wearing bracelets was particularly favoured by the young (female) inhabitants of the area. Only four of the skeletons with bracelets also had wrist clasps (two with bead, one with metal and one wire bracelets) which confirms that the clasps were not fasteners for bracelets.

Finger rings were found in four Sleaford graves, again all apparently female burials.

XVI

Middlesex1. Sites

Seven burial sites in Middlesex, none of them large, are listed in the Gazetteer.¹ Primary evidence is available from three: Hanwell;² Northolt Manor;³ Shepperton I, Upper West Field.⁴ Additional information has been drawn from sites in London.⁵ The Northolt burials were seventh-century or later, the other sites fifth- or sixth-century.

2. Brooches

Saucer brooches were associated with "six or seven" skeletons found at Hanwell in the last century. The skeletons, which were "evidently of warriors", had apparently been equipped with spears. No objects of the types usually associated with females, except the brooches, were found. The brooches had fastened the garments "over the breast", but whether more than one brooch was associated with each skeleton is not clear. A brooch appears to have been worn singly at Shepperton. It was found near the shoulder of one of the skeletons recovered from the site, and was of small-long type.

Other types of brooch were evidently in use in the area during the pagan period, since a cruciform example was recovered from Tower Street, London, and a disc brooch from the City.

3. Brooches in male graves

It is possible, but not proven, that the Hanwell and Shepperton brooches were associated with the burials of men. Sherlock, in

exhibiting the jaw bones of an associated Hanwell skeleton, remarked that they indicated "a fine type of man". The comment may have referred to race, but as another jawbone attributed to a female was exhibited at the same time, it is possible that the remark referred to sex.

4. Pins, buckles

Pins have been found in London (one on the London Wall, the other, a ring-headed example, at an unidentified site) also buckles (one, square, with chip-carving, and therefore probably early, was found at Smithfield, and the other, a small example, at the Custom House); but none of these finds were associated with burials.

5. Adjuncts to costume

A seax and the tip of a knife found by the left leg of a skeleton at Northolt (Grave 3) may have been attached to a belt which was not fastened by a buckle.

6. Possible toggle

A large, blue, glass bead, diameter 1.6 cm., was found under the jaw of the skeleton of a young man aged about seventeen, at Northolt (Grave 1). Evison suggested that the object might have functioned as a fastener. There have been no finds of bead necklaces, or the other adjuncts typical of pagan graves elsewhere.

The evidence available suggests that there might have been some unusual features in the costume of this area — brooches and beads worn by males, large beads used as fasteners at the neck — but is too scarce for certainty.

XVII

Norfolk1. Sites

Seventy-five burial sites are listed in the Gazetteer¹ but only six of these yield primary evidence about the dress of the population: Brundall;² Foulden;³ Gissing;⁴ Hunstanton Park;⁵ Mundford I;⁶ Sporle.⁷ Since the primary evidence deals with very few burials, some of uncertain date, and only limited conclusions can be drawn from it, secondary information from twenty-two other Norfolk sites has been included in the discussion below. The sites are: Brettenham-Bridgeham;⁸ Brooke;⁹ Caistor-by-Norwich (St. Edmund's);¹⁰ Great Carbrooke;¹¹ Hilgay;¹² Kenninghall I;¹³ Kettlestone (Pensthorpe, Fakenham);¹⁴ Kirby Cane;¹⁵ Markshall;¹⁶ Methwold;¹⁷ Mundford II;¹⁸ Narford;¹⁹ Northwold;²⁰ North Runcton;²¹ Little Snoring;²² Thetford I, Modern Cemetery;²³ Thetford II, Bury Road;²⁴ Thetford Warren;²⁵ Thornham;²⁶ Great Walsingham;²⁷ Little Walsingham;²⁸ and Wretton.²⁹

The lack of detailed information from this county is partly the result of the paucity of grave-goods from the inhumation cemeteries, or the insufficient recording of those which were excavated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and partly the result of cremation which was a popular practice in East Anglia. (Twenty-eight of the Norfolk sites were partly or totally given over to cremations.) Clothing fasteners and other personal articles have frequently been found in cremation urns. It is likely, for example, that the "Plates like Boxes, Fastened with Iron Pins, and handsomely overwrought like the necks or Bridges of Musically Instruments" from urns at Great

Walsingham, observed by Sir Thomas Browne, were long brooches.

Yet since little is known about the rites involved in the cremation ceremony, the usefulness of the evidence must be limited. The contents of an urn might be the relics of one person and his possessions; but the finds in one urn might represent less than the total of the personal ornaments of one individual; or more than one individual could be represented. Since there is evidence that unburnt objects such as combs and tweezers were added to the other contents of some urns after cremation, and since miniature (dummy) toilet articles were also added; it is clear that some cremation finds had ritual or symbolic significance, and were not worn on the corpse at the funeral.

Burials took place in the seventh century at Caistor, Kenninghall, North Runcton, Thornham, Wretton and possibly Kirby Cane, Mundford I and Thetford Warren, though North Runcton had been in use in the sixth, Kenninghall in the fifth and Caistor (for cremations) as early as the fourth century.

2. Brooches

The primary evidence concerning the wearing of brooches in Norfolk is limited. An annular brooch (diameter 1½") and a larger cruciform brooch (5½") were both "on the breast" of a skeleton at Gissing. Seven skeletons found at Sporle were said to have been wrapped in woollen garments fastened on the breast by brooches. One of the skeletons, at least, was probably female, but as weapons were found with some of the others, some males were among the group. The report seems to suggest that all skeletons had brooches, but only one

square-headed and two cruciform examples were preserved. It is not clear if they had been worn singly "on the breast" or if "pairing" had taken place. There is a similarly ambiguous instance from Hunstanton Park. Two disc brooches were found with two skeletons excavated on the same day. The report does not indicate whether both were worn singly, or whether one skeleton had both.

Secondary evidence from Kettlestone and Little Walsingham suggests that in Norfolk, as in many other Anglian areas, the fashion of wearing "paired" brooches plus a third (usually cruciform) brooch was practised. At each site a burial containing one cruciform and two annular brooches was excavated. Another possible instance of "pairing", in this case of unmatching brooches, occurred in a burial at North Runcton. Both brooches were cruciform, but one, the larger, was probably of seventh-century workmanship, and the other sixth-century. The head of the older brooch was missing, suggesting that the grave-goods had been completed by the inclusion of a brooch which was old and disposable. There may have been conscious archaism in this funeral rite. There is some evidence that the wearing of "paired" brooches was declining in the seventh century (Section XXXI, 2b, p. 380, below). In order to dress a corpse for the grave in traditional garb, it may have been necessary to add an old, broken brooch to make up the full complement.

Brooches have often been found in cremation urns. Two matching annular brooches were found in an urn from Caistor-by-Norwich, suggesting that "paired" brooches had been worn there.

Some of the brooches found at Hunstanton Park appear to have been worn singly. "A fine brooch" of unspecified type was found centrally, in contact with the clavicle of a skeleton which was probably female, and the back of a circular brooch was found near the skull of a child. (Hughes recorded that it was in front of the face.) Other brooches recovered from this cemetery were found singly, but as the ground had obviously been disturbed earlier there is no certainty that they were buried singly. Similarly, one "late" cruciform brooch was found in a barrow at Great Carbrooke, but the associations were not recorded, and there may have been other grave-goods.

3. Brooches in male graves

There is some indication that brooches were worn by men in the Norfolk area. The skeletons at Spode, mentioned above, included males, and it is possible that brooches were associated with them. Manning and R. A. Smith (1901a) recorded that brooches were found with men as well as with women at Kenninghall, but as most of the discoveries were not made by archaeologists, who visited the site only after the dispersal of the finds, details of the associations were not recorded. Brooch finds included at least four of square-headed type, several varieties of cruciform brooch, annular brooches and a horned brooch. It is unfortunately impossible to establish which of these was found with the skeletons thought to be male, or to isolate a period when such burials took place. A brooch which had been enamelled was found "near" a spearhead and knives associated with a skeleton at Hunstanton Park, another possible, but indefinite, association of a brooch with a male skeleton.

4. Pins

There is no primary evidence regarding pins. An iron example was found with a male skeleton at Hilgay, but the position was not recorded. Bone pins have also been found in the county, with inhumations at Thetford I and Hunstanton Park, and with a cremation at Kettlestone.

5. Clasps

Wrist clasps have been found, but never recorded in situ. They have been recovered from Brooke, Kenninghall, Methwold and Northwold. The Kenninghall finds included both straight and hook-and-eye-shaped clasps. The Northwold clasps were unusual in being riveted, a feature which led Leeds to suppose that they might have fastened leather.

6. Buckles

Buckles appear to have been rare in the county until the seventh century, when they probably became more common, as evidenced by the Thornham site, where "about half" of the twenty-four skeletons were equipped with grave-goods, "mostly" consisting of small buckles and knives. Other buckle finds from Norfolk appear to have been associated with males. A jewelled example from Kirby Cane was found with bones and weapons, and at Thetford Warren a buckle accompanied a skeleton equipped with a spear. Some buckles were found at Kenninghall I, but the associations not recorded. C. R. Smith noted that a buckle, which retained the imprint of textile, was found under girdle hangers recovered from the side of a skeleton without weapons at Sporle.

This information was apparently inaccurate, since Norwich Castle Museum identifies the object with textile impressions as an annular brooch, and suggests that a buckle preserved from this site was associated with a male skeleton.

7. Belt fittings

An object which may have been a belt plate, although not associated with a buckle, was recovered from Kettlestone, and a clip of bronze was found at the right hip of a male skeleton at Mundford I. The latter might have been associated with a belt.

8. Adjuncts to costume

Finds of knives and other probable girdle adjuncts suggest that the absence of buckles need not indicate the absence of belts. Knives were at the waists of a male skeleton at Brundall and a female at Foulden. Neither had buckles. Males without buckles at Brettenham-Bridgeham, Mundford II, Little Snoring, Thetford II and Wretton were also equipped with knives, although as the positions of these were not recorded, it is not certain that they had been worn at the belt. Girdle hangers were found at the side of at least one Sporle skeleton, according to C. R. Smith, but R. A. Smith deduced that a girdle hanger was part of a pouch which had been suspended from the waist. The two authors may not have referred to the same object, however.

Other articles which may have been attached to the person were recovered from the county, but not in situ. Tweezers and combs were particularly common finds in cremation urns, being found at Castle Acre, North Elmham, Kettlestone and Markshall. Shears were found at Castle

Acre, keys at Brettenham-Bridgeham and Thetford I and a spindle whorl at Thetford I. Spoonbits were found in a male grave at Brundall, and in a grave at Thetford I.

9. Other jewellery

Amber beads, graduated in size, lay on either side of the single brooch on the breast of an adult skeleton at Hunstanton Park. The string of beads had passed through the loop of the brooch. This provides an interesting comparison with the known cases of festoons of beads being attached to "paired" brooches, and shows that beads could also be attached to single brooches. The Hunstanton Park case shows that the beads were not suspended from the brooch to which they were attached, but merely kept in position by it.

A necklace was found around the neck of a skeleton at the same site, and a "necklace" of amber and paste beads was found in a barrow at Great Carbrooke. Most of the beads found in the county were amber, glass or jet. Beads have frequently been found in cremation urns. At Northwold sixty-five beads, including one of crystal, were found in one urn.

Other items of jewellery have been found in the county, but not on bodies. A bracelet was found at Thornham (an inhumation site) and there were torques in urns at Narford and Caistor-by-Norwich. An anklet was discovered at Caistor in the same urn as the torque.

XVIII

Northamptonshire1. Sites

Fifty-seven Northamptonshire burial sites are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ to which two later discoveries should be added.² Primary evidence is available from eight sites: Desborough I;³ Desborough II;⁴ Holdenby;⁵ Marston St. Lawrence;⁶ Nassington;⁷ Peterborough I (Woodstone);⁸ Thenford;⁹ Welton.¹⁰ Additional information has been drawn from Cransley;¹¹ Eye;¹² Newnham;¹³ Newton-in-the-Willows;¹⁴ Rothwell;¹⁵ Thorpe Malsor.¹⁶ The detailed information about a number of burials at Holdenby, Marston St. Lawrence and Nassington provides useful evidence about costume in this area, though the account of the graves at Marston St. Lawrence only recorded the position of the grave-goods in relation to seven burials; and the evidence may be unreliable since the first sixteen graves were recorded from information supplied by the workmen who disturbed them, not from systematic excavation by experts. Desborough II was a seventh-century site, and at Holdenby burials may have continued into the seventh century from the sixth. Nassington was in use during the fifth and sixth centuries, and the other datable sites during the sixth.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were worn at Holdenby, Marston St. Lawrence and Nassington, and probably at Peterborough, Thorpe Malsor and Welton.

At Holdenby, brooches were found with most of the nine female skeletons discovered in 1899, including cruciform brooches, a pair of annular and a pair of applied. Some of these had probably been "paired" on the shoulders, others functioning as third brooches. The 1909 excavations at this site were recorded more systematically, and it appears that all three of the female skeletons found at this time had worn "paired" brooches, which in two graves were penannular, and in one of saucer type.

The number of matching brooches found at Marston St. Lawrence suggests that they had been worn in "pairs". The finds totalled "ten pairs and a single one". The position of the brooches was only recorded in one instance. Two long brooches of different type, one cruciform, the other "spade-shaped" (small-long) appear to have been "paired" together, since both were found by the neck of a skeleton which was evidently female. Two cruciform brooches accompanied a skeleton and two circular (probably saucer) brooches were found with another. Two circular, concave brooches (also probably saucer type) were recorded as having been found in a grave equipped with weapons, and therefore almost certainly male. (This was one of the graves disturbed by workmen, so the observation may have been inaccurate.) The report of a young female at this site having been equipped with three "buckles", two of "brass" one of iron (also a second grave described as having a pair of buckles) is probably misleading. The illustration in Dryden's report (Plate XXIII) of two flat, annular brooches of different patterns suggests that at least two of the "buckles" would be more accurately described as brooches, and that further instances of "pairing" are here indicated.

At Nassington, brooches were found "paired" on the clavicles in fourteen cases. A similar fashion is probably represented by two matching brooches found with a third "on the neck" of one skeleton, and by the recovery of two brooches from each of five other graves.

In five instances the brooches apparently "paired" together at Nassington were matching small-long brooches; in three instances swastika, in three applied, in two cruciform, in two penannular, in one saucer and in one instance annular brooches had been "paired" together. In two cases unmatching long brooches were found together: once similar small-long brooches of different sizes and once a small cruciform and a trefoil-headed brooch were "paired". In only one instance was a small-long brooch "paired" with a round one: a small-long brooch was found on the left clavicle and an annular on the right.

Grave groups from Peterborough included two openwork brooches found with the skeleton of a woman; and two matching radiate-headed brooches found with another skeleton. Many other brooches of various types have apparently been recovered from this site, but their associations have not been recorded. Two swastika brooches from Thorpe Malsor had probably been worn together. Two small-long brooches were found with two skeletons at Walton, but it is not clear if the grave-goods had been worn by one of the bodies or divided between them. This may be a further instance of "pairing".

3. Additional brooches

The skeleton in Nassington Grave 28, uniquely for this cemetery, and apparently in the county, had been equipped with five brooches.

In addition to "paired" annular brooches and a third brooch of cruciform type worn below them, two large cruciform brooches, of similar size but not identical, were found "on either side of the breast".

The quantity of brooches, and the double "pairing", correspond to the contents of rich graves in Kent and elsewhere (Chart, pp.359-60); but neither the position of the brooches nor the nature of the other grave-goods suggests that the Nassington corpse had been decked out in regalia similar to that of those burials.

4. Third brooches

Third brooches were very common in the county, according to the detailed records from Holdenby and Nassington. Skeletons were found to have three brooches in both the 1899 and 1901 excavations at Holdenby. In the earlier excavations, two skeletons with "paired" brooches on the shoulders had third brooches on the breast (probably cruciform). In the later excavations two skeletons had three brooches in the shoulder area: once apparently all three were penannular, once a square-headed brooch was associated with saucer brooches which had probably been "paired".

Seven of the Nassington skeletons with "paired" brooches had worn third brooches which in four cases were found centrally, below the other brooches, on the breast. The excavator provided the information that the cruciform brooch which occupied this position in Grave 14, had been worn with the "head" downwards and the "foot" pointing to the right shoulder. In four cases at this site two round brooches were associated with one long: twice one square-headed brooch was

found with two applied; ^{once} a cruciform was found with two penannular, and once with two annular brooches. In two instances three round brooches had been worn together, but in both cases the third brooch was unlike the other two: two penannulars were associated with a disc brooch in one grave, and three swastika brooches, one unlike the others (which matched), were found in another grave. In only one instance were the "paired" brooches round and the third of long type: a swastika brooch was found in association with two small-long. There was one possible instance of three long brooches being associated together: three cruciform brooches were found in Grave 10, but this had contained two skeletons, and since the positions of the grave-goods were not recorded, and the finds looted, it is uncertain whether the brooches belonged to one of the persons buried there or were distributed between the two.

A large cruciform brooch was found at Peterborough in the same grave as two openwork disc brooches.

5. Two brooches not "paired"

Nassington provided instances of the wearing of two brooches in a position other than "paired". An annular brooch was found at the left clavicle and a cruciform at the right hip of the skeleton in Grave 31. The positions are consistent with the fastening of a garment diagonally across the body, but it is possible that the two brooches were not attached to the same garment, in which case the upper one may have functioned similarly to one of the single brooches at this site, also worn on the clavicle (subsection 6, p. 181, below). A small-long brooch was found at the left clavicle of a skeleton in

Grave 20 and another, matching, was found at the pelvis. There may have been the remains of two persons in this grave, but as the objects found were all recovered from the east side of the grave, it has been assumed that they belonged to one burial. The positioning of the brooches would seem to correspond to that in Grave 31.

6. Single brooches

Single brooches were worn at Marston St. Lawrence and Nassington. The positions of the Marston St. Lawrence examples were not recorded, but the finds included a large (probably square-headed) brooch associated with a female skeleton, and a cruciform brooch found with a skeleton of indeterminate sex. At Nassington a single penannular brooch was found on the left clavicle of a skeleton, and a cruciform brooch on the breast of another.

7. Brooches in male graves

Brooches were found in one possible male grave, at Marston St. Lawrence, but as the grave was disturbed, the evidence is unreliable.

8. Alternative fasteners

At Holdenby, objects which may have fulfilled the function of the single brooch were associated with the skeleton of a young girl. A bronze ring and a long iron pin, the end of which was bent, were found on the left clavicle. Leeds suggested that these might have functioned as a brooch and a separate pin. If so, their position corresponds to the positioning of single brooches at Nassington, but as there is no clear evidence that single brooches were worn at

Holdenby, it seems possible that this young girl had been dressed differently from the adult woman buried at this site.

There are other indications from the county that brooch-like fasteners might be made from objects which were not manufactured for this purpose. An article found in unrecorded position in a Nassington grave was described as "a brooch or buckle". It was made of a deer tine and equipped with an iron pin. From Newnham there was recovered a ring of deer's horn which had been stained by contact with metal, perhaps a pin which had enabled it to be used as a fastener. It is possible that many more such objects made of natural materials like wood or bone were used to fasten the clothing of the pagan Anglo-Saxons, but have decayed before excavation.

9. Pins

At both Holdenby and Nassington pins appear to have functioned in the same way as third brooches. A triangular-headed example was found on the scapula of a female skeleton at Holdenby which was equipped with two penannular brooches, and at Nassington a pin $4\frac{1}{2}$ " long was found on the breast of a female equipped with two swastika brooches.

A spiral-headed pin was associated with a male skeleton at Nassington, but its position was not recorded. The excavator of Marston St. Lawrence recorded the discovery of five pins with perforated heads, but the description and illustration of the objects, plus the fact that three were found together in one grave, suggests that some may have been toilet articles rather than clothing fasteners.

10. Clasps

Wrist clasps were found at the arms of skeletons at Holdenby, Marston St. Lawrence and Nassington. They were on each arm of a young female skeleton at Marston, where the excavator described them as "bracelets", and in association with female skeletons at Holdenby, in description of which Leeds stated his conviction that the objects were sleeve clasps, not bracelets, and suggested that at this site they could not have been attached to leather since they lacked rivets. (An unjustified conclusion as since demonstrated by finds from Lincolnshire.) It is clear that the Holdenby clasps did not always constitute a complete set, since they were found by only one wrist in more than one instance.

At these sites, and probably also at Thorpe Malsor, clasps were found with female interments, as is typical of the distribution of such objects. However, two of the thirteen Nassington graves from which clasps were recovered appear to have contained male skeletons. This is an unusual occurrence, but unless there was error in the recording, or double burials went unnoticed, the association seems definite. A clasp was found on the left wrist of the skeleton in Grave 23, which was described as male, and was equipped with a spear. Clasps were also found in Grave 27, with a skeleton of unidentified sex, but which is likely to have been male since it was accompanied by a spear and shield. A piece of bent bronze found on the left wrist of another male skeleton at the site may have functioned in the same way as the clasps.

Nine of the Nassington graves with clasps contained skeletons which were certainly or probably female, while one other was of indeterminate sex, and another grave contained two skeletons, one male, one female.

In only four instances were the clasps found on both wrists of the skeletons at Nassington. In five instances it seems that only one pair was worn (where specified, on the left wrist); and only half a pair of clasps was found in one grave.

11. Buckles

No buckles were found in the Holdenby graves excavated by Leeds, but some may have been found with females and possibly with one male interment earlier. They were worn by both sexes at Marston St. Lawrence and Nassington and were always found in positions consistent with having fastened belts. They were at the middle of the bodies in two graves at Marston including one male. (The positions of others were not recorded.) At Nassington three of the nine buckles found were recovered from the right hip, one from the left, and three were said to have been found at the waist, a description which may imply a central position. The Nassington buckles were found in four male and four female graves, and in the grave of a child of indeterminate sex; but it is noticeable that buckles were associated with female burials which deviated in some way from the "paired" brooch fashion which was the norm for this cemetery. They were found in a grave with three brooches, two graves with single brooches, and a grave with one brooch at the upper part of the body and a second at the hip. This could indicate that the garment which was buckled was not that fastened by "paired" brooches, but might have been clasped by a single

brooch at the upper part of the body (or by a third brooch). Yet, since there was one skeleton in the cemetery with a single brooch but without a buckle, and several with third brooches but no buckles, a buckled belt may not have been essential to the fastening of the garment.

12. Belt fittings

A "small bronze clasp" found on the pelvis of a male skeleton at Holdenby may have functioned as a girdle fastener, while a belt tag found with a male at Nassington may indicate the presence of a belt which was not buckled.

Clips found by the left wrist of a male skeleton at Holdenby were considered by Leeds to have been the clamps of a knife sheath, but no knife was recorded among the grave-goods, so the clips may have had some other function, perhaps being attached to a belt.

13. Girdle rings

Rings, which may have served to suspend objects, or may have functioned as fasteners, were found at the hips of both sexes at Nassington. Only one, a split ring found at the left femur, was associated with a buckle. Otherwise they were found at the left hips of two male and one female skeletons, and at the right hip of a female (the one with the spindle whorl/toggle bead discussed subsection 15, p.187, below). The ring found in association with the buckle was perhaps more likely to have been a suspension ring than a fastener.

14. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found in positions consistent with suspension at the belt at Holdenby, Marston St. Lawrence, Nassington, Peterborough and

Thenford. Details are available of one instance each from Holdenby, Peterborough and Thenford. At Holdenby a knife was found at the left side of a male skeleton, at Thenford a knife was found at the side and at Peterborough at the pelvis. All three skeletons were without buckles.

Knives were found with nine skeletons at Marston St. Lawrence, which included three males, three females and an infant. The position was recorded in only one instance — the knife was found at the right side of a skeleton of indeterminate sex (which was equipped with a buckle). One male skeleton at the site (also with a buckle) had two knives.

More detailed information is available from Nassington, where twenty-one skeletons had knives, ten of them male, ten female and one a child aged about twelve years. Nine of the knives were found at the left hips of the skeletons, a fashion favoured by both sexes. They were twice found at the right hips of skeletons, one a man and the other a child. One other knife was found at the waist and one at the hip. Thirteen of the knives were therefore probably worn at the belt, which was evidenced by a buckle in only six cases. Two other knives were found at the upper part of the body, one by the right humerus, one under the right shoulder of female skeletons.

Other articles which had evidently been attached to belts suggested that the garments were girdled. Of the skeletons at Nassington equipped with such articles, only two females had buckles. Tweezers were found by the right hand of a male skeleton at Holdenby and at the waist of a male at Nassington. Two "prickers" (toilet articles)

were found at the right hip of a female at Nassington. This and one other skeleton at this site had what may have been the remains of chatelaines.

Keys were found at Nassington, sometimes suspended from rings. They were found by the hip of a skeleton of indeterminate sex, and under the pelvis of another. A key on a ring was at the left femur of a female, and two were evidently found at the left hip of a male skeleton. This association is unusual, since keys are usually found with females, but the excavation report suggests that they were regularly found with both sexes in this cemetery, since apart from the detailed observations already noted, keys were found with three other female and two other male skeletons. Girdle hangers have not been found in situ in this area, but they were evidently worn, since some (attributed by Meaney to Newton-in-the-Willows) have been recovered from the county. Ivory rings have also been found, one near the wrist of a skeleton (probably female) at Holdenby, one on the arm of a female at Nassington, and another, found at Eye, apparently associated with a male skeleton.

15. Possible toggles

Beads may possibly have been used as toggles in this area. Examples include a bone bead found by the right arm of a female skeleton at Marston, and a spindle whorl found with a bronze ring at the right hip of a female at Nassington.

16. Other jewellery

Ornaments of beads were fairly common in the county, most of the beads being amber, glass or paste. Glass and amber examples were

found near the breast bones of one of several skeletons found at Desborough II in the eighteenth century, and at Welton twenty-three beads of amber, glass and jet were found near the throat and wrists of at least one of the two skeletons. Perforated Roman coins which accompanied these burials may have hung as pendants from the neck ornament. The apparent use at Welton of beads as bracelets is unusual in this county.

Beads were found with most of the female skeletons at Holdenby, Marston St. Lawrence and Nassington. Some of the Holdenby skeletons had single beads, but otherwise, the ornaments at all three sites varied in the number and elaborateness of the beads. The largest quantity was perhaps the one-hundred-and-thirty amber, glass and gilt beads, found with a skeleton at Holdenby. The commonest fashion at all three sites was beads suspended in festoons from "paired" brooches, although one group of fifty-seven beads plus a bronze ornament from Nassington had evidently not been worn in this manner, and a fastener found with some beads at Marston St. Lawrence indicated that there also, at least one group of beads had been differently suspended. The association of beads with brooches was not universal. In three graves at Marston St. Lawrence beads were found without brooches, and two skeletons accompanied by brooches were without beads.

One of the festoons at Nassington was found near two wire rings which might have formed part of the ornament. Twenty-seven beads and a wire clip were found round the humerus of one skeleton at this site, perhaps an unusual instance of a bead bracelet worn on the upper arm. Beads seem to have been found only with female skeletons, except

for a fossil, which may have been a bead, associated with a male skeleton at Nassington.

"At the neck of the dress" of a female skeleton at Nassington there were found ten small pendants shaped like buckets, which had either been suspended round the neck or sewn to the garment. Two similar pendants were found in unspecified positions in another female grave which contained beads and other pendants.

A neck ornament of quite different type was found near the head of a skeleton at Desborough I. This, the well-known "Desborough Necklace", consisted of gold-and-garnet pendant bullae and a central cross. The presence of the cross demonstrates that this necklace and others of similar type from Kent, Derbyshire, Hampshire and Wiltshire belong to the Christian period, and therefore to the seventh century. The necklace was found without brooches or other grave-goods.

A finger ring of twisted wire from Marston St. Lawrence was found encircling a finger bone in a grave apparently containing a weapon and brooches.

XIX

Northumberland1. Sites

Eleven Northumberland burial sites are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ two of which supply primary evidence: Galewood;² Howick.³ Additional information has been drawn from Benwell;⁴ Corbridge;⁵ Hepple.⁶ Despite the fact that, unlike other Anglian areas, Northumbria has produced more evidence of inhumation than cremation, the evidence provided for the present purpose is small. The site at Hepple may have been seventh-century (see below) and objects from Benwell are sixth- and seventh-century. The Corbridge finds were late-fifth-century, and the other sites, though not precisely datable, probably sixth. The finds from the county do not include pins or buckles, or, unusually for an Anglian area, wrist clasps.

2. Brooches

"Paired" brooches were probably worn in Northumberland, although the evidence is vague. Two annular brooches were found "close to the head" of a skeleton at Galewood, and two cruciform brooches, not identical, but very similar, were found on the Roman site at Corbridge, evidently the remains of an Anglo-Saxon burial. The latter pair of brooches were found with several beads, which suggests that the missing corpse had been that of a woman. A single bead accompanied the Galewood skeleton, less positive identification of female sex.

Brooches of later date were found at Benwell, another Roman site. One was a sixth-century cruciform, the other a square-headed brooch,

probably seventh-century. They were found at different times, so there is no evidence that they had been worn together, or even that they belonged to burials. However, their presence does indicate that the settlers in this area continued to wear similar brooches to the inhabitants of other Anglian areas.

3. Adjuncts to costume

A knife was found across the pelvis of a skeleton at Howick. This may have been carried at the belt, but as two other knives were found in or near the same grave, and two other knives in the cemetery were found at the upper part of the bodies of the associated skeletons, it is uncertain that the wearing of the knife at the belt was the regular custom in this area.

No other articles were found in the county in positions consistent with suspension at the belt, but the people of this area were evidently equipped with adjuncts to the costume and personal articles, as were the inhabitants of other districts. There is evidence of this from Hepple, where a comb and toilet article were found in association with a skeleton. Tweezers and the remains of a chain from which a needle-case or other article might have been suspended, were also recovered from this site.

4. Possible toggles

The single bead found with the (presumably female) burial at Galewood was recovered from the waist of the skeleton, where it may have functioned as a toggle.

5. Other jewellery

Bead ornaments appear to have been worn, but there is no indication that these were elaborate, or enriched with pendants. Two glass beads were at the neck of a skeleton at Howick, and several were found with the brooches at Corbridge. Three objects identified as "earrings", two of them "with a bead" were found at Hepple. These objects were perhaps wire rings, which had, in two instances, been strung with beads, and might with equal probability have been components of ring-and-bead necklaces. Such a necklace (like the needle-case, the chain of which was found at Hepple), would, in other parts of the county, be typical of the seventh century, and might be indicative of a late date in this instance.

XX

Oxfordshire1. Sites

Fifty-six Oxfordshire burial sites are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ to which should be added a later discovery.² Primary evidence is available from eighteen sites: Brighthampton;³ Broughton Poggs;⁴ Cassington I, Purwell Farm;⁵ Cassington II, Smith's Pit II;⁶ Chadlington;⁷ Crawley;⁸ Dorchester I, Dykes;⁹ Ducklington;¹⁰ Eynsham;¹¹ Filkins;¹² Heyford Purcell (Lower Heyford);¹³ Kirtlington;¹⁴ North Leigh;¹⁵ Lyneham;¹⁶ Minster Lovell;¹⁷ Stanlake;¹⁸ Stanton Harcourt;¹⁹ Wheatley.²⁰ Additional evidence has been drawn from: Dorchester II, Minchin Recreation Ground;²¹ Hornton;²² Summertown, Oxford;²³ Yelford.²⁴ Brighthampton and Wheatley are large sites which have been recorded in detail. There is evidence of costume in this area from an early stage of Germanic involvement in Britain, in the fourth- or early-fifth-century burial at Dorchester I, to the conversion period, evidenced by Chadlington, Ducklington, North Leigh and Stanton Harcourt. Stanlake was evidently in use in the seventh century as well as earlier. The find of a scramasax at Heyford Purcell suggests this site was in use until the conversion period, although the feminine grave-goods are not characteristically late. The other datable sites are sixth-century.

2. "Paired" brooches

The "pairing" of brooches appears to have been common, although there was some variety between the positions of the brooches upon different individuals. The style was evidenced at Brighthampton,

Broughton Poggs, Cassington I, Filkins, Heyford Purcell, Kirtlington, Minster Lovell and Wheatley, while at Cassington II grave groups included two matching radiate brooches, and two saucer, so it is likely that these had also been "paired".

At Brighthampton brooches accompanied females of all ages, and were found in fifteen graves recorded in detail. In eleven instances the brooches had apparently been "paired", eight times on the shoulders and three on the breasts, or breast. (Matching brooches were found in two other graves on the site, but the positions not recorded.) The majority of the "paired" brooches were circular, either disc type, or those described by Akerman as "dish-shaped", commonly called saucer brooches. Those brooches in Graves 22 and 23 which Akerman described as "lined" may have been of the applied type. Saucer or applied brooches were "paired" in five graves (and matching saucer brooches were found in a sixth) and disc brooches in four. Trefoil-headed brooches were "paired" ("head" downwards) in one instance and matching cruciform brooches were found, position unrecorded, with the skeleton of a child. In only one instance were unmatching brooches "paired" together: a saucer brooch was found on one shoulder of a skeleton, a cruciform on the other.

(Applied) Saucer brooches were found "on the breast" of a female skeleton at Broughton Poggs, and saucer brooches "on the breasts" of another. Two matching saucer brooches of unrecorded association were found on the site, and had probably been worn together.

At Cassington I matching saucer brooches had also been used for "pairing". They were recovered from the right and left breasts of

the skeleton of a young adult female, and from the right and left shoulders of an older female. Two matching saucer brooches were among earlier finds from this site.

Brooches were recovered from five graves at Filkins. One of the associated skeletons was identified as male on anatomical grounds, although as it was without weapons, and other male skeletons in this cemetery were equipped with spears, this judgement should perhaps be questioned. The brooches with this skeleton were described as "ring shaped fibulae", and although this annular type is very similar to the circular buckle in its design, the objects do not appear to have functioned as buckles in this grave since another object identified as a buckle was found at the waist. The positions of the brooches were not recorded.

Other graves with brooches in this cemetery appear to have contained female skeletons, except for one with the remains of a young person of indeterminate sex. The brooches appear to have been "paired" on the shoulders, breasts or breast. In two instances saucer brooches were used, in one disc, and in one Roman brooches.

The Heyford Purcell evidence is open to some doubt, since objects usually associated with male interments, as well as those normally found with females, were thought to have accompanied a single skeleton. It is likely that two burials are represented. Two brooches of disc type were found with the beads "round the neck" of this skeleton.

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Two brooches of unidentified type were found "on the breast" of a skeleton at Kirtlington and two silver disc brooches were found on the breast of a female at Minster Lovell.

Brooches were associated with nine skeletons at Wheatley, and although the excavator did not distinguish the sex of the skeletons, all but one were equipped with other grave-goods typical of female burials. Unusually, at Wheatley "pairing" of brooches was a minority fashion. Disc brooches were "paired" on the shoulders of one skeleton, and two saucer brooches were found on the breast of another, but there were no other certain cases of "pairing". One other grave (Grave 38) contained two brooches, but these were less obviously "paired". Both brooches were disc type; one was found on the right shoulder, the other at the left side of the associated skeleton.

It is unfortunate that there is not primary evidence from the earliest female burial in the county. The female in Grave 2 at Dorchester I was accompanied by a cruciform brooch and the back plate of an applied, but their positions were not recorded. Two large saucer brooches from a later burial at this site could have been "paired".

3. Third brooches

The wearing of third brooches was evidently not a popular fashion in the county. A "large" brooch (square-headed, c.f. Wylie, 1852, Plate II) was found "head" downwards on the right breast of a Brixhampton skeleton which had "paired" disc brooches, and at Fillins a saucer brooch was found on the breast of a skeleton between "paired" Roman brooches. There is no other primary evidence for the wearing of

third brooches, but a grave group from Dorchester II, and finds from Hornton which might represent the grave-goods of a single individual may also indicate this fashion. At Dorchester II the back plate of a third applied brooch was found in a grave in addition to two other applied brooches. From Hornton there survive a late square-headed brooch and two matching saucer brooches. As only one burial has been recorded at the site, they may constitute a grave group.

4. Single brooches

Single brooches were a minority fashion at Brixhampton and a majority fashion at Wheatley. Brooches without "partners" have been recovered from other sites, but without primary evidence it is not certain that they had been worn alone. At Brixhampton four of the fifteen graves with brooches contained only one. In two instances the brooches (one a saucer brooch, the other of unidentified type) were recovered from the breast. Another (which was described as circular with a cavity which must have been filled with some perishable substance) was found near the neck of a skeleton. Staining of the bones by metal suggested that the brooch had been worn centrally or at the right side. A single cruciform brooch was found on the left shoulder of another skeleton.

At Wheatley the fashion occurred in six cases. Two single brooches (one saucer, one applied) were found on the right shoulders of skeletons, the same position as one of the disc brooches in Grave 38, in which a second brooch was found at the left side (subsection 2, p. 196, above). Twice single brooches were recovered from the

necks of skeletons (one saucer, one applied) and another (saucer) was found on the breast of a skeleton. A single annular brooch was found with the skeleton of a child, in unrecorded position.

5. Brooches in male graves

Annular and disc brooches were thought to accompany males at Filkins and Heyford Parrell, respectively, but the evidence, discussed above (subsection 2, p. 195), is indefinite.

6. Pins

Pins were found in position on skeletons at Brighthampton, Broughton Poggs, Cassington I, Stanton Harcourt and Wheatley. They accompanied six skeletons at Brighthampton, all but one (a child) identified as female by the excavator. As the child was also equipped with beads it is likely that it, also, was female. In three instances the pin was found on the breast. None of the associated skeletons were equipped with brooches. A wide age range was indicated for the wearing of such pins, since they accompanied a girl, a young woman and an old woman. Akerman identified one of these pins as "a hairpin" (Grave 17) despite finding it on the breast. The pin had decorative spangles. Two other pins were identified as "hairpins" by Akerman, one more convincingly, since it was found near the head of the skeleton. The precise position of the other was not recorded, which is unfortunate since matching brooches were found in the grave, in contrast to the graves with pins found at the breast. A single brooch was found with the more probable "hairpin". The pin accompanying the child was recovered from "the lap".

A ring-headed object described by Akerman as "the mounting of a hairpin" was found near the head of a female skeleton at Broughton Poggs. The skeleton had "paired" brooches.

At Cassington I there was the less common occurrence of a pin in association with a male skeleton. An object of Celtic manufacture, it was found on one of the lumbar vertebrae of the skeleton, which was of an old person. This was the only find identified as a pin from the site, but a "bronze pricker, with splayed perforated butt" which was found on the left breast of a female skeleton, might have functioned as a clothing fastener. If not, it may have been a toilet article. This female skeleton had "paired" brooches. At Stanton Harcourt, a site which has yielded no brooches, a silver pin attached to a wire ring accompanied an aged female. It lay at the top of the breastbone, on the right ribs. At this site, as at Cassington I, it appears possible that an object described as a "pricker" might have fastened the clothing. The Stanton Harcourt "pricker" was found on the right shoulder of a female child. Like the pin with the adult skeleton at this site mentioned above, the object was attached to a ring, and it was of similar length to the pin (pin $2 \frac{3}{10}$ ", pricker $2 \frac{1}{5}$ ").

Pins at Wheatley appeared both at the head and the upper part of the torso, occurring in four female graves. In two instances they were found on the breasts of skeletons equipped with one brooch at the upper part of the body (one having an additional brooch lower down the body) and it is possible that the pin substituted for the second brooch which was the more common fashion at other sites. An object with a looped end, thought to be a pin, was found on the breast of a skeleton without

other surviving clothing fasteners. A bodkin found at the right breast of another female skeleton might have functioned as a pin. A pin which may have fastened the hair or headdress was found at the back of the skull in another grave.

7. Lace tag

At Stanton Harcourt a shoe-lace tag was found beside the feet of a female child (aged four to six years) and traces of leather footwear were also found in the grave.

8. Buckles

Buckles were found at many of the Oxfordshire sites, and where the positions were recorded, it appears that most had been used to fasten belts. At Brighthampton, Dorchester I and North Leigh, however, there was evidence of a different use.

Buckles were found in seven Brighthampton graves, one of a female, one a child, the rest males of various ages. The buckle in the female grave was found at the waist (this skeleton was without brooches) and a buckle was found in the lap of one of the males. The others were found at the upper parts of skeletons. Three were on the breast, one (a fragmentary example) on the left breast and another on the left shoulder.

At Cassington I buckles accompanied the skeletons of an old and a young man. The former was found to have a buckle on one of the lumbar vertebrae, the other had a buckle and buckle plate at the waist. A small buckle was found "in the lap" of a skeleton at Crawley, apparently the only find from the site.

At Dorchester I a buckle accompanied the female skeleton with dissimilar brooches, but its position was not recorded. The male skeleton was equipped with the regalia of a Germanic Roman soldier. Military costume is outside the scope of the present discussion, but certain points about the reconstruction of this equipment are relevant for comparative purposes. A buckle was found at the shoulder, with a D-shaped ring and a semi-circular tab. The position of these objects suggests that a strap was worn diagonally. By analogy the wearing of a buckle on the shoulder may indicate a similar, semi-military fashion in later graves. Nine bronze bars found among the ribs of the Dorchester skeleton, and once interpreted as part of a sporran-like leather apron, have now been reconstructed by Evison as the stiffening of a belt. The reconstruction indicates that the main part of the belt was wider than the length of strap which passed through the buckle to secure it. The narrower strap had been riveted to the wider one. This shows that the width of a buckle loop does not necessarily indicate the width of the belt, only of the portion of that belt used for fastening.

At Filkins buckles were found at the waists of a female skeleton and of the skeleton with brooches which was considered male (subsection 2, p.195 ; 5, p.198 , above). At North Leigh a small buckle was found above the left shoulder of a male skeleton.

A female skeleton at Minster Lovell which had "paired" brooches also had a buckle at the waist. One found at the left side of a male skeleton at Stanlake had evidently fastened a belt, but a buckle with a female at the same site had evidently formed part of the chatelaine

complex. It was found at the right side, below the knee, with other objects which are likely to have hung from the girdle.

Buckles accompanied two male children at Stanton Harcourt. (The children's graves were, on the whole, better equipped than the adults' at this late site, but the distribution may only reflect the greater proportion of children than adults buried there.) Both buckles had probably fastened belts. One was found on the spine, the other inside the right forearm.

Three, possibly four, buckles at Wheatley had evidently fastened belts, being found at the hip and waist areas, one under the hips. One of the associated skeletons had "paired" brooches and was evidently female, the others were of indeterminate sex.

9. Belt fittings

One female skeleton at Brighthampton had a girdle tag at the waist, but no buckle, demonstrating that a buckle was not necessary for the fastening of the girdle. A stud, brooch-like in appearance, was found near the right hip of a female skeleton at Brighthampton, and had perhaps fastened, or been attached to, the girdle.

10. Girdle rings

A girl's skeleton at Brighthampton had two iron rings "in the lap", which might have been used to fasten the girdle (if they were not suspended from it). It is convenient to mention at this point, a male skeleton, also at Brighthampton, which had a single ring at the left shoulder, providing a possible parallel to the custom of wearing a buckle at the shoulder.

11. Adjuncts to costume

As in other areas, knives and other adjuncts to the costume indicated the presence of girdles even where no buckles were found, but it is apparent that such adjuncts might be carried in other positions also.

At Brighthampton twenty-four graves contained knives, mostly found "in the lap", four females having the knives at the left, and one female and a skeleton of indeterminate sex at the right. It is likely that these had been carried at the belt. Others were at the upper part of the body: one was on the breast of a child which also had a buckle in this position, and one on the right breast of an aged male equipped with a ring on the left shoulder. Knives were also found on the breasts of five females and the right shoulder of a sixth. One knife found near a sword pommel accompanying a male, located under the right armpit, may have been suspended with the sword. At Broughton Poggs a knife was found at the waist of a female without a buckle, as well as knives in unrecorded positions in two other graves without buckles (one male) and in one grave with a buckle. At Cassington I knives accompanied six skeletons, one female, the others males of various ages from a child to an old person. One knife was found at the upper part of a skeleton, at the right humerus of one of the males, point uppermost.

The others had apparently been attached to girdles, three (two with males and one with a female) being found at the left of the body in graves without buckles. Two knives were found at the waist of one skeleton with a buckle, and one by the vertebrae of another skeleton with a buckle (under a pin). At Chadlington knives were found with four skeletons including adults of both sexes and a child. In three instances the knives were at the left of the body, twice in positions consistent with suspension from a belt. The knife accompanying the female skeleton was found near the left hand, but as the hand was in a position near to the face, it is possible that the knife had been carried at the upper part of the body. The knife in the grave of an adult male at this site was found by the right ulna, point upwards. It may have been strapped to the arm, but was more probably attached to the right side of the belt.

A knife found at Eynsham lay in an unusual position relative to the accompanying skeleton: it was at the left tibia of the (male) corpse, prompting the excavator to suggest that it had been carried in the stocking or garter. At Lyneham a knife was found at the right side of a male skeleton and a female at Minster Lovell had a knife near the buckle at the waist. At Stanlake a knife was found, also near a buckle, at the left side of a male skeleton. Knives may have been worn at the belts of both sexes at Stanton Harcourt. One was found at the right forearm of a female, another at the left of a male child. One may have been carried at the upper part of the body. It was found, point towards the shoulder, outside the left upper arm of another male child.

Knives accompanied twelve skeletons at Wheatley, six of which were probably female, two having buckles. In most cases the positions of the knives were consistent with attachment to the belt, and four were found at the left sides of the skeleton. Others were found in the hip region, one under the body, where it might have been tucked into the back of the belt, another between the legs, where it might have hung from the belt. Two were found at the upper part of the body, one on the breast of a probably female skeleton, the other under the left armpit of a skeleton.

Other adjuncts to the costume included girdle hangers recovered (positions unrecorded) from Filkins and Yelford and keys found at Cassington I, Stanlake and Wheatley. The Cassington keys were found with other articles belonging to the chatelaine at the left femur of a female skeleton, and the Wheatley objects thought to be keys were found at the waist of a skeleton with a buckle (but without brooches, beads or any other mark distinguishing it as female). The Stanlake key was found with a buckle and other chatelaine articles at the right side of a female skeleton, below the knee.

Purse guards and pouch frames have been recovered from several Oxfordshire sites. Two purse guards were found at the waist of a female at Filkins, where there was no other indication of a belt. Purses had apparently been attached to the belts of both sexes at Brighthampton since one was found "in the lap" of a male skeleton, one "in the lap" (at the left) of a skeleton of indeterminate sex, and a third, made of silver, was found at the left hip of a well-equipped female. A pouch frame was also found with the latter skeleton, and another female at the same site was found to have a pouch frame at the right hip. Both frames

encircled objects which had presumably been carried in the pouches. One enclosed a small bronze ring, the other two bronze rings, a perforated stone and the remains of objects which may have been a key and a knife. An object described as a purse ring was found at the left femur of a female at Cassington I. The keys in this grave were found near by, and other objects, a strap tag and a needlecase, were also associated with the chatelaine complex. A needlecase was also found at North Leigh, position unspecified.

Shears were found near the left hand of a young male skeleton at Cassington II, having probably been attached to the belt, and other shears were found at North Leigh. A whetstone was at the left side of a male skeleton at Stanlake, together with the knife, and a female at the same site may have been equipped with a tool: a disc which was considered by the excavator to have been part of a distaff was found with other articles (the key, the bronze stud, an amethyst bead and other beads, and a "pierced, button-like" bone object and the buckle) at the right side, below the knee. The remains of leather and bronze which may have been part of a sheath of some kind, were found at the left femur of another Stanlake skeleton.

Tweezers were found at Brighthampton "in the lap" of one male skeleton and near the right arm of another, positions suggestive of suspension at the belt. Other tweezers at the same site and at Wheatley may, however, have been carried at the upper part of the body. Tweezers and a ring were found at the left shoulder of an old woman's skeleton at Brighthampton. At Wheatley tweezers and a bead were recovered from a position in front of the mouth of a skeleton. It is possible that both had been suspended from the neck. Neither the female Brighthampton skeleton with tweezers, nor the (possibly female)

Wheatley one were equipped with brooches.

A female skeleton at Minster Lovell was accompanied by two toilet articles on a ring, which were found "below the neck". A female at Brighthampton had toilet articles on the breast and another had two "bodkins" on the breast. All three skeletons had brooches (two, one and two, respectively). It is possible that the toilet articles had been suspended from the brooches.

A comb 8" long was found on the left humerus of a male skeleton at Chadlington. It could perhaps have been suspended round the neck, but was more probably laid on the body at burial. Another was found at the head of a female child at Ducklington. More than 6" long, it was probably too large to have been worn in the hair, so, again, was more likely to have been laid in the grave than carried on the person.

12. Possible toggles

At both Brighthampton and Wheatley, single beads which could have functioned as toggles were found. Two single beads were found at the left hands of Brighthampton skeletons and crystal whorls were found at the left hips of two others. A glass whorl was found on the breast of another skeleton at the same site. A single amber bead was found near the ribs of a Wheatley skeleton and a glass one under a skeleton. None of these had buckles.

13. Other jewellery

Bead ornaments were common in the county, but were not among the earliest finds from Dorchester. Apart from two sword beads found at Brighthampton, beads accompanied female skeletons, or were associated

with typically female grave-goods. They were most often used as necklaces or festoons. Amber, glass and paste beads were found on the necks and breasts of children and adults at Brighthampton in ten instances, amber and crystal on the shoulders of one at Cassington I, amber at the neck of a skeleton at Filkins and a single porcelain bead at the neck of another at the same site (the best-equipped grave of that site).

Amber, glass and paste beads were found "round the neck" of the Heyford Purcell skeleton and at Wheatley beads were at the necks of six. Quantities were not large. The greatest numbers found were twenty-eight at Brighthampton and at Wheatley and thirty-seven at Cassington I. At Stanlake small beads were found with skeletons of children. One had small amber beads, one small glass beads and a ring, a third a single glass bead. Single beads were found near the mouth of one skeleton and at the breast of a child at Wheatley.

Three of the Brighthampton "necklaces" had coin pendants, one also a metal disc pendant, and a child's had a ring. One skeleton had four silver rings on the breast but no beads, and two Wheatley skeletons had bronze pendants (one and two) without beads. At Ducklington the constituents of a typically seventh-century necklace were found with the skeleton of a child: a pendant ornamented with a cross was at the neck, and a garnet pendant, silver ring and two glass beads were recovered from the grave. A gold and a silver pendant were found in a woman's grave at the same site. Objects found "by each ear" of the skeleton of a girl at North Leigh were probably not earrings but the components of another late necklace.²⁵ Three silver rings strung with beads were found at each side and a silver tube was also present. An elaborate gold, bronze and shell bead was found at Chadlington, but its position

was not recorded. Two garnet pendants were found in front of the face of a female skeleton at Stanlake. It was supposed at the time of excavation that these were eardrops, but they may have been necklace pendants. Other beads found in the grave include one of amethyst, an additional indication that this was a late burial. Gold pendants and a silver and iron cross were found in a rich female grave at the site.

There may have been other uses for beads apart from as toggles and neck ornaments. The child buried with footwear at Stanton Harcourt had a single bead behind the skull, outside the left shoulder, which if not disturbed from a normal position at the neck could, perhaps, have been attached to a headdress. In Grave 18 at Wheatley, thirteen glass beads were arranged in a vertical line down the breast of a skeleton, in order, with the largest at the top. They may have been sewn to the edge of a garment, and, as there were no brooches, functioned as buttons to fasten that garment.

Beads were found low down on the bodies of skeletons at Brighthampton and Cassington I. At Cassington seventy amber beads were found among the left ribs in one grave, and at Brighthampton beads were in three cases found "in the lap". Ten coins accompanied the beads in one instance. In another, the beads, which were large amber ones, were considered by the excavator to have possibly functioned as bracelets. A further possible instance of the wearing of a bead bracelet occurred at Minster Lovell, where one large and seven small beads and a pendant were found by the wrist.

Other articles of jewellery worn by the inhabitants of this area include finger rings and metal bracelets. The finger rings were found in female graves of more than average richness at Brighthampton,

Cassington I and Dorchester II, and in the well-equipped grave at Minster Lovell. The positions of the Brighthampton, Cassington and Minster Lovell rings were recorded. All were found on the left hand, the Brighthampton one on the third finger. The Brighthampton and Cassington rings were silver.

A bronze bracelet was found on the left arm of the skeleton of a child at Brighthampton, and three were among the Dorchester II grave group, where the grave-goods included three brooches, the finger ring, and two bracelets of bronze and one of wire.

XXI

Rutland1. Sites

Seven Rutland sites are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ from two of which primary evidence is available: Glaston;² North Luffenham.³ Additional information has been drawn from Market Overton I⁴ and II.⁵ Primary evidence relates only to clothing adjuncts, although large numbers of fasteners have been recovered from the county. All the sites were in use in the sixth century, Glaston and North Luffenham having existed since the fifth. Some of the finds from Market Overton II suggest that the site was in use in the seventh century (a brooch, gold bead and necklace pendants) though it has been dated to the middle sixth century.

2. "Paired" brooches

It is likely that brooches were "paired" in this area, since grave groups from Glaston and North Luffenham contained finds of two associated brooches, and since matching brooches were recovered from these and the Market Overton sites. At Glaston brooches were found in eight of the eleven graves excavated. There was no reason to suppose that any of the associated skeletons were other than female. Five of the graves contained at least two brooches. In two there were matching small-long brooches which are likely to have been "paired" (trefoil-headed in one grave and cross-shaped in the other). One grave contained a small-long brooch with a square head, a larger square-headed brooch and a cruciform one, larger than both. It is likely that two of these, probably the square-headed ones (which measured $2\frac{5}{8}$ " and $3\frac{1}{4}$ ") had been

"paired". Two Glaston graves contained brooches which did not match, both having a long brooch associated with a circular one. Those in Grave 1 were a penannular and a Romano-British long brooch. The latter had a loop for attachment to another brooch or some other object, and remains which Leeds considered to have been leather were preserved in a shackle attached to the brooch and loop. It is possible that the wearer had suspended something from the brooch by means of the leather strap. (The loop is shown at the top of the brooch in Leeds, 1948, p. 70, Fig. 1 and Leeds and Barber, 1950, Plate XXVI, a, 1, but the brooch was not observed in situ, and might possibly have been reversed.) The remains of the strap might of course reflect the use by a previous, non-Anglo-Saxon owner.

Many brooches were recovered from the large site at North Luffenham, but the lack of detailed records and the many different excavations complicate analysis of the finds. At least three graves contained two brooches: two of bronze (noted in Gomme, 1886) in one grave, two saucer brooches and two long brooches (one cruciform, the other square-headed) in others. Other matching saucer brooches and matching cruciform brooches were also recovered from the site, and it is likely that these had been worn as "pairs". The associations of finds from the Market Overton sites were not recorded, but brooches recovered from site I included matching saucer and annular brooches, also two ornate square-headed and two smaller square-headed brooches. Finds from site II included two applied and two openwork swastika brooches.

3. Third brooches

At Glaston, a cruciform brooch found in the same grave as two (dissimilar) square-headed brooches might have been worn centrally or

at one shoulder. There are no other documented occurrences of third brooches, but some of the unmatched brooches found in the county may have fulfilled this function.

4. Single brooches

Three Glaston burials had been equipped with single brooches. All were small-long (two cruciform and one trefoil-headed). There was only one recorded instance at North Luffenham, where a single small cruciform brooch was found in a grave, but some of the other brooches found at this and the Market Overton sites may have been worn singly. Many of the brooches found at North Luffenham appear to have lacked "partners" (or to have become separated from them); these include cruciform brooches varying in size and decoration from small to large florid examples, other small-long brooches and an annular. A single swastika brooch was preserved from Market Overton I, and from Market Overton II there came an "odd" saucer brooch, a penannular and a unique radiate brooch with five knobs in the shape of birds' beaks.

5. Pins

No pins were recorded in situ, but a flat-headed pin, pierced, probably for the attachment of spangles, was found at Market Overton II. A 4" pin which was thought to have been part of a toilet set was found at Glaston in a grave containing the remains of a male and a female. Since no other toilet articles were found in the grave, it is possible that this object had functioned as a fastener.

6. Clasps

Wrist clasps were found at Glaston, North Luffenham and Market Overton II. At Glaston they were found in four graves, with females

equipped with one, two and three brooches. Only one grave contained a complete set of clasps. One pair of clasps at least was found at North Luffenham. (Crowther-Beynon thought them girdle fasteners; another object which he thought to be a book clasp had perhaps also been worn on the person.) The North Luffenham clasp had an additional triangular projection, probably to conceal the aperture in the sleeve (as in Fig. 10). The Market Overton clasps were of the spiral (hook-and-eye) type.

7. Buckles, belt fittings

No buckles were recovered from Glaston, nor apparently from North Luffenham and Market Overton I. Two were found at Market Overton II, one of them so small that Crowther-Beynon speculated that it might have fastened a garter. A ring found near the waist of a Glaston female skeleton with a single brooch may have been a fastener or attachment to the girdle, but otherwise belt fasteners were unusually rare. Cottrill exhibited, among other finds from North Luffenham, a bronze belt end which was considered fifth-century, and a "belt clasp ornament", which suggests that belted garments were worn by members of this community, even if they were not buckled.

8. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were less common than in other areas. One was found at Glaston near the waist of the female skeleton with girdle ring, and one other accompanied a female at the site. One was found at Market Overton I, and at least three at North Luffenham, where one was found

at the right arm of a skeleton with weapons, having probably been worn at the right of the belt.

Tweezers were found near the left shoulder of an armed man at North Luffenham, and another pair were recovered from a Glaston grave with no other grave-goods (perhaps male). An object which may have been a strike-a-light was found in the grave of a man and woman at Glaston, a large pair of shears and a fragmentary girdle hanger at Market Overton I and the rusted remains of a chatelaine and a ring which might have held keys at Market Overton II. The occupants of the area were therefore accustomed to burying their dead with adjuncts as were those in other areas, although the evidence from Rutland is comparatively small.

9. Possible toggles

Three large beads, one amber, one paste and one Kimmeridge shale, which could have functioned as toggles, were recovered from Market Overton I.

10. Other jewellery

Beads were found at all four sites. At Glaston the quantities were small: the skeleton with three brooches had only three beads (amber and paste) and a skeleton with two brooches had a few amber and glass beads and one of crystal. Larger quantities were found at the other sites. From North Luffenham there were recovered many glass beads, also porcelain, jet and one Roman example. (One glass bead, found near the left arm of a male skeleton was evidently a sword bead.)⁶

Glass and amber beads from Market Overton I derived from two strings of beads, one consisting of nineteen, the other of eight. Many beads were found at Market Overton II, mostly amber, but also crystal, glass, paste and "imitation pearl" examples. More unusual and elaborate jewellery had evidently also been worn by the inhabitants here, since a gold bead was found, and five bracteates, four of silver and one gold. An unusual silver collar, wire at the back, projecting in a crescent at the front, was found at this site (c.f. Emscote, Wa). The circumference of the collar was 14". A silver amulet and a gold finger ring were also found at Market Overton II, suggesting that the inhabitants were more prosperous, or had more exotic tastes, than those at the nearby Market Overton I.

XXII

Somerset1. Sites

Eight sites in Somerset are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ two of which provide some primary evidence: Camerton;² Huish Episcopi.³ Additional information has been included from: Buckland Denham;⁴ Long Sutton.⁵ The excavator noted that the Camerton interments had evidently been hasty, the corpses not properly laid out. They were found in positions inconsistent with having been wrapped in winding sheets. He suggested that some disaster such as plague had been the cause of this unusual carelessness. These circumstances make it even more likely than usual that the corpses had been buried in the clothes in which they died. They are unlikely to have been decked out in their best clothes and jewellery for the grave. However, the nature of the grave-goods indicates that this was a late pagan (seventh-century) site, so the paucity of grave-goods and lack of brooches are perhaps no more than typical of the period. The Buckland Denham burial appears to have been seventh-century; Huish Episcopi may have been a sixth- or seventh-century site. No brooches have been found in Somerset.

2. Pins

Pins were found in three Camerton graves, with two female skeletons and one of indeterminate sex. A pin less than 2" long was found on the breast of a girl, and a small one on the breast of the other female.

This skeleton had a second, loop-headed pin across the pelvis. The third skeleton also had a pin at the pelvis, at the left side.

3. Strap fittings

Three rivets were found on the left scapula of a Camerton skeleton with typically male grave-goods. This was thought to indicate that a leather strap had been worn.

4. Alternative fastener

A perforated object of bone or ivory, found at the back of an infant's skull, was considered to have been a fastener of some kind.

5. Buckles

Buckles were associated with five or six skeletons at Camerton, others at Long Sutton. The Camerton buckles were in positions consistent with having fastened belts, three being worn at the right hip, one at the left and two at the centre. They were worn by both sexes, though the sexes of only two of the skeletons were identifiable. A male wore the buckle at the left, a female centrally. (The object with the female was only tentatively identified as a buckle. Home suggested alternatively, that it might have been a bracelet.)

6. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were the commonest finds at Camerton, being associated with skeletons of both sexes, ranging from infancy to middle age. They were found in twenty-nine graves, only two of which contained buckles. As the knives were mostly found in positions indicating suspension from the belt, this suggests that many belts were worn without buckles.

Fifteen skeletons had knives at the left (including one with two knives in this position), six at the right, three centrally and one beneath the pelvis, the owner having probably tucked the knife into the back of the belt. A knife was found at the left knee of one skeleton. It might have hung from the belt, or been attached to the leg. One knife, associated with fragments of a sheath, was found outside the left arm. If worn on the person it may have been attached to the arm, but it may simply have been laid in the grave. One knife was found, point upwards, on the chest of a skeleton.

Other objects may have been attached to the clothing at Camerton. A comb was on the left forearm of a female skeleton. Shears were found with a pin at the left pelvis of another. (It is possible that the pins found in the pelvic area had functioned as toilet articles and been attached to belts.) A whetstone found with the same skeleton lay near the right foot. If worn it might possibly have been stuck in a stocking or garter, but the position did not suggest this to the excavator, and it had probably been laid in the grave. Spindle whorls were found in three graves in positions suggesting attachment to the clothing or some functional purpose (below). (A fourth was found with a male skeleton in such a position that it could not have been worn on the body.)

7. Possible toggles

Two spindle whorls were found in the waist area of skeletons which did not have buckles, suggesting that the whorls might have functioned as toggles to fasten the belt. Otherwise they might have been suspended from the belt. One was found on the left forearm of a female skeleton, the other was at the right elbow of the skeleton with shears and a pin. The third whorl was found at the top of the right shoulder of a skeleton which was probably female.

8. Other jewellery

Neck ornaments of various types were found in ten graves at Camerton, none apparently male. An adult and a child had single beads, the adult at the chest and the child in the mouth, which in life may have been worn at the neck. Two others had simple arrangements of four and five beads, and one had a horse's tooth amulet near the left ear. The tooth had probably also been worn on a string round the neck. One skeleton, however, had two amethyst beads, and four had more elaborate ring-and-bead necklaces. The beads were not strung on the rings, but suspended in such a way as to be encircled by the rings. The skeleton of an infant had, below the lower jaw, four beads in rings, other rings and a pendant, in addition to a shell bead which was found between the knees. Another skeleton had, below the lower jaw, two rings, five beads and a pendant, and another had, in the same position, a ring and bead flanked by two silver "caps". Two coins were found lower down the body, but the excavator did not record if they were perforated for use as pendants. A necklace was found surrounding the neck of a girl. This consisted of eleven beads and a central bead associated with a ring. Another girl buried at Camerton had a neck ornament consisting of five beads and an enamelled Celtic pendant, which may have been displayed for its cruciform motif. Two other discs were found lower down the body and may have been carried in a pouch.

The positions of the Camerton beads were unusual in that some were found at the back of the heads (in addition to the necklace found round the neck of a girl). The four beads accompanying a child were found near the skull towards the back of the shoulder, and the two amethyst beads found with another skeleton were also at the back of

the skull. It is possible that these had become displaced during burial, running along the string which passed round the neck, or it is possible that these were ornaments for the headdress, not the neck. (Reports about the position of the beads accompanying the Celtic disc are conflicting: according to one report the beads were found at the back of the neck, but according to another they were under the lower jaw, the position from which the Celtic disc was recovered.)

Finds from Buckland Denham may have been the constituents of another ring-and-head necklace. Two amethyst, two glass and two shell beads were found, also two rings and fragments of a third.

Apart from the possible iron bracelet found with a female skeleton at Camerton (mentioned in Subsection 5, p. 218, above) the only other item of jewellery from the county was a ring, found on the finger of an adult female skeleton at Huish Episcopi. This was apparently the only object associated with burials at this site. The ring was bronze, and may have been Anglo-Saxon, but it is possible that it was Roman.

XXIII

Staffordshire1. Sites

Twenty sites are listed in the Gazetteer¹, from five of which primary evidence is available: Barlaston;² Calton;³ Musden Fourth Barrow, Ilam;⁴ Stapenhill;⁵ Wetton, Borough Fields.⁶ Secondary evidence has been drawn from: Castern, Ilam;⁷ Forsbrook.⁸ The total number of burials represented by these sites is quite small, since only Stapenhill was a cometary of any size. This was a sixth-century site; the other datable burials in the county are seventh-century.

2. "Paired" brooches

At Stapenhill brooches were found with only two skeletons out of thirty-one graves. Small-long brooches (identified by Heron as trefoil, by R. A. Smith as cruciform) were found on the shoulders of the skeleton of a middle-aged female. "Paired" brooches may have been worn by a young person buried in the barrow at Musden. Two similar annular brooches were found in the grave. One was recovered from the right side of the head, the other from underneath the head. It is possible that they had been displaced from the more usual "paired" position.

3. Single brooches

Single brooches were worn at Stapenhill and Wetton. A small equal-armed brooch was found near the teeth which were the only remains of the skeleton of a child at Stapenhill. At Wetton an annular brooch was found with beads "about the neck" of a female skeleton.

4. Pin

A pin 3" long was associated with a male skeleton at Stapenhill, but its position was not recorded.

5. Clasp

An object thought to be a clasp was found at the chest of a female skeleton at Stapenhill. It is possible that this had been attached to the sleeve (if the arm was laid across the chest, as is sometimes the case). The absence of wrist clasps (apart from this doubtful example) in an area of Anglian influence is notable.

6. Alternative fastener

Another object thought to have functioned as a fastener was a piece of wood, shaped like a double wedge, which was found in a Stapenhill grave and of which no further details were recorded.

7. Buckles

Buckles were found with the skeletons of two females and a child at Stapenhill, and fragments of bronze which may have been the remains of buckles accompanied male skeletons at the same site. The buckles associated with the females and the fragmentary buckle found with one of the males were at the waist, and had probably fastened bolts. The fragments found with the other male may represent a buckle worn at the upper part of the body, since they were near the spearhead which lay at the right of the head.

8. Adjuncts to costume

Knives which might have been carried at the belt were associated with male skeletons at Barlaston and Stapenhill, and with a skeleton of indeterminate sex at Caltan. The latter knife, which was wooden-hafted, was found at the side of the skeleton. That from Barlaston accompanied an armed man. A sword lay at his right side, and the knife was at right-angles to it, at the left side. Knives were found with one male and two females at Stapenhill and with another skeleton. The male had probably worn a buckle, and as the knife was found near the left hand it had probably been worn at the belt. The knives accompanying the females had not been worn; they were found near the heads (though one corpse had a belt buckle and could, presumably, have worn the knife in the belt). The position of the fourth knife was not recorded.

A spindle whorl found near the right arm of a female skeleton at Stapenhill might also have been suspended from the belt, together with (fragmentary) girdle hangers. Tweezers were found with a skeleton of indeterminate sex at Stapenhill, and a female buried at Wetton was equipped with two iron awls and some nails.

9. Other jewellery

Bead ornaments were found with the skeletons of an adult woman and two children at Stapenhill. (The adult and one child had brooches.) The most elaborate arrangement of beads was found with the adult. More than twenty beads of amber and glass, one of garnet and a bronze tube which may have been used as a fastener were associated with this skeleton. One child had only four beads of glass and paste at the neck, and the other had beads and a perforated coin pendant.

An isolated find from Forsbrook, of a pendant consisting of the casting from a coin in a garnet setting, suggests familiarity with the fashions found in other regions in the seventh century.

The only other item of jewellery recovered from Staffordshire may not be Anglo-Saxon but Romano-British. This is a bronze armilla which was found at Castern, in the pelvic area of a skeleton.

XXIV

Suffolk1. Sites

Sixty-two Suffolk burial sites are listed in the Gazetter,¹ eight of which offer primary evidence: Bungay;² Holywell Row, Mildenhall;³ Ipswich;⁴ Ixworth;⁵ Lakenheath (Aerodrome);⁶ Pakefield;⁷ Warren Hill, Mildenhall.⁸ Additional information has been drawn from: Akenham Hall;⁹ Eriswell;¹⁰ Eming;¹¹ Freckenham;¹² Horne;¹³ Lackford (Cavenham);¹⁴ Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham;¹⁵ Sutton;¹⁶ Sutton Hoo;¹⁷ Tostock;¹⁸ Tuddenham.¹⁹ The Holywell Row, Ipswich and Lakenheath sites were all sizable cemeteries explored wholly or partly by systematic excavation. The Holywell Row finds were described in considerable detail. The Ipswich graves were recorded less closely, but general comments were made about the recurrent positions of grave-goods, and those positions of objects which were mentioned in the catalogue of graves generally corresponded with the general observations. The evidence from Lakenheath is less straightforward. In several cases Hutchinson's inventory of grave-goods suggests that a numbered grave group represented the burial of a person of one sex, while Wells's inventory of human remains (included in Hutchinson's report) listed the correspondingly numbered skeleton as the opposite sex. Seven years elapsed between the discovery of this cemetery and its publication by Hutchinson. This delay, and the confused circumstances of the excavation as attested by Mrs. Hutchinson and Lady Briscoe, may have resulted in some erroneous numbering of graves. However, the first skeleton found on the site, before major excavation took place, though

apparently male was equipped with brooches and a pin which, elsewhere, would be typically feminine grave-goods. It is possible, therefore, that there were abnormalities in the costume of this community. Wells's sexing is taken into account in the present survey, though the possibility remains that numbered grave groups may have been attributed to the wrong skeletons.

The Bungay, Holywell Row, Ixworth, Lackford, Sutton, Sutton Hoo and possibly the Tostock site yielded seventh-century objects, though Holywell Row and the cremation cemetery at Lackford had been in use since the fifth century. Burials had probably been made earlier at Ixworth where they continued until the ninth century. The other Suffolk sites were sixth-century.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches appear to have been worn at Holywell Row, Ixworth, Lakenheath and Warren Hill. At Holywell Row brooches were found in thirty-two of the numbered graves excavated by Lethbridge, as well as in earlier discoveries, and none were accompanied by objects of a kind to suggest that the wearers were not female. Twenty-seven of the corpses with brooches may have worn them in the "paired" position, although the exact arrangement of the brooches differed from burial to burial and a few brooches had been so displaced as to be doubtful instances. In eight cases the brooches were "paired" on the clavicles, in five at the shoulders. In less precise cases, twice they were found at "the throat", twice by the lower jaw, once close to the teeth, and four times near the head. More doubtful still were the finds in Grave 11, which had apparently been jolted in the process of burial. A square-headed brooch was found under the chin and two annulars to

the right of it. These positions might indicate that if there was any "pairing" in this grave it would have involved the square-headed brooch and one of the annulars, but such an arrangement would be contrary to the usual practice of "pairing" similar types. The annular brooches might have been "paired" originally, but displaced. There had also been some displacement of the brooches in Grave 99 owing to animal activity. Four brooches were found in this grave, including two matching cruciforms (found at the right shoulder and pelvis, both apparently displaced). Another cruciform brooch was found, presumably in its original position, at the left breast and a small-long was at the chin. It is likely that some of these brooches were "paired", and the small-long and smaller cruciform may have functioned this way. On the other hand the usual preference for symmetry in this position would suggest that the matching brooches had been used, but since both were displaced the original positioning cannot be reconstructed. The brooches in Grave 7 were found at the right shoulder and near the chin of the skeleton and may have been "paired". Matching annular brooches, a type often used for "pairing" at this site, were found in unspecified positions in Grave 10. These doubtful examples have been included in the following figures.

Fourteen graves contained annular brooches which had been, or might have been "paired". In at least three cases the annular brooches differed in size and/or ornament. Small-long brooches were found in six graves, including one pair, which had been linked by a chain, found at the shoulders of a skeleton (Grave 53). In three cases the small-long brooches did not match, in each instance one being square-headed. These were "paired" twice with cruciform brooches

and once with a brooch with horned head plate. This brooch had been worn with the "foot" upwards, while the small square-headed brooch associated with it was in the reverse position.

Cruciform brooches were associated together in two graves, in one of which the brooches were of similar size but not identical. In addition there is the possibility that cruciform brooches were worn in this way in Grave 99 (above). Penannular and equal-armed brooches were each found in one grave and a cruciform was "paired" with an unusual small-long brooch of similar size in one instance (o.f. Lakenheath, below). The brooches in the disturbed Grave 99 might provide a further instance.

Females of all ages from a child to an old woman in this cemetery were equipped with two brooches which were definitely or probably "paired". Brooches of very early date were utilized for this fashion, for example the equal-armed in Grave 16 and the annular in Grave 45, although they may have been heirlooms and buried some time after manufacture. (The other grave-goods in Grave 16 were considered mid-sixth-century by Lethbridge.) Burials in this cemetery which were considered early, middle-and late-sixth-century, contained "paired" brooches. Lethbridge noted the absence of brooches from seventh-century burials in general. He considered, however, that the objects in Grave 11 had been buried in the seventh century, possibly in the middle of that century, and, as mentioned above, there were three brooches in this grave, two of them of similar type, which might possibly have been "paired" together if the contents of the coffin were, as suggested, jolted from their original positions.

At Ixworth two matching cruciform brooches were found "paired" on the shoulders of a skeleton. Holes had been drilled through the lower projections, and contained the remains of rivets, suggesting that something had been suspended from each brooch. Other finds from the site included pairs of brooches of like type, but there is no record of their positions.

At Lakenheath brooches were found "paired" on the shoulders of skeletons in eight graves, in addition to two brooches found at the base of the neck of the skeleton first discovered on the site. This skeleton was identified as "probably of an elderly man", and the skeleton in Grave 21, which was said to have brooches on the shoulders, was also identified as male (twenty-five to thirty-five years old). Six of the skeletons with "paired" brooches were identified as female, and two were of indeterminate sex. Two other graves contained similar brooches which might have been "paired", although details of position were not recorded. The correspondingly numbered bones were identified as those of a child and of a male. Thus there are three possible cases of male skeletons with "paired" brooches.

Annular brooches at Lakenheath were "paired", or possibly "paired", in eight instances, in two of which the brooches were not identical. In one grave small-long brooches (unmatching) were "paired", and in one, an early-sixth-century cruciform brooch was "paired" with a later "small-long-cruciform hybrid". (A Holywell Row cruciform brooch was "paired" with a similar hybrid.)

At Warren Hill "paired" brooches were probably worn by persons buried in the graves excavated by Fenton,²⁰ and certainly by a woman

of early middle-age whose remains were excavated by Prigg. Penannular brooches were found on either side of the neck of this skeleton. "Paired" brooches may have been worn in two of the graves excavated by Fenton, which probably contained females. In one grave recorded by him, two circular (disc) brooches were found "near" the cruciform brooch which was recovered from beside the face, probably representing the "paired" plus third brooch fashion. In another grave Fenton found three cruciform brooches, all different in ornament, but of which two were a similar size ($3\frac{1}{2}$ " and $3\frac{3}{4}$ "). The other was smaller ($2\frac{3}{4}$ "). The brooches were found "accompanying" the skull which was all that remained of the skeleton. Two of these brooches, probably the two larger, may have been "paired".

Matching brooches have also been recovered from Akenham Hall (cruciform), Exning (two pairs of horned small-long brooches), Freckenham (small square-headed of Jutish type), Eome (cruciform) and Mitchell's Hill (cruciform and horned small-long), which suggests further instances of the "paired" fashion. Two small cruciform brooches, one larger than the other, were found in one grave at Eriswell and two cruciforms, of similar size but not identical, in a grave at Tuddenham. The latter brooches were recorded as being part of the equipment of a warrior, other associated objects being a shield boss, sword and knife. This could perhaps be an instance of two burials mistaken for one, but it may be further evidence that brooches might accompany a male burial.

3. Additional brooches

Apparently the only Suffolk graves to contain more than three brooches were the disturbed Holywell Row Grave 99 and Graves 48 and 79

at the same site. The woman buried in Grave 48 had been equipped with four cruciform brooches: small ones, not identical, "paired" on the clavicles "feet" upward, and larger ones, again not identical in decoration though of the same size, on the middle ribs, at the sides of the body, "feet" downwards. In Grave 79 small-long brooches were "paired", one "foot" up, the other "foot" down, a third brooch of cruciform type lay across the body, and below this two cruciform brooches, similar but not identical, lay "heads" upwards. Since there were few skeletal remains in this grave it is not possible to estimate the positions of the brooches more precisely, but the additional brooches appear to have functioned in the same way as those in Grave 48, and to have been positioned similarly to the additional brooches found with rich female interments of the sixth century in Kent (Chart, pp.359-60). Lothbridge noted the well-equipped nature of Holywell Row Grave 48: "It probably represents the gear of a well-to-do farmer's wife buried about 525, possibly earlier." The other two graves with more than three brooches were less well-equipped, but had a considerable range of grave-goods. Lothbridge considered Grave 99 to be mid-sixth-century and Grave 79 mid- to late-sixth-century, the burial of an old woman with the accumulation of jewellery of fifty years or more.

4. Third brooches

Third brooches were evidently popular accompaniments to "paired" brooches in this area, as demonstrated by finds from Holywell Row, Lakenheath and Warren Hill. Five Holywell Row corpses had been equipped

with cruciform brooches which lay diagonally across the chest in addition to "paired" brooches, which in four instances were themselves of long shape. Only in one grave were "paired", circular brooches (annulars) accompanied by a long, third brooch. A penannular brooch found six inches below the "paired" small-longs in Grave 39 had probably functioned in the same way as the cruciform third brooches, but a different function may have been fulfilled by the third brooch in Grave 43: there were "paired" annular brooches on the clavicles of the skeleton, and a third annular brooch was found at the right of the jaw. Lethbridge suggested that this and other brooches lacking "partners" had fastened hoods.

At Lakenheath third brooches accompanied "paired" in six instances, and again long brooches were more popular than circular in this role. Three were cruciform (one associated with small-longs, the others with annulars), two square-headed (one with annulars, the other with cruciform brooches) and one third brooch was of annular type (associated with other annulars). The positions of the third brooches were recorded in five instances. They appear to have been worn below the chin. At least one of the cruciform brooches was found in a sideways position.

There is some evidence of the continuity of the third brooch fashion throughout the sixth century at Lakenheath, since the cruciform brooches were considered mid-sixth-century and the square-headed late-sixth-century.

Third brooches were found at Warren Hill, and were of cruciform type in each documented example. Fenton found a cruciform brooch

beside the face of a skeleton also equipped with two of disc type, and three cruciforms in another grave. Prigg found a cruciform brooch between the "paired" penannulars at the neck of a woman's skeleton. The cruciform example was at the left of the neck. It had been broken in antiquity and apparently sewn, not pinned, to the burial garment, perhaps in imitation of the way it would have been worn if functional.

5. Two brooches not "paired"

One Holywell Row grave and one at Lakenheath contained two brooches which had clearly not been "paired". At Lakenheath the brooches, which were both penannular, were found below the chin and by the right wrist of the skeleton, which was that of a young adult female. The Holywell Row brooches were of unlike type, but were found in similar positions to those at Lakenheath. One, a square-headed brooch, was by the skull, and the other, which was annular, at the right hip.

At Ipswich, sixteen graves, all evidently those of females, were found to contain brooches. The positions were not recorded in all cases, but it was clear that brooches were not "paired". Four graves contained two brooches, which were not positioned like those non-"paired" examples at Lakenheath or Holywell Row. In Graves 39 and 42 brooches were found one below the other on the chest. In both cases the brooches were annular, those in Grave 39 being dissimilar, one decorated, the other plain. Grave 124 contained the remains of a corpse which had evidently been cremated. A bronze disc brooch was found beneath the chin (attached to it) and a broken annular brooch was found in the grave in an unrecorded position. The other grave with two brooches contained one annular and one square-

headed example. They are unlikely to have been "paired" since the usual Anglo-Saxon avoidance of "pairing" brooches of different shapes is very noticeable in Suffolk, despite the readiness to "pair" dissimilar long brooches and unmatched annulars at Holywell Row and Lakenheath. The two brooches worn centrally in two Ipswich graves suggest that a garment which opened down the front was worn by some of the women of the settlement. The graves with single brooches do not conflict with these indications that the Ipswich women wore a centrally-fastened garment (below).

6. Single brooches

Single brooches accompanied burials at Holywell Row, Ipswich and Lakenheath. (Brooches unaccompanied by "partners" were also found at several other sites where associations were not recorded.) Single brooches of various shapes were found in five Holywell Row graves. A cruciform brooch was against the left of a skull; an applied brooch was found against a chin; an annular lay at a left shoulder; and a horned small-long brooch was found in unspecified position. The fifth instance consisted of the "foot" of a small-long example which had been damaged and repaired in antiquity and was apparently buried incomplete. This was found against a skull. All except this small-long brooch, which Lothbridge considered "rather late in the period", were thought to have been early-to mid-sixth-century. The positions of the single brooches were closer to the position of the third brooch in Grave 43 than to the third brooches in other, and apparently later, graves.

At Ipswich single brooches were found more often than brooches in pairs, occurring in twelve graves. Seven were square-headed, three annular and two were circular brooches of Kentish type with garnet ornament. The positions of the single brooches were recorded in only four instances. The square-headed brooch in Grave 102 was found "foot" upwards on the breast, and the annular brooch in Grave 46 (the position of which was described as "one foot below" the head of the skeleton) was apparently also worn on the breast. The Kentish brooch in Grave 19 was found under the chin of the skeleton and the square-headed one in Grave 24 was at the side of the chin. In addition, the chins of female skeletons in two other graves had been stained by contact with metal, which suggests further evidence for a single fastening at the neck of the dress as indicated by the brooch positions of Graves 19 and 24, if not by those lower down the body in Graves 46 and 102. It is noticeable that all the Ipswich brooches could conceivably have fastened similar garments, with front fastenings. The aperture could be clasped by two brooches, one below the other, or by a single brooch at the neck or lower down on the chest.

At Lakenheath only one grave contained a single brooch. It was found below the chin of the skeleton of a child aged six to eight years, and was a small-long brooch with horned headplate (unusual for this site). The position of this brooch corresponds to that of the upper of the two penannular brooches found in Grave 14 at Lakenheath and to the positions of all the third brooches found there. The position is similar to the predominant position at Ipswich, but to only one of the Holywell Row brooches.

7. Brooches in male graves

It is possible that men of this area could be equipped with two brooches, according to the records of excavations at Lakenheath and nearby Tuddenham; but there is the possibility of discrepancy between the Lakenheath medical and archaeological reports, and the Tuddenham grave was not recorded in detail, so the evidence remains uncertain.

8. Brooches and the culture of Suffolk

It is interesting that although the Sutton Hoo ship burial has yielded fine items of gold jewellery decorated, like Kentish objects, with inlaid garnets, there is little evidence of later Kentish clothing fashions among the female population of Suffolk. The cruciform, small-long and annular brooches attest the Anglian associations of the inhabitants of Holywell Row, Lakenheath and Mildenhall though Holywell Row also had Kentish associations. Yet the grave-goods of Ipswich, which included cloisonné jewellery and square-headed brooches as well as more typically Anglian objects, suggest a Kentish association which is not present in most of the other earlier Suffolk sites; and the Ipswich fashion of wearing the brooches is similar to a fashion found, not (so far) in Kent itself, but among another group of people of Jutish stock, the settlers of the Isle of Wight.

The preference for wearing a single brooch which is demonstrated among the female burials of Ipswich may perhaps have some relationship with the wearing of a single, elaborate, jewelled brooch which is attested from seventh-century Kent sites. There are no fully-recorded Suffolk cemeteries of this date which can demonstrate that the fashion was also known on the north side of the Thames, but an

isolated find from Sutton suggests that this was in fact the case.

The Sutton discovery was a gold, cloisonné brooch, probably originally inlaid with garnets, a type characteristic of seventh-century female graves in Kent, where it was worn singly. The Sutton brooch, however, like the Sutton Hoo cloisonné jewellery, contained some of the distinctive mushroom-shaped cells which brand it a product of the East Anglian workshop. There is, of course, no primary evidence that the Sutton brooch was worn by a woman, (and the Lakenheath and Tuddenham evidence may imply that in Suffolk brooches could be worn by men), but it does seem possible that the Kentish-influenced garnet jewellery which was found among the equipment of a king at Sutton Hoo, was also worn by women of seventh-century Suffolk, albeit only in a localized area. Another jewelled brooch was found in a seventh-century grave at Ixworth.

9. Pins

Pins were found in association with skeletons at Holywell Row and Lakenheath. The two Holywell pins recovered in situ were both associated with females, one found "at the throat" of a skeleton with "paired" brooches and the other, a ring-headed example, across the right clavicle of a skeleton without brooches. The Lakenheath pin was at the left of the chest of a skeleton with two brooches, in Grave 1. This was one of those identified as male by Wells. Another may have been represented by metal fragments found in the grave of a young woman with three brooches. At neither site did the positions of pins associated with two brooches parallel the positions of third brooches at the same site.

10. Clasps

Wrist clasps were found in position on the arms of skeletons at Holywell Row, Lakenheath and Warren Hill, but were not found at Ipswich. They occurred in ten graves at Holywell Row, associated with female skeletons ranging in age from a child to an old woman. In three cases the clasps were embedded in leather. At least two sets were incomplete, and one incomplete spiral set had been made up by the addition of a clasp of the straight type. Clasps were found in six graves at Lakenheath. Two associated skeletons were definitely female, and the others may have been so, since all had brooches, though one was identified as male. At Warren Hill clasps were found on the arms of a skeleton excavated by Fenton and in one grave discovered by Prigg. Since the latter found one pair on the breast and the other in a position higher than the girdle ornament, he assumed that they had formed an ornamental fastening for the bodice, in conjunction with wood which he also found. In fact there seems little reason to doubt that the clasps had been attached to the wrists, since one arm lay across the waist and the other across the chest. At Holywell Row, clasps accompanied skeletons with two, three and five brooches, and skeletons without brooches. At Lakenheath and Warren Hill clasps were associated with two and three brooches.

11. Clips, possible headgear

Clips, embedded in wood, were found in five graves at Holywell Row, with two female and three male skeletons (one a child). One was found behind the right knee of a skeleton, the others at the heads. One of the females with a clip at the head also had a triangular piece

of wood and bronze above the skull, perhaps the remains of a headdress. At Ipswich, a small buckle found in contact with the ear bones of a male skeleton may have belonged to a headdress.

12. Alternative fasteners

Other possible garment fasteners recovered from the county include a button found above the right shoulder of a Holywell Row skeleton. It was associated with "paired" brooches and had perhaps paralleled the function of the third brooches in other graves.

Two bronze "hair fasteners" were reported to have been found at Lakenheath (Briscoe and Le Bard, 1959) but their form was not described. Mr. Edwardson, in answer to enquiry, writes of the Moyse's Hall Museum collection that "the only objects that could be so used are two green corroded penannular rings which could fit the finger or a lock of braided hair".

Objects recovered from the cremation cemetery at Lackford include a horn toggle found in an urn with two brooches, an early cruciform and a Roman example.

13. Buckles

Buckles were found at several Suffolk sites, and had mostly been used to fasten belts. At Bungay a buckle was found in a position equivalent to the waist in a grave which had evidently contained a male interment. Buckles were recovered from twenty-four Holywell Row graves, sixteen of which certainly contained male skeletons and five females, ranging in age from childhood to old age. In twenty of these graves the buckle had evidently been used to fasten the belt, and where the positions were recorded in detail it appeared that six were worn at the left and four at the right. Four were worn

centrally, including one found at the back. One other was found under a prostrate body. Of these buckles one was associated with the remains of the leather belt and a belt plate, and another with a runner for the belt and two strap ends. Both were in male graves.

Two Holywell Row buckles had been worn at the upper part of the body. One small example was found with a belt plate and an eyelet from a strap, and the other found at the left of the chest of a skeleton with three brooches. The buckle was below the left-hand brooch of a "pair". The associated corpse had probably been equipped with a belt at the waist since a gilt-and-garnet strap end was found at the left hip and a pouch frame was in a position consistent with suspension from a belt.

Female skeletons with belt buckles at Holywell Row were equipped with two and three brooches, or were without brooches, and a buckle was found with a child equipped with a single brooch.

At Ipswich buckles were found in twenty-two graves. Seven of the skeletons were identified as male, eleven as female, young persons of both sexes being represented. In five cases recorded in detail, the buckle was found at waist or hip. In one of these (a female grave) traces of the belt and a metal stud were also found. A male skeleton had, by the upper leg bone, a buckle of Frankish type which could have fastened a belt. Two skeletons had two buckles each. In one case both were small; their position was not recorded. The other had one buckle at the lower arm bone, the other on the leg. Since the arm lay across the waist, the former could have fastened a belt. The latter may have been attached to a garter, or to something suspended from the belt. In addition, one small Ipswich buckle had perhaps fastened a headdress (subsection 11, p. 240, above).

Nine Lakenheath graves had buckles, but the position was only recorded in one instance. The buckles were associated with three female skeletons, and four identified as male, including one equipped with brooches, and with two of unidentified sex, one with brooches, the other weapons. One female and two males had two buckles each, of different sizes in at least two cases. One of the males had a strap end and bronze tubing which may indicate an elaborate belt, and the female also had a strap end. The one buckle of which the position was recorded, was found on the chest of the skeleton of unidentified sex, with brooches.

Prigg found a buckle with a shield in one grave at Warren Hill, and assumed that it had been used in suspending the shield from the shoulder.

A solid gold buckle from Sutton Hoo is one of the most remarkable archaeological finds from Anglo-Saxon Suffolk. Together with gold-and-garnet buckles and belt fittings, and garnet-and-millefiori glass clasps, this may have decorated some elaborate military equipment. Like the large buckle and clasps from Taplow, Bu, this jewellery evidently belonged to the regalia of an important man.

Another buckle decorated with garnets was recovered from Tostock. This was an isolated find.

14. Belt fittings

Apart from the belt fittings which accompanied buckles, four skeletons at Holywell Row had strap ends but were without buckles. Three were female (including a child) and one male. Two of the objects were found at the left and one (with the male skeleton) at

the right hip. The male had, in addition to the strap end, three belt plates on the pelvis and lower ribs, which suggests that a fairly elaborate belt might be worn without a buckle being necessary. The more elaborate belts at this site appear to have been worn by men.

15. Girdle rings

Certain objects were identified as "key rings" by Lethbridge, but only three Holywell Row skeletons with rings were equipped with keys, and these had each two rings. These rings were found at the waists of thirteen skeletons at Holywell Row, all female. Three other female skeletons had similar rings, of which the positions were not recorded. Seven rings were worn at the left and two on the right. Since only two of the skeletons with rings also had buckles and three rings were in graves with strap tags but without buckles, it seems possible that these rings had in some cases fastened the girdles rather than functioned as suspension rings.

Such rings were found at the waists of three skeletons at Ipswich, and four others were found at the site. Five of the associated skeletons were female, and one male. None were equipped with buckles. Only one of the rings had suspended an article (a "pothook") at the girdle. Nine rings were found at Lakenheath, with eight female, or probably female, skeletons and one male. Only two had belt buckles. Two rings were at the left and two at the right.

16. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found in positions consistent with attachment to the belt in many Suffolk graves, but again the fashion of Ipswich appears to have differed from the other Suffolk sites and from Anglo-Saxon practice in general. Knives were found in forty-eight Holywell Row graves including twenty-two of each sex, some of them children. Both sexes demonstrated a preference for the left side, and the knife was found in this position in twenty-seven cases, and on the right in only nine. (The other instances were central or indeterminate.) At Lakenheath twelve graves contained knives, associated with skeletons including five (possibly six) female and five apparently male (two with brooches). Where details of the positions of the knives were given, five were found at the left hip, only one at the right. Knives were also found to the left of two female skeletons at Warren Hill.

At Ipswich, however, where knives were found in seventy-six graves, of which twenty-eight definitely contained male and twenty female burials, it was recorded that the knives were found consistently at the right of the waist. Detailed records show, however, that knives were found on the left in at least one male and one female grave.

As in other counties the position of knives often indicates the wearing of belts which had not been fastened by buckles. At Holywell only fourteen of the forty-eight skeletons with knives had buckles; ten more had rings at the waist which might have fastened girdles. Only thirteen of the seventy-six Ipswich skeletons with knives had buckles, and three had girdle rings. Two of the twelve

at Lakenheath had buckles, and five rings.

A variety of other objects had probably been suspended from the belts of skeletons in Suffolk. Five females at Holywell Row had keys, three having worn them at the left and two at the right. Girdle hangers were found at the same site with two children (probably too young to use them). An old woman, and another woman at Lakenheath had girdle hangers at the left, one also having an ivory ring and toilet instruments on a ring, all of which had probably been suspended with the aid of the second buckle found in the grave. An ivory ring was also found at the right hip of a Holywell Row female and the remains of leather pouches accompanied two skeletons at the same site. One was found at the left hip of a male, the other at the hip of a skeleton of indeterminate sex. An elaborate purse found at Sutton Hoo is a unique luxury item. The lid was inlaid with garnets and coins had been placed in the container.

Objects described as "pothooks" and one "hook" were found at Ipswich, in association with one male and several female skeletons. These were perhaps the equivalents of girdle hangers and keys. One Holywell Row skeleton had a chatelaine chain stretching from hip to knee and what may have been the remains of two similar objects were found at Ipswich. Strike-a-lights were found at both these sites, possibly two at Holywell Row, one of them at the left hip of a female skeleton, and four associated with males at Ipswich, one of which was certainly worn at the waist. Tweezers were associated with three Holywell Row skeletons, two of them male, and were found at hip and waist, one pair at the right hip on a ring with an earpick. Tweezers

were found with two Ipswich skeletons, one of them male, and two at Lakenheath. At the latter site one of the pairs of tweezers was a miniature. It was found below the waist of a skeleton which may have been female. The others were with an apparently male body equipped with brooches. An object which may have been a toothpick was found at the hip of a female at Holywell Row, with the remains of a case which had contained it. An unusual adjunct to the girdle was a sheep's horn found at the waist of a male skeleton at Ipswich.

A perforated disc found at the right hip of a female at Holywell Row may have been simply an ornament to the belt. Such a "girdle pendant" was associated with a female skeleton at Ipswich.

17. Possible toggles

In two instances single beads were found at the left hips of skeletons at Holywell Row. They may have been used as toggles.

(Neither skeleton had^a buckle, but one had a "key ring".)

18. Other jewellery

Beads were found with thirty Holywell Row burials, all evidently female. Beads were mostly amber and glass, but two graves contained crystal examples and one jet. Some had ornamented the upper part of the body. Two strings of beads had been worn round the neck, one of them passing through the loops of "paired" brooches. In three cases beads had been suspended from the "paired" brooches and in three others lay between the brooches and may have hung from them. In one grave which contained "paired" brooches the beads had not been suspended from these, but from rings which were attached to the garment. A

similar ring formed the end of a string of beads in another grave. The beads in one burial were attached to some bronze strip which had apparently been sewn to the garment, and a double row of beads and coins down the front of the body in one grave had perhaps also been sewn to the dress.

Some of the bead ornaments were simple. One consisted of a single bead at the chin, and another of three beads found near the left shoulder. The most elaborate included two festoons (or a necklace and a festoon) in Grave 58, one-hundred-and-fifty beads in Grave 37 and one-hundred-and-thirty plus three more on wires in Grave 48. Beads were associated with rings in four other graves, amber pendants were found in two and metal pendants in five, including one which had no beads. The elaborately-equipped corpse of a child in Grave 11 had been provided with beads which had hung in three rows, plus one garnet and two metal pendants. Lethbridge (1956) noted that the festoons of beads were too large for the child; and as the brooches and girdle hangers found with her were old, he considered that she had been bedecked in finery "picked out of some old remnants chest". He considered that the burial had taken place in the seventh century, even as late as mid-century.

There is some inconsistency in the records of bead finds from Ipswich. In the introduction to her report Layard mentioned four cases of males being equipped with beads, in three of which the beads were single. Yet the catalogue of grave-goods only included two male burials with beads: Grave 54, in which a single bead was found at the neck, and Grave 91, which contained four. There were

also some differences in the quantities of beads mentioned in Layard's introduction and the subsequent catalogue of grave-goods.

Thirty-five Ipswich skeletons with beads were evidently female and two others were of indeterminate sex. Beads seem to have been worn at or around the neck since the excavator referred to them as "necklaces". One other grave (apart from Grave 54) contained a single bead, while the largest number found with any skeleton in this cemetery was one-hundred-and-eight. Crystal beads were found in two graves and beads were associated with rings in three, possibly four instances. Two silver pendants were found in one grave. In Grave 57 beads had evidently ornamented the wrists as well as the neck. Thirty-six paste beads were at the neck, and amber beads at each arm.

Beads were found in association with eight Lakenheath skeletons, one identified as male (but having "paired" brooches), one a child and the others certainly or probably female. Nine beads were under the body in one grave and seventeen in the area of the left shoulder in another. Otherwise beads were in the neck or chest area. Two graves contained single beads (one skeleton female, one male). The largest quantities of beads were fifty-seven, in Grave 28 (forty-three small amber, the rest larger amber, glass and one jet), and forty-three in Grave 27 (again mostly amber, but with glass and one crystal example).

At Warren Hill a female found by Prigg had evidently worn a necklace of amber, crystal and paste beads, arranged in the order: three small beads followed by one large. They were found between the "paired" brooches and had evidently been worn high as they were

mingled with the remains of the teeth. The third brooch in this grave lay over the necklace, and two beads and a metal ring were found attached to cloth at the back of this brooch. The female burial excavated by Fenton at this site had one paste and one hundred amber beads, four or more wire rings and two pairs of silver discs.

A hollow silver bead was found with amber examples at Hoxne. A wire ring and the remains of a glass bead were found at the centre of Grave 2 at Bungay. Late neck ornaments were found at Ixworth and Pakefield: a cloisonné cross set with garnets, and with a loop for suspension, was found at Ixworth in the same grave as the jewelled brooch; at Pakefield a necklace of garnets, plus an onyx with an intaglio and a mounted gold coin, was found at the neck of a skeleton. A crystal engraved with a cross may have been found in the same barrow.

Other items of jewellery found in the county include an unusual silver collar found in association with a single amber bead in a female grave at Ipswich.

Finger rings were found at several sites, usually with rich or unusual grave-goods. One accompanied the skeleton of a child in the well-equipped Grave 11 at Holywell Row. (Another skeleton at this site had what may have been a bronze finger ring at the right humerus.) Two rings which may have been finger or earrings were found at Ipswich in the grave with the silver collar, and two, one bronze, one silver, were found on the pelvis of a female at Lakenheath, the hands having probably rested on the pelvis. This female had worn brooches of a different type from others in the cemetery (penannular) and they had not been "paired". At Warren Hill two silver finger

rings were found on a skeleton, the upper part of which had probably been removed earlier. Two silver finger rings accompanied a skeleton at Ebming, one was recovered from Ixworth, and two of bronze were among finds from Eriswell.

Bracelets were twice found in association with finger rings, and were probably luxury items: spiral bracelets were found on each arm of the richly-equipped child at Holywell Row, and two were with the incomplete skeleton at Warren Hill. A pair of silver bracelets accompanied a late cruciform brooch at Tuddenham. Part of a bronze bracelet was found at Ixworth.

The unusual find of a wire anklet was associated with the skeleton of a male child aged about twelve years, at Holywell Row.

XXV

Surrey1. Sites

Thirty-two Surrey burial sites are listed in the Gazetteer.¹ from four of which primary evidence is available: Ewell;² Farthingdown, Coulsden;³ Guildown, Guildford;⁴ Mitcham.⁵ Farthingdown appears to have been a seventh-century site and Ewell sixth- and seventh-century. At Guildown more than two hundred skeletons were found, but the majority of them were considered eleventh-century, and only thirty-five attributed to the pagan period. They were considered sixth-century. In some cases the nature of the grave-goods was insufficient to distinguish earlier graves from later, noticeable in the survey of buckles from the site (subsection 10, p.257, below). The Mitcham cemetery was large, and is considered to have been in use from the fifth to the middle and late sixth centuries. Several features, however, appear to anticipate seventh-century customs. Systematic excavation took place at Mitcham on more than one occasion, but other finds were accidental and some objects have been dispersed.

2. "Paired" brooches

The "paired" brooch fashion is evident at Guildown and Mitcham, and probably at Ewell, where matching disc brooches were found on the chest of a female skeleton. Brooches were "paired" on the breasts in three certain cases at Guildown, the brooches being of applied type in one instance and small-long in the others. In one grave the small-long brooches were trefoil-headed and in the other square-headed. The ambiguity of the Guildown report and its apparent self-contradiction

obscures the evidence about other graves with more than one brooch. Two dissimilar disc brooches were found "on the breast" of the skeleton in Grave 123, but their position in relation to each other was not clearly stated. Two disc brooches in Grave 77, described in the inventory of grave-goods as having been placed at the left shoulder and left ribs, are referred to in Lowther's discussion of finds as having been found in the same position as the brooches in Grave 81. The latter were disc brooches, described in the inventory of grave-goods as having been positioned at the left shoulder, but in the discussion of brooches as "on the breast".

At Mitcham brooches were "paired" on the collar bones or shoulders of five skeletons, including one considered male on anatomical grounds. In three instances the brooches used for "pairing" were of applied type, in one case small-long, and in the fifth instance a small-long brooch was found on the right and a disc on the left of the skeleton. Two disc brooches found on the breast of a skeleton may also have been "paired" and saucer brooches found in unusual positions in two graves may have been displaced examples. In one instance the brooches were found at the neck and ten inches behind the head, in the other both brooches were found beneath the skull.

3. Third brooches

A third brooch was worn in a common position by one of the persons buried at Guildown. A large, square-headed example, it lay diagonally across the breast between the applied brooches which were "paired". Two Mitcham graves contained three brooches, but there is no evidence that the third brooches had functioned in the same way as

the Guildown one. One was a saucer brooch, found loose in the earth of the apparently male grave with "paired" brooches. The other, an annular brooch, was found "in the middle of the stomach" of the skeleton in Grave 116, which had unmatching "paired" brooches on the collar bones. The grave was without a buckle, although objects which were likely to have been suspended from the belt were found in it. The possibility that the third brooch had functioned as a belt fitting was suggested by the excavator, and this seems likely in the circumstances.

4. Two brooches not "paired"

At both Guildown and Mitcham two brooches which were not "paired" occur in graves. At Guildown the brooches in Grave 77 may have been worn at shoulder and ribs, although the conflicting records (subsection 2, p.252, above) obscure the evidence. The brooches in Grave 81 at this site may have both been found on the left shoulder of the skeleton, and in another grave at this site (Grave 75) two applied brooches were on the left shoulder. It is possible that a garment which had been fastened by "paired" brooches had been displaced during burial so that both fasteners were found at the left; but it is possible that the clasping of the garment by two brooches at the left shoulder was a minority fashion at Guildown.

The positions of the brooches in Grave 77, according to the description given in the inventory of grave-goods, may be paralleled by the positions of those in Grave 299 at Mitcham: a disc brooch was found at the breast and part of an annular brooch at the left hip.

If the annular brooch was damaged when buried, (the report did not suggest the break was modern) it may not have been functional, and may be compared to other brooches at Mitcham which appear to have been re-used or carried as trinkets. Grave 299 contained a buckle, so if the brooch was functional it is unlikely that it had fastened the girdle. (It is possible that it had fastened a skirt, and this interpretation may also be possible for brooches in two other Mitcham graves. Morris, however, suggested that the piece of annular brooch was part of a belt fitting, drawing comparison with Grave 116, subsection 3, p.253, above.) In Grave 143 a small-long brooch was found at the right elbow of the skeleton, the garment having perhaps slipped from the shoulder. (A second brooch was found in the grave, but was loose in the earth.) In Grave 66 two saucer brooches were found, at either side of the skeleton, at the waist.

5. Single brooches

Single brooches were found in one grave at Ewell and one at Guildown, and in six graves at Mitcham, where the fashion appears to have been almost as popular as the wearing of "paired" brooches. The Ewell single brooch was of saucer type, and was found high on the right shoulder of a female skeleton. The Guildown single brooch was a small square-headed one, and was also found "to the right". Four of the Mitcham brooches were found at the left breast, shoulder or collar bone. They were a cruciform, a small-long, an equal-armed and a saucer brooch. (The latter found under the shoulder.) A square-headed brooch was found on one shoulder of a skeleton — left

or right was not specified — and a disc brooch was on the right of a sixth. A variety of brooch-types were worn singly, therefore, and the Mitcham finds suggest a continuity in the fashion, from probably fifth-century saucer and equal-armed brooches to the square-headed which has been dated to the middle of the sixth century.

6. Secondary use of brooches

At least two Mitcham graves contained brooches which may have been re-used, a practice which seems to have been fairly unusual, although there are some examples of it from other cemeteries, later than the date generally estimated for Mitcham. An annular brooch was found in the fingers of the skeleton in Grave 117, having perhaps been used as a key or girdle ring, and the incomplete annular brooch in Grave 229 was found at the belt. Part of a square-headed brooch in Grave 116 may have been contained in or attached to a pouch. (There were three other brooches in this grave.)

7. Pins

Pins appear to have been used in various ways at Farthingdown, Guildown and Mitcham. At Farthingdown (a site without brooches), two small, silver pins were found near the skull of a skeleton which was probably that of a girl. They may perhaps be compared to the finds of linked pins which occur in other late pagan/early Christian cemeteries without brooches.

A girl buried at Guildown appears to have worn a pin in a manner which paralleled the position of the third brooch in another

grave at the same site. The pin lay horizontally between the small square-headed brooches which were "paired" on the breasts. A pin was also found in a Mitcham grave which contained two brooches, but the position was not recorded. A pin in Mitcham Grave 229 was found across the breast of a skeleton and was associated with a brooch found "below" it. It is not clear whether the pin could have fastened a garment or shroud worn outside the garment fastened by the brooch, or if the brooch was found lower down the body than the pin.

8. Clips, possible headgear

Clips which may have been associated with garments were found at the back of the head of a Guildown skeleton and in two graves at Mitcham. A bronze fitting with rivets was also found near the head of the Guildown skeleton and may have belonged to a headdress. The Mitcham clips were not found at the head. In one instance a clip was found by the right foot of a skeleton, and in the other case one was found by the left thigh of a skeleton, together with objects which may have been attached to the girdle or contained in a pouch. A small buckle, found at the jaw of a girl's skeleton at Mitcham, may have belonged to a headdress.

9. Alternative fastener

An unusual form of clothing fastener had been worn by a girl buried at Guildown (Grave 206). Eighteen pairs of metal rings, graduated in size, extended down the right side of the body from the shoulder to the hips. Their position suggested to the excavator that

the garment had been laced together through these rings. This may have been a garment worn in addition to the usual costume, since the skeleton was also equipped with "paired" brooches and a pin which may have paralleled the function of a third brooch. The presence of the rings suggests a garment which laced down the right side, or perhaps which had a central opening, if the rings had been displaced at burial. (The head of the body was to the right).

10. Buckles

Buckles were found in graves at Farthingdown, Guildown and Mitcham. At Farthingdown a Frankish buckle was at the waist of a boy, and other buckles were found in the grave of an adult male, the girl with the pins (according to Martin's account) and at the jaw of the skeleton of a girl (subsection 8, p. 256, above).

Buckles were found in eight of the Guildown graves, two of which may have been either sixth- or eleventh-century. Two of the associated skeletons had brooches and were probably female. In most cases the buckles appear to have fastened belts, since six were found at the waist and one at the pelvis and since, in two cases, including one of the females, traces of the leather belt remained. One buckle, in Grave 101, was found at the left shoulder of the skeleton, but this was, in the opinion of the excavator, displaced. At least eight Mitcham skeletons had buckles, including four males, one "male" with typically feminine grave-goods and two others which were probably female. All the buckles had apparently fastened belts, with the possible exception of the one in Grave 113 which was found inside the left thigh though the (male) corpse had apparently worn a belt

since a strap end was found at the waist. There appears to have been a preference for wearing the buckle at the right in this settlement if it was not worn centrally. Two buckles were at right hips, one at the right of the waist and one at the right thigh. One skeleton, however, had two buckles at the left of the waist. The smaller buckle had the remains of leather attached, and the belt had evidently been adorned by a garnet-and-gilt strap end which was found to the right of the spine.

11. Belt fittings

In addition to the belt fittings which accompanied buckles, Mitcham Grave 45 had contained an elaborate belt decorated with four belt plates and also studded, but without a buckle.

12. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were associated with skeletons at all four sites. At Ewell knives were found under the left hip of a youth buried with seventh-century weapons, and with another skeleton of indeterminate sex. This knife was also in the hip area. Four knives were associated with skeletons at Farthingdown, and again the positions were consistent with attachment to belts. They were at the right of a male skeleton, at the waists of a male and a female, and in the grave of the girl with pins, the only one possibly equipped with a buckle. Seven Guildown skeletons, including two of each sex and a child, had knives which had probably been attached to belts. One was found under the skeleton, the rest at the left. Only three of the skeletons were also equipped with buckles.

Thirty Mitcham graves contained knives. Thirteen of the associated skeletons were male, seven female, and seven more probably female. The ages ranged from childhood to old age. Two male skeletons had the knives at the upper part of the body, one at the left shoulder, the other near the head, but the rest had, where positions were recorded, carried the knives in the belt area. Ten knives were at the left of skeletons, five of them at the waist and four at the ribs. The tenth may not have been the domestic knife carried by the person interred, but may have been the weapon which caused death. A second knife was found at the right of the body, and it seems likely that this was the one normally carried. Two other knives were at the right of skeletons, and another may have been carried in a pouch at the right side. A knife found under the pelvis of a skeleton was also thought to have been contained in a pouch. One knife had been contained in a sheath. Only five of the skeletons with knives had belt buckles.

Other objects evidently hung from the belts at Farthingdown, Guildown and Mitcham. A Guildown skeleton equipped with a buckle and brooches had a ring at the waist, which, since it had evidently not fastened the girdle, may have acted as a suspension ring. Several Mitcham skeletons had rings associated with chains and similar equipment. A wire ring found between the legs accompanied (unusually) a male skeleton. An iron ring and chain found along the left forearm of one skeleton, and four rings along the left femur of another, had probably formed chatelaines. Three rings and a hook found under the

right hip of another (female) skeleton were thought to have been the remains of a pouch. A number of objects found in Grave 116 were thought to be the remains of a bag and its contents. Such a bag might have been laid in the grave separately, but the position and the nature of the objects associated suggest that it might have been attached to the belt. Two keys were found under the thigh, and were thought to have been contained in the bag. By the thigh and pelvis there were found a purse mount and tweezers, one-and-a-half iron rings, two pierced coins and a fragmentary brooch. A needle-case found inside the top of the right thigh of the same skeleton may have been suspended independently from the other objects. Belt and pouch fittings accompanying a well-equipped female skeleton in Grave 49 at Mitcham were also found in the area of the waist and left thigh. The pouch was thought to have contained a key and rings. This burial had been equipped with a weaving sword. A complex of textile and bronze rods found between the legs (a position which usually suggests suspension from the belt) was unidentifiable, but may have been something associated with the craft of the weaver. This burial was not equipped with brooches, buckles or luxury objects which have accompanied other weaving swords. An ivory object identified as a "bracelet" was found on the left forearm of a Mitcham skeleton. It may originally have been attached to a pouch.

An iron rod and plate found at the left hip and knee of another skeleton appear to have been the remains of some object attached to a belt. A male at Mitcham was equipped with a hook which was found at the right thigh, and another had a Roman stylus

at the left thigh, and a stiletto at the left leg. The latter object was considered by the excavator to have been tucked into the stocking, or into the thongs which fastened the trousers. Other articles found in graves at Mitcham, though not certainly worn on the person, include a strike-a-light and tweezers associated with males, and shears with a female.

An object which might have been either a strike-a-light or a purse mount was found at the waist of the skeleton of a young man at Farthingdown, and shears were among articles found in a bag in the grave of a child at the same site.

Two Guildown skeletons were equipped with tools which may have hung from the belt. A whetstone was found by the right side of a male skeleton, and a hone, perforated for suspension, was by the pelvis of a skeleton of indeterminate sex.

13. Possible toggles

In three Guildown graves without buckles single beads may have functioned as toggles. A single crystal bead was found by the left ribs of a female skeleton. The others were found higher on the body, an amber bead on the right of the chest of another female, and a bead of unrecorded type (but which the excavator denied could have been a spindle whorl) was found with a probably female skeleton in a position variously described as "centrally on the chest" and "lowerer than the breast7 by the vertebrae". Beads which may have functioned as toggles at Mitcham were found at the left of the waist of the skeleton of a female and of an elderly male.

14. Other jewellery

Bead ornaments were found in association with skeletons at Farthingdown, Guildown and Mitcham negating Baldwin Brown's observation that there was a "curious dearth of them" in Surrey.⁶ Although the Farthingdown cemetery was evidently seventh-century, the characteristic ring-and-bead necklaces found at many other sites of this period were not represented. Six beads were found near the jaw of a girl's skeleton, and other beads, with a mosaic pendant, were found in a similar position in relation to the skeleton of a child aged about two. A bracteate pendant was near the skull of another skeleton which had no beads.

At Guildown, beads were found with nine skeletons, seven of them with brooches, so probably female, but in only one instance was it clear that the beads had been worn as a necklace. This was in Grave 78, where thirty-nine beads were found in association with a disc pendant and a ring originally designed for the finger. This was the largest quantity of beads to be found in a grave at this site. Grave 75 contained twenty-six, found at the back of the head and at the waist. Those at the head had perhaps belonged to a necklace displaced during burial, or to the ornament of a headdress. The ones at the waist may either have been suspended from the neck by a long string, or they may have ornamented the girdle or wrist. In three other Guildown graves, beads were found in the wrist or girdle area. Two "earrings" consisting of beads strung on wire rings were found in a grave (Lowther noted this as Grave 75, J. Morris as 77) but the position was not recorded.

At Mitcham six skeletons had single beads at the necks. Greater numbers of beads were found in other graves, and the largest quantity was sixty-five. The most elaborate neck ornament was found in Grave 117 and consisted of fifty-two beads which were found round the neck, a silver disc pendant and a wire ring. Five beads found in the pelvic area of a skeleton may have been attached to the girdle or wrist, or decorated a bag. Beads found along the vertebrae (to the right) of a skeleton in Grave 62 may have hung in a single string, or perhaps functioned as buttons. (The burial was without other fasteners.) Beads at Mitcham were mostly glass, although the skeleton with sixty-five beads had mostly paste and one amber. A single amethyst bead was found in Grave 121, but its position was not recorded. Martin mentioned that beads strung on wire, which he thought were earrings, were found at Mitcham.

Finger rings were found with female skeletons at Guildown and Mitcham. At Guildown they were on the left hands, a bronze one on the third finger of the skeleton in Grave 75 and a silver one on the fourth finger of the well-equipped skeleton in Grave 206. This was a burial unusually elaborate for this cemetery, the grave-goods including the eighteen pairs of metal rings, "paired" brooches and a pin. A bronze finger ring was on the right hand of a Mitcham skeleton. This was not the richest burial in the cemetery, but it had a relatively elaborate necklace.

A bronze "bangle" was found in Grave 78 at Guildown, but the position was not recorded.

15. Violent burials

At both Farthingdown and Mitcham there was evidence of violent burial or sacrifice. A Farthingdown woman had evidently been thrown into a grave after the bodies of a man and boy had been laid out in it, and at Mitcham a body which was probably that of a woman had been uncereemoniously pushed into a grave above a corpse laid out in the usual way. It would seem reasonable to suppose that such careless burial would exclude the provision of special grave-goods, although ritual sacrifice might demand its own regalia. The Farthingdown woman was without grave-goods, which was unusual, but not unique, at the site. The absence of clothing fasteners from the costume was not, however, an unusual occurrence there. The Mitcham skeleton had a buckle, a single bead at the neck, and a knife. This suggests that the person had been dressed in everyday costume, but that this was less elaborate than the clothing worn by more carefully interred corpses, which included brooches.

XXVI

Sussex1. Sites

Forty-seven sites in Sussex are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ to which may be added Ditchling Beacon, discovered since publication of the Gazetteer. Primary evidence is available from eleven sites: Alfriston;² Ditchling Beacon;³ Firle;⁴ High Down, Ferring;⁵ Malling Hill, Lewes;⁶ Ferry Hill, Burpham;⁷ Saxonbury, Southover (Kingston);⁸ Saxon (Sexton) Down, Glynde;⁹ Wolstonbury Hill;¹⁰ Woodingdean.¹¹ Additional evidence has been drawn from: Kemp Town;¹² Lewes.¹³ The majority of the evidence from the county is derived from Alfriston and High Down, since the other sites either were insufficiently recorded or have yielded few burials and unimportant grave-goods. Since the Sussex coast was one of the areas mentioned by Bede as having been settled by the Jutes,¹⁴ A. E. Wilson applied to Sussex the analysis into Jutish, Frankish and Kentish phases which Leeds formulated in explanation of the developments in the culture of Kent.¹⁵ Wilson considered the High Down site, with its Roman-influenced brooches, earlier than Alfriston, which he considered equivalent to the so-called "Frankish phase" in Kent.¹⁶ It seems therefore, that the evidence from High Down is representative of the costume of the earliest settlers of the area, while the often unusual and inconsistent placing of grave-goods at Alfriston may indicate later development in costume or burial practice. The Malling Hill burials were probably early, and those at Saxonbury fifth- or sixth-century. The Firle and possibly the Lewes site yielded seventh-century burials; the dates of others are uncertain.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches seem to have been worn at Alfriston, High Down and Saxonbury.

Eleven Alfriston graves contained brooches. All were associated with female skeletons. Three of the graves contained two brooches, and four, more than two. Where two brooches were found, in each case they matched in type (twice saucer brooches and once dissimilar disc brooches) and were recovered from "on the chest". It is probable, but not certain, that they had been "paired". Grave 28 contained matching saucer brooches which were on either side of the breast. Three other brooches were in the grave, including two swastika brooches, the position of which was not recorded. One cannot now deduce which, if either, of these matching pairs of brooches had fulfilled the function of the "paired" brooches found in more simply-furnished graves. Similarly, the corpse of a lame woman in Grave 43, equipped with unusual elaborateness, had three matching pairs of brooches on the breast (one pair square-headed, the others long brooches of unusual form), any one of which pairs might have fastened the usual garment. The Alfriston brooches which may have been "paired" appear to have been found in the lowest (and least common) position included in this definition, that is, on the breast or chest, rather than the shoulders or collar bones.

At High Down brooches were found in sixteen graves, all apparently containing the remains of females, although only one was identified as such on anatomical grounds. Again the descriptions of the positions of brooches may not precisely identify the "paired" position, but they suggest it. Two small square-headed brooches

found on the chest of a skeleton, and matching brooches on the breasts of two others (penannular in one instance, unidentified type in the other) are all probable instances of "pairing". Grave 2 contained five brooches, three of them, including two square-headed examples, found on the breast, plus matching saucer brooches recovered from the left shoulder and under the chin. Either of these sets of brooches could have been used to support the characteristic garment. Two matching disc brooches were below the jaws of another skeleton, and were said to be resting on the collar bone. These may have been "paired" but the description is ambiguous. (They could have been on the same side of the body.)

Brooch finds of which the position was not recorded, or of which the associations were not preserved, increase the probability that the "paired" style was fashionable at High Down, since so many were matching pairs. Four pairs of saucer brooches were among finds not assigned to grave groups, while brooches recovered from numbered graves included one pair of garnet, bird-shaped brooches, one of trefoil-headed small-long, one of matching and another of unmatching cruciforms and two other pairs of brooches of unidentified type. (One may have been applied.) However, since there was at least one grave at Alfriston containing matching brooches which were not worn in the usual "paired" position (subsection 3, p. 268, below) the evidence is not conclusive.

"Paired" brooches were found to the left and right of the chin of a skeleton at Saxonbury. The type of these brooches was not specified, but button and saucer brooches have been preserved from the site.

3. Additional brooches

Graves at both major sites contained more than two brooches, but the positions of these did not correspond to the arrangement of "paired" brooches plus third brooch (worn centrally or on the shoulder) common in many other counties. Instead, although the incidence and positioning of the brooches in the better-equipped Sussex graves was not consistent, these interments are more appropriately compared with the rich graves of the Isle of Wight and Kent (Chart, pp.359-60).

Grave 28 at Alfriston contained two saucer brooches and two swastika brooches and in addition a square-headed brooch which was found across the breast between the saucer brooches. This square-headed brooch is the only parallel at the site to the third brooches of the Anglian and Saxon areas, but the presence of the additional pair of brooches makes this grave furniture more elaborate.

The richly-equipped lame woman buried in Grave 43 had three pairs of brooches on the breast, plus a quoit brooch and a square-headed one, also found on the breast. The square-headed brooch was without a pin and may have been attached by means of the silver wire which was found round the arms of the brooch.

Grave 62 at Alfriston contained, in addition to matching saucer brooches found on the breast, four button brooches grouped in pairs up the body, and a fifth found to the left of the left thigh.

A different type of garment or garments may be represented by the brooches found in Grave 29 of the same site. Two small-long brooches were at the waist (a position comparable to that of additional brooches in rich graves of Kent) and a button brooch at the neck. This third brooch may have corresponded in function to the single brooches found at the site.

The High Down finds provide comparable material. In Grave 2, in addition to the matching pairs of square-headed and saucer brooches, there was a cruciform brooch on the breast, a similar arrangement to that in Alfriston Grave 28. High Down Grave 60 contained a circular brooch at the hips. (There was a buckle in the grave, so it is unlikely to have fastened the girdle.) The grave contained another circular brooch and a square one, but Bickerton has suggested that two long brooches attributed to this grave probably do not belong to it. It is noticeable that although the grave contained two brooches of similar shape (circular) they were not "paired" together. Comparisons may be made with Grave 36, which contained two annular brooches, one at the hips, the other at the breast, and with Grave 74 at the same site. The latter contained a penannular brooch which was at the pelvis, in addition to pairs of saucer and square-headed brooches at the upper part of the body.

Two other High Down graves contained third brooches in unspecified positions. Grave 26 contained a small quoit brooch in addition to two small-longs, and Grave 36 a circular object which was probably a brooch, in addition to two cruciform examples.

4. Two brooches not "paired"

Several Alfriston and High Down graves contained unusual combinations of brooches. Two annular brooches recovered from a grave at High Down had not been "paired". One was found at the breast, the other at the hips. There was no buckle in the grave. It is possible that the upper brooch had functioned like the single brooches recovered from other graves in the county, while the lower brooch had fastened some garment, or the girdle, at the hips.

5. Single brooches

Single brooches were not uncommon in the county. Four single brooches occurred at Alfriston, one an annular brooch found on the right shoulder of a skeleton, and another, also annular, found on the pelvis. The latter occurred in a grave without a buckle, although the presence of girdle adjuncts suggests that a belt was worn, therefore it is possible that the annular brooch had substituted for a buckle. The positions of the other single brooches from this site (a saucer brooch and a heart-shaped one) were not recorded.

At High Down a quoit brooch and an annular brooch were found singly under the chins of skeletons, positions comparable to that of the third (button) brooch in Grave 29 at the same site. A small-long brooch with horned head-plate, probably not of Saxon manufacture, was found on the right ^{of the} chest of a skeleton which had a chip-carved object described as a "bronze belt slide" on the other side of the chest. It is possible that this arrangement of fasteners paralleled the "paired" brooch fashion.

A single saucer brooch accompanied a skeleton at Malling Hill. The position was not recorded. At Saxonbury an object identified as a brooch or stud (perhaps a button brooch) was found close below the jaw of a skeleton. Half a bronze clasp, with a hook and holes for attachment was associated with it.

6. Pins

Pins were found in five Alfriston graves. One was by the skull of a skeleton and was the only artefact in the grave, which had been disturbed.

section 5, p.270 , above). These objects may have been attached to the costume, but could derive from other grave-goods, now decayed.

8. Buckles

Buckles were found in position on skeletons recovered from Alfriston, High Down, Saxonbury and Woodingdean. Positions were recorded in relation to eleven Alfriston burials. One buckle, found with the crippled woman in Grave 43, positioned on the chest and associated with a mass of leather, was untypical — it may have secured a sling supporting the crippled leg, rather than a normal garment. A buckle was, however, found at the right shoulder of another skeleton. This was also associated with leather. Iron plaques which may have been attached to the strap were also found in the grave. The other buckles recovered from the cemetery were found in positions appropriate to having fastened belts. Four were associated with typically male grave-goods, and one was considered by the excavator to have accompanied a female, though the associated grave-goods did not include typically feminine objects. There was no other evidence that buckles were worn by women at this site, and no buckle was found in association with brooches except in the unusual grave of the crippled woman.

One buckle was certainly worn at the right of the waist; two were found under bodies. Two were accompanied by belt tabs and plates, one with a plaque split for the accommodation of a leather thong. One Alfriston grave without a buckle contained what may have been the remains of a bolt — leather attached to iron was found in the grave.

A proportionately high number of buckles was found at High Down. They occurred in fifteen graves, of which seven certainly contained female and four male skeletons. In two cases graves contained two

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buckles, one of these having in addition a belt mount decorated in Quoit Brooch Style. In the other instance one of the two buckles was found above the head of the skeleton. Buckles from all the other graves were apparently recovered from positions consistent with the fastening of belts, one specifically at the left of the body. Some of the inhabitants of the area had worn elaborate belts, since three of the skeletons with buckles had buckle plates. One plate, ornamented with garnets, accompanied an inlaid buckle.

At Saxonbury a buckle was found with a male skeleton, recovered from the centre waist, and a male buried at Woodingdean had worn a leather belt fastened by a buckle.

9. Belt fittings

Apart from the belt fittings accompanying buckles, one High Down skeleton without a buckle had a strap tag, and a Saxonbury skeleton had three bronze tags and a "slide", associated with a sword at the left of the body, which had probably been attached to the sword belt. There was no buckle. This suggests that even belts which were to carry the considerable weight of a sword did not always require a buckle for fastening them, and confirms that the absence of a buckle need not indicate the absence of a belt.

10. Girdle rings

Rings which may have suspended objects from the girdle, or in some cases fastened the girdle, occurred at four sites in the county. At Alfriston a bronze ring found by the left lower arm of a male skeleton may originally have been attached to the belt, although this ring is unlikely to have been a fastener since there was a buckle

in the grave. A penannular object was found above the pelvis of a skeleton, and two females were equipped with rings which had apparently hung from the waist. There were six rings in each instance. In one grave they varied in diameter from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $2\frac{1}{8}$ " and in the other from $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to $1\frac{3}{8}$ ".

At High Down a ring was found at the right hip of a female (equipped with a buckle) and one was near the hand of another female. This was a double ring of bronze, containing iron remains. Three other skeletons had rings, the positions of which were not specified. Only one of the associated skeletons had a buckle.

A small iron ring was found near the pelvis of a male skeleton at Malling Hill, and one outside, or on, the left thigh of a male at Saxonbury. A double ring found at the left hip of another skeleton at this site was considered to have been part of a sword belt. However, there was apparently no sword in the grave, and other grave-goods suggest that the skeleton was female.

11. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found at both the major sites, and constitute the only primary evidence from several others. They occurred in sixteen graves at Alfriston, including four of each sex. Only four of the associated skeletons had buckles, and one of those had not fastened a belt at the waist. Four of the knives were found at the upper part of the body, two on the right shoulders of skeletons of indeterminate sex, two on the chests of skeletons, one female, one a skeleton of unidentified sex which had a buckle at the shoulder. The others had all been placed in positions consistent with suspension at the belt, one apparently attached to a chain. Four were found at the left, two (both with male skeletons) at the right, two

centrally, one at the back, and two in unspecified position. One of those at the left had been carried in a sheath. The positions of twelve knives, in graves without buckles, suggest the wearing of belts.

A knife was at the right hip of a male skeleton at Ditchling Beacon, and one was found at the left of a male at Firle. (Another adult male and a boy buried at the same site also had knives, but the positions were not specified.)

Knives were found in twenty-one graves at High Down. The associated skeletons included seven of each sex. Three of the knives had not been carried at the belt. One, accompanying a female, was found at the head, and the position of a second knife in the same grave was unrecorded. One knife, found with other objects at the right humerus of a skeleton was thought to have been carried in a pouch round the neck. A similar explanation might be postulated for another, found without other objects at the left humerus of a skeleton. The positions of the other knives, where recorded, suggested suspension at the belt. Four were at the right, three at the left, one at one side (unspecified) and another "at the hips". Ten of the skeletons with knives also had buckles, and one other had a ring which might have fastened the girdle, but the positions of four knives in the cemetery indicate the presence of belts which were not buckled.

A knife was found near the pelvis of a male skeleton at Malling Hill, and seven were recovered from Saxonbury graves. Three of these had been worn at the left and one at the right. One skeleton with a knife at the left was also equipped with a buckle, and the one with a knife at the right had, outside the left thigh, a bronze ring

and a metal attachment which may have functioned as fasteners. There were therefore two knives at the waist area in graves apparently without girdle fasteners.

At Saxon Down "six or seven" skeletons were recovered, and there were knives "in the left hand" of each. The description suggests that the knives had been carried at the left of the belt.

Skeletons recovered during the eighteenth century at Wolstonbury Hill had at the side of each "a warlike weapon ... resembling a common hanger". (OED "Hanger"⁽³⁾ a kind of short sword, originally hung from the belt.") A knife was attached to the buckled belt accompanying a male burial at Woodingdean.

A ring found with the knife at the humerus of the skeleton in High Down Grave 13, might perhaps have been contained in, or framed, a pouch. The presence of a pouch has been suggested by analogy with Grave 14 at the same site. An ivory ring accompanied a female at Alfriston, and a key-like object was recovered from the same grave. An Alfriston grave, containing two brooches, but not among the richest at the site, contained three toilet articles on a ring, which had been in a leather case carried at the left hip, plus a perforated silver spoon which was found at the feet. Toilet articles were at the left hip of another female at Alfriston, and others, associated with a comb attached to leather (perhaps the remains of a case) accompanied a female at High Down. Possible suspension rings, found at Alfriston, High Down, Malling Hill and Saxonbury, are discussed above, since some of them may have been used to secure the girdle (subsection 10, pp.273-4, above).

Strike-a-lights were found with two skeletons at Alfriston and three at High Down. These were most commonly carried at the belt, judging from the positions of the Alfriston examples, found at the pelvis of one and near the left hand of another (male) skeleton, and the two from High Down found at the hip (one at the right). The fifth was with a knife and a pin or awl at the humerus of a male skeleton, and may have been contained in a bag.

A probably female skeleton at High Down had tweezers, and four Alfriston graves contained tools. An axe and an axe hammer were found at the right hips of skeletons, where they had probably been carried at the belt, and an axe head was found by the right knee of another skeleton, where, if it had not simply been laid in the grave, it could have been attached to the lower leg by the sock or gartering. An object tentatively identified as a chisel was found with a probably female skeleton at the same site.

12. Other jewellery

Beads were common finds at Alfriston and High Down. At Alfriston they accompanied seven skeletons, all but one of which were definitely female. They appear to have decorated the girdle or the lower part of the trunk more often than the neckline, since beads were found at the waists or pelvises of five skeletons. One skeleton had a single crystal bead on the chest, and another, in Grave 43, had an unusual arrangement of beads and other ornaments: on the chest were found glass and porcelain beads, a ring strung with three beads which was thought to have been sewn to the garment, an eagle's talon amulet and pierced coins, presumably pendants. Sixteen graduated rings strung with glass and porcelain beads were arranged down the body, and

on the pelvis were amber and porcelain beads with eight pierced bronze ornaments. The elaborate arrangement corresponds to the lavish provision of brooches in this lame woman's grave. The largest number of beads was found in Grave 20, not otherwise an elaborate interment. There were one-hundred-and-thirty-six beads of glass and porcelain, and one of crystal (three graves at this site had crystal beads), in addition to a bone ornament and six rings.

Nine High Down skeletons had beads, all probably or certainly female, and ranging in age from a child upwards. The beads had been worn at neck and waist, and possibly round the arms. In Grave 10 there were found ten amber and glass beads, and a pierced coin at the neck; another pierced coin was at the waist. In Grave 36 amber and glass beads stretched from waist to hips, having perhaps been attached to the brooches which were found in these positions. In two instances beads were found only at the hips. In one case four amber beads and one of bone were found at the right hip of the skeleton; in the other a more elaborate string of amber and glass beads, with a central spindle whorl, stretched across the pelvis. There were three possible instances of arm ornaments. Four amber beads were near the humerus of one skeleton, and sixty-nine glass beside the left arm of another. Twenty-nine were near the right hand of a third. All could, however, be ornaments displaced from neck or girdle. The largest number of beads to accompany a skeleton at High Down was one-hundred-and-fifty-one, and the smallest, four. Pendants were simple, consisting either of pierced coins or of large beads or whorls.

More elaborate necklaces may be represented by finds from Lewes, which included amber, amethyst and glass beads, Roman coins and "gold

and silver ponsile ornaments". These were found in the graves of women and children, together with buckles and "brooches inlaid with garnets and other gems".

Finger rings were found at Alfriston and High Down. They accompanied the two most elaborate female burials at Alfriston, the skeleton in Grave 28 having a bronze ring set with a cornelian and a hexagonal ring of white metal, the skeleton in Grave 43 having a spiral silver ring. At High Down a bronze ring was found at the left hand of the skeleton in Grave 9, which was probably female as it was accompanied by beads, although without brooches. A spiral silver ring accompanied another female, again without brooches, but having a buckle and beads.

Wire bracelets were found on the arms of two High Down skeletons. One was associated with a young person, and was found on the right arm. A green glass armilla, a characteristically British object, was found encircling the wrist of a female skeleton in a cemetery which appears to have been Anglo-Saxon, at Malling Hill.

XXVII

Warwickshire1. Sites

Twenty-eight Warwickshire sites are listed in the Gazetteer.¹ Primary evidence is available from seven: Aston Cantlow;² Bidford;³ Churchover (Bransford Bridge, Cestersover, Gibbet Hill);⁴ Long Compton (Little Rollright, Oxfordshire);⁵ Compton Verney;⁶ Longbridge Park, Warwick;⁷ Stratford, Alveston.⁸ Additional information has been drawn from: Baginton;⁹ Emscote (Myton) Leamington;¹⁰ Newton, Clifton-upon-Dunsmore;¹¹ Ragley Park, Arrow;¹² Stretton-on-Fosse.¹³ The evidence for the county depends largely on Bidford, with supporting information from single and small numbers of burials at other sites. Bidford was a large site, and although the positions of individual objects have not always been recorded, general observations provide considerable evidence. Many objects were recovered from Churchover, but the only primary evidence from the site concerns the positions of knives. The usefulness of the Stratford finds for the present purpose is limited since only generalisations have been published. The Newton finds and probably those from Compton Verney and Ragley Park were seventh-century. The Bidford site was in use from the sixth to the seventh century. Churchover was first used in the fifth, and Stratford in the early sixth century. Longbridge Park was sixth-century, and the other sites probably of similar date.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were certainly worn at Aston Cantlow, Bidford and Stratford, and probably at Emscote, Longbridge Park and Ragley Park.

Saucer brooches were found on the shoulders of a skeleton at Aston Cantlow. The recorders of the Bidford site noted that in female interments there were "often a pair of brooches ... on the breast for fixing the mantle", and an illustration of Grave 79 shows a skeleton with two brooches high up on the body, probably resting on the clavicles. This suggests that "pairing" was the predominant fashion at Bidford. Brooches were found in thirty-three burials at the site. Twenty-five of these contained two brooches of like type, which had probably been "paired", and two other matching pairs of saucer brooches were recovered from the site. The brooches of like type were in eight instances saucer, seven cruciform, five disc (including one case in which the disc brooches did not match), two square-headed, two annular, and in one instance each, applied, penannular and swastika brooches.

Twenty-two brooches, including examples of "all the well-known types" were recovered from Stratford, where they were associated with females. These were "worn on the breast or shoulders, generally in pairs, from which the string of beads was suspended in a festoon". Finds from the site include two matching, early square-headed brooches which are likely to have been "paired", as well as four simple disc and two enamelled disc, seven saucer brooches (two with central studs) and several penannular brooches, some or all of which might have been worn in this way.

Other probable instances of the "paired" fashion include a grave at Longbridge Park which contained two matching saucer brooches, two other matching pairs from the same site, and a grave at Ragley Park where two of the three brooches accompanying a female skeleton were of radiate-headed type.

The flat crescent which formed the front of a necklet found in a grave at Emscote was stained at one end through contact with one of the two saucer brooches found in association with it. Chatwin suggested that the brooches had been worn on the shoulders and the necklet just above them on the throat. Two matching disc brooches were found at the same site, suggesting that the "paired" fashion was prevalent there. Matching small cruciform brooches, and other small-long brooches from Churchover, and matching annular, cruciform, disc, pen-annular, saucer and swastika brooches from Baginton are also likely to have been "paired".

3. Additional brooches

Graves at Aston Cantlow, Bidford and Ragley Park contained additional brooches. At Aston Cantlow a third saucer brooch was found in addition to the saucer brooches "paired" on the shoulders. The position of the third brooch was not recorded. This association of a saucer brooch with "paired" ones of the same type is uncommon. At Ragley Park a square-headed brooch was found in the grave with two radiate-headed ones.

Grave 88 at Bidford contained four brooches, two of them of applied type, and, in view of the recorder's remarks, likely to have been "paired". A cruciform brooch was found in unspecified position, and there was a saucer brooch between the thighs of the skeleton. There was no buckle in the grave, so the saucer brooch may have fastened the girdle or some other garment at the waist.

The richest Stratford grave contained four brooches, associated with the skeleton of an elderly woman. They included two saucer

brooches with central studs (probably "paired"), an elaborate, jewelled square-headed brooch and a small penannular.

4. Single brooches

Single brooches were certainly worn at Bidford, Emscote and Longbridge Park, and probably at Churchover and Stratford. Seven Bidford inhumations contained single brooches, two of them of saucer type. One was found at the side of the skull of a skeleton. Two others were cruciform, one an applied brooch of which only the back-plate remained, another was of Roman manufacture and the seventh was of unspecified type. (A button brooch illustrated in Humphreys et al., 1922-3, is not mentioned in the catalogue of grave-goods, and it is possible that this was the unidentified example, unless the recorders included it among saucer brooches.) A single square-headed brooch was found in an Emscote grave, and the richest grave at Longbridge Park contained a single, large, cruciform brooch. There were brooches without "partners" at Churchover and Stratford, which may have been worn alone. Unusual Stratford finds included one oblong brooch, one decorated with birds and interlace and a bird-shaped brooch.

5. Pins

Pins were associated with nine skeletons at Bidford. Two corpses had been children, including one female, and the rest, all but one, were identified as female. Pins were associated with two brooches and single brooches and also accompanied skeletons without brooches. One pin, found near the skull of a child, may have fastened the hair or headdress; a fragment of silver ornament may have been found near it. (The report is ambiguous.) An

isolated female skull, buried in a cist-like structure, was accompanied by a bronze pin and a bronze object identified as a "hair-ring".

The other pins were found at the upper part of the body, two on the breast, one under the chin and one on the right shoulder of skeletons. One of these was elaborate -- silver with a blue stone. The others were bronze, with eyes. The design of these invites comparison with objects identified as "prickers", also bronze with eyes, found with two female skeletons, each equipped with two brooches. In one instance the position of the "pricker" was recorded. It was found on the breast below one of the brooches. It seems possible that these two objects had functioned in the same way as pins.

6. Clasps

Wrist clasps were found in association with three females at Bidford, but only one of these was equipped with a complete set. Two pairs of clasps and fragments of others were found at Baginton, and clasps were also recovered at Churchover.

7. Clips

Clips which may or may not have been part of the clothing were in five Bidford graves, associated with skeletons of both sexes. One female had a clip "under the left-hand brooch", a male, "near the umbo" of the shield, therefore probably on the chest. This latter could have been attached to the shield rather than to the clothing. In two instances clips were found inside the left femur (one clip in one case, two in the other) and once inside the left knee.

8. Footwear

Two skeletons at Stretton-on-Fosse, both females not sharing a characteristic skull shape of others buried at the site, were found to have hob nails at the feet. Ford has suggested that these were native (Romano-British) wives integrated into the Anglo-Saxon community. The hob-nailed shoes are characteristic of British, not Anglo-Saxon costume, yet their occurrence in this burial ground confirms that burial in full clothing was the common practice, and contrasts with the usual lack of shoe fasteners in Anglo-Saxon graves. The Stretton evidence suggests that it was usual to bury the dead in their footwear, as well as in other clothing, although this has normally left no trace.

9. Buckles

Buckles were found at several sites, but only at Aston Cantlow and Bidford were their positions recorded. At Aston Cantlow a buckle was found on the chest of the skeleton equipped with three brooches. It could have fastened a diagonal strap, or possibly a high belt. At Bidford, twenty-two graves contained buckles. The associated skeletons were of both sexes, and included two children. The positions of the buckles were only recorded in a few cases, but the excavators often referred to them as "girdle buckles" implying that this function was suggested by the position. Those in specified positions included two found at the waists of skeletons, one at the left hip of a female, and one under the body of a skeleton of indeterminate sex, positions consistent with having fastened belts. However, at least one other was found at the upper part of the body. One was at the right clavicle of a female child. Another may have been near the right shoulder of a skeleton (the report is ambiguous) but was called a "girdle buckle". Belt plates indicating more elaborate belts were recovered from one female inhumation grave and a cremation.

At Ragley Park a buckle accompanied the skeleton with three brooches. Thirteen "girdle buckles" were found at Stratford, including one with a well-equipped female, and one was found in a male grave at Emscote. Buckles and strap ends were found at Baginton. The associations of buckles found at Churchover and Longbridge Park were not recorded, but they were evidently common in the area.

10. Belt fittings

Apart from the belt fittings associated with buckles at Bidford the belts of two females were attested by belt fittings, though buckles were absent.

11. Girdle rings

Well-worn rings associated with female skeletons at Longbridge Park may have been girdle fasteners, if they had not been used to suspend articles from belts.

12. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were common finds. They occurred in sixty-three inhumation graves at Bidford, including both sexes and children. Only twelve of the associated skeletons had buckles. The comment of the recorders suggests that knives were carried at the belts of men and of some women: "by the side of each warrior were an iron spear head and a knife ... in the case of the women ... a small knife was found lying on the breast or at the side". Two skeletons, both of

unidentified sex, were equipped with two knives, in one case both being found at the right of the pelvis.

Knives were found at the sides of skeletons at Churchover, and at Stratford there were twenty-one knives which had been contained in leather sheaths. At Ragley Park a knife accompanied brooches and a buckle in a grave that was probably a woman's.

Other girdle adjuncts have been recovered, but only from Bidford are the positions recorded. There, tweezers were associated with four skeletons, three female and one male. The females had probably carried the tweezers at the girdle, since a pair was found embedded in leather between the thighs of one skeleton, and another, with three other toilet articles, was attached to a ring which had perhaps hung from the belt. None of the females with tweezers had girdle buckles. The tweezers accompanying the male were, however, found at the right shoulder. Tweezers and toilet articles were also found at Churchover, tweezers at Baginton and two toilet articles suspended from a ring at Stratford. A needlecase was near the left knee of a child's skeleton, having perhaps hung from the belt. There was no buckle in the grave. Other objects found in similar positions relative to other skeletons were mostly unidentifiable. An object thought to be a key was found with a female, and what may have been another lay inside the right arm of a skeleton which was male (an unusual association). An ivory "armlet" (probably part of a pouch) was found at Bidford. A rich grave group from Longbridge Park included an object which may have been a key, and a girdle hanger. Girdle hangers were also found at Baginton. One female buried at Stratford was accompanied by a

leather purse which contained a Roman coin, and was found at the side of the body.

13. Possible toggles

A white stone bead which may have been attached to a belt, or may have functioned as a toggle was found "in the pit of the stomach" of the female skeleton at Aston Cantlow. (The buckle in this grave was found at the chest.)

Three Bidford graves contained single beads (two amber, one glass). None of these three had buckles, and it is possible that the beads had been used as toggles, though their positions were not recorded.

14. Other jewellery

Beads were found at Aston Cantlow, Baginton, Bidford, Churchover, Ragley Park and Stratford.

At Bidford, beads were associated with twenty-eight skeletons, including one child, all either female or of indeterminate sex. The positions of beads in individual graves were not noted, but the references in the report to "necklaces" suggests that they were most often found at the neck. One skeleton illustrated had a cluster of beads at the centre of the chest, below the brooches. Most of the beads at this site were amber, glass or paste, only one grave containing a large crystal example. This interment (Grave 26) contained the largest collection of beads in the cemetery. There were one-hundred-and-seven whole beads, plus fragments of others.

Pendants were neither common nor elaborate at Bidford. There were two perforated coins and a coin-like piece of metal, and pieces

of bronze and/or rings were found in several graves. One skeleton with beads had two ornaments beneath the chin, one round, the other triangular with openwork decoration. One skeleton had two pendants consisting of paste beads and rings in addition to other beads, while two had pendants but no other beads. One of these pendants consisted of a green glass bead set in bronze, the other of two rings, one of which may have enclosed a garnet.

At Stratford beads were mostly suspended in festoons from the brooches. They included amber, crystal and glass examples. Bronze, disc-shaped pendants recovered from the site may have been worn with them. The richest female grave at the site contained forty amber and paste beads and one crystal.

A Ragley Park grave group included amber and jet beads. Crystal examples were among Baginton finds. The richest grave at Longbridge Park contained the components of what may have been an elaborate necklace including amber beads and two bracteates, one gold, the other silver. A gold bracteate was found on the neck of a skeleton at Compton Verney, and a garnet-and-filigree pendant was associated with another skeleton at the site. The components of one or more necklaces of conversion period type were found with skeletons at Newton. They included three earthenware beads, two silver, one gold and one amethyst, plus two ^{gold} ornaments and two gold pendants, one enclosing a garnet, the other a black stone.

A perforated crystal was associated with a square-headed brooch at Emscote (the only brooch found in the 1851 excavations and therefore probably worn singly). Way suggested that it might have hung from the brooch as an amulet.

Three spiral silver finger rings were found with a female skeleton at Bidford, two of them still encircling the bones. The grave was not notably rich, containing two annular brooches, beads, a knife and tweezers. Another silver ring was found in a richer Bidford grave with four brooches, a buckle and a knife. Bronze finger rings were also found at Bidford. Part of a spiral finger ring was associated with the brooch and crystal at Emscote, and one of base metal was recovered from the richest Stratford grave.

At Emscote there was found the unusual silver wire necklet which was associated with saucer brooches (subsection 2, p.282 , above). The rich grave at Longbridge Park contained a silver bracelet.

XXVIII

Wiltshire1. Sites

Eighty-two sites are listed in the Gazetteer for Wiltshire¹ to which should be added Ford, Laverstock. Primary evidence is available from nineteen sites: Alvediston;² Ewer Chalke;³ Broad Chalke;⁴ Ford, Laverstock;⁵ Hamham Hill;⁶ West Knoyle II;⁷ Netheravon;⁸ Petersfinger, Clarendon;⁹ Purton;¹⁰ Roche Court Down II;¹¹ Roche Court Down III;¹² Roundway Down II, Roundway;¹³ Old Sarum;¹⁴ Sherrington;¹⁵ Shrewton;¹⁶ Warminster;¹⁷ Winklebury Hill, Berwick St. John;¹⁸ Winklebury II;¹⁹ Winterbourne Gunner.²⁰ Additional information has been drawn from: Bassot Down, Lydiard Tregoze;²¹ Mildenhall;²² Poulton Downs, Mildenhall;²³ Winterslow;²⁴ Yatesbury II, Cherhill.²⁵ Winterbourne Gunner, and possibly Bassot Down, were fifth-century sites. Hamham Hill and Petersfinger were both large, sixth-century sites, and finds from Mildenhall and Poulton Downs belong to the same period. Seventh-century finds have been made at Ford, Roundway Down, Shrewton and Yatesbury, and probably at Broad Chalke, Purton and Winklebury II. In addition the county provides evidence of Anglo-Saxons who were not especially dressed for the grave. The fourteen skeletons found at Old Sarum were evidently the remains of captives, since their hands had been tied. Their clothing might be expected to have been that in which they were captured and killed, after the removal of valuables.²⁶ A unique find at Poulton Downs, the skeleton of a woman who had fallen, or been pushed, down a Roman well, might have provided a truer picture of the costume of everyday

life, than the many carefully laid-out burials; but the associated objects were not all found in contact with the skeleton, and not all have been preserved.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches had been worn at Hamham Hill, Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner, and possibly at Basset Down and Mildenhall.

Brooches were found in eleven graves, containing females of all ages, at Hamham Hill. In nine, possibly ten, of them brooches may be considered to have been "paired" although the exact positions varied (shoulders, clavicles and breast or breasts). The brooches in the doubtful instance were found in reversed position suggesting to the excavator that they had been attached to a shroud. One of the "paired" brooches in another grave was also reversed. Saucer brooches were employed for "pairing" in three instances, and similar types, applied and button brooches, were each used once. Disc and square-headed brooches were each "paired" twice, and semi-circular-headed small-long brooches once.

Seven Petersfinger graves contained brooches, all associated with obviously female skeletons, except in one case (an infant). Brooches had probably been "paired" in four instances, twice on the shoulders, twice on the chest. Applied brooches were employed twice, saucer once, and disc brooches, dissimilar in size and ornament, once.

Brooches were found in three Winterbourne Gunner graves. Matching saucer brooches were "paired" on the collar bones of adult females in two of them.

A Mildenhall grave group consisting of typically female grave-goods included two large (5"), matching, saucer brooches which are likely to have been "paired".

The skeletons of "two young warriors" found at Basset Down appeared to be equipped with two saucer brooches each, and with other articles more commonly found with females. It seems likely that one of the two was female, or that other skeletons passed unnoticed.

3. Additional brooches

Grave 40 at Harnham Hill and Grave 25 at Petersfinger contained more than two brooches. At Harnham a Roman bow brooch was "in the lap" of a skeleton equipped with two saucer brooches found on the breast and probably "paired". The Roman brooch may have decorated or secured the girdle — there was no buckle in the grave — or fixed a skirt. The associated skeleton was that of an adult woman.

The positions of the brooches in Petersfinger Grave 5 are without parallel. A semi-circular-headed brooch was at the centre of the neck and a button brooch on the breast, to the left of the spine. Two other button brooches, almost identical, were at the wrists. Traces of leather and textile were attached to these two, which had presumably fastened sleeves. No other skeletons in this cemetery had fasteners at the wrists, and the positions of the other brooches in the grave were unlike those in other interments.

4. Two brooches not "paired"

In Grave 53 at Harnham Hill there were two brooches which had not been "paired". A small-long brooch of unusual shape was found

on the left shoulder and a penannular brooch on the first rib of the skeleton, probably on the right side.

5. Single brooches

Single brooches were associated with skeletons at Harnham Hill, Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner. In all cases except one at Petersfinger, where a woman had a Roman brooch, the single brooches were found with the remains of children. Two infants at Harnham Hill had single brooches, but the positions were not recorded. One was quoit-shaped. The other, which was fragmentary, was Roman. An annular brooch (or buckle) was found at the throat of an infant at Petersfinger, and a square-headed small-long brooch was at the left of the skull of a girl aged about eight years at Winterbourne Gunner. The Roman brooch with the adult woman at Petersfinger was found at hip level. Its position might be compared with that of the second brooch in Grave 40 at Harnham Hill, which was also a Roman relic^(sub-section 3, p. 293, above). A disc brooch found at Winterslow and associated with a skeleton believed to be that of a young man may be a further instance of the wearing of a single brooch.

6. Brooches in male graves

One brooch was found with a male at Winterslow. The sex of the Basset Down "warriors" with two brooches each seems doubtful.

7. Pin suite

Two gold-and-garnet pins, attached to a chain with central roundel, were found at the neck of a skeleton with typically female grave-goods at Roundway Down.

8. Pins

Other pins, many with perforated heads, have been recovered in relatively large numbers from Wiltshire, being found at Basset Down, Harnham Hill, Netheravon, Mildenhall, Petersfinger, Poulton Downs, Purton, Winklebury II and Winterbourne Gunner. At Harnham Hill the pins were found with three female skeletons, all equipped with brooches which had probably been "paired". One pin was found close to the brooches, a second, which had a perforated head, was found to the right of the skeleton. The position of the third was not recorded. Four Petersfinger graves contained pins. Three were associated with females, twice the pins being at the centre chest area of skeletons with "paired" brooches. The third female skeleton was that of a girl, without brooches. The pin was found near the chin. The fourth skeleton was male, and the pin had functioned differently. It was found across the body, below the buckle which lay at the left pelvis.

A female skeleton with "paired" brooches at Winterbourne Gunner was equipped with a ring-headed pin, the position of which was not recorded, and the objects from a Mildenhall grave group included a pin with an eye, in addition to two brooches. Another pin found at Mildenhall, also with perforated head, may have been associated with a saucer brooch.

A male skeleton with weapons found at Netheravon had a bronze pin close to the right side of the skull. A bone pin was associated with one of two skeletons at Purton, one of which was male. Two matching ring-headed pins were among finds from Basset Down, but as their associations were not recorded, there is no evidence that they were worn together. Yet their similarity, and the rings in their

heads, suggest that they may have been joined, forming a suite in the fashion found in cemeteries later than this one. At Winklebury II pins occurred in the graves of a male and a female. Both were found on the breast. The pin associated with the male was spiral-headed.

9. Possible headgear, clips

A bronze fastening found to the left of the head of an adult at Harnham Hill may have belonged to headgear, as may five clips discovered six inches from the skull of a girl at Petersfinger.

10. Footwear

Fifty-seven hob nails were found round the feet of a skeleton at Warminster. Other burials on the site were Anglo-Saxon, though this one, with only a nail and iron hook as grave-goods, may not have been.

11. Buckles

The positions of buckles were recorded at Broad Chalke, Ford, Harnham Hill, Petersfinger, Roche Court Down II, Old Sarum, Sherrington, Winklebury II and Winterbourne Gunner. At Broad Chalke a buckle was at the right ilium of an elderly male. At Ford, where a male skeleton was equipped with a seax found along the right upper side of the body, three buckles which may have been associated with the weapon were found in the grave. One, ornamented with garnet, was at the waist, the others attached to the seax sheath. Musty considered that the seax had been suspended from the shoulder by leather strapping.

At Harnham Hill buckles were found with four skeletons, one male, the others females. The associated female skeletons were equipped with "paired" brooches, with two brooches not "paired" or were without brooches. The position of all the buckles, where recorded, was at the waist.

Fourteen Petersfinger graves contained buckles. Seven of the associated skeletons were male (including three young and one old) and five female (including two old). All the buckles had apparently fastened belts at the waist or hip except in Grave 63, where two buckles appeared to have been contained in a pouch fastened by a third, and another was contained in a pouch (in association with a second skeleton in the same grave). Those buckles which appeared to have fastened belts were found centrally at the waist in three instances (with both sexes) five times at the right and three at the left. In addition a belt loop was shown in a diagram of the grave-goods associated with the female skeleton in Grave 17.

At Roche Court Down the fragments of an object which may have been a buckle (or clasp) were found near the left hip of the skeleton of a young man.

Only two of the skeletons from the probable battlefield cemetery at Old Sarum were equipped with clothing fasteners. Small buckles were found over the left hips of both. A buckle was found over the pelvis of a skeleton at Winklebury II, and three were associated with skeletons at Winterbourne Gurner. They accompanied a female skeleton equipped with "paired" brooches and a pin, and two males. All the buckles had probably fastened belts. The one with the female, and one of those with a male, the latter in association

with belt fittings and leather, were found in the midriff area of the bodies. The other male skeleton was equipped with an inlaid buckle and Roman-type tags or strap ends, all of which were found at the left elbow, having probably been worn at the left of the waist.

Two buckles were found at the same level as the female skeleton in the well at Poulton Downs. Since there were two buckles but no brooches with this female, it is tempting to speculate that the two buckles might have substituted for "paired" brooches. As one was lost at the time of excavation, however, it is impossible even to know if they were a matching pair.

The buckle, and remains of leather, found at Sherrington had probably not belonged to the costume, but to the shield, since they were found near the shield boss which was at the left of the head.

12. Belt fittings

A sixth- or seventh-century belt mount, not associated with a buckle, was found at Ford, and two Harnham Hill skeletons were similarly equipped. A female with brooches at this site had what was described as a "latten clasp" at the waist. An object which might have been a belt ornament was found at the waist of another female, and a late-sixth- or seventh-century girdle end was among unassociated finds from the site. At Petersfinger a bronze belt slide was found near the Roman brooch recovered from the back of the hips of a female in Grave 46.

13. Adjuncts to costume

Knives were found in position with skeletons at Alvediston, Bower Chalke, Broad Chalke, Harnham Hill, West Knoyle, Petersfinger, Purton, Roche Court Down II and III, Sherrington, Shrewton, Warminster, Winklebury Hill, Winklebury II and Winterbourne Gunner. Knives accompanied male skeletons at Alvediston and Bower Chalke. Both were without buckles, but the positions of the knives suggested suspension from belts. The Alvediston knife was found over the pelvis, to the left, the Bower Chalke one at the right. Knives were associated with five skeletons at Broad Chalke. They accompanied both sexes, ranging in age from a child of about nine years to an old person. Only one of the associated skeletons had a buckle, although three of the knives were found at the left of the pelvis, and one on top of the associated skeleton. The fifth knife was at the upper part of the body "where the shoulders had been". The sex of this skeleton was not recorded.

Fifteen Harnham Hill skeletons had knives. They included both sexes and their ages ranged from young to old. Four skeletons, two female, two of indeterminate sex, all without buckles, had knives "under the armpit", three at the left, one at the right. However, it is noticeable that the four occupied successively numbered graves. The position of the knife may represent a burial fashion practiced in a few adjacent graves, but it is possible that "under the armpit" was a phrase used by the excavator's recorder for a short time, and that it signifies nothing more than that the knives were found between arm and body, lower down the body than the armpit. Other knives at the site had more probably been slung at the belt. Two were at the

left of the bodies, four at the right. Only two of the associated corpses were equipped with the fastenings or fittings of a belt.

A knife was found at the left of a male skeleton without a buckle at West Knoyle, and twenty-four were associated with skeletons at Petersfinger, though one of the latter had apparently not been worn on the person since it was found under the skull. One knife found by the right shin of a skeleton which was probably female, had perhaps been carried in a pouch with other objects recovered from the grave. (This was the suggestion of the excavator.) Other knives at Petersfinger had probably been carried at the belt, although only ten of the associated skeletons had buckles. Twelve were at the left sides of the bodies (at thigh, hip or waist), five at the right, two central. Four were carried point upwards, another diagonally, point towards the opposite shoulder. Knives found with two skeletons buried in the same grave were beneath the bodies "as if worn on the back of the belt". This might reflect the custom of one family, or more probably, similar arrangements in simultaneous burials. (The excavator considered that one of the knives worn centrally might have been carried in a baldric, or fixed inside the wooden shield.)

A knife was found between the thighs of a skeleton at Purton, of which only the legs remained. The position of the knife suggests suspension from a belt. Another skeleton at the site, one equipped with a scramasax, had two knives, but no belt buckle.

At Roche Court Down II a knife was at the left pelvis of the skeleton of a young male with a buckle. Two males at Roche Court Down III, both without buckles, had knives. One knife was found between the thighs, the other at the pelvis.

At Sherrington, a knife was found with other objects near the head of a skeleton. The buckle was found in a similar position. It is possible that the belt, with buckle and knife attached, had been deposited in the grave rather than worn on the body.

A skeleton which was probably female, at Shrewton, had a knife at the right of the body. There was no buckle. Two skeletons at Warminster which had knives were also without buckles, although in these cases the knives may not have been carried at the belt, since one was found at the left shoulder of a skeleton of indeterminate sex. The position of the other knife, which was found with a female, was not recorded.

At Winklebury Hill a knife was found to the left of a male without a buckle. Four skeletons at Winklebury II, three male, one female, had probably carried the knives at the belt, although none had buckles. Three were found at the left. The fourth, which accompanied a male skeleton, was point upwards at the right of the body.

At Winterbourne Gunner knives were found with two males, an object which was probably a knife was with a female, and part of one with another female. Only one of the skeletons had a buckle. One skeleton of each sex had the knife at the left of the body. All the knives had probably been stuck through or suspended from the belt, since they were found at the waist, under the pelvis and inside the upper femur. Two knives were found with the Mildenhall grave group which had two brooches but no buckle, and the blade of a knife was found with the female skeleton at Poulton Downs which was associated with two buckles.

Other objects may have been attached to the girdles of persons in Wiltshire. Tweezers were at the waist of the skeleton of an old female at Hamham Hill, and a very small pair accompanied the skeleton of a child at the same site. A pair were found under the right armpit of the skeleton of a young adult, probably male, together with the knife, a strike-a-light and a fork. (There were relatively few girdle adjuncts at this site.) Five pairs of tweezers were associated with Petersfinger skeletons: two found to the right of females, one, with keys, to the left of a female; one pair, suspended from a ring, found at the right of a male, and one pair, with an earpick, at the left of another male. At Winterbourne Gunner tweezers were found with two male skeletons, one pair on the femur under the right hand, the other with a purse mount found in the left lumbar area. Other toilet articles were near the side of a young person buried at Hamham Hill, and with a female at the same site. In the latter case the articles were at the left breast, not at the waist, and were attached to a ring, but they had not been suspended from brooches since there were none in the grave.

Keys were found at Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner. Keys may have been contained in two of the many pouches at Petersfinger, as well as being attached to rings found once at the left and once at the right of skeletons. A fragmentary key was found with two rings at Winterbourne Gunner. A bronze plate was suspended from an object described as a "key ring" at Petersfinger and two rings were found at the waist of another skeleton at the same site. Two Winterbourne Gunner females had chatelaine rings at the left elbow,

and the remains of a chatelaine were found with a skeleton at Winklebury II. Iron links and other iron remains were associated with two circular openwork discs which had been attached to wood. This find should perhaps be compared to some items found by the left side of a skeleton at Shrewton. These were bronze ornaments, wheel-shaped and punched, which had perhaps decorated the girdle or purse.

Two purse mounts were recovered from Petersfinger, and one from Winterbourne Gunner (above, p. 302). At Petersfinger they were found at the left hip of a female and under the ribs of a male skeleton. Nine other corpses at this cemetery seem to have been accompanied by pouches or bags, attested by iron and leather remains, metal rings, one ivory ring, and the position of articles which may have been contained in them. Pouches appear to have been attached to the belt, the remains being found in four cases at the left and once at the right of skeletons. Eight times these articles were associated with females. One male skeleton had leather, textile, wood and possibly bone remains which were thought to have been a pouch, but in this case the position of the objects was not recorded. One pouch may have contained keys, another a key and two buckles, one a knife, one beads and another may have had beads hanging from it. Another may have contained a needle-case and three sections of chain. A needle-case on a chain was recovered from Yatesbury, but the associations were not recorded. A spoon with perforated bowl was found between the thighs of a girl at Winterbourne Gunner.

14. Possible toggles

At Harnham Hill a flat bone bead found at the right of the waist of a skeleton, and a single amber bead found "in the lap", near

the hand, of another, may have functioned as toggles. A single glass bead found at the right pelvis might also have been a toggle, although in this case there was a buckle, and other beads were found at the waist.

At Petersfinger two skeletons without buckles were equipped with single beads which might have functioned as toggles. One, of glass, was found at the waist. The other was at the right arm. A bead which might have been a toggle was found in the pelvic area of a Winterbourne Gunner skeleton, but as a buckle was found in the grave, the bead is unlikely to have fastened the belt.

15. Other jewellery

The positions of bead ornaments were recorded at Harnham Hill, Petersfinger, Roundway Down II, Winklebury II and Winterbourne Gunner. The sixth-century ornaments were not, on the whole, elaborate. At Harnham Hill beads were found with fourteen female or probably female skeletons of all ages. The number of beads was not recorded in every case, but quantities do not appear to have been large, and there were few pendants. Beads were found at the neck in three instances: small beads with a child; three beads with an adult; and a single bead, plus others lower down the body, with another adult. Beads were found on the breast of another skeleton without "paired" brooches and these also may have been the remains of a necklace.

Eight glass beads at the left wrist and eleven at the right of the skeleton in Grave 12 had probably been worn as bracelets. The same use may have been made of beads found in the area of the hand or arm in three other graves, but it is also possible that they

decorated the girdle. Beads were found "in the lap" in three instances and once at the waist, and these had probably been attached to the girdle, if not hung from the neck by a long string.

At Petersfinger beads were found with fourteen females of all ages, as well as sword beads associated with two males. The largest number of beads was found in Grave 5. The sixty-eight beads (eleven amber, the rest glass) seem to have been an unusually large quantity for this site. Necklaces were rare. The position of beads in relation to the two youngest skeletons was described as at the chin. This may have been a fashion for the very young, but it may be merely a difference of terminology. The beads found at the chin of a girl included five amber and five glass, and the ornament found at the chin of a child consisted of nine beads plus two bronze rings and plates. Beads found "at the throat" of another skeleton may have been worn similarly. A perforated roundel found at the right shoulder of this skeleton may have been a pendant. An old woman had been equipped with a festoon of beads (ten glass, two bronze and one bone) which stretched across the chest below brooches and a pin. Eleven amber beads were found between the collar bones and hips of another skeleton, mostly at the hips. The other persons buried at the site appear to have worn the beads low on the body. In three cases beads were found in the girdle area, once associated with two perforated coins and a disc and including a crystal bead, once including a lead bead and a bone bead on wire. One skeleton had three beads at the right elbow, as a girdle or arm ornament, and another had two amber beads

at the right ankle, where they had perhaps decorated the shoes or garters.

Three beads strung on a root of couch grass were found at the neck of a skeleton of indeterminate sex at Winklebury II. Four skeletons at Winterbourne Gunner, all female, were accompanied by beads, which appear to have been worn differently in each grave. A necklace of eleven beads (one amber, the rest glass and paste), accompanied an infant. A bracelet of forty-two beads (seventeen amber, twenty-five paste) had been worn by one adult, and three glass beads were found by the right elbow of another. They could have been attached to the girdle or the arm.

Twenty-one beads were found with the female grave group at Mildenhall, and one amber and two paste beads were found with the female skeleton at Poulton Downs.

Later ornaments were found at Shrewton and Roundway Down II. A seventh-century bracteate accompanied a female skeleton at Shrewton, but the position of the object was not recorded. Near the neck of the Roundway Down skeleton with a pin suite, there were found the components of an elaborate necklace — four gold beads, four garnet and four paste pendants.

Finger rings were found in five graves at Hamham Hill (four clearly female), a relatively high number since the graves on the whole were not rich. Three rings, gold, silver and bronze, were found among the left-hand finger bones of a female at Hamham Hill, buried with perhaps the most elaborate grave furniture — this was the only grave with three brooches. Three persons at Hamham Hill had worn the rings on the left hands, two on the right. Two rings found

at Petersfinger were again not in the cemetery's richest graves. They were found on the right hand of the skeleton of an old woman, and above the pelvis of a girl (having perhaps dropped there from the hand). A bronze ring found at Mildenhall had probably been worn on one of the fingers since the bone was stained.

Armlets were found on the wrists of a female and a child at Harnham Hill, and another was recovered from the site. The old female at Petersfinger, equipped with a finger ring, also had a bracelet on the right arm, and another was found in the same position in relation to another skeleton at the site.

XXIX

Worcestershire1. Sites

Ten Worcestershire sites are mentioned in the Gazetteer,¹ but little primary information is available from the county. This has been derived from one grave at Beckford B,² and from Broadway.³ Additional evidence has been derived from: Blockley;⁴ Bricklehampton;⁵ Evesham;⁶ Littlehampton;⁷ Upton Snodbury.⁸

Despite the relatively small number of sites providing evidence of costume in Worcestershire, information is available from all centuries of the pagan period. The burials at Broadway were fifth- and early-sixth-century, the site at Upton Snodbury probably sixth-century, Beckford B and Evesham sixth- to seventh- and Littlehampton seventh-century.

2. "Paired"brooches

The "paired" brooch fashion occurred in the earliest and later graves. Two saucer brooches accompanied a female in a fifth-century burial at Broadway, and applied brooches were on the clavicles of another female in a slightly later burial at the same site. Applied brooches were found on the shoulders of the female skeleton in a late-sixth- or early-seventh-century grave at Beckford B. The fashion probably extended to other areas, since brooches recovered from Evesham included two matching annulars and two disc brooches alike in size though not in decoration. From Upton Snodbury two matching saucer brooches and two matching cruciforms were recovered.

3. Third brooches

"Paired" brooches appear to have been commonly worn in conjunction with third brooches. Both the Beckford B skeleton and the Broadway skeleton with "paired" applied brooches were also equipped with square-headed brooches which seem to have been worn centrally on the chest. A cruciform brooch, gilt, decorated and larger than the others found at the site, was recovered from Upton Snodbury, and may have functioned as a third brooch.

4. Possible single brooch

There is no clear evidence for the wearing of single brooches in the county. Part of a small-long brooch was recovered from Blockley, where it was associated with two skeletons, but it is not certain that this had been functional at the time of burial.

5. Pin suite

From Littlehampton, a site apparently without brooches, there was recovered a pin suite with a central roundel.

6. Pins

No other pins have been found in association with skeletons in the county, although they were probably utilized in some of the earlier burials. Two iron pins (or buckle tongues) were among unassociated finds from Evesham, and a bronze pin was found at Broadway. It was noted that there was a resemblance between the Broadway pin and an object described as a "pricker" from Abingdon, Bak, supporting the possibility which has arisen in the present survey that objects identified as "prickers" might have functioned as clothing fasteners.

7. Buckles

Buckles had evidently fastened the belts of both sexes at Broadway, being found with two male skeletons and with both the females equipped with brooches. The positions of two of the buckles were recorded: one was found on the backbone of a male skeleton, and the other in the waist area of the female with three brooches. Buckles were probably not an essential part of the equipment, even at Broadway, however, since a skeleton of indeterminate sex (but with three beads, so probably female) was accompanied by a bronze strap end, but lacked a buckle. At Beckford B a bronze-and-bone belt ornament was found across the waist of the female skeleton with brooches. From Evesham there were recovered a bronze belt tab and an object which may have been the remains of a buckle, but the associations of these articles were not recorded.

8. Girdle ring

A bronze ring which may have originally been gilded was found between the ribs and the left humerus of a male skeleton at Broadway. Since the position of the knife suggests that a belt was worn, but there was no buckle, this ring may have been used to fasten the belt.

9. Adjuncts to costume

The presence of knives in Anglo-Saxon graves may often indicate that belts were worn, but the evidence for Worcestershire is limited. The only definite associations of knives and skeletons have been recorded from Blockley, where a knife accompanied a male, and from

Broadway, where two male and two female skeletons were equipped with knives. Both Broadway females and one of the males had buckles. The knife was found at the right side of the female skeleton with three brooches. The male skeleton with a ring at the left ribs, had the knife against the backbone, a position consistent with suspension from a belt.

Evidence for the wearing of other objects attached to the girdle is limited to the find of chatelaine instruments at Blockley. Probably one of the two skeletons recovered from the site was female.

10. Other jewellery

Sixty-five beads (including thirty-four amber and twenty-four paste) found at Blockley may have originally accompanied one (or both) of the skeletons. One amber bead, one of glass and the perforated tooth of an animal had probably formed a neck ornament accompanying a burial at Bricklehampton, although no skeleton was found. Reports of the finds at Upton Snodbury note that "a necklace" of about one-hundred-and-thirty amber beads was found, but since the beads appear to have been collected from dispersed finds, there is little likelihood that they all came from the same burial, and no certainty that all were worn at the neck.

More definite evidence comes from Broadway, where beads accompanied the burials of two females with brooches and another skeleton of indeterminate sex. Nineteen beads of glass and paste accompanied the female with two brooches. Bronze and silver wire fragments found in the same grave might perhaps have been constituents of the necklace (if indeed these beads were worn at the neck). Three small amber beads

accompanied the skeleton without brooches, while the most richly-equipped burial, that with three brooches, was apparently without a necklace. The four amber beads recovered from the grave were found near the left wrist. A silver bead among unassociated finds from the site suggests that a more elaborate ornament had been worn by one of the persons buried there.

Two silver finger rings were found near the fingers of the left hand of the richest Broadway skeleton (accompanied by three brooches, a buckle, knife and beads). Bronze wire fragments found near the fingers may have been the remains of another ring, or might perhaps have been associated with the beads.

XXX

Yorkshire1. Sites

Eighty-nine Yorkshire burial sites are listed in the Gazetteer,¹ to which should be added a recent discovery, East Witten. Primary evidence is available from eighteen sites: Acklam Wold;² Burton Pidsea;³ Carthorpe;⁴ Cheesecake Hill, Driffield;⁵ Driffield I;⁶ Elloughton;⁷ Garton II;⁸ Garton Slack I;⁹ Garton Slack II;¹⁰ Hamby;¹¹ Kilham;¹² Kirkburn II;¹³ Londesborough;¹⁴ Market Weighton;¹⁵ Painsthorpe Wold I;¹⁶ Seamer;¹⁷ Staxton, Willorby;¹⁸ Uncloby (Kelleythorpe).¹⁹ Additional evidence has been drawn from: Catterick;²⁰ East Witten;²¹ Everthorpe;²² Fimber;²³ Ganton Wold;²⁴ Garrowby Wold, Bishop Wilton;²⁵ Hambleton Moor;²⁶ Hornsea;²⁷ Howe Hill, Duggleby;²⁸ Lilla Howe, Goatland;²⁹ Melton Hill;³⁰ North Newbald;³¹ Occaney Beck;³² Rudstone II;³³ Saltburn-on-Sea;³⁴ Sancton II;³⁵ Sewerby;³⁶ Womersley.³⁷

Despite the fact that much Yorkshire material was excavated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there are detailed records of many burials. In addition to the more usual interments, the violent burial of a woman at Sewerby, and several careless burials apparently made in haste after a skirmish, at Elloughton, provide evidence of the costume of those who had not been carefully prepared for the grave.

There is no primary evidence from the fifth century from Yorkshire, although brooches from Rudstone and one from Kilham probably date from

this time. Other early evidence may be obscured by the practice of cremation in this Anglian area, there being many cremation sites among those noted by Meaney. There is considerable evidence for costume in the sixth century, including large cemeteries at Cheesecake Hill and Driffield which have been recorded in detail, and an unusual quantity of evidence from later sites. The fairly large sites at Garton II and Uncleby provide detailed evidence from the seventh century, and finds from Painsthorpe Wold, Seamer, Elloughton, Everthorpe, Hambleton Moor, Lilla Howe, North Newbald, Occaney Beck and Womersley also appear to be seventh-century. Objects recovered from Acklam Wold, Burton Pidsea and Kirkburn may also derive from late burials, and the site at Sewerby appears to have been in use from the sixth to seventh centuries.

2. "Paired" brooches

"Paired" brooches were attested at the neighbouring sites of Cheesecake Hill and Driffield I and at Starxton, and the fashion may have been current at other sites. Brooches were found in nine numbered graves at Cheesecake Hill (in addition to finds in earlier unsystematic excavations) and were "paired" in eight of them. The exact position varied, some being "paired" at the shoulders, others at the clavicles, the upper part of the breasts or near the neck. Cruciform brooches were "paired" in one grave, but the more popular choice was of annular brooches, found "paired" in seven graves. Two graves, however, contained dissimilar annular brooches and there was an unusual case of brooches made, not of metal, but of bone or ivory.

Brooches accompanied six skeletons, all apparently female, at Driffeld I. Annular brooches were found "paired" at the shoulders of a young person, and another grave at the site contained two annular brooches which might perhaps have been "paired", but this was not the fashion of the majority at the site. At Staxton, brooches accompanied all four skeletons excavated. Annular brooches were "paired" on the shoulders of one skeleton, and matching applied brooches found near the shoulder of another may also have been "paired". Matching trefoil-headed brooches, and penannular brooches not assigned to specific graves, might also have been "paired".

Two small annular brooches found at the neck of a skeleton at Market Weighton may have been "paired", and several grave groups from other sites include matching brooches which may have been worn in this fashion. Matching annular brooches were found in graves at Kilham, Londesborough, Sancton, Staxton and East Witten, matching small-longs in a grave at Hornsea and possibly Sewerby. Matching, early cruciform brooches were found at Rudstone, and two of the three cruciforms found in a grave at Ganton Wold may have been "paired". These brooches were either associated with female skeletons, or with persons of indeterminate sex. In a grave at Occaney Beck, however, two small annular brooches, considered seventh-century, accompanied a skeleton thought to be that of a young man.

3. Additional brooches

Several graves in the county contained more than three brooches. A skeleton excavated at Londesborough was equipped with a single cruciform brooch at the neck, two matching cruciform brooches on the

lower ribs and an annular brooch made of horn with a detachable metal pin. A female at Market Weighton was similarly equipped with a cruciform brooch on the chest, two larger (similar) cruciform brooches at the waist, another annular brooch and a ring of deer's horn with a metal pin which was found at the waist.³⁸

Other graves with numerous brooches were found at Hawnby, where a young female was accompanied by one bronze and four silver annular brooches, and at Staxton. There, Grave 2 contained, in addition to "paired" annular brooches, a massive annular brooch which shared a distinctive blue stain with the girdle hangers, so had probably been worn near the waist, and the remains of an applied brooch; and Grave 4 contained a large wire penannular brooch, one flat penannular brooch, fragments of two others of similar proportions and one enamelled, oval, disc brooch as well as part of a square-headed brooch which may have been attached to a necklace.

4. Third brooches

The fashion of wearing a third brooch does not appear to have been common in the area, nor was any one type of brooch consistently employed in this role. A third brooch accompanied the Cheesecake Hill skeleton with matching cruciform brooches. The cruciform brooches were unusual in this cemetery (although not unusual in Anglian areas) and the brooch which accompanied them was also unusual. It was saucer-shaped "but not a saucer brooch in the true sense" (R. A. Smith) decorated with gold foil, possibly having been jewelled. It was found on the right shoulder of the skeleton, apparently higher than the cruciform brooches which were on the breast. An object which may

have been the pin catch of a decayed brooch was found under the chin of a Cheesecake Hill skeleton which had annular brooches on the upper part of the breasts. One of the three cruciform brooches found with a female skeleton at Ganton Wold may have been a "third" brooch worn with a "pair". The richest grave at Sewerby contained a large square-headed brooch as well as two smaller ones, and a cruciform brooch was found in a grave with two annulars at Sancton. A massive ring, with incisions where a pin may have been attached, was found with matching applied brooches in Grave 1 at Staxton.

5. Two brooches not "paired"

At least three Yorkshire sites provide evidence of the wearing of two brooches which were not "paired". An annular brooch was found on the right shoulder of the Driffild skeleton in Grave 7 (a position corresponding to that of at least one of the single brooches at the site) and a second brooch, of cruciform type, at the upper chest.

It is possible that these brooches had been worn as a "pair", but the difference in type, in conjunction with the description of the positions, seems to suggest some other use. There is a similar ambiguity in the description of the brooches in Grave 35 at Uncleby. Two annular brooches were found in front of the face, a position not inconsistent with "pairing", but there were no other instances of "pairing" at the site.

At both Londesborough and Uncleby there were skeletons with one brooch at the upper and one at the lower part of the body. The Londesborough skeleton had one "bronze" brooch at the right shoulder and another at the side, while one Uncleby skeleton had an annular

brooch at the neck and a small safety-pin brooch at the hip. The position of the annular brooch corresponds to the positions of the single annular brooches which were the predominant fashion at Uncleby among those persons equipped with brooches. The positions of the two brooches in Grave 3 at Staxton were not recorded, but since they were of dissimilar type and shape — one being penannular, the other a large square-headed example — it is possible that they had been worn in some manner other than "paired".

6. Single brooches

Single brooches have been found both at sites where "paired" brooches were worn, and elsewhere. The positions of single brooches at Cheesecake Hill, Driffeld I, Elloughton, Garton, Hawnby, Kilham, Londesborough, Painsthorpe Wold, and Uncleby have been recorded. At Cheesecake Hill the "paired" fashion predominated, and only one of the graves recorded in detail contained a single brooch. This was a cruciform example, found on the chest of the skeleton, towards the right shoulder. At Driffeld I, in contrast, single brooches were the more popular fashion, being found in four of the graves recorded in detail. One, at least, was annular. One was on a skeleton's right shoulder, a position similar to that of the annular brooch in Grave 7 at the cemetery (subsection 5, p. 317, above). Another found near the head of a skeleton may have been worn in a similar position.

Two female skeletons at Elloughton had single annular brooches near the breastbones. Two other, dissimilar annular brooches recovered from the site could have been worn singly. (Sheppard called them penannular, but a photograph shows them to have been annular.)

At Garton brooches were found in six graves, all probably containing females ranging in age from young adults to the middle-aged. All the brooches were worn singly. One, found at the upper part of the breastbone, appears to have been worn centrally, the others were all at the right, three at the shoulder and two at the breast.

At Uncleby, where five single annular brooches accompanied skeletons, one was found to the left of the head, one on the shoulder, and the rest appear to have been worn centrally. One was found in front of the neck, one in front of the face and one on the breast. A single annular brooch, considered seventh-century, was found on the breast of a female skeleton at Painsthorpe Wold.

An annular brooch was found on the chest of a skeleton at Hawmbly. The latter was considered by the excavator to have been possibly male, but the associated objects suggest that it may have been female. The annular brooch was attached to a needle[^]case or threadbox. It is possible that the needle[^]case had been suspended from the brooch worn on the chest, but there is no other instance of such an object having been carried in this way. It is perhaps possible that the annular brooch at Hawmbly had been re-used as a chatelaine ring, and that the chatelaine had been placed in the grave, on the chest, rather than suspended from the belt as it might have been during life.

Long brooches were worn singly at Kilham and Londesborough. At Kilham the brooch was found close to the breast and at Londesborough a cruciform brooch was found on the breast. Another single brooch recovered from Londesborough was found at the neck of a skeleton.

Several other graves have contained single brooches, but the positions of these have not been recorded. Single annular brooches

have been found with females at Hambleton Moor, North Newbald, and (two cases) Saltburn. A single cruciform was also found at Saltburn and single penannulars at Fimber and Melton Hill. A single gold brooch, said to have been set with a white stone, was found at Lilla Howe, traditionally the burial place of a man. (Lilla, protector of the Northumbrian King Edwin.)

7. Secondary use of brooches

A plain annular brooch at Garton may have been re-used as a chatelaine ring, and one at Painsthorpe Wold was used to suspend a needle-case. Hawby may provide a further example.

8. Pins

Pins were recovered from several sites in the county, and were associated with female skeletons or skeletons of indeterminate sex. Their positions were recorded in relation to skeletons at Driffield I, Garton, Garton Slack I and Uncleby. Two of the three pins found at Driffield and the one from Garton appear to have been hairpins or fasteners for the headdress. A ring-headed example was found behind the skull of a young female at Driffield, and an object described by the excavator as a "hairpin" accompanied a disturbed female skeleton at the same site. Both were equipped with two brooches. The pin which accompanied a young adult at Garton was found under the skull. The skeleton had only a single brooch, but this was the richest female grave at the site.

A bone pin found at the left hip of a Driffield skeleton of indeterminate sex was considered by the excavator to have been possibly

a shroud fastener. An article found at the left shoulder of a skeleton of a middle-aged person at Garton Slack was identified as the point of a "pricker" or tongue of a buckle. A similar identification was suggested by Sheppard for a broken bone pin among finds from Elloughton. The object, 1" long when found, but probably not much longer when complete, may have functioned as the pin of a small brooch or buckle.

One of the four Uncleby pins was at the front of the neck of a skeleton with other objects including a brooch. Another was found at the hip of a skeleton and a third (which was only tentatively identified as a pin) was at the waist. Another "pin-shaped" object was associated with two brooches, but its position was not recorded. A bone pin was found with two skeletons, one of them female, at Howe Hill, and a bronze pin with looped end, described as a "hairpin", was found in the Staxton grave with two applied brooches. A silver pin was among the grave-goods of a female at Hambleton Moor, which included a brooch and a threadbox typical of the seventh century. Two gold-and-garnet pins were among seventh-century finds at Seamer, and two objects identified as "hairpins", one gold, one silver, were among the grave-goods of a richly-equipped female at Hawnby.

9. Clasps

Wrist clasps were found in position on skeletons at Cheesecake Hill, Kilham and Londesborough, and at several other sites, but not, apparently, in seventh-century burials. At Cheesecake Hill clasps were found in five numbered graves and elsewhere. None accompanied male skeletons. The positions were sometimes described in terms of the vertebrae or waist, but it seems likely that all but those in

Grave 8 (where one clasp was under the skull) had been worn at the wrists. Grave 11 contained two pairs of clasps which were similar but not identical in ornament. The clasps in Grave 2 which were found under the lower waist and partly under the right arm of the skeleton were accompanied by bronze strip and decayed matter; dark matter was also found between the left hand and the left pelvis. It is possible that this was the remains of the wrist bands which the clasps had fastened. The Cheesecake Hill clasps were found in graves with one, two and three brooches and without brooches.

Clasps were found in five Londesborough graves and others were recovered from the site. The positions in which they were found (the loins, lower ribs and breast) probably result from the positions of the arms at burial rather than some unique function. The Londesborough finds included two similar, but not identical, pairs of clasps found with the same skeleton, and two dissimilar halves, found with another. Clasps accompanied a skeleton with a single brooch and one with four. A Kilham skeleton with one brooch was found to have clasps at the right of the waist and at the right upper arm, probably the left arm having been placed across the chest.

It seems likely that the position of the finds influenced the excavator's description of an object from Ganton Wold as a "waist bolt clasp". Two pairs of clasps from Market Weighton were also considered to have been girdle fasteners. Parts of clasps were found at Driffeld I, and one pair only accompanied a female with three brooches at Sewerby.

Clasps were found in all four graves at Staxton, where they were considered to have been belt fasteners, those in Grave 2 being

found at the waist. Two pairs were found in one grave, one-and-a-half in another, and two graves contained only one pair. They occurred in graves with "paired" brooches, and with brooches used in other ways. A pair of "massive" clasps, unlike the normal thin ones, were among other finds from Staxton.

10. Possible headgear

At Cheesecake Hill a skeleton with two buckles had one of these at the right of the skull, with bronze remains.

11. Buckles

The positions of buckles have been recorded from Acklam Wold, Carthorpe, Cheesecake Hill, Driffeld I, Garton, Garton Slack I, Kilham, Seamer and Uncleby, and they have been found at several other sites.

At Acklam Wold, a site apparently without brooches, a buckle was found at the pelvis of a skeleton of indeterminate sex, and another accompanied a skeleton with weapons. The position of the latter was not recorded.

Six Cheesecake Hill skeletons had buckles. One was male, the rest certainly or probably female. In all but one grave the buckles were found at the waist or hips, once in association with tags and once attached to some bronze which may have decorated the girdle. The exception was a skeleton with two buckles, one at the skull, the other under the left knee with objects belonging to the chatelaine. The second buckle may have fastened a pouch, or the strap from which the objects were suspended.

Two Carthorpe skeletons had buckles. One was found with two strap ends at the neck of an elderly female, another had probably fastened a belt, being found at the left hand in front of the abdomen. No brooches were found at this site.

Buckles accompanied ten skeletons^{recorded} in detail at Driffield, and others were found at the site. The associated skeletons included four males and four females. One young female without brooches had the buckle at the left shoulder. All the other buckles from Driffield appear to have fastened girdles and to have been worn centrally. Two graves contained two small buckles, and one also an object which may have been a strap end. Another skeleton with a buckle had a strap tag, and another the remains of bronze and rivets which may have decorated the belt.

At Garton buckles accompanied fourteen skeletons (and possibly two more). These included both sexes — six male, two female — and a child. One buckle accompanying a probable female was found with chatelaine constituents at the ankles. The belt and objects attached to it may have been laid at the foot of the grave. Another buckle, found near the knife under the skull of the skeleton, may have been deposited in a similar way. Both deposits confirm that certain objects were normally associated with the belt. In other graves at Garton, buckles appear to have fastened belts. In five instances they were found to the right of the bodies. One female skeleton had a second buckle at the right knee. It may have fastened a garter, or been attached to something suspended from the belt.

The Garton Slack evidence consists of a piece of iron found at the left shoulder of a skeleton, mentioned above among pins (p.321),

but which may have been the tongue of a buckle. The buckle accompanying a skeleton at Kilham was found lower down the body than the single brooch, and is likely to have fastened a belt. Fragments of what may have been a buckle were found at the right side of a skeleton at Seamer.

At Uncleby, buckles were associated with twenty-two skeletons, including six male and five female. One female without brooches had a buckle at the right shoulder. It is possible that this had functioned similarly to the single annular brooches which were found in several graves at this cemetery. One male skeleton had a buckle on the breast. One young female was accompanied by two buckles which were found under the skull and under the shoulders, but it seems unlikely that these had been part of the clothing worn at the time of burial. Other buckles seem to have fastened belts. Two were found at the right and one at the left. The rest seem to have been central. The skeleton of an old woman had two buckles at the waist.

Other interesting grave groups with buckles include one from Catterick, where a skeleton (without brooches) had two buckles; a group from Hambleton Moor with one brooch and one pin; one from Saltburn with a single brooch; and three grave groups from Staxton, one with "paired" brooches, one containing two dissimilar buckles, the others one. Tab and strap ends were found in Grave 4 with a buckle. The buckle in Grave 2 was accompanied by a stylized horse, which had, like the buckle, been silvered, and was probably a belt ornament. Another belt ornament, a buckle and more tabs were among stray finds from this site. A buckle, buckle plate and a bronze attachment for a strap accompanied a female skeleton at Market Weighton.

12. Belt and strap fittings

A strap end at the right shoulder of a Drifffield female with brooches, provided a second example at that site of a strap worn at the upper part of the body. Strap ends were found in two other female graves at the site, one found at the right thigh. Staxton Grave 1 contained strap tabs and brooches, but no buckles. Two silver strap tags were found at Lilla Howe.

13. Adjuncts to costume

The positions of knives were recorded in relation to skeletons at Acklam Wold, Carthorpe, Cheesecake Hill, Drifffield I, Garton, Garton Slack II, Hawaby, Londesborough, Painsthorpe Wold I, Seamer and Uncleby. At Acklam Wold knives were found with four skeletons, one of which was certainly male. All the knives were found at the hips, having probably been attached to belts, which were evidenced by buckles in only two of the graves.

Two knives found at the left waists of skeletons at Carthorpe were accompanied by buckles. One of the knives had been carried point up. Knives were recorded in six of the documented graves at Cheesecake Hill, two of which contained males and four females. One was found under the left knee of a skeleton, where it may have been thrust into a stocking or garter, or hung from a belt. The others had all probably been stuck through or suspended from the belt though only four of the graves contained buckles. Three knives were found at the left and one at the right. Three had been carried point upwards.

Knives found with fourteen skeletons at Drifffield I, including seven males and six females, had all, where the position was recorded,

been found at the belt area, except one found at the lower part of the chest. Eight skeletons with knives had buckles, so that in five cases the presence of knives evidenced belts. Six knives were found at the left and one at the right of the associated skeletons. Three were carried point up.

Fifteen Garton skeletons, including five males, two females and a child, had knives. One knife, found with the buckle under the skull of a skeleton, may have been laid in the grave with the belt to which it was attached. One knife was found on the chest of a young female. Others had probably been carried at the belt. Three (possibly four) were found at the left, four at the right. Four were point up. Seven of the skeletons with knives had buckles, and seven which had probably carried the knives at the belt did not.

A knife found across the lower part of a skeleton at Garton Slack II (at the forearm) may have been worn at the belt, though there was no buckle in the grave. At Hawnby, a small knife was attached to a needle-case with the objects, which (as suggested above, subsection 6, p.319) may have been suspended from the annular brooch which was found on the chest.

A knife was found at the knee of a skeleton with one brooch at Londesborough, having perhaps been suspended from the girdle or attached to the leg. The positions of other knives found at this site were not recorded. At Painsthorpe Wold a knife, found with the chate-laine complex in the angle formed between the body and the doubled-up legs, had probably been attached to a belt, but there was no buckle present. A knife was found at the left side of a Seamer skeleton equipped with a buckle.

Twenty-two Uncleby skeletons, including five males and six females, were equipped with knives. Two knives were found at the upper parts of the bodies, one under the chin of a female, the other on the chest of a male. Others appear to have been worn at the belt, once specifically at the left and twice specifically at the right side (one of the latter cases having two knives). Thirteen of these skeletons had buckles which had probably fastened girdles, one had a whorl or toggle which may have functioned in the same way, and one a hook-and-eye. There were therefore ten without belt fasteners.

In addition, male and female grave groups from North Newbald, and female groups from Sewerby, included knives but not buckles.

A variety of other girdle attachments have been recovered from the county. Keys attached to rings were found with two females at Cheesecake Hill, one at the left knee and the other behind the body. One skeleton had a buckle and one had not. A key was found with two links and other objects on the chest of the Hawnby skeleton and keys were also recovered from other sites, including Kirkburn, Londesborough (though the object in this case could have been a girdle hanger), North Newbald, Spaunton and Staxton. Rings (without keys) which may have suspended objects from the girdle were found at the waist of a Cheesecake Hill skeleton and in the girdle area of a Seamer skeleton. (Both had buckles). An undecorated ring, originally an annular brooch, was found at the feet of a female at Garton with other objects, some of which might normally have been suspended from the belt. The brooch may have been re-used as a chatelaine ring (subsection 7, p.320, above). An iron ring with a projection, and a small wire ring, found

at Driffield and Spaunton, respectively, could have been attached to girdles. Girdle hangers occurred in sixth- and seventh-century graves. They were found with a skeleton at Driffield, a female equipped with a belt buckle, and at the lower ribs of a Londesborough skeleton without a buckle, so that in the latter instance the presence of the hangers confirmed that a belt had been worn. Three girdle hangers were found in the belt area of Uncleby skeletons, all without buckles, although one had a bone whorl in a position suggesting that it might have functioned as a girdle toggle. Another hanger was associated with two rings and chain. Chain was also found with one of the other girdle hangers. Girdle hangers, new when buried, were found at the waists of two Staxton females, one with a buckle, one without. Hangers were also in grave groups at other sites, including Sewerby, where they were associated with a threadbox. There was no buckle in the grave (but an iron ring was found).

Threadboxes were found on the chest of a female at Hawnby, associated with chain; in the hip area of a female at Painsthorpe Wold, also associated with links; and in a female grave at Hambleton Moor, position unrecorded, but also associated with chain. Three or four were associated with females at Uncleby. One was found at the front of the waist, another at the left shoulder. One skeleton had two containers, both possibly hanging from the waist. One was at the front of the waist, the other between the shin and thigh.

Pouches, purses and other containers were attested by the finds at several sites. An object which may have been a pouch frame accompanied a Driffield skeleton, and ivory rings found in Spaunton and

Staxton grave groups may have decorated pouches. The remains of a pouch or wallet found on the fifth vertebra of a male skeleton at Garton may derive from an object worn on the person, but it is possible that it was laid separately in the grave, as other containers at this site appear to have been. The remains of purses were found at Kirkburn and at the right side of a skeleton at Seamer.

Among objects which may be categorized as tools, there was a high proportion of sharpening implements in the Yorkshire area. At Garton a sharpening iron found with a male skeleton lay at right-angles to the knife. Probably both had been carried at the belt, although there was no buckle. (A similar object accompanying another skeleton at this site had apparently not been worn on the person.) At Garton Slack II also, an object which may have been a sharpening iron was found with the knife, again without other evidence of a belt. Male grave groups at Elloughton and North Newbald had sharpening implements and three hones were among finds from Kirkburn. At Uncleby four sharpening steels and a whetstone were found in positions consistent with suspension at the belt. The whetstone accompanied a male, the steels were found with both sexes. The evidence shows that the regional tendency to bury such instruments, which is more marked in this area than in others, persisted throughout the pagan period.

Shears, found with a bodkin and comb in a case, accompanied a female skeleton at Driffild. They had probably been carried at the belt which was attested by a buckle. Shears were found in another female grave at this site, with a strike-a-light and comb, and in a Howe Hill grave group, but were otherwise rare. (A pair of scissors

found by the left leg of a Cheesecake Hill skeleton, a female, may have been modern.) An earthenware spindle whorl accompanied a female at Staxton. Tweezers were uncommon grave finds in this area. Illustration suggests that an object found at the right hip of a male skeleton at Garton may have been a pair of tweezers, but they were not identified as such by the excavator. A buckle accompanied the interment, and the tweezers had probably been carried at the belt. Another pair were recovered from Spaunton, and a pair was found with a female at Staxton.

Other objects which had probably been attached to girdles include a ladle, found in front of an Acklam Wold skeleton without a buckle, and possibly a spoon associated with a female at Garton.

The positions of combs sometimes suggest that they may have been worn on the person, not merely laid in the grave as appears more common. A comb was found on the breast of a Garton female, and one under the right elbow of a youth at Garton Slack I. The former comb might have been strung round the neck, the latter carried at the belt. Two combs accompanying females at Uncleby, one at the neck, the other at the left of the head, were found, and may have been worn, with jewellery. Another Garton comb, however, was demonstrably not worn on the person, being found at the feet, therefore one cannot deduce that the carrying of the comb on the person was the fashion of this area.

14. Possible toggle

The bone whorl found at Uncleby (^{p. 329,} above) could have functioned as a toggle.

15. Other jewellery

Beads were observed in position on skeletons at Burton Pidsea, Carthorpe, Cheesecake Hill, Driffield, Garton, Kilham, Londesborough, Painsthorpe Wold, Sewerby, Staxton and Uncleby, and were associated with grave groups from Elloughton, Hawnby, Market Weighton, North Newbald and Saltburn.

The Burton Pidsea beads were of glass, and were attached to gold wire rings. Two such ornaments, which were considered to have been earrings, but which might have formed a ring-and-bead necklace, were found on either side of the skull of a skeleton. At Carthorpe, four small glass beads had probably formed a simple necklace. They were found among the neck bones of the skeleton of a young female. No brooches were found at this site.

At Cheesecake Hill beads were found with "most" skeletons, and in four instances appear to have been worn round the neck: in at least one case beads were recovered from under the neck as well as above it. Others were found on the breasts of skeletons. In one grave five beads formed a small festoon near the right-hand "paired" brooch. In another, beads were accompanied by a metal object which may have been a pendant. The largest number of beads to accompany a Cheesecake Hill skeleton was two-hundred-and-nineteen, recovered from Grave 11. These were mostly amber, but included three crystal examples, arranged in three "links" (? festoons). Five cowrie shells were found with them, but it is unclear whether or not these could have been suspended with the ornament. Beads were twice found at the heads of skeletons at this site, once in such a position as to suggest that

a bead had been used as an ear ornament. Amber and glass beads were found round each wrist of one skeleton, having apparently been worn as bracelets.

Bead ornaments accompanied four females at Driffield, varying from a single amber bead in Grave 24 to a necklace two feet long composed of fifty-five glass and amber beads in Grave 18. A bracteate probably hung as a pendant from the necklace of twenty-four beads in Grave 26. The remains of leather and bronze, and bronze drums fastened together, found on the neck of a child aged about five years, may have constituted a necklace of some kind. Similar bronze drums were found in a grave at Cheesecake Hill.

Six Garton graves, containing the remains of adult females and a child, had beads. The most elaborate ornament was in Grave 7, where thirteen beads, including amethyst and glass, were found "about the neck", three pendants, one of them garnet, on the chest, and two silver knot rings close by. A pendant was found on the chest of the skeleton in Grave 12, which had nine beads under the chin. The female in Grave 19 had eleven beads, including one of silver, near the lap, and a bronze ring at the ankle, in addition to one bead found at the upper part of the body, which was considered to have been an ear ornament. Two beads found on either side of the skull of another female, and a single bead to the right of the neck of a child were considered possible ear ornaments by the excavator. A single bead and a bronze pendant were found on the breast of another female.

At Kilham amber and glass beads were found near the neck of a female skeleton with a single brooch, and beads were probably among the "other ornaments" found at the neck of a Londesborough skeleton

which also had one brooch. A skeleton from the latter site, which was accompanied by two brooches, had a single bead, and glass and melon beads were exhibited among objects from the grave containing four brooches, but the position of the beads was not recorded.

Two amethyst and nine paste beads found at the neck of a female skeleton at Painsthorpe Wold accompanied a single brooch. The richest of the graves excavated at Sewerby apparently contained two necklaces of amber and glass beads, plus two bronze pendants.

Necklaces were found in all four Staxton graves, although only in Grave 2 was their position (on the chest) recorded. Necklaces were of amber and glass beads, the largest number being recovered from Grave 2, where eighty large amber beads, four long thin glass ones and three other glass ones were found. The beads were also plentiful in Grave 1, where eighty-three amber beads and two long thin glass ones were found with a perforated shell which may have hung as a pendant from the necklace. In addition the person in this grave appeared to have had a bracelet, of nine amber and three glass beads. The female in Grave 4 apparently had two necklaces, one of fourteen amber and three glass beads, the other of twelve, squarish, amber beads, an animal's tooth and a piece of metal which had originally been part of a square-headed brooch.

Beads were found in eleven graves at Uncleby, all probably containing the remains of females. Five of the graves contained single beads, although one, in which the skull only remained, might originally have had more. The bead was found behind the skull. The other single beads were found at the chin or neck area of skeletons. Seven glass beads and two of amethyst were found in Grave 38. The other strings

of beads were accompanied by pendants or rings. The pendant in Grave 13, found at the neck with the beads, was of silver and carnelian, that in Grave 31, which was gold, was found in the centre of a string of beads, and a gold- and-garnet ornament found at the left side of the head of a probably female skeleton in Grave 65 may also have been a necklace pendant, although in this case there were no beads. A piece of Samian ware had apparently been used as a pendant in Grave 39. Two silver "earrings" found with beads and a silver pendant in Grave 62 could have been part of a ring-and-bead necklace and three silver rings found with beads in Grave 3 probably had this function. Two beads were found at the hip of the skeleton in this grave. They could have functioned as fasteners (there was no buckle in the grave) but it is possible that beads had been scattered in the grave, as two others were found at the feet of the skeleton, together with a thread-box which might normally have been suspended at the belt.

At Hawnby blue glass beads were among the objects from a grave group, and twenty-eight beads of amber, glass and paste accompanied a skeleton from Market Weighton. Beads accompanied at least four skeletons at Saltburn and included amber, crystal, glass, jet and paste examples. Grave groups from Elloughton and North Newbald may have included ring-and-bead necklaces. At Elloughton the skeleton of a child was equipped with two glass beads suspended from silver wire, in addition to three larger beads or whorls, and a North Newbald skeleton had two beads suspended from a wire ring. Beads of amethyst, glass and jet found at Kirkburn suggest a late pagan neck ornament. Late ornaments were also found at Acklam Wold and Womersley. At

Acklam Wold a gold-and-garnet pendant was found, as well as amber and glass beads which may belong to earlier interments. A gold-and-garnet pendant was also found at Womersley.

Other, rarer, items of jewellery from Yorkshire include a bronze armlet associated with a disturbed female skeleton at Driffild and the remains of a similar armlet from Grave 1 at Staxton. A wire finger ring was found at Everthorpe, apparently with a male skeleton, an unusual association.

XXXI

Discussion1. Female costume

Disputing Wilson's statement that "women's dress ... changed but little" in the Anglo-Saxon period,¹ S. C. Hawkes mentioned "archaeological evidence for a major change in the seventh century. The conversion brought in its wake a taste for Mediterranean fashions and the pagan style of dress with its assortment of brooches as fasteners and 'buttons' was superceded by a more classical garb that needed no fasteners beyond a single large brooch for the mantle".²

The survey (Sections I - XXX, above) supports to some extent the suggestion that a change in women's costume occurred about the conversion period, therefore the female costume of the fifth to sixth centuries, and that of the seventh are considered separately in the following discussion.

a. The earlier period

The evidence of the survey suggests that from the settlement (c. 449) to a time which may be equivalent to the conversion to Christianity (597 onwards), women wore a basic, traditional costume which could be arranged and augmented in various ways.

The most noticeable feature of earlier grave furniture is the popularity of "paired" brooches. The fashion is characteristic of female graves, only rarely occurring in graves considered male. "Pairing" is clearly attested in most of the counties examined in the survey: Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire,

Derbyshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Kent, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire (I, 2, pp. 23-4; II, 2, pp. 33-8; III, 2, p. 52; IV, 2, pp. 57-9; V, 2, pp. 72-3; VIII, 2, pp. 80 - 1; IX, 2, pp. 86-7; X, 2, pp. 92-3; XIII, 2, pp. 108-11; XV, 2, pp. 155-6; XVIII, 2, pp. 176-8; XX, 2, pp. 193-6; XXI, 2, pp. 211-12; XXIII, 2, p. 222; XXIV, 2, pp. 227-31; XXV, 2, pp. 251-2; XXVI, 2, pp. 266-7; XXVII, 2, pp. 280-2; XXVIII, 2, pp. 292-3; XXIX, 2, pp. 308; XXX, 2, pp. 314-5).

Exceptions include those which have yielded few Anglo-Saxon burials (Dorset, Middlesex and Somerset); areas where cremation was practiced (Norfolk provides only secondary evidence of "pairing"); and those counties in which the major burials derive from the seventh century (Buckinghamshire and Derbyshire).

At the majority of fifth- and sixth-century sites, "pairing" appeared more often than any other arrangement of brooches, although there are exceptions such as Wheatley, O, and Driffield, Y, where single brooches predominated (XX, 4, pp. 197-8; XXX, 6, p. 318); and Chessell Down, IOW, and Ipswich, Sf, where brooches were placed centrally (X, 3, p. 93; XXIV, 6, p. 236). Typical "paired" arrangements utilized matching brooches. The recurrence of identical brooches in this role justifies the inclusion in the survey, as supplementary evidence, of some of the many instances of matching brooches not recorded in situ; and as possible examples of "pairing" some of the matching brooches found in asymmetrical positions. In cases where dissimilar brooches were "paired", there was some symmetry, in that long brooches were normally associated with long, circular with circular. The degree of

care shown in matching identical brooches varied from site to site, Sleaford, Li, for example, having a high proportion of dissimilar "pairs" (XV, 2, p. 156). The several instances of dissimilar "partners" in Berkshire cemeteries usually involved the "pairing" of an unusual brooch with one of more common Anglo-Saxon type (II, 2, pp. 34-8).

Almost all of the known Anglo-Saxon brooch types have been found "paired", an exception being the circular, polychrome brooch characteristic of the seventh century. Re-used Roman brooches have also been utilized in this way, either in pairs or coupled with Anglo-Saxon brooches of similar shape and size.

Regional variations in brooch types have long been established.³ Cruciform brooches are considered typically "Anglian", saucer brooches "Saxon" and inlaid brooches "Jutish". The survey suggests that the "paired" brooch fashion transcended the cultural boundaries of Angle, Saxon and Jute, and it is likely that the same type of garment was worn by women in most areas in the one-and-a-half centuries following the settlement.

The contention that the occurrence of "paired" brooches indicates the wearing of a particular style of garment is supported by continental evidence; this may also help to explain the function of the brooches in Anglo-Saxon graves. Pairs of brooches have been worn at the shoulders by women of various civilizations to clasp together the front and back of a tubular, sleeveless garment. The Greek peplos was clasped in this way (Fig. 1) and this style of garment has been observed as recently as the nineteenth century in Algeria⁴ (Fig. 2).

The fashion is well attested among Germanic peoples. Captive German women depicted on the second-century Column of Marcus Aurelius

in Rome wear tubular garments clasped at the shoulders by small, round brooches (Plate I). A similar garment is a characteristic constituent of a costume identified by Wild in his examination of the clothing of the north-west provinces of the Roman Empire.⁵ This dress, which Wild has called the "Costume of Menimane" from its appearance on the sculpture of a lady of that name (Plate II), occurs on ten funerary sculptures of the first and early second centuries, mostly located in the Rhine Valley. Wild noted that archaeological evidence would suggest that Menimane's costume, which essentially required a third, central brooch in addition to the "paired" brooches (below, p. 346), was a rural fashion of the first century; but that a related costume with only the "paired" brooches (corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon grave finds) occurred in the Danubian provinces from the first to the third centuries and was also known in the Rhineland.

A similar costume was evidently worn in Scandinavia. An Iron Age garment recovered from the peat bog of Huldremose, Denmark, takes the form of a gown, designed to be girdled and clasped together at the shoulders (Plate III). The garment consists of a tubular length of woollen fabric, and as exhibited in the National Museum of Antiquities in Copenhagen, with the top turned out to form a double thickness round chest and shoulders, it resembles in shape the modern example from Algeria.

A variety of this costume evidently persisted in Scandinavia until the Viking Age, since "paired" "tortoise" brooches have been found in women's graves there. The costumes worn by women buried in the tenth-century cemetery at Birka, Sweden, have been reconstructed from archaeological evidence, including textile fragments; the garments

must have been similar in appearance to the Huldremose example, though made from a rectangular, not a cylindrical, length of fabric, and attached to the shoulder brooches by means of loops, instead of being clasped directly by the brooch pins⁶ (Fig. 3). Finds from the tenth- to twelfth-century cemetery at Vernes, Norway, however, indicate that the Viking garment could be worn with or without the loops, since some brooches directly clasped the fabric of the gown.⁷

Wild noted that "clothing requiring more than one fibula to support it is rare in the North".⁸ Since there do not appear to be any depictions from the early Middle Ages of "paired" shoulder brooches functioning in any other way, it seems reasonable to suppose that wherever a pair of matching or similar brooches is found near the shoulders of a female skeleton, they had clasped a gown of the appearance described. It appears, therefore, that the costume of pagan Anglo-Saxon women was a traditional one shared by other Germanic peoples, and also known to non-Germanic races.

Wild has shown that although the characteristic garment was designed to be clasped together on the shoulders by two brooches, the positions and number of the brooches might be varied. Menimane, whose gown was secured to an under-bodice by means of an additional brooch worn at the centre of the chest, had arranged the left side of her gown so that it slipped from the shoulder, down the arm, one of the "pair" of brooches lying against the left upper arm instead of on the shoulder.

The characteristic looseness of this gown, and the fact that "paired" brooches were not used to pin the gown to the undergarment, but were worn in such a way as to leave the shoulders of the garment movable, may explain some of the varieties in the positions of "paired"

brooches in the Anglo-Saxon graves examined. The permitted freedom of movement could result in the brooches lying "near the teeth" or "on the breasts" of a corpse. The asymmetrical arrangement of the brooches in the depiction of Menimane may explain similar Anglo-Saxon arrangements, such as the matching disc brooches found at the right shoulder and the left side of a skeleton at Wheatley, O (XX, 2, p.196).

A girl depicted on a Mainz sculpture, one of Wild's corpus of figures in Menimane's costume (Plate IV), wears the tubular garment clasped only on the left shoulder, exposing the bodice over the right breast. The loose folds of the gown are confined by the girdle at the waist. This example raises the possibility that some of the many single brooches found near the shoulders of female Anglo-Saxon skeletons might have fastened the same type of gown as that clasped by the "paired". If a bodice was worn under the gown, it was not necessary for the latter to be fastened at both shoulders.

It is possible that the tubular garment could be worn without the characteristic brooches, since it could be held in place by stitching the front to the back at one or both shoulders. It is not necessary therefore to assume that women buried in fifth- or sixth-century graves with grave-goods such as buckles or clasps but without brooches, wore a different type of costume from the women in neighbouring graves equipped with "paired" brooches. A typical example is found at Sleaford, Li, where the majority of furnished female graves had "paired" brooches, many had wrist clasps and several had buckles, but some of the skeletons with clasps and one of those with a buckle lacked brooches (XV, 6 and 7, p.161). It is possible that in these graves the gown had been stitched. Women buried in

some of the many apparently unfurnished graves in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries may have been dressed in a stitched version of the traditional gown. The fact that beads, which often hung in festoons from "paired" brooches, also hung from the shoulders in graves without brooches, suggests that the costume was fastened at the shoulders even without the brooches.

Some Anglo-Saxon skeletons with "paired" brooches had third brooches at shoulder or chest. The additional brooch appears to have been a minority fashion, more common to areas traditionally Anglian than to Saxon. There are many examples from Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire (Sleaford), Northamptonshire and Suffolk (IV, 4, pp. 59-60; XV, 3, p. 157 ; XVIII, 4, pp. 179-80; XXIV, 4, pp. 232-4). The fashion is also evidenced from Leicestershire, Norfolk, Rutland, Worcestershire and Yorkshire (XIV, 2, pp. 150-1; XVII, 2, p. 171 ; XXI, 3, pp. 212-13; XXIX, 3, p. 309 ; XXX, 4, pp. 316-7). Third brooches do occur in Saxon areas, but mostly as isolated cases. Bedfordshire, Surrey and Warwickshire have each yielded only one instance, and Oxfordshire two certain cases (I, 3, p. 24; XXV, 3, p. 252 ; XXVII, 3, p. 282 ; XX, 3, p. 196). There are no instances from Berkshire and Gloucestershire where "paired" brooches are common. Some Hampshire and Kent graves have been found to contain more than two brooches, but no arrangement of brooches in these traditionally Jutish areas of settlement parallels the simple combination of "paired" plus third brooch.

The third brooch was normally unlike the "paired". Even in Anglian areas where "paired" long brooches (usually cruciform) were

commonly associated with a third brooch of similar type, this usually differed in size and/or decoration. Long brooches, usually square-headed or cruciform, were used as third brooches more often than circular, occurring in conjunction with "paired" brooches of various types. There are a small number of cases in which saucer or applied brooches have fulfilled the role of third brooch, and rarer instances of annular, disc, swastika and equal-armed brooches being used in this way.

The majority of third brooches observed in situ appear to have been worn at the centre of the chest, between, and usually below, the "paired" brooches. In other cases third brooches have been found at the shoulder. This variation of position does not appear to be related to date, and is probably not a regional variation. At Barrington B, Ca, for instance, a third brooch was found overlying one of a "pair", on the shoulder of a skeleton (IV, 4, p. 59). Third brooches were worn centrally elsewhere in Cambridgeshire (p. 60), but not, apparently, at Barrington B. The two arrangements are not normally found in the same cemetery, though they may occur in the same region. Only at Holywell Row, Sf, where third brooches were usually worn centrally, was there a possible exception -- a brooch found beside the jaw (XXIV, 4, p. 233).

The evidence of grave-goods has suggested that pins or pin-like objects, when recovered from the chest or shoulder, may have fulfilled similar functions to third brooches. Such finds of pins in association with "paired" brooches have been most numerous in Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire (II, 10, pp. 42-3; IV, 10, pp. 63-4; XV, 5, p. 159 ; XVIII, 9, p. 182;

XXVIII, 8, p. 295), but also occur as isolated examples in Bedfordshire, Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Warwickshire (I, 9, p. 26; VIII, 6, p. 82; XIII, 9, p. 121; XXV, 7, pp. 255-6; XXVI, 6, p. 271 ; XXVII, 5, pp. 283-4). They are therefore found in traditionally Anglian, Saxon and Jutish areas. The use of the pin was clearly not a regional variation on the third brooch, except possibly in Wiltshire, since third brooches have been found in all the other counties in which pins appear in this role.

The position of the third brooch found on the shoulder of a Barrington B skeleton (above) suggests that it had clasped an outer garment, such as a cloak, since it was worn outside one of the "paired" brooches which, as demonstrated, are likely to have fastened the gown. The function of third brooches worn centrally is less obvious.

Evidence from the costume of Germanic women other than Anglo-Saxon suggests three possible functions for a brooch worn in addition to a "pair": to secure a cloak; to fasten the gown to an underblouse; to fasten the underblouse.

The cloak of a captive German woman depicted on a sculpture in Rome (Plate V) is apparently fastened together on the right shoulder, and hangs down the back of the figure, exposing the arms, but concealing the shoulders. Menimane's cloak, which like the captive's is probably rectangular, is also clasped at the right shoulder by a clearly-depicted brooch. Unlike the cloak of the captive, Menimane's garment hangs down the front of the body, partly concealing the gown, then passes under the left arm, leaving the arm and shoulder exposed. These examples confirm the possibility that Anglo-Saxon third brooches worn at the shoulder like the one at Barrington B, fastened outer

cloaks. There appears to be no evidence to support an interpretation of centrally-placed brooches as having clasped cloaks, though the positions of some, such as a diagonally-placed brooch at Nassington, Nh (XVIII, 4, p. 179), may suggest this function.

A central brooch which clasped the gown to an undergarment is, however, an essential feature of the costume of Menimane as described by Wild. In Anglo-Saxon England the third brooch was clearly an optional extra rather than a necessity, and it is possible that Wild overestimated its importance even on the Continent. He considered that continental grave groups with "paired" brooches represented a variation of the three-brooch costume of Menimane. It might be more realistic to consider her clothing a more elaborate version of the "paired" brooch costume.

The central brooch of the woman in the north-west Roman provinces was pinned horizontally, and sometimes differed in shape from the "paired" brooches. It enabled Menimane to drape the shoulder of her gown down over her arm, since the central fastener clasped the gown to the undergarment, preventing it from slipping down. Another sculpted figure in Wild's corpus wears a central brooch with a gown worn in a more conventional manner, over both shoulders (Plate VI).

The undergarments worn by the women in the Rhineland sculptures are depicted as tight-fitting bodices, open down the front and clasped together by brooches, one brooch in the case of Menimane, three on the sculpture of a girl from Mainz. These suggest another possible function for Anglo-Saxon brooches worn at the centre of the chest.

The continental sculptures also suggest that the occasional asymmetrical arrangements of brooches in Anglo-Saxon graves (in which two brooches, usually dissimilar, are found, one on the shoulder, one centrally) may be variations of the traditional costume, rather than the result of a totally different dress. Several cases have occurred in Berkshire (II, 3, p. 38), and isolated examples have been noted from Petersfinger, Wi, Driffield, Y, and possibly Holywell Row, Sf. (XXVIII, 3, p. 293; XXX, 5, p. 317; XXIV, 2, p. 228). In these cases the brooch at the shoulder may have clasped the gown at one side, leaving the other free after the manner of Menimane (the shoulder brooch functioning as half of the usual "pair"). Alternatively, it may have clasped a cloak over a gown fastened by some other means. The central brooch may have clasped the gown to the underblouse, or fastened the front slit of that blouse.

The placing of two brooches, often a matching pair, usually circular, at one shoulder or breast, has been noted at Blewburton Hill (on a skeleton which was considered male but which might have been female), East Shefford and possibly Abingdon, Bek (II, 3, pp. 33-4, 38); at Bishop's Cleeve and Fairford, Gl (IX, 3, p. 87); and at Linton Heath, Ca (IV, 5, pp. 60 - 1), Guildown, Sr (XXV, 4, p. 253) and possibly at Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 2, pp. 227-8). Fairford, where the brooches were placed one above the other, offers a clear variation from the normal placing of brooches, but there is insufficient information from the other sites to determine if the brooches there were also arranged vertically. These cases, particularly those at Abingdon, may have been extreme instances of the asymmetry discussed above. The excavators of Abingdon

and Bishop's Cleeve considered that the usual garment (the gown supported by "paired" brooches) had slipped during burial; but the gown would have had to be very loose to be displaced to this extent. Moreover, since at all the sites mentioned except Blewburton Hill and Holywell Row, this positioning was observed in more than one grave, it appears to have been deliberate. It is possible that these brooches were worn in conjunction with a gown fastened over one shoulder only, and that the fastening was made secure with two brooches; or that a cloak, clasped at shoulder or breast, was worn over a gown fastened at the same shoulder.

Single brooches have been recovered from the shoulders of fifth- and sixth-century skeletons in Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Kent, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Sussex and Yorkshire (II, 5, pp. 39-40; IV, 6, p. 61; VI, 2, p. 77; XIII, 5, pp. 116, 117; XV, 4, pp. 157-8; XVI, 2, p. 167; XVIII, 6, p. 181; XX, 4, p. 197; XXV, 5, pp. 254-5; XXVI, 5, p. 270; XXX, 6, pp. 318-9), and possibly in other counties of which the records are incomplete. Cruciform, annular and saucer brooches appear most often in this role, but the rarer penannular occurs in at least four cases. The brooches were most often worn on the left shoulder, and although several sites — Stowting, K (XIII, 5, p. 117), Wheatley, O (XX, 4, p. 197), Ewell and Guildown, Sr (XXV, 5, p. 254), Alfriston, Sx (XXVI, 5, p. 270), Cheesecake Hill and Driffield, Y (XXX, 6, p. 318) — provide examples of the right shoulder only, these are mostly isolated cases. At Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 5, pp. 254-5), four single brooches were found at the left shoulder and one at the right, which suggests that this was a matter

of personal taste or convenience. (It might be easier for a right-handed person to fasten a brooch on her left shoulder than on her right. It might be argued that the clothes of the dead were probably arranged by someone else, but they were probably positioned as during life.)

Since single brooches occur in many cemeteries which also exhibit "pairing", it is unlikely that they indicate an entirely different costume. A brooch worn on one shoulder might have clasped together one side of a typical gown, leaving the other shoulder free; or it might have fastened a cloak over a gown secured by other means. Lethbridge suggested that Holywell Row, Sf, brooches lacking "partners" (XXIV, 4, p. 233) had fastened hoods. This is a possible explanation for these and other examples such as the Oakley Down, Do, brooch, found in the ear area (VI, 2, p. 77), but there is no supporting evidence.

Centrally-placed single brooches occur more frequently than central third brooches. Probable instances have been recorded from Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Sussex, Wiltshire and Yorkshire (II, 5, p. 39; IV, 6, p. 61; VIII, 5, pp. 81-2; IX, 4, pp. 87-8; XIII, 5, pp. 115-7; XV, 4, pp. 157-8; XVII, 2, p. 172; XVIII, 6, p. 181; XX, 4, pp. 197-8; XXIII, 3, p. 222; XXIV, 6, pp. 235-6; XXVI, 5, p. 270; XXVIII, 5, p. 294; XXX, 6, pp. 318-9), plus other possible cases. Single brooches worn both at the shoulder and centrally appear at Riseley, K (XIII, 5, p. 116), Sleaford, Li (XV, 4, pp. 157-8), Nassington, Nh (XVIII, 6, p. 181) and Wheatley, O

(XX, 4, pp. 197-8), so the placing of the single brooch does not appear to be a regional variation. The positions of brooches worn centrally vary from the chin and throat area to the breast. Single brooches at Bifrons, K (XIII, 5, pp. 115-6), were found at the neck and the waist, and it may be reasonable to include the latter as well as the former in the present group.

Brooches placed centrally near the throat may have fastened the front opening of a blouse worn under the gown. Brooches worn lower down could also have functioned in this way, or, like third brooches, they might have been used to attach the gown to the blouse.

Single brooches were found with the skeletons of young women at Long Wittenham, Bek (II, 5, p. 40), and only in the graves of children in Wiltshire (XXVIII, 5, p. 294). It is possible that these were instances of girls who had not lived long enough to accumulate more than one brooch, or that young people in these areas tended to wear a simpler costume than others. Single brooches have been found elsewhere with the skeletons of children and young people, but nationally, the fashion does not appear confined to any age group.

Pins, often worn centrally at the breast, but sometimes at the shoulder, have been found in conjunction with single brooches in Berkshire, Essex, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire and Wiltshire (II, 10, pp. 42, 43; VIII, 6, p. 82; XII, 3, p. 105; XV, 5, pp. 158-9; XX, 6, pp. 198, 199; XXV, 7, p. 256; XXVI, 6, ^{p. 271;} XXVII, 5, p. 283; XXVIII, 8, p. 295), though this was not a predominant fashion at any site. It seems likely that in

these cases the pin had been used in conjunction with the brooch to make up the pair of fastenings at the shoulders. Alternatively, the pin may have been used to attach the gown to the blouse, or to clasp the cloak.

Pins found in graves without brooches, particularly in the absence of any other grave-goods, have often been identified as shroud pins by excavators. There are examples from sixth-century female graves in Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Suffolk and Yorkshire (II, 10, p. 43; IX, 6, p. 88; XX, 6, pp. 199-200; XXIV, 9, p. 238; XXX, 8, pp. 320-1). It is possible, however, that these pins were part of the clothing, as they seem to have been in the better-equipped graves already discussed.

Pins have usually been found singly in fifth- and sixth-century graves. There are isolated occurrences of two pins being found in the same grave, but only one instance of matching pins, from Basset Down, Wi (XXVIII, 8, pp. 295-6), anticipates the fashion of the pin suite which was to appear in the seventh century.

The excavators of Chessell Down, IOW (X, 3, p. 93) and Ipswich, Sf (XXIV, 5, pp. 234-5; 6, p. 236), deduced, from the positions of brooches, that women at these sites had worn centrally-fastened garments. Chessell Down women were equipped with two or three brooches, arranged in a vertical row on the chest, their pins lying horizontally. At Ipswich, annular brooches were twice found one above the other on the chests of skeletons, and the single brooches which were more common at this site were also found at the centre of the chest. Similar arrangements have been observed as isolated cases at other cemeteries. At Mucking, Ex, square-

headed brooches, lying horizontally, were placed one above the other on the chest of a skeleton (VIII, 3, p. 81); two circular brooches, linked by a chain, were apparently found one above the other at Bifrons, K (XIII, 4, p. 114); and a button brooch was worn above a radiate-headed one, the latter placed horizontally, at Lyminge, K (pp. 114-5). It is noticeable that these sites are all either in Kent, or have some cultural relationship with Kent.

At Ipswich, all brooches appear to have been worn centrally, but at Chessell Down, Mucking, Bifrons and Lyminge, the "paired" fashion was also evidenced. One elaborately-equipped skeleton at Chessell Down had "paired" shoulder brooches in addition to three brooches placed centrally. If, as was probably the case, the central brooches secured a garment which opened down the front, this garment could be worn in conjunction with the gown secured by "paired" brooches. A likely function for the central brooches, therefore, is the clasping of an underblouse of the kind depicted in the Rhineland sculptures. One Mainz figure, with three brooches in this position (Plate IV), offers a parallel to the Chessell Down example.

The Mucking and Bifrons cemeteries, however, also offer instances of single brooches which were placed too low to have fastened a blouse over the chest, and which would have been hidden by the gown if used in this way. At Mucking two button brooches were placed one above the other at waist level in one grave. In another, two applied brooches and one penannular were similarly arranged (VIII, 3, p. 81). Two Bifrons skeletons had single brooches at the waist (XIII, 4, pp. 115-6).

A possible explanation may be found in a Frankish garment, attested by a late-sixth-century burial excavated in Paris.⁹ A woman, probably of royal rank, was buried in an ankle-length, sleeved robe, clasped at neck and waist by matching brooches. The robe was worn over a knee-length tunic. This burial is later than the Anglo-Saxon graves under consideration, but the fashion may have existed for some time before the Frankish woman was buried. The well-established Frankish influence on sixth-century Kent¹⁰ justifies consideration of this garment in explanation of the positions of these brooches (and possibly of the brooches found at the waist in later Kent burials). The chief objection to this explanation is that the Frankish woman's costume did not include a gown fastened by "paired" brooches, and it is doubtful whether the Frankish robe could have been worn satisfactorily over such a gown. (It would have concealed the shoulder brooches.) One Mucking and one Bifrons grave had "paired" brooches as well as central brooches at the waist.

Apart from the examples above, however, it is not uncommon for Anglo-Saxon brooches to be recovered from low on the body. These are not paralleled on the Rhineland sculptures. It is possible that they were not functional, or were used to clasp the shroud. Brooches have been found in the "laps" of skeletons at Harnham Hill and Petersfinger, Wi (XXVIII, 3, p. 293; 5, p. 294), at Market Weighton, Y (XXX, 3, p. 716), and between the legs of skeletons at Sarre, K (XIII, 4, p. 115) and Bidford, Wa (XXVII, 3, p. 282). Amular brooches at Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 4, pp. 253-4; 6, p. 259), and Alfriston, Sx (XXVI, 5, p. 270) may also be considered in this category, though they may have decorated or fastened belts.

Brooches regularly occur at the hip. The fashion is most noticeable in Anglian areas, especially Cambridgeshire, at Barrington B and in four possible cases at Linton Heath (IV, 3, p. 59; 5, p. 61) also at Nassington, Nh (XVIII, 5, pp. 180-1) Holywell Row and Lakenheath, Sf (XXIV, 5, p. 234), and at Londesborough, Y (XXX, 5, p. 317). It also occurs in non-Anglian areas, at Wheatley, O (XX, 2, p. 196), High Down, Sx (XXVI, 4, p. 269) and Harnham Hill, Wi (XXVIII, 4, pp. 293-4). It may be misleading to isolate these instances from those mentioned in the previous paragraph, but there does seem to be, in these cases, an attention to diagonal arrangement which is not explicitly mentioned in reports of other sites. The brooch worn at one hip is often found diagonally opposite a brooch at the other shoulder. Sometimes the two brooches match. The brooch at the hip also occurs in conjunction with "paired" brooches (it may match one of the "pair") and with "paired" plus third brooches. A possible function of the brooch at the hip might be to secure a cloak like that worn by Menimane, which fastened on the shoulder and passed under the opposite arm. Alternatively, some brooches at the hip, particularly annular examples which are similar to buckles, may have been used to secure girdles.

Pins found in the hip or "lap" area of skeletons at Blewburton Hill and Long Wittenham I, Bek (II, 10, pp. 42, 43), Brighthampton, O (XX, 6, p. 198), Driffield, Y (XXX, 8, pp. 320-1) and possibly Mucking, Ex (VIII, 6, p. 82), may have fulfilled a similar function to the brooches.

Part of an annular brooch found with a Mitcham, Sr, skeleton also equipped with a disc brooch on the breast (XXV, 4, pp. 253-4)

may have been re-used as a girdle adjunct (two other annular brooches were found in the waist areas of Mitcham skeletons), or carried as a trinket by the owner. A broken square-headed brooch from the same site (p. 355) was thought to have been carried in a pouch. There was a similar case from Riseley, K, where a broken brooch was found near the elbow of a skeleton with "paired" brooches (XIII, 3, pp. 112-3). It is possible that broken jewellery was included among the possessions of the dead to increase the number of the grave-goods. Fasteners which were no longer functional may have been stitched to the clothing or carried in containers. These cases suggest the possibility that some of the undamaged brooches and pins found in unusual positions in the hip area, may also have been carried in pouches attached to belts, or fastened to them for additional decoration.

A number of graves have been found to contain extra pairs of brooches. A popular arrangement, particularly in Kent, appears to have included a pair of brooches worn at the waist, in addition to those "paired" higher up the body. There were at least three, possibly five, cases at Bifrons, and isolated cases at Chatham Lines (three pairs of brooches), Finglesham (two pairs plus a fifth), Lyvingo and Sarre (two pairs each, though at Sarre the upper pair were not as high as "paired" brooches were normally worn). These sites are all in Kent (XIII, 2, pp. 109-10). There were also two cases at Holywell Row, a Suffolk cemetery showing some Kentish influence (one instance of two pairs, one of two pairs plus a fifth, XXIV, 3, pp. 231-2).

Brooches have also been found in pairs at the waist in graves having only one brooch at the upper part of the body. Again this is particularly common in Kent, occurring twice at Bifrons (XIII, 3, pp. 111-2), and possibly once at Chartham Down (p. 112), but recorded outside Kent at Alfriston, Sx (XXVI, 3, p. 268), and Market Weighton, Y (XXX, 3, p. 316). (There were two other, dissimilar brooches in the Market Weighton grave, but they were not worn at the upper part of the body.) Two graves at Bowcombe Down and Chessel Down, IOW, might also be included in this category (X, 4, pp. 94-5). The former had three brooches at the waist and one at the upper part of the body, the latter two at the left hand plus one higher up the body.

At Bifrons there was a pair of brooches at the waist of a skeleton without other brooches (XIII, 2, p. 109), and there was a similar case at Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 4, p. 254), where single brooches were also found at the waists of skeletons as mentioned above.

It is possible that brooches worn in pairs near the waist clasped an additional garment, such as the Frankish robe mentioned above, though the Yorkshire and Surrey examples are remote from Kent where the Frankish influence seems to have centred. The brooches are not positioned like those clasping the Frankish robe, but they could have attached such a robe to the gown worn underneath it.

Alternatively, it is possible that the additional brooches in these graves were not functional. They may represent the accumulated wealth of women, which was buried with them even though all the items of jewellery were not necessary to fasten the burial costume. This lavish provision of brooches may reflect local burial practices or superstitions.

Other female graves have been found to contain more than the three brooches which may be considered a normal quantity. Some have already been mentioned (the Chessell Down, IOW, and Mucking, Ex graves with central brooches, and the Linton Heath, Ca, Holywell Row, Sf, High Down, Sx, Bidford, Wa, Londesborough and Market Weighton, Y, cases with brooches at the hip). Other elaborate arrangements include additional pairs of brooches, not worn at the waist, but found at the chest, or in unrecorded position. Examples occurred at Nassington, Nh, (two pairs plus a single, XVIII, 3, pp. 178-9), and Alfriston, Sx (two instances of two pairs plus a single, one case of three pairs plus two dissimilar, XXVI, 3, p. 268). In addition, mention may be made of a Bifrons, K, grave (containing a pair plus two dissimilar, XIII, 3, p. 112), and cases at Stowting, K (pp. 113-4) Searby, Li (XV, 3, p. 157); High Down, Sx (XXVI, 3, p. 269) and Stratford, Wa (XXVII, 3, pp. 282-3), in which several brooches were recovered from graves, but their positions not recorded.

Several of the females well-equipped with brooches were also accompanied by grave-goods rare enough to be considered luxuries, in addition to more common articles of grave furniture. The majority of these well-equipped graves were Kentish interments with brooches at the waist. The luxury items associated with them include crystal balls and perforated spoons which appear to have been attached to the girdle, and headdresses, usually embroidered with gold, as described in Section D, 16, below (pp. 452-4). Uncommon items of jewellery, such as finger rings and armlets, were found in most of these graves, and necklaces accompanying them were often elaborate. Metal weaving swords and vessels of metal or glass, not mentioned in the survey since they did not form part of the costume, were among the luxuries

found with these females.

It is possible that these women were of high social status and/or were dressed in ceremonial regalia. The perforated spoons and crystal balls may possibly relate to some religious or other custom demanding a special costume. (The crystal beads found among many necklaces could reflect the same superstition.) Typical elaborate graves of this kind, occurring about the middle of the sixth century in Kent and areas culturally related to Kent have been listed in a chart (pp. 359-60).¹¹

The gowns and cloaks of women may have been sometimes clasped by fasteners other than brooches and pins. Brooches may occasionally have been replaced by buckles, especially in Cambridgeshire: at Barrington A, buckles were found in the "paired" position; at Linton Heath a skeleton had a buckle at the shoulder; at Girton and Soham buckles were found at the upper and lower trunk of skeletons (IV, 14, p. 66). It is possible that a shoulder strap was attached to some gowns (Section D, 11, p.440, below), and that this could be secured by a buckle substituting for the more usual brooch. However, buckles found at the upper bodies of skeletons at Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 13, p.241) and Aston Cantlow, Wa (XXVII, 9, p.285), were associated with brooches, so are likely to have had some other function.

Uncommon fasteners include studs or buttons found at the upper part of the body at Frilford, Bek (II, 8, p 41), and Saxonbury, Sx (XXVI, 5, p. 270), part of a bronze clasp found with the Saxonbury skeleton^{(7, p.271),} and an unusual bronze fastener placed at the chest of a skeleton at Riseley, K (XIII, 8, p.120).

SELECTED FEMALE BURIALS - MID SIXTH-CENTURY

<u>Site</u>	<u>Grave No.</u>	<u>"Paired" Brooches</u>	<u>Brooches at waist</u>	<u>Total Brooches</u>	<u>Belt Fittings</u>	<u>Ball</u>	<u>Spoon</u>	<u>Other girdle adjuncts</u>	<u>Head-dress</u>	<u>Necklace</u>	<u>Finger rings</u>	<u>Armlets</u>	<u>Accessories</u>
ISLE OF WIGHT Chessell Down	31	*		5	buckle	*	*	knife; key	gold	beads	2		vessels; weaving sword
KENT Bifrons	6		2?	3	buckle	*	*	beads	ivory bead			1	(+ pin)
	29	*	2	4	buckle			knife; keys; coin; rings	gold	beads; bractes	2	1	
	41			4	2 buckles; rivets			knife; keys; coin; rings	gold	beads; coins; chain	1		glass vessel
	42	*	2	4	2 buckles; studs	*	*	2 knives key		beads	2		ivory fragments
	51	*	2	4		*	*	knife; toilet instruments	gold	beads			

<u>Site</u>	<u>Grave No.</u>	<u>"Paired" Brooches</u>	<u>Brooches at waist</u>	<u>Total Brooches</u>	<u>Belt fittings</u>	<u>Ball</u>	<u>Spoon</u>	<u>Other firdle adjuncts</u>	<u>Head-dress</u>	<u>Necklace</u>	<u>Finger rings</u>	<u>Armlets</u>	<u>Accessories</u>
KENT													
Bifrons	64		2	3		*	*	knife; chain	gold	beads; bracteate; rings			
Fingle-sham	D3	*	2?	5	buckle; rivets			knife; keys; needle-case		beads; bracteates			glass vessel; weaving sword
Lyminge	44		2	4		*	*		gold	bead; chain			
Sarre	4		2	4	buckle	*	*	knife; key; comb; sheats		bead festoon bracteates ?coins	1	(or cuff) gold thread	glass vessel; weaving sword
Stow-ting	9		2	5	5 tags			knife; ?keys; rings; ornament	gold	beads; coins			bodkin; ?box; wooden vessel; instrument case
SUFFOLK Holywell Row	11	?		3	buckle; tags; slide			knife; strike-a-light; girdle hanger	gold	beads including crystal; silver pendants	1	2	vessels; weaving sword

The rings (possibly brooches) of horn found at Sleaford, Li (XV, 10, p. 163), Nassington and Newnham, Nh (XVIII, 8, p. 182), Londesborough and Market Weighton, Y (XXX, 3, p. 316) — all Anglian areas — the bone button from Chessell Down, IOW (X, 9, p. 96) and the wooden wedge from Stapenhill, St (XXIII, 6, p. 223), demonstrate the use made of natural materials. The absence of fasteners from many other graves may result from the decay of such materials.

The rings which apparently formed a basis for the lacing of a garment at Guildown, Sr, (XXV, 9, pp. 256-7), are unique, and suggest that there was room for individualism even where a traditional costume was worn.

It is clear that the typical costume included a belt or girdle. Direct evidence of this in the form of buckles, and indirect evidence — the discovery of objects which are likely to have been attached to belts — occurs in graves containing various combinations of brooches and in those without brooches. It seems likely that the girdled garment was that gown which was often fastened by "paired" brooches, and that a cloak could be worn over it.

Buckles have been found in association with female skeletons of the fifth or sixth centuries in Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Huntingdonshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire (I, 12, pp. 27-8; II, 12, pp. 43-5; IV, 14, pp. 65-6; V, 6, p. 74; VIII, 8, pp. 82-3; IX, 7, p. 88; XII, 5, p. 105; XIII, 12, pp. 124-7, 129; XV, 7, p. 16).

XVIII, 11, p. 184; XX, 8, pp. 200-2; XXIII, 7, p. 223; XXIV, 13, pp. 240-2; XXV, 10, p. 257; XXVI, 8, pp. 272-3; XXVII, 9, pp. 285-6; XXVIII, 11, pp. 297-8; XXIX, 7, p. 310; XXX, 11, pp. 323-5). The counties which do not offer evidence of buckled belts are mostly those which have little material from the period. Buckles were less common than brooches, however, and were relatively rare in some areas where other finds have been made, for example, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Rutland.

The majority of buckles found seem to have fastened belts, having been recovered from the hip or waist area of skeletons. Some appear to have been worn centrally at the front, a few at the back, and some at the right or left side. Local preferences for one side are sometimes apparent, for example for the right at Abingdon, Bek (II, 12, p. 43), and the left at Barrington B, Ca (IV, 14, p. 66), but no national pattern emerges.

Some skeletons have been found to be equipped with two buckles. The second was probably used in most cases to secure the fastening of a purse, or to attach some article to the girdle.

Only rarely was women's belt equipment of this period elaborate, belt plates and studs being uncommon even in graves lavishly equipped with brooches. Girdles may sometimes have been decorated with beads, since groups of beads have been found in the waist area of females in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire

(IX, 11, p. 90; XX, 13, p. 209; XXVIII, 15, pp. 304-5, 306. These beads may, alternatively, have hung from the neck by unusually long strings.)

It is evident that girdles were worn by the majority, although only a minority were equipped with buckles. Possible alternative fasteners may be found in the large beads and the rings often discovered at the waist areas of skeletons. Beads which may have functioned as toggles have been found in women's graves in Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Warwickshire and Wiltshire (IX, 10, pp. 89-90; XVIII, 15, p. 187; XXIV, 17, p. 246; XXVII, 13, p. 288; XXVIII, 14, pp. 303-4). It is, however, possible that some were spindle whorls, or merely ornaments. Rings which could have been used in fastening girdles, have been found in Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Kent, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, Sussex, Warwickshire and Worcestershire (IV, 16, p. 67; VI, 3, p. 78; XIII, 14, p. 130; XV, 9, p. 162; XVIII, 13, p. 185; XX, 10, p. 202; XXIV, 15, p. 243; XXVI, 10, p. 274; XXVII, 11, p. 286; XXIX, 8, p. 310^[note]). Where rings have been found in association with buckles the former were probably used to suspend articles from the belt. It is of course possible that this was their function in all cases, and that they were not used as fasteners. Many people no doubt secured their girdles by knotting them, and it is clear that girdles without metal fasteners were capable of carrying considerable quantities of appendages.

The metal tags which were used to fasten off the ends of girdles mostly occur in graves without buckles. Girdle tags were not so popular as they were to become in the Christian period, occurring in a small number of pagan graves distributed over a wide area. They have been found in fifth- or sixth-century female (or probably female)

graves in Cambridgeshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire (IV, 15, p. 67; XIII, 12, p. 126, 13, p. 129; XIV, 5, p. 153; XV, 8, p. 161; XX, 9, p. 202; XXIV, 14, p. 242; XXV, 10, p. 258; XXVI, 9, p. 273; XXVII, 10, p. 286; XXIX, 7, p. 310; XXX, 12, p. 326), and in a cremation grave in Berkshire (II, 13, p. 46).

The existence of girdles is often indicated by objects found in positions suggesting attachment to belts. The article most often found in this position is the knife. Knives are the commonest of Anglo-Saxon artefacts, many burials yielding no other grave-goods. Knives have been found with skeletons of both sexes, including children, from throughout the pagan period. They appear to have been worn in most, probably all, areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement, although there are some gaps in the evidence. (There are no examples of females with knives from Leicestershire and there is no evidence from Middlesex.)

Knives have been found in the waist or hip area more frequently than in any other position, and it appears that they were habitually carried at the belt. They occur at the right and left hips of skeletons, centrally, and occasionally at the backs of bodies. The majority appear to have been worn at the left side, this perhaps being the more convenient arrangement for a right-handed person.

Knives were probably stuck through the belt, and were often carried point upwards. Occasionally a knife may have hung from the belt on a strap, sometimes in addition to another carried in the usual way.

The choice of other articles suspended at the belt appears to have been more dependent on sex, date and region. Women wore

the greater quantity and variety of girdle adjuncts. Some may have been symbolic of the woman's position as housekeeper. Keys, or latch-lifters, have been found as girdle adjuncts in most areas, particularly in graves of the earlier period. These have sometimes been attached to rings, leading excavators to identify many of the rings found at the waists of skeletons as "key rings", whether or not they were attached to keys. The objects known as girdle hangers appear to have been attached to the belt for the suspension of small objects. Although they bear some resemblance to keys, girdle hangers do not seem to have had any other function, although they appear exclusively female adjuncts and may have had some symbolic purpose as suggested. They are generally considered to be peculiar to Anglian areas, but the survey shows that although the majority have been found in Anglian regions some have been recovered elsewhere, for example in Kent and Oxfordshire (XIII, 15, p. 138; XX, 11, p. 205).

Crystal balls and perforated spoons appear to have hung from the girdles of women, usually prosperous ones, in sixth-century Kent (XIII, 15, p. 136), and in areas having cultural relationships with Kent such as the Isle of Wight (X, 14, p. 99; and possibly Sussex where a spoon was found at the feet of a skeleton at Alfriston, XXVI, 11, p. 276). As implied above, possibly these women were priestesses of the Anglo-Saxon paganism of which little is known. The Iymingo, K, skeleton equipped in this way was small-boned and thick-skulled, with physical characteristics of both male and female. This may have been a person of unusual physical appearance, commanding respect and position.

Chatelaine chains, hanging from the belt, and to which small objects were attached, are not confined to any region, and appear on earlier sites though they are particularly characteristic of seventh-century cemeteries. Some of the rings which have been found in multiples may have been linked together to form similar chains. Other rings, if not key rings or girdle fasteners, may have been the frames of pouches, the fabric of which has decayed. The ivory rings which some excavators have assumed to be armlets, may originally have been pouch ornaments.

Large beads which may have functioned as spindle whorls have often been found at the waists of female skeletons, particularly in the earlier period. Women probably carried around with them the tools for what must have been a constant occupation -- spinning. An iron spindle survives from Wingham, K (XIII, 15, p. 140). Other functional articles -- strike-a-lights, purse frames resembling strike-a-lights in shape, shears and tweezers -- have been found with female interments, but the survey shows that they more often accompanied men. In two instances where tweezers have been found with a female, the skeleton has been that of an old person. (These associations occurred at Brighthampton, O and Harnham Hill, W1, XX, 11, p. 206; XXVIII, 13, p. 302)

Toilet implements, often comprising pin-like objects for scraping the nails or picking the teeth and a spoon-shaped article for cleaning the ears, attached to a suspension ring, are almost entirely confined to female graves of the earlier period. The majority appear to have hung from the girdle. (Three examples have been found at the upper part of skeletons, having perhaps been suspended round the neck, or attached to one of the clothing fasteners. Viking women suspended articles in this way from one of their "paired" brooches.)¹²

It is clear therefore that a girdle was generally worn, more often without than with a buckle, and that, apart from the function of securing the garment at the waist, it served to suspend a variety of objects, symbolic, functional and personal.

Wrist clasps have been found with skeletons in Bedfordshire (at the northernmost site, Kempston), Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Suffolk and Yorkshire (I, 11, p. 27; IV, 12, pp. 64-5; XII, 4, p. 105; XIV, 3, p. 152; XV, 6, pp. 159-61; XVII, 5, p. 173; XVIII, 10, pp. 183-4; XXI, 6, pp. 213-4; XXIV, 10, p. 239; XXX, 9, pp. 321-3), confirming the well-established theory that these are typically Anglian objects. (Kempston is situated in an area where the Saxon culture of Wessex and Essex overlapped with that of Middle Anglia.)¹³ Despite some excavators' descriptions of the objects' positions, the survey demonstrates that these clasps were habitually attached to the arm. In Section D, 13, (p. 443) it will be shown that the clasps were stitched to the braided or leather band which edged a close-fitting sleeve.

Clasps have mostly been found with skeletons which are clearly female, although some were thought to be associated with males at Nassington, Nh (XVIII, 10, p. 183), and Lakenheath, Sf (XXIV, 10, p. 239). In spite of their wide distribution and frequent occurrence, clasps were not worn by the majority of women at the sites where they have been found.

Sometimes sets of clasps were made up of pieces which did not match. Very often corpses were provided with incomplete sets of clasps. This suggests that although the clasps may appear thin and unimpressive to the modern eye, they were relatively valuable, and not easily replaced; or, they may have been easily damaged, and if

supplied by a travelling merchant, impossible to match. When only one pair was found it was often at the left wrist. At Linton Heath, Ca, the clasps at one wrist were matched with buttons or studs at the other (IV, 11, p. 64; 12, p. 65), and at Woodston, Hu (XII, 4, p. 105), beads were found at the right wrist of a skeleton with clasps at the left. Both cases show attempts to supply fasteners as substitutes for the pair of clasps which was missing. The button brooches found at the wrists of a skeleton at Petersfinger, Wi (XXVIII, 3, p. 293), and possibly the small brooches near the hands of a Kempston, Bd, skeleton (I, 11, p. 27), may have also fastened sleeves. It is likely that the sleeved garment which was secured by wrist clasps in Anglian areas, was not itself confined to these areas, though in Saxon regions, except at Petersfinger, it was not secured by metal sleeve fasteners. It may have been usual to stitch the opening.

Given that the clasps fastened sleeves, the evidence of the survey may also indicate the nature of the sleeved garment. Wrist clasps have been found in association with all the normal combinations of brooches, that is, in graves without brooches, and with women having one, two or three brooches, and in one instance, five. The cylindrical gown, clasped by "paired" brooches, is by definition sleeveless, and the cloak which has been postulated as an outer garment, would wrap round the body and could not require sleeve clasps. The Frankish robe mentioned above had wide, not close-fitting sleeves (even if there were evidence that such a robe was worn in Anglian areas). It is suggested, therefore, that wrist clasps fastened the sleeves of blouses.

The Greek peplos and the gowns with "paired" brooches depicted on the Marcus Aurelius Column were worn over bare arms; but the

Rhineland figures in Menimane's costume wear the characteristic gown over a close-fitting bodice with long sleeves turned back into a cuff. Viking women buried at Birka wore linen undergarments, scraps of which have been preserved inside the "paired" brooches which clasped their gowns over these undergarments.¹⁴ It is likely that Anglo-Saxon women, in a similarly northern climate, were accustomed to wear an undergarment and to cover their arms. It has already been suggested that brooches worn centrally may have fastened a blouse worn under the gown. It seems likely that the clasps fastened the close-fitting sleeves of the same garment.

The evidence of the survey suggests that headdresses were worn, but is insufficient for reconstruction. It has been demonstrated that pins with spangles were not, as Baldwin Brown had supposed, exclusively worn at the head. Pins of similar design might be put to different uses by different owners, and pins of various types might have fastened the hair or headdress. Pins have been found at the heads of women and children in pre-seventh-century graves at Abingdon, Bek (II, 10, p. 42), Newport Pagnell, Bu (III, 5, p. 53), Barrington B, Ca (IV, 10, pp. 63-4), Chessell Down, IOW (X, 8, p. 96), Brighthampton and Wheatley, O (XX, 6, pp. 198, 199), Bidford, Wa (XXVII, 5, p. 283) and Driffield, Y (XXX, 8, p. 320), and possibly at Broughton Poggs, O (XX, 6, p. 199) and Alfriston, Sx (XXVI, 6, pp. 270-1). Despite their relative rarity, therefore, pins positioned at the head have been found over a wide area.

The small, staple-like clips which have been found more often at the heads of skeletons than in any other position, may have been attached to headgear. These objects have been found with both sexes, and at seventh-century as well as earlier sites. Significant examples from the earlier period include the nine clips positioned near the skull of a girl at Lyminge, K (XIII, 10, p. 122), the five found at Petersfinger, Wi (XVIII, 9, p. 296) and those on either side of the head of a skeleton at Little Wilbraham, Ca (IV, 11, p. 64). Other examples from the earlier period occurred at Abingdon, Bek (II, 11, p. 43), Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 11, p. 239), High Down, Sx (XXVI, 7, p. 271) and possibly at Guildown, Sr (XXV, 8, p. 256). Such clips were found at the breast and thigh at Bidford, Wa (XXVII, 7, p. 284), possibly at the feet at Mucking, Ex (VIII, 7, p. 82), at feet and thigh at Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 8, p. 256) and at the right arm at Riseley, K (XIII, 10, p. 122). The last-mentioned example had probably been attached to a leather strap, and one Mitcham example to a pouch. The Holywell Row clips were attached to wood. These cases suggest that clips were used to secure a variety of leather and wooden articles, and that though they might sometimes have been attached to headgear, they could also have belonged to vessels or other objects laid at the heads of graves.

Other indications of headgear among earlier female burials are rare. They include rings which may have secured braids of hair at Lakenheath, Sf and Bidford, Wa (XXIV, 12, p. 240; XXVII, 5, p. 284); bronze and leather fragments accompanying a skeleton at East Shefford, Bek (II, 11, p. 43); triangular wood and bronze in association with a clip at Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 11, pp. 239-40); bronze and rivets

similarly associated at Guildown, Sr (XXV, 8, p. 256); a square mount found over the head of a female at High Down, Sx (XXVI, 7, p. 271); and a bronze fastening at the left of a skull at Harnham Hill, Wi (XXVIII, 9, p. 296). The many combs recovered from Anglo-Saxon context suggests that the care of the hair was important (unless these were textile implements), but only one find, from Cambridge I, was positioned in such a way as to suggest that it could have been worn in the hair (IV, 17, p. 69).

Continental evidence, while offering suggestions as to the type of headgear early Anglo-Saxon women might have worn, does not help to interpret the archaeological evidence. Figures of captive German women on Roman sculptures sometimes appear bare-headed, their hair drawn back and knotted (Plate I) or hanging down (Plate V). Some appear with unbound hair sometimes draped by loose veils (Plates VII, VIII). Pins such as have been found at the heads of Anglo-Saxon skeletons might conceivably have been used to keep such veils in position, but would probably require some firm base, such as braided hair, or a cap worn under the veil, which is not indicated in the sculptures. The Frankish woman buried in Paris wore a red satin veil which hung to the waist at the back, and was fixed at the temples by two small pins.¹⁵ None of the Anglo-Saxon pins occur in this position, however, only the Little Wilbraham, Ca, clips offering a possible parallel.

Some women depicted on Rhineland funerary monuments wear, in conjunction with the costume of Menimane, a hairnet fitting closely over rolled or braided hair (Plate VI). A cap of this kind, woven

in sprang technique, and dating from the Iron Age, accompanied the body of a girl found at Arden Mose, Denmark.¹⁶ The girl's hair had been plaited and wound round the head beneath the cap. A knot of hair recovered from Greenwich Park, K (Appendix 1, p.495), suggests that Anglo-Saxon women might wear their hair in a coil, but there is no evidence to confirm that a net was worn over it.

These continental hair coverings are unlike the voluminous hood worn by women depicted in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (Part 3, B, 1, pp.467-8). It is unlikely that such a hood was worn in the pagan period as the garment covered the shoulders, and would have concealed the brooches and pins. It seems likely, therefore, that if a hair covering was worn by early Anglo-Saxon women, it was of the veil or cap type, rather than like that worn by their successors.

Brightly-coloured beads must have ornamented the costume of many women in the fifth and sixth centuries. Most beads appear to have been of amber, (possibly acquired for prophylactic as well as ornamental value) or of coloured glass and paste. Rarer materials include crystal (possibly having some magical or other significance and related to the crystal balls mounted in silver slings found among the grave-goods of wealthy Kent women); also jet, stone and amethyst, the latter being unusual among early graves, although it was to become more common in the seventh century,

Pendants were often attached to strings of beads, and less often, worn without beads. The pendants in earlier graves were rarely elaborate, often consisting of objects which were not of Anglo-Saxon origin. The commonest pendant was the perforated Roman coin.

Bracteates (circular pendants, designed in imitation of Roman coins) and plain metal discs were used with similar effect. Roman artefacts, an intaglio and an enamel ornament, were among the pendants worn by early Anglo-Saxon women; large beads may sometimes have hung from strings of smaller beads; and natural objects, animals' teeth and an eagle's talon, which may have been cherished as amulets, were also worn as pendants.

Rings sometimes occur in conjunction with strings of beads from earlier graves, but not so regularly as in seventh-century cemeteries. Beads are rarely strung on the rings in these earlier finds. Such rings had probably been sewn to the garment of a woman at Holywell Row, Sf, and the beads suspended from them (XXIV, 18, p.246). Some strings of beads, such as one at Warren Hill, Sf, were graduated according to size (p.248) but most arrangements appear to have been random.

Beads have most often been recovered from the neck or chest area of skeletons. Metal necklace-fasteners are rare finds, and it is likely that bead strings passing round the neck were either attached to fasteners made of perishable material, such as wood, or simply knotted together. Beads have not often been recovered from underneath skeletons, which are normally supine. It is clear that in many cases the beads were worn at the front of the body only. This effect may have been achieved by stringing the beads only at the front of the suspension cord which was then tied round the neck, or, as attested at several sites, by attaching a festoon of beads to the front of the garment. "Paired" brooches appear to have been utilized

as suspension points for festoons, although beads could be festooned without the use of brooches. It is possible that the brooches did not always suspend the string of beads, but only kept them in position, as a single brooch did at the centre chest of a skeleton at Humstanton Park, Nf (XVII, 9, p.175). This concentration upon ornament at the front of the body could be a feature of funeral practice which did not mirror everyday costume. If a corpse was to be laid out on its back, displaying finery, it would be wasteful to place beads in a position where they would not be seen. Strings of beads normally hung round the neck might have been slung from the shoulders instead, on these occasions.

It is possible that the attachment of festoons of beads to "paired" brooches is a fashion related to the earlier continental practice of linking matched brooches with chains, and to later Anglo-Saxon pin suites; but this is unlikely on aesthetic grounds, the beads and brooches being much clumsier than the chained pairs, and on the practical grounds that "paired" brooches and festoons of beads are found independently.

The number of beads utilized varied greatly. There were some regional preferences for simple or elaborate neck ornaments, but there were also great variations within cemeteries. In general, graves generously equipped with brooches and other articles appear to have been well supplied with beads, but this was not an inflexible rule, since the richest female graves at Broadway, Wo (XXIX, 10, p.312) and Filkins, O (XX, 13, p.208) had no beads and one bead, respectively.

Excavators of several sites, such as Girton, Ca, and Mucking, Ex, have noted the practice of equipping the corpse of a child with a single bead, or with a small quantity of beads (IV, 19, p. 70; VIII, 10, p. 85). T. Jones, in excavating Mucking, has considered the possibility that the beads related to the age of the infant, but has been unable to find a relationship between the quantity of beads and the size of the skeletal remains. Conversely, some children were equipped with unusually elaborate bead ornaments. There is an example at Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 18, p. 247).

Apart from their use as necklaces, festoons and girdle ornaments (pp. 362-3, above), beads may have been worn in other ways. Bead clusters may have been sewn to the clothing, since they sometimes occur well away from the neck, brooches or other possible points of suspension. Beads may have been attached to headdresses at, for example, Abingdon and Blewburton Hill, Bek (II, 15, p. 49), Bifrons and Stowting, K (XIII, 17, pp. 147-8). They appear to have been worn as bracelets round one or both arms by many women throughout the country, but this was not the general practice at any one site. At Petersfinger, Wi, beads may have decorated or fastened a shoe or garter (XXVIII, 15, pp. 305-6), and they may have been worn at the ankle at Lyminge, K (XIII, 17, p. 148). It is possible that beads, in conjunction with metal rings, may have been used as simple ear ornaments, since the elaborate earrings which appear on the continent are not known from Anglo-Saxon context.¹⁷ These beads and rings, however, might equally well be the constituents of necklaces.

Beads may have sometimes been functional. Apart from use as toggles and spindle whorls (discussed above) they may have acted

as buttons. Possible cases occur at Wheatley, O (XX, 13, p. 209) and Mitcham, Sx (XXV, 14, p. 263), where beads were placed in vertical rows at the front of bodies, and at Holywell Row, Sf, where beads and rings were similarly arranged (XXIV, 18, p. 247). There is no independent evidence, however, to suggest that a buttoned coat was worn by Germanic women, and such a garment would appear to be inconsistent with the costume as reconstructed so far. It seems likely that these beads had been strung together and displayed at the front of the bodies for burial as was usual, but arranged vertically.

Neck ornaments other than beads have been found in several graves. The Nassington, Nh, necklace of bucket-shaped pendants is unique, though similar pendants have been found at Cheesecake Hill and Driffeld, Y (XVIII, 16, p. 189; XXX, 15, p. 333). All three sites were in Anglian areas. Decorative metal collars have been found at Market Overton II, R (XXI, 10, p. 216), Ipswich, Sf (XXIV, 18, p. 249) and Emscote, Wa (XXVII, 14, p. 290), and ^{and Narford,} torques in cinerary urns at Caistor, Nf (XVII, 9, p. 175).

Women sometimes adorned their arms with metal bracelets as well as with beads. Metal armlets are not uncommon finds from Kent, but also occur in other areas. There are many examples, but most are unusual in the cemeteries in which they have been found. At Sleaford, Li, both metal and bead bracelets were worn, and appear mostly to have been the property of young women (XV, 11, p. 166). Other articles may have been adopted as bracelets. A glass armilla of Roman manufacture may have been worn by an Anglo-Saxon woman at Mallington Hill, 'Sx (XXVI, 12, p. 279), and the ivory rings which may originally have been pouch ornaments or girdle attachments, might

have been re-used as bracelets, as, for example, at Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 12, p. 260).

Finger rings, which have sometimes been found in conjunction with armlets, similarly occur in a low proportion of graves, though a considerable number have been recovered from the country as a whole. Several skeletons have been accompanied by more than one finger ring. Rings have more often been found in graves equipped with unusual richness than in those of average wealth (a distinction less marked with regard to armlets).

Metal armlets and finger rings from the pagan period are mostly simple bands or spirals, without elaborate ornament. This simplicity, the absence of neck rings and circlets for the head, and the relative rarity of arm and finger rings in comparison with other jewellery such as brooches and buckles (or even compared to the less common pins and wrist clasps) is striking in view of the fact that rings ('beagas', 'hringas') are a traditional adornment of women in Anglo-Saxon poetry.¹⁸ The partial limitation of these objects to the graves of the wealthy, suggests that in early Anglo-Saxon times rings were indicative of social status, though many appear of little artistic or intrinsic value. (Some, of course, were of precious metal.) Unless one assumes that rings were normally too valuable to be left with the dead, it appears that Anglo-Saxon women preferred to deck themselves in other items of jewellery rather than the rings of literary tradition.

ALL MISSING PAGES ARE BLANK

IN

ORIGINAL

b. The conversion period

It is clear that choice of fasteners, ornaments and the functional objects attached to the belt changed in the conversion period.

Brooches, so characteristic a part of the woman's grave furniture in the fifth and sixth centuries, are found less frequently in cemeteries of the seventh. Many sites of this period have yielded no brooches. Evidence of "pairing" is rare, there being possible cases at Winnall, Ha (X, 2, p. 92), and North Runcton, Nf (XVII, 2, p. 171), perhaps an instance of deliberate archaism, and at Beckford B, Wo (XXIX, 2, p. 308). Otherwise brooches have been found singly. Only circular brooches occur, mostly either Kentish examples with inlaid garnets, or annulars.

Elaborate gold-and-garnet cloisonné brooches, unlike the simpler "keystone" garnet brooches found in sixth-century graves, appear to have only been worn singly. Examples mentioned in the survey occur at the Kent sites of Breach Downs, Chatham Lines, Gilton, Kingston, Milton-next-Sittingbourne, possibly Osengal (perhaps a late grave in a long-lasting cemetery), Sibertswold and Wingham (XIII, 5, pp. 115, 117, 118-9). Finds of gold-and-garnet brooches from other areas confirm that the taste for this item of jewellery, and possibly therefore for the garment which it clasped, was not confined to Kent. The Sutton, Sf, example appears to have been a product of the East Anglian jeweller, since it has the mushroom-shaped cloisons which are characteristic of the Sutton Hoo jewellery. Cloisonné brooches

have not only been recovered from the Suffolk sites which are close to Kent, and therefore within easy range of Kentish influence (XXIV, 8, pp. 237-8), but also from more distant Anglian sites. Brooches found in boxes at Borrowash and White Low, Db (V, 3, p. 73), the fastener found at East Boldon, Du (VII, 2, p. 79) and the brooch from Lilla Howe, Y (XXX, 6, p. 320), all reflect the Kentish fashion, while the quoit-shaped gold-and-garnet brooch found near Husband's Bosworth, Lo (XIV, 2, pp. 151-2), may combine the Kentish mode of decoration with the Anglian taste for annular shape. The Milton, Bek, and Wimmall, Ha, examples show that the polychrome style was also popular in Saxon areas (II, 5, p. 39; X, 5, p. 95).

The later cemeteries of Yorkshire have provided the majority of examples of the single annular brooch -- a type popular in Anglian areas from earlier times. Sites mentioned in the survey include Elloughton, Garton II, Hambleton Moor, possibly Hawnby (the skeleton may have been male, and the brooch may not have been used as a fastener), North Newbald, Painsthorpe Wold and Uncleby (XXX, 6, pp. 311-12). There is also an example from what may have been a seventh-century burial at Wetton, St (XXIII, 3, p. 222), and several possible instances from Kent (XIII, 5, pp. 117, 118). These include an annular brooch found under the head of a skeleton at Breach Downs, one lacking a pin found with a skeleton at Finglesham (a site evidently in use during the seventh as well as the sixth century) and one from Gilton. A single Roman brooch found at Gilton may have been used as the polychrome and annular examples were, and a penannular brooch found with a skeleton at Wigber Low, Db (V, 3, p. 73), presents another variation of the late pagan/early Christian single brooch

fashion.

Though the majority of cloisonné brooches derive from Kent, and most annular brooches worn singly by women of this period from modern Yorkshire, which was within the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, there was clearly cultural interchange between regions, in that annular brooches have been found in Kent and polychrome brooches in areas outside Kent, including Yorkshire.

The majority of the examples mentioned were found at the neck or chest, many worn centrally, though one of those at Kingston, K, and five at Garton, Y, were worn on the right. (XIII, 5, p. 119; XXX, 6, p. 319). S. C. Hawkes suggested that such brooches were used to clasp cloaks. There are other possibilities: firstly, a continuation of that variation on the "paired" brooch fashion in which only one brooch clasped the garment which was not fastened on the other shoulder (subsection 1a, p. 342 , above); but since many of the later brooches were worn centrally, this function is unlikely. Secondly, centrally-placed brooches may have clasped blouses, as has been suggested for earlier examples of single brooches (p. 346). Hawkes's assumption that these brooches clasped cloaks, however, accounts for either position -- at one shoulder or at the centre of the chest -- and it may not be necessary to theorise further.

Thus the disappearance of "paired" brooches may indicate that the gown they had once fastened was, by the later period, secured by some other means, or, more likely, it may result from a change in costume and the disappearance of this garment. Reconstruction of

the role of the brooch at the conversion period is complicated by the apparent change in attitude to grave-goods at that time. The relative rarity of brooches in proportion to the number of burials of this period may reflect a decline in the popularity of brooches among the population as a whole, or it may derive from the widespread acceptance of the Christian teaching which discouraged the provision of grave-goods. If the latter, the corpses interred with brooches might represent the more conservative sections of society.

It is possible that brooches had become luxuries. This would correspond to their rarity, and would account for the deposition of brooches which were no longer functional at Winnall, Ha and Finglesham, K. (X, 5, p. 95; XIII, 5, p. 117. Broken brooches may have been kept because they were precious, or they may have been given to the dead because better ones could not be spared.)

The practice of re-using brooches is noticeable in conversion period cemeteries, possibly occurring only at Abingdon, Bek, and Mitcham, Sr, among earlier sites. (II, 5, p. 39; XXV, 6, p. 255). At the late sites of Leighton Buzzard II and Totternhoe, Bd (I, 7, pp. 25-6), Burwell, Ca (IV, 8, p. 62) Osengal and Polhill, K (XIII, 7, p. 120) and possibly at Garton, Hawnby and Painsthorpe Wold, Y (XXX, 7, p. 320), brooches were re-used as toys, trinkets or chatolaine rings. This may support the theory that the popularity of brooches was in decline, since these examples were no longer required as fasteners. A further example of the re-use of a brooch is provided by the Winnall, Ha, pendant (X, 15, p. 100) which appears to have been made from the centre of a cloisonné brooch; but one cannot know if the brooch was converted because it was broken beyond repair, or because it was considered out of date.

The primitive-looking safety-pin brooch appears only in graves of the conversion period, and in one case, in conjunction with one of the most elaborate of Kentish brooches. The two safety-pin brooches found at Kingston, K (XIII, 3, p. 114), were thought by the excavator to have fastened stockings. Their position might be compared to that of two annular brooches found inside the tibia of a (disturbed) Soham, Ca, skeleton, which were thought to have fastened a skirt (IV, 5, p. 61). Since there is evidence from other late sites to suggest that leg coverings were worn, and since there is no independent evidence for the wearing of a skirt of a kind requiring such a fastener, it seems likely that in both these cases the brooches fastened stockings or garters.

A safety-pin brooch found at the hip of an Uncleby, Y, skeleton (XXX, 5, pp. 317-8) may have secured the belt or chatelaine, since a brooch of this kind was associated with a chatelaine at Shudy Camps, Ca (IV, 8, pp. 62-3).

Suites consisting of two pins linked by a chain appear to be an innovation of the conversion period, occurring at Leighton Buzzard II^B, Bd (two cases, I, 8, p. 26), Long Wittenham II, Bek (two cases, II, 9, p. 41), Shudy Camps, Ca (IV, 9, p. 63), Cowe Lowe and Wyaston, Db (V, 4, p. 74), Roundway Down, W1 (XXVIII, 7, p. 294) and Littlehampton, Wo (XXIX, 5, p. 309). The suites have only been found in the graves of females, varying in age from a child at Shudy Camps to adults elsewhere. The suites appear to have normally been worn at the neck, and at Leighton Buzzard were outside two layers of cloth.

The pin suites, like "paired" brooches, provide a twin fastening at the upper part of the body, but it seems unlikely that the pin suite was a seventh-century substitute for "paired" brooches as it would not appear an efficient means of fastening the characteristic gown. It seems likely that the pin suites clasped a different type of garment, which opened centrally, and which may have been an innovation of the conversion period. The exact nature of this costume and the function of the pin suite remain uncertain. Possible interpretations of the textile attached to the Leighton Buzzard suite are discussed below (Section D, 14, k, pp 449-50).

Pairs of pins, of precious metal, have been found in late burials at Wigber Low, Db (V, 5, p. 74), Farthingdown, Sr (XXV, 7, p. 155) and Seamer, Y (XXX, 8, p. 321). These examples may be compared with the suites of similar date. They may have been linked together by some perishable substance, to form suites; or it may be that the costume which required two pins did not demand a chain, and that this was an added refinement.

Pin suites and matching pairs of pins are not confined to any one region. They are uncommon, but finds of two suites at two of the sites suggests some degree of popularity.

The incomplete clasp found at Chartham Down, K, is unique (XIII, 8, pp. 120-1), but may be compared to the pin suites of the same period in that it was designed to clasp together two edges of a garment. The "hook-and-eye" from Melbourn, Ca (IV, 11, p. 64), though found lower down the body, on the pelvis of a skeleton, is also indicative of a garment which fastened down the front.

Pins found on the breast or shoulder may have been used to clasp the cloak. There are seventh-century examples from Burwell and Soham, Ca (IV, 10, p. 63), possibly Broadwell, Gl (IX, 6, p. 88, date uncertain), possibly Finglesham, Holborough, Kingston and possibly Osengal, K (XIII, 9, p. 121), Stanton Harcourt, O (XX, 6, p. 199), Camerton, So (XXII, 2, p. 217) and Garton Slack, Y (XXX, 8, p. 321).

At Camerton, So (XXII, 2, p. 218), and Uncleby, Y (XXX, 8, p. 321), pins were observed at the hips of skeletons, and one at Burwell, Ca (IV, 10, p. 63) was found near the wrist. These may have secured the belt, or a garment such as the cloak.

Several other pins have been found high up the body in positions described as "at the neck" or "under the chin". These might also have fastened cloaks, or it is possible that they secured some form of headdress, such as a veil, as was suggested by the excavator of Burwell, Ca, where a pin was found at the clavicle of a skeleton (IV, 10, p. 63). Pins found in positions near the jaw have been excavated from late cemeteries: Snell's Corner and Winnall, Ha (X, 8, p. 96), the Winnall example in association with a second pin found at the forehead; the Kent sites of Chartham Down, Crundale, Dover II, Holborough and Sibertswold (XIII, 9, p. 121); and Uncleby, Y (XXX, 8, p. 321). It is possible that the conversion period saw the introduction of a women's headdress which required fixing with a pin, or a suite of pins.

Other pins, found like some of those from earlier graves at the skulls of skeletons, had more obviously fastened the hair or head-dress. Cases are particularly common in Kent, occurring at Breach Downs, Chartham Down, Faversham (a pin identified as a "hairpin" was recovered), Finglesham, Gilton, Kingston and Sibertswold, the two latter sites producing six examples and seven, respectively (XIII, 9, pp. 121-2). At Garton, Y, also, a pin was found under the skull of a skeleton (XXX, 8, p. 320), and, as mentioned above, a pin was found at the forehead of a Winnall, Ha, skeleton which had another under the chin.

Other finds which may have been the remains of headgear include a bone or ivory ornament, found with silver wire, at the back of a child's skull at Camerton, So (XXII, 4, p. 218) a ring to the left of the skull and shoulder of a female at Snell's Corner, Ha (X, 10, p. 97), beads found near skulls at Totternhoe and Leighton Buzzard II B, Bd, and a buckle associated with bronze found at the latter site (I, 10, p. 27). A clip of the type known from earlier sites was found near the brooch at Winnall, Ha (X, 10, p. 96). This may possibly have been attached to headgear.

Women's costume continued to include a girdle, which was sometimes buckled, though since many of the buckles found in later graves are small, it is possible that belts were narrower than before. An innovation of the conversion period in Kent, is the buckle with perforated plate, in which the perforations are arranged in a cruciform pattern. This may have been worn with a

brightly-coloured girdle which would show through the holes in imitation of jewelled buckles.¹⁹ (XIII, 12, pp. 124, 125).

The general lack of grave-goods in later cemeteries, including the beads and brooches characteristic of female burials on earlier sites, means that the sex of many skeletons has not been identified. The survey suggests, however, that in some areas in the seventh century, buckles were not popular with women. In Cambridgeshire, for example, more male than female graves were equipped with buckles, and none of the seventh-century Derbyshire graves containing characteristically feminine articles had buckles. This trend is not repeated nationally. There were many buckles in seventh-century female graves in Kent (XIII, 12, pp. 123-6, though they were noticeably absent from Polhill) and individual sites in other areas, such as Thornham, Nf (XVII, 6, p. 173) and Uncleby, Y (XXX, 11, p. 325), offer contrary evidence.

A few buckles have been found at the upper parts of bodies. They include one found at the breast of a female at Long Wittenham II, Bek (II, 12, p. 46), one at the right shoulder of an Uncleby, Y, skeleton (XXX, 11, p. 325) and one, found with strap ends, near the neck of a skeleton at Carthorpe, Y (XXX, 11, p. 324). The majority of buckles, though, have been found in the waist area and probably fastened belts.

As in earlier cemeteries, the absence of a buckle need not necessarily mean the absence of a belt. At Beckford B, Wo, a belt ornament of bronze and bone was not accompanied by a buckle (XXIX, 7, p. 310). Various adjuncts continued to be attached to

girdles which often lacked buckles. The knife continued to be the most common girdle adjunct. It was probably still worn tucked into the belt, though in at least one case, at Painsthorpe Wold, Y, the knife had hung with the chatelaine (XXX, 13, p. 327). Only rarely were knives found in other positions, such as at the shoulder.

The toilet articles found as girdle adjuncts in earlier cemeteries do not appear in seventh-century graves, and the survey suggests that tweezers and purses with metal mounts were not carried by women of this period. Strike-a-lights have been found less often than in earlier graves, but still occur, for example, in Cambridgeshire (IV, 17, p. 68). Keys and girdle hangers have also been found in late graves. The ivory rings which may have been attached to pouches are not found in later graves, but other rings have been found at the waists of skeletons of the later period, including the re-used annular brooches discussed above. The spindle whorl still occurs, and pairs of shears appear more frequently in later graves, for example in Cambridgeshire, Kent and Somerset (IV, 17, p. 68 ; XIII, 15, p. 139; XXII, 6, p. 219). The chatelaine chain increases in frequency into a distinctive feature of later burials, noticeable in Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, Hampshire, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Wiltshire and Yorkshire (IV, 17, p. 68; V, 7, p. 75; X, 14, p. 99 ; XIII, 15, p. 137; XIX, 3, p. 191; XXIV, 16, p. 245; XXVIII, 13, p. 303; XXX, 13, p. 329). The cylindrical threadboxes or needle-cases which are unknown from earlier sites except Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 12, p. 260, which has been considered a fifth- to sixth-century site, but anticipates some later customs), are also characteristic of the period. Threadboxes

occur in Bedfordshire, Derbyshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire (I, 13, p. 29; V, 7, p. 75; XIII, 15, p. 140; XX, 11, p. 206; XXVII, 12, p. 287; XXVIII, 13, p. 303; XXX, 13, p. 329). They probably hung from the girdle in most cases, though one found at Hawnby, Y, was attached to an annular brooch at the chest (XXX, 6, p. 319). Combs, which in the earlier period appear more frequently in cremations than in inhumations, occur in some later graves in positions suggesting that they might have been worn on the person, for example at Burwell, Ca (IV, 17, p. 69), Winnall, Ha (X, 14, p. 99), possibly Camerton, So (XXII, 6, p. 219) and at Garton, Garton Slack I and Uncleby, Y (XXX, 13, p. 331).

The later graves offer evidence of footwear which was not attested earlier except at Chessell Down, IOW (X, 11, p. 97) and possibly at Riseley, K (XIII, 11, p. 123). Shoelace tags have been found in the graves of women and children at Burwell and Melbourn, Ca (IV, 13, p. 65), Winnall and Snell's Corner, Ha (X, 11, p. 97) and at Stanton Harcourt, O (XX, 7, p. 200). It is possible that the dead were being buried in footwear more often, and/or that laced shoes were more common than before. The type of footwear which requires laces of the kind indicated by these tags differs from the shoes of the later Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-Viking period (Section D, 18, pp. 455-7 and Part 3: B, 1, p. 475; 2, pp. 490-1; C, 2, pp. 503-4; D, 1, p. 509; E, 1, pp. 515-6). The shoe-buckles found with females at Finglesham, K, indicate the adoption of a Frankish fashion (XIII, 11, p. 123).

The necklaces of the conversion period exhibit a number of changes. Beads do not occur in large quantities; often a single

bead, or a group of three or four, is found at the neck. Amber is less common than before, the simpler beads being mostly of glass. There is an increase in the popularity of amethyst, which occurs both in the form of beads and mounted as pendants. Beads of gold and silver are frequent finds from the period, and the beads of shell which have been found in Oxfordshire and Somerset may have been an innovation of the seventh century (XX, 13, p.208 ; XXII, 8, p.221).

Rings, sometimes found in association with beads in earlier graves, occur so frequently in seventh-century cemeteries as to be considered characteristic of the period. Beads are frequently found strung on the rings, or surrounded by them, having been suspended across them by thread now perished. Possibly these ring-and-bead ornaments imitated the pendant bullae worn by the more prosperous. Several ring-and-bead ornaments considered by their excavators to have been earrings, may have been neck ornaments of this type, as suggested for the earlier period. The fashion was widespread, being evidence from Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Northumberland, Somerset, Suffolk and Yorkshire (I, 15, p. 30; II, 16, p. 50; IV, 19, p. 70; V, 9, p. 76; IX, 11, p. 90; X, 15, p. 100; XIII, 17, pp. 146-7; XIX, 5, p.192 ; XXII, 8, p.220-1 ; XXIV, 18, p.249 ; XXX, 15, pp.331,333,335). Examples varied from the single bead strung on a ring to elaborate festoons. Ring-and-bead ornaments also occur in conjunction with pendant bullae.

The latter most often take the form of amethysts, or garnet carbuncles set in gold frames, but other stones occur, and some entirely metal pendants have been found. When most elaborately

arranged, as in the Desborough, Nh, necklace (XVIII, 16, p. 189), pendants occur in association with silver or gold beads, but they are also to be found in simpler ornaments, and do occur singly.

Such pendants derive from Derbyshire, Dorset, Essex, Hampshire, Kent, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Sussex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire (V, 9, p. 76; VI, 4, p. 78; VIII, 10, p. 85; X, 15, p. 100; XIII, 17, pp. 145-6; XVIII, 16, p. 189; XX, 13, pp. 208-9; XXIII, 9, p. 225; XXIV, 18, p. 249; XXVI, 12, pp. 277-8; XXVII, 14, p. 289; XXVIII, 15, p. 306; XXX, 15, pp. 333-6).

Pendant crosses were attached to necklaces at Chartham Down and Kingston, K (XIII, 17, p. 145), Desborough, Nh (XVIII, 16, p. 189), Stanlake, O (XX, 13, p. 209) and possibly at White Low, Db (V, 9, p. 76). The presence of the Christian symbol may have been the reason why the necklaces were tolerated when other grave-goods were not. Other pendant ornaments of this period, like the re-used escutcheon at Camerton, So (XXII, 8, p. 220), may also have been valued for their cruciform motifs. At Ixworth, Sf, a gold-and-garnet cloisonné cross was evidently worn by a woman (XXIV, 18, p. 249). Necklaces appear to have become vehicles for the display of piety as well as of wealth. Pendants of the types found in earlier graves, among them coins, bracteates and animals' teeth, persist into the seventh century.

There is little evidence about other items of jewellery. Beads and bullae appear to have usually been worn at the neck. Beads on rings found near the waist of a Chatham Lines, K, skeleton were considered to have hung from the neck (XIII, 17, p. 143), and

a similar explanation may be applied to beads found in the lap of a skeleton at Garton, Y (XXX, 15, p. 333). These articles might, however, have decorated girdles, as suggested of beads in such positions in earlier graves. There are still no "earrings" which cannot be adequately interpreted as necklace constituents. Bracelets and finger rings accompanying skeletons at Snell's Corner, Ha, and Breach Downs, K (X, 15, p. 100; XIII, 17, p. 149), suggest that such jewellery was still popular among the prosperous, though interred with the dead even less frequently than before.

Clearly there were changes in artistic taste about the seventh century. Since this coincides with the conversion, it seems likely that, as S. C. Hawkes has suggested, the new fashions were introduced from the Continent via Christianity. It is less easy to decide if the change in jewellery fashions also marks a change in the structure of garments, an abandonment of a traditional costume and an adoption of a novel one. The traditional gown, clasped at the shoulders, could be secured without brooches; but the general abandonment of "paired" brooches at the conversion period suggests that this garment, with its North European and pagan associations, was replaced by another. The absence of wrist clasps need not indicate the absence of a sleeved garment, yet the lack of clasps in seventh-century cemeteries, even in Anglian areas, suggests that they were no longer required. It may be that the traditional sleeveless gown, worn with a tight-sleeved underblouse, was replaced by a sleeved robe. The cloak which was worn over this, and probably fastened by the single circular brooch, would be arranged so as to display the elegant necklace of bullae,

echoing Mediterranean taste, or the cheaper ring-and-bead imitation. A new, centrally-fastened garment, either a cloak or veil, clasped by linked pins, may have appeared at this time, and there was a new emphasis upon leg and foot coverings.

The conversion period, therefore, probably marks a change from the traditional costume shared by early Anglo-Saxon women and their Germanic kin, and may indicate the beginnings of the very different costume which is shown in the manuscript illustrations of the late Anglo-Saxon period.

2. Male costume

Reconstruction of the costume of Anglo-Saxon men from cemeteries of the pagan period is more difficult than deducing the form of women's clothing. The grave-goods of men include fewer articles which may have been worn on the person, and continental representations of Germanic men offer fewer correspondences with Anglo-Saxon grave furniture than do those of women.

Continental art and archaeology make it possible to distinguish certain characteristics of male costume in the Germanic world. The costume of the Germanic man, as represented on Roman sculptures, may include trousers, tunic and cloak. The trousers, which appear most consistently, are depicted as loosely-fitting, and hang in folds, as, for example, shown on the second-century Column of Marcus Aurelius (Plate IX). The barbarians are sometimes depicted in humiliating circumstances, with the upper part of the body bared, revealing that the trousers were fastened round the waist by a belt (Plate X). Trousers are usually depicted as ankle-length, but short trousers are worn by a figure on horseback on the tombstone of a soldier of Germanic descent²⁰ and Girke has established that short trousers were worn by men in Hanover in the fourth century.²¹

Archaeological evidence from Scandinavia confirms that leg-coverings were a well-established feature of Germanic costume. A pair of trousers, with foot pieces attached to them, are among the garments which have been recovered from Thorsbjerg Fen, Denmark,

dating from the third century B.C.²² Other surviving Iron Age garments include leggings which had apparently been bound to the calf with woollen strings, and which were worn by a male corpse found in Daugbjerg Fen.²³

Barbarians depicted in Roman art may wear over the trousers a girdled tunic, with long or short sleeves (Plate IX). Such tunics are sometimes knee-length, sometimes shorter, reaching only to the hip. A sleeved tunic is among the finds from Thorsbjerg Fen.²⁴

Roman sculptures indicate that a cloak was usually worn, over either the tunic or the bare torso. The cloaks depicted are usually of the short, rectangular type, mostly clasped at the right shoulder (Plates IX, X), more rarely at the left shoulder or at the centre of the chest. Men depicted on the Adamklissi Monument (probably first-century B.C.) wear poncho-like outer garments, falling in V-shaped folds at the chest. The head emerges from a central slit (Plate XI). The existence of this garment has been confirmed by a crudely-made poncho recovered from Rømbjerg Mose, Denmark.²⁵

The costume of men as reconstructed from Anglo-Saxon manuscript illuminations (Part 3, B, 2, pp. 476-72, below) corresponds in several respects to these earlier Germanic examples. It would therefore appear that men may have continued to wear a traditional costume throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The archaeological evidence of Sections I to XXX, however, provides supplementary information about the pagan period.

The majority of cloaks worn by secular males pictured in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, are rectangular and clasped by a single, circular brooch. Cloaks of similar shape, clasped at the shoulder, were worn by Germanic men before the settlement. Yet, surprisingly, the majority of Anglo-Saxon male skeletons from pagan graves have not been found to be equipped with brooches at the shoulder. It is possible that a different type of cloak, such as the poncho mentioned above, which would not require a fastener, was popular in the pagan period. Alternatively, it is possible that men were not buried in cloaks, or that, for burial, the versatile rectangular cloak was used as a blanket, and not clasped; or it is possible that rectangular cloaks were clasped by fasteners of perishable material at this date. A bone rectangle found at the left shoulder of a male skeleton at Lowbury, Bek (II, 8, p. 41), a "shroud fastener" under a skull at Burwell, Ca. (IV, 11, p. 64), a "latchet" found at Baggrave, Le (XIV, 4, p. 152) and the toggle bead at the neck of a young man buried at Northolt, Mx (XVI, 6, p. 168) demonstrate that use was made of fasteners other than the metal brooches and pins which are common finds from women's graves.

Brooches and pins have apparently been found in the graves of men, but the circumstances of many of the brooch finds have been such that the attributions are uncertain. Some, for example, those at Kempston, Bd, were discovered before systematic excavation (I, 5, p. 25). Other brooches attributed to males, such as those at Abingdon and Blewburton Hill, Bek, occurred in graves without weapons, although other male skeletons in the same cemeteries were accompanied

by weapons (II, 7, p. 41). In several instances "male" graves with brooches have also contained beads, which the survey of pagan grave-goods has shown to be primarily a female ornament. An annular brooch on the chest of a skeleton believed male, at Hawnby, Y (XXX, 6, p. 319), was attached to a needle-case, a typically feminine adjunct.

Nevertheless, excavators have recorded the discovery of brooches in male graves in Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, the Isle of Wight, Kent, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Suffolk and Wiltshire (I, 5, p. 25; II, 7, p. 41; III, 4, p. 53; IV, 7, p. 62; IX, 5, p. 88; X, 6, p. 95; XIII, 6, p. 120; XVI, 3, pp. 167-8; XVII, 3, p. 172; XVIII, 7, p. 181; XX, 5, p. 198; XXIV, 7, p. 237; XXVIII, 6, p. 294). No type of brooch appears to have been exclusive to men, although it was observed at Chessell Down, IOW, that the larger brooches accompanied male skeletons. Several of the "male" graves from these counties contained two circular brooches in positions equivalent to the "pairing" normally associated with females. There appears to be no other evidence from art or archaeology to confirm that a garment fastened in this way was a component of the costume of Anglo-Saxon pagan men,²⁶ although considerations of sex may not have prevented an individual from fastening his garment with a pair of brooches if convenient, or his kin from doing so at his burial.

There have been more single brooches than pairs recovered from apparently male graves, but these were not positioned consistently. They have been found at shoulder, breast, waist

and side. There is insufficient evidence to judge if there was a change in the manner of wearing brooches among men in the later period as there was among women. Single annular brooches and a single gold-and-garnet brooch occur in later male as in later female graves, but single brooches were apparently also worn earlier. Two brooches, believed to be seventh-century, were found in the grave of a man at Occaney Beck, Y (XXX, 2, p.315), but this evidence is too slender to deduce that men continued to wear two brooches when women did not.

Pins, though found more often with females, occur in the graves of men, as well as in association with skeletons of indeterminate sex, some of which are likely to have been male. Pins have been recorded in association with male skeletons in Cambridgeshire, Kent, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Sussex and Wiltshire (IV, 10, p. 63; XIII, 9, pp. 121, 122; XVII, 4, p.173 ; XVIII, 9, p.182 ; XX, 6, p.199 ; XXIII, 4, p.223 ; XXIV, 9, p.238 ; XXVI, 6, p.271 ; XXVIII, 8, pp.295,296).

Those examples of which the positions have been recorded, have mostly been found at the upper parts of skeletons, in positions consistent with having clasped the cloak which otherwise is scarcely evidenced from the period. Pins were found at the breast or chest at Perry Hill, Sx (XXVI, 6, p.271) and Winklebury II, Wi (XXVIII, 8, p.296), at the left of the chest at Lakenheath, Sf (XXIV, 9, p.238 , although this skeleton also had brooches and may have been female), at the right clavicle at Soham, Ca (IV, 10, p. 63) and at

the upper part of a disturbed Sarre, K, grave (XIII, 9, p. 122).

A pin found on the lumbar vertebrae at Cassington, O (XX, 6, p. 199) might have secured the cloak as it wrapped round the body.

It is clear that Anglo-Saxon men of the pagan period habitually wore belts, but impossible to establish whether these fastened trousers or tunics. Males found with two buckles at waist level may have worn both garments, but additional buckles might have fastened pouches or other articles, as attested at Lyminge, K (XIII, 12, p. 126), rather than second belts.

Buckles have been very often found at the waists and hips of male skeletons from throughout the pagan period. Such buckles have been recovered from Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Hertfordshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Staffordshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Yorkshire (I, 12, p. 28; II, 12, pp. 43-5; IV, 14, pp. 65-6; VIII, 8, pp. 82-3; X, 12, pp. 97-8; XI, 3, p. 103; XIII, 12, pp. 124-8; XIV, 5, p. 153; XV, 7, p. 161; XVII, 6, pp. 173-4; XVIII, 11, p. 184; XX, 8, pp. 200, 201, 202; XXII, 5, p. 218; XXIII, 7, p. 223; XXIV, 13, pp. 240-2; XXV, 10, p. 257; XXVI, 8, pp. 272-3; XXVII, 9, p. 286; XXVIII, 11, pp. 296-8; XXIX, 7, p. 310; XXX, 11, pp. 323-4, 325). Finds of metal belt fittings without buckles confirm that belts were worn by men in Buckinghamshire (III, 6, p. 53) and Dorset (VI, 3, p. 78). The fact that buckles were the only clothing fasteners found at the battlefield cemeteries of Dunstable, Bd (I, 12, p. 28), and Old Sarum, Wi (XXVIII, 11, p. 297) suggests that the belt was considered

an essential item of clothing, not a luxury to be plundered.

As in women's graves, buckles have been recovered from right and left, and also from the back of skeletons, but many were worn centrally. The majority of elaborate belt fittings to have been recovered have been associated with men. These include belts with ornamental plates, such as have been found at Blewburton Hill and Wallingford, Bek (II, 12, pp. 44, 45), Mucking, Ex (VIII, 8, p. 83), Winnall, Ha (X, 12, p. 98), Kingston, K' (XIII, 13, p. 130), Sleaford, Li (XV, 8, p. 161), Cassington, O (XX, 8, p. 200), Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 13, p. 241) and Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 11, p. 258), several of them without buckles; a reinforced belt from Riseley, K (XIII, 13, p. 130); and unique equipment from Dorchester, O (XX, 8, p. 201) and Taplow, Bu (III, 6, p. 53). Elaborate belt equipment was sometimes, but not exclusively, associated with swords, and in one case with a scramasax.

Belt fittings and strap tags have been recovered from many graves lacking buckles. It is clear that alternative methods of fastening were available even for heavy belt equipment. Beads which may have functioned as toggles have been found in some male graves, for example, at Bishopstone, Bu (III, 9, p. 55), Melbourn, Ca (IV, 18, p. 69) and Mitcham, Sr (XXV, 13, p. 261).

Finds of objects which had probably been attached to the girdle, in many male graves, as in many female, confirm that unbuckled belts were worn. Numerous knives have been found with men, as with women, and again appear to have been most frequently carried at the belt. The knives were sometimes carried in sheaths, particularly in the seventh century. Other articles carried at men's belts

include strike-a-lights and purses (which may in some cases have contained fire-making materials), tweezers and shears. Combs may have been carried on the person, as attested by late graves, but may not always have been worn at the belt. Objects more usually associated with females have been found in the graves of apparently male skeletons. Keys, toilet articles and suspension rings appear to have been occasionally worn by men, and in one case (at Eye, Nh, XVIII, 14, p. 187), an ivory ring. Amulets, such as the shell carried by a man buried at Ellesborough, Bu (III, 8, p. 55) and the animal's tooth by one at Sleaford, Li (XV, 9, p. 162) were apparently attached to the belt. Tools were sometimes carried in this way, for example axes at Lyminge, K (XIII, 15, p. 138), and a whetstone at Uncleby, Y (XX, 13, p. 330).

Some men may have worn diagonal belts or baldrics, attested by finds of buckles and other belt fittings at breast or shoulder. The purpose of buckles positioned in this manner is clarified by graves at Taplow, Bu (III, 7, p. 54) and Dorchester, O (XX, 8, p. 201). At the latter site a buckle found on the shoulder had been attached to a baldric which was part of the regalia of a Germanic Roman mercenary. At Taplow a buckle on the shoulder had been attached to gold material which lay diagonally and had probably ornamented a baldric. Both the early settler at Dorchester and the conversion-period chieftain at Taplow seem also to have worn elaborate belts at the waist. The harnesses worn by other men, as attested by belt fittings found at the upper parts of the body, may also have been worn in addition to belts at the waist. It is possible that

baldrics denoted rank or military status, though buckles placed at the shoulder are not confined to rich or male graves. Buckles or other belt equipment have been found at the breasts or shoulders of male skeletons at Abingdon and Long Wittenham I, Bek (II, 12, pp. 43-4, 45-6); Ellesborough and Taplow, Bu (III, 7, pp. 53-4), Burwell and Girton, Ca (IV, 14, pp. 66-7), Mucking, Ex (VIII, 8, p. 83), Winnall, Ha (X, 12, p. 98), Riseley and Sarre, K (XIII, 12, p. 128), Sleaford, Li (XV, 7, p. 161), Brighthampton and Dorchester, O (XX, 8, pp. 200, 201), Camerton, So (XXII, 3, p. 218), Stapenhill, St (XXIII, 7, p. 223), Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 13, p. 241) and Garton Slack, Y (XXX, 11, p. 324). Knives may sometimes have been suspended from such straps, since knives have been found on the chests of skeletons.

In three instances, the positions of grave-goods have suggested that leg coverings were worn. Knives found at the lower legs of male skeletons at Eynsham, O (XX, 11, p. 204) and Cheesecake Hill, Y (XXX, 13, p. 326) may have been attached to garters or thrust into stockings. One of the axeheads found at Alfriston, Sx (XXVI, 11, p. 277), lay at the knee and may have been carried in the same way, although other axes found at the site had apparently been carried at the belt, and a tool of this kind may have been too heavy to be supported by leggings.

Evidence of footwear is limited to an object which may have been a shoe-lace tag, found at Melbourn, Ca (a late site, IV, 13, p. 65), and tags and shoe buckles from Finglesham (a site which was in use for a long period) and Polhill (a late site), K (XIII, 11, p. 123).

It is probable that in the earlier pagan period men's footwear, like women's, had no metal fittings, or was never buried.

There is little archaeological evidence about the headgear of men. A buckle found near the earbones of a male skeleton at Ipswich, Sf, may have been the remains of a head covering (XXIV, 11, p. 240), as also may have been the metal remains found near the heads of males at Totternhoe, Bd (I, 10, p. 27), East Shefford, Bek (II, 11, p. 43), Bowcombe Down, IOW (X, 10, pp. 96-7) and at Alfriston, Firle and High Down, Sx (XXVI, 7, p. 271). No two of these finds are similar, however, and no consistent pattern is established. Articles described as "cramps" were found near the head of a male skeleton at High Down, and clips of the type also found with females were at the heads of males at Totternhoe, Bd (I, 10, p. 27), Riseley, K (XIII, 10, p. 122) and Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 11, p. 239). Such clips have also been found at legs, hips and breasts of male skeletons, and as in female graves, it seems that they might have been attached to knife sheaths and leather vessels, as well as possibly to leather caps.

Men appear to have been buried in less purely ornamental jewellery than women were. Beads have sometimes been found in association with males, but necklaces are rare, and usually found in graves also containing brooches, suggesting mis-identification of sex. Single beads, if not attached to sword hilts, may have been used as toggles or worn as amulets. The wearing of rings, again contrary to literary tradition,²⁷ is rare, the majority of finds in this category having been associated with females. Exceptions

include bracelets accompanying males at Bifrons and Milton, K (XIII, 17, pp. 148-9), a finger ring at Everthorpe, Y (XXX, 15, p. 336) and an anklet at Lyminge, K (XIII, 17, p. 148). The latter article is almost unique in Anglo-Saxon context. Another was found in a cinerary urn at Caistor, Nf (XVII, 9, p. 175) but it appears that foot and ankle ornaments were a regional peculiarity of Lyminge, not confined to either sex.

Archaeological evidence, therefore, suggests that in practice less jewellery was worn by men than is indicated in art and literature -- the brooches of later sculpture and illumination are not common in the graves, and the rings which, according to literary tradition were distributed to the deserving,²⁸ were not worn on the necks, arms or fingers of pagan men. Conversely, articles which are not attested by art are shown to have been carried on the person: buckles, knives and other articles carried at the belt were clearly common features of the costume.

3. Children's costume

The survey does not suggest that children's clothing differed fundamentally from that of adults. No types of clothing fastener are associated only with children, and no consistent positioning of fasteners occurs only with children. Meaney noted that "Children seem often to have been buried in a simpler manner and with fewer grave-goods than adults, but this was probably due to the fact that they had had less time than adults to acquire possessions, or to stamp their character on their surroundings."²⁹ This simplicity may explain the association of single brooches with the skeletons of children and young women at Long Wittenham, Bek, and in Wiltshire, mentioned above, and the simple arrangements of beads found with many young people, already discussed (subsection 1a, pp.350,375).

This simplicity of burial does not apply to all children's graves. In some instances there may have been attempts to provide a child with appropriate grave-goods though it was too young to have used them. Examples include the provision of knives in the burials of infants at East Shofford, Bek (II, 14, p. 47) and the lavishly-equipped grave of a girl at Holywell Row, Sf (XXIV, 18, p.247), which included over-large strings of beads.

A few children's graves of the conversion period offer more evidence than contemporary graves of adults. Footwear, for example, is evidenced by shoe-lace tags and leather traces from Stanton Harcourt, O (XX, 7, p.200). Leather footwear is also attested in the graves of adults, however. The deposits in these children's graves may be the result of an archaism which has been sometimes

observed in the burials of young persons.³⁰ The custom of equipping a corpse with grave-goods was ceasing for adult's funerals at the time these children were buried, and any differences may result from archaism in burial rather than any distinction in dress.

C. THE EIGHTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES

1. Sources and dating of evidence

The artefacts of the later Saxon period have been recovered from hoards, or from occupation sites, or constitute stray finds; they have only rarely been associated with burials. Fewer deductions, therefore, are possible about the function of these objects than about articles from the pagan period: the sex of the wearer can not be determined; the position in which an object was worn is rarely demonstrated by archaeological evidence alone. The survival of a considerable quantity of Christian period material does, however, make possible a comparison of the range of objects in use then, with what is known of pagan times.

A variety of factors make it possible to date articles. A few artefacts are associated with known historical persons, such as a finger ring inscribed with the name of Æthelwulf, King of Wessex from A.D. 839 to 858 or 859;¹ others are associated with datable places, such as objects found at Whitby, Y, where the abbey was in existence from A.D. 657 to 867² and at York, where the current scientific excavation is establishing chronology. The presence of coins makes it possible to establish the date of jewellery deposited in hoards, such as the one from Trewhiddle, Cornwall, c. A.D. 875, and another from Cuerdale, La, in an area of Viking settlement, deposited c. A.D. 903.³ Other items may be dated on stylistic grounds from their resemblance to sculpture, manuscripts or metalwork of such styles as the eighth-century Anglian/Mercian, the ninth- to tenth-century Trewhiddle or tenth-century Winchester.

A survey of clothing fasteners and adjuncts based upon this material must take account of certain reservations. Firstly, the deposition of these objects was more haphazard than the systematic provision of grave-goods which took place in the pagan period.

Secondly, some finds lacking ornament and not deriving from securely-dated contexts, may have escaped assignment to the late Saxon period.

Conclusions based on negative evidence can only be tentative: the absence or scarcity of any class of object may, but need not, reflect its lack of popularity in this period.

2. Brooches: the South

The distribution of brooches in post-seventh-century England reflects the cultural division of the country which resulted from the Viking settlement of the North. Brooches from the southern (and persistently Anglo-Saxon) part of the country, from the eighth to the eleventh century are consistently disc-shaped. The brooches are of silver, bronze or base metal, gold being rarer than in the conversion period, though the Strickland Brooch is an unusual exception among the corpus of late disc brooches in being inlaid with gold.⁴ The decoration and quality of the disc brooches varies. Some are openwork, most have decorated surfaces. The corpus includes fine and unusual examples, such as the ninth-century Fuller Brooch (Plate XII) which bears representations of the five Senses,⁵ the Strickland Brooch already mentioned, which is tenth-century or earlier, and the brooch from Sutton, Isle of Ely, which bears eleventh-century Ringerike Style ornament on the front and two

inscriptions on the back. This example, though found in a Danelaw area and decorated according to Anglo-Scandinavian taste, corresponds in shape to the Anglo-Saxon norm for the period, and bears Old English on the reverse. The gender of the personal pronouns in one of the inscriptions suggests that an owner of the brooch was female: 'Ædwon me ag: age hyo Drihten. Drihten hine awerie ðe me hire ætferie, buton hyo me selle hire agenes willes', translated by Page as: 'Ædwen owns me, may the Lord own her. May the Lord curse the man who takes me from her, unless she give me of her own free will.'⁶

There survive many other disc brooches of inferior quality.⁷ A few others imitate coins, mostly tenth-century.⁸ Enamelled brooches may also have enjoyed some popularity, since one has been recovered from Dowgate Hill, London⁹ and another from Oxford.¹⁰ Both are probably tenth-century.

The disc brooches of the Christian Saxon centuries indicate some continuity of jewellery fashions from the late pagan/conversion period. It has been established that the design of the later Saxon brooches developed from the circular, garnet brooches found in late pagan graves.¹¹ It may also be significant that the large, seventh-century, Kentish disc brooches were apparently worn singly, a departure from the "paired" fashion which had prevailed in most areas (B, XXXI, 1b, p. 380). The fashion of wearing a single brooch evidently continued, since the late Saxon disc brooches have never been found in matching pairs.

The form of the later brooches also corresponds to the brooches depicted in late Anglo-Saxon illuminations, where brooches are usually,

though not exclusively, represented by circles, without projecting pins (Part Three, B, 2, p.486, below). It would be an over-simplification to suggest unbroken continuation in fashion from the late pagan graves to the period of the manuscript illuminations, particularly since the grave finds relate to female interments and the illustrated brooches appear almost exclusively on the costumes of men. The brooches do, however, offer some evidence of continuity in taste, and offer tangible confirmation of the manuscript evidence.

3. Brooches: the North

Finds from Whitby, Y,¹² suggest that the early community of Anglo-Saxon nuns continued to use clothing fasteners of the kinds worn by many seculars buried in the late pagan/conversion period graves in Yorkshire. (Literary evidence, Part Four, B, 5, pp.536-7, below suggests that nuns were not obliged to wear a distinctive habit at this period, though simplicity in dress was desirable.) Unmatching annular and simple penannular brooches were found at Whitby including one flat annular brooch closely resembling examples from pagan context. Whitby has also yielded safety-pin brooches of the kind found in seventh-century graves (B, XXXI, 1b, p.384).

For the greater part of the period under consideration the North of England was under Viking domination and, although it is not the present purpose to examine Viking costume in detail, the probability that differences of dress were among the cultural variations between the communities at this time is worth brief consideration.

The evidence offered by archaeological finds of brooches raises three points about the costume of the Viking settlers. Firstly,

the "paired" brooch fashion which had evidently declined throughout England in the seventh century, may have been temporarily reintroduced by the female Vikings of the North. The skeleton of a woman, evidently Viking-period, excavated at Bedale, Y, had Scandinavian "tortoise" brooches "paired" in this way.¹³ The Viking women, therefore, may have reintroduced the traditional Germanic costume which their Anglo-Saxon predecessors had worn, and which continued to be worn by their Scandinavian kinswomen,¹⁴ the characteristic feature of which was the employment of "paired" brooches.

Secondly, the influence of Scandinavian trefoil brooches (sometimes worn in Scandinavia as "third" brooches between "paired") may perhaps be seen in an eighth- or ninth-century trefoil object from Kirkoswald, Cumb, which may have functioned as a brooch.¹⁵ Possibly the Scandinavian women wore the third brooch as an addition to their traditional dress.

A further variation between the brooches of the North and the South is that the brooches found in hoards in the Viking area have been of the penannular type, with expanded terminals, some being of the design known as "thistle". Earlier penannular brooches of simpler form have been found in Anglo-Saxon contexts and (particularly those deriving from Anglian areas such as Yorkshire) may indicate an established taste for this type of brooch; yet it is likely that the eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century penannular brooches did not develop stylistically from those of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, but were introduced directly from Ireland. They correspond closely to examples found in Ireland, their shape being characteristically Celtic and their ornament Hiberno-Saxon.¹⁶

The choice of the penannular brooch by the Anglian and Viking population of the North may indicate a third variation in costume between them and the Anglo-Saxons of the South, and suggests a use for brooches apart from the feminine "pairing". Like the disc brooch of the South, the large penannular brooch appears to have always been worn singly in the British Isles¹⁷ although the type has been worn "paired" by women outside Europe¹⁸ (Fig. 2). The characteristic manner of wearing the penannular brooch in Ireland was deduced by Allen, on the evidence of ninth- to tenth-century sculptures.¹⁹ The brooch was worn on the right shoulder of a cloak or coat which fastened down the front. Unlike the single brooches in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the Irish brooches on sculptures do not clasp together the edges of garments, their function (if any) being to secure the cloak or coat to the tunic underneath. The outer garment might therefore be tailored, unlike the simple Anglo-Saxon rectangular cloak which could double as a blanket. It is possible that the Anglo-Viking population of the North, in adopting the penannular brooch from Ireland, also adopted the coat which it accompanies on Irish carvings.

The Irish sculptures evidence the wearing of the penannular brooch by men.

4. Pin suites

The change in Anglo-Saxon women's costume in the seventh century which is marked by the disappearance of "paired" brooches and the increased preference for the single, circular brooch, also involved the introduction of suites of linked pins (B, XXXI, 1b, p.334). This

fashion, like the single brooch, evidently continued into the Christian period. Pin suites, however, on available evidence, did not continue in use beyond the eighth century. Unlike the conversion period suites, the later examples have been found chiefly in Anglian/Viking areas.

The only complete pin suite from the period under consideration is one recovered from the River Witham, which consists of three disc-headed pins linked by flat connecting pieces.²⁰ Several other disc-headed pins from incomplete suites have been discovered. These late pin suites differ from those of the late pagan/conversion period in three main features: the disc-shaped heads are unlike the slender heads of the earlier pins; the flat connecting pieces of the Witham and Kegworth, Le, pins differ from the chains linking earlier suites; and the only complete suite from the later period consists of three pins, not the two found in the earlier examples. A suite of three pins might have been designed to fulfil an entirely different function. The later suites might not have been garment fasteners.

These variations are not so great, however, as to preclude continuity of fashion. It has been recognised that the late pagan suites from Roundway Down, Wt, and Littlehampton, Wo, utilize flat plates as well as chain to link the two pins, anticipating the later Witham and Kegworth arrangement; also that these suites were provided with central medallions which bear some resemblance to the flat heads of later pins.²¹ The central pin of the later suite may have been a functional development of the ornamental medallion.

It is possible that the later sets did not originally consist of three pins, but of two, since the only three-pin suite, that from

the River Witham, includes one pin (the right-hand member) which does not match the others.²² It seems probable, though, since the central pin is longer than the other two, that the suite originally consisted of three pins, though not necessarily the same three.

It is possible that the continued use of the pin suite marks some continuity in the manner of fastening the costume from the seventh to the eighth centuries and may have resulted from the continued use of a particular garment; but the differences in shape and number of pins in the later suites in addition to the normal lack of evidence as to function in this period, make the conclusion far from certain.

5. Pins

Single, straight pins, plain or with ornamented heads, continued to be used after the seventh century. Metal and bone examples survive. A number have been found at Whitby, Y, mostly being between 1.3" and 3" long.²³ A unique, decorated metal pin, over 7" long, was found in the Trewhiddle, Cornwall, hoard.²⁴ Pins were not confined to the native Anglo-Saxons, having been found in apparently Viking levels at York.²⁵ They were common finds on sites of the middle and late Saxon period at Southampton, Ha.²⁶ As is the case with other fasteners from those centuries, the exact function of the pins is unknown, but it is probable that some had been used to fasten clothing.

6. Alternative fasteners

Several small hooks (sometimes called "dress hooks") with simply-decorated heads, usually triangular, have been recovered from

post-seventh-century context. Five were found at Whitby, Y,²⁷ four on the Roman villa site at Whittington, Gl,²⁸ and two with a hoard deposited in the tenth century at Tetney, Li.²⁹ One was found at Silchester, Ha,³⁰ and others in the excavation of the late Saxon town at Thetford, Nf.³¹ The objects resemble hooks found in the late pagan/early Christian cemeteries of Burwell³² and Shudy Camps,³³ Ca. One of the Whitby examples was pierced as if for attachment to a light fabric, and it is possible that this, and other examples, had been attached to the costume. This class of object, evidently an innovation of the conversion period, apparently remained in use throughout the remainder of the Saxon period, both in areas which were subject to Viking influence and in those which remained Anglo-Saxon.

A hollowed bone object found in the River Thames in London, dated by its Jellinge Style ornament to the eighth century,³⁴ may have been attached to fabric or a strap, but is unique.

7. Buckles

The use of buckles continued after the conversion. A few ornamented examples may be dated on stylistic grounds. A buckle found in a disturbed grave in an apparently early Christian cemetery at Early, Reading, Bek,³⁵ and several at Whitby, Y,³⁶ confirm that some of the examples from the later period were used in the costume. (There are, of course, many other possible functions for buckles.)

8. Belt equipment

Other articles which may have formed part of the belt equipment of this later period include a trefoil strap-distributor of

uncertain date,³⁷ and numerous strap ends. Both classes of article are known from the pagan period, but strap ends have been recovered in much larger numbers from the later centuries of the Saxon era. Several bronze examples from Whitby have been dated on stylistic grounds to the early ninth century; metal, ivory and bone examples from elsewhere to the ninth and tenth centuries. Wilson observed that heavier specimens came into use in the tenth century, but otherwise denied that there was much stylistic variation: "The Anglo-Saxon strap-end is a ubiquitous and stereotyped object."³⁸ Peers and Radford suggested that such strap ends had been attached to bookmarkers³⁹ (and there must have been many other uses for straps which might have been ornamented in this way) but Wilson rejected this, considering that the strap ends were attached to belts.⁴⁰ The range of possible uses for these articles was extended by the discovery in 1969 at Winchester, Ha, of a skeleton with the remains of some clothing. The grave-goods included two triangular strap tags ornamented in Trewhiddle Style, which were found beneath the knees of the skeleton, having perhaps been attached to garters.⁴¹

9. Adjuncts to costume

A key, toilet implements, a wire chain, a bronze spoon and a crystal ball have been found at Whitby, Y, as well as tweezers of various types, some like those of the pagan period, others of apparently more advanced design.⁴² More tweezers, datable on stylistic grounds to the eighth or ninth century, again differing in shape, have been found at Reculver, K.⁴³ There is no evidence that any of these articles were carried on the person, but since women

had continued to wear articles such as chatelaines in the seventh century, and both sexes still wore knives at the belt, it is likely that the custom continued after the conversion. No chatelaine articles found appear to have been decorated with characteristically late Saxon ornament. It is possible that they had declined in popularity by the tenth century, which would correspond to their absence from manuscript illustrations.

10. Other jewellery

Finds of amber and glass beads on the site of an eleventh-century workshop at York⁴⁴ testify to the continued popularity of these objects. There is no evidence that the jewelled pendants and ring-and-bead necklaces which appeared in the conversion period persisted. The fashion of wearing pendant crosses, however, which had become established at the conversion, is likely to have continued: two small perforated crosses of jet were found at Whitby, Y,⁴⁵ and a pewter cross-pendant was recovered from a grave at Early, Bks.⁴⁶ A brooch-like object in the shape of a cross, found at York, suggests the possibility that the cross symbol might have been worn as a badge. Bradley suggested that the unusual attachments on the reverse of the object indicate "that the cross was sewn onto something -- a hat or a robe".⁴⁷

Finger rings, which in the pagan period chiefly took the form of simple circles or spirals, and which accompanied only the richer women to the grave, appear to have developed in technique and popularity in the Christian Saxon period. It is likely that they

remained the prerogative of the rich, since many of the surviving examples are gold, a metal which was evidently scarce in England in the Christian period, and is rarely found in other surviving jewellery. Among the corpus of finger rings there are some of those rare objects which bear the names of known historical persons. Among the names on rings are that of Æthelwulf (mentioned in subsection 1, p. 408), his daughter Æthelswith, Queen of Mercia (A.D. 853-888)⁴⁸ and Athelstan, King of Wessex (A.D. 925-939).⁴⁹ The inscription of male names, as well as the size of the rings, suggests that this type of jewellery was no longer confined to women. Wilson, however, has suggested that these objects, which were clearly not seal-rings, were inscribed with the names of donors, rather than owners.⁵⁰

Oman has identified various types of ring popular in the Christian period, including nielloed, gold examples datable to the ninth century, filigree rings, signet rings and plain rings, some with inscriptions, including runic examples, of Viking workmanship.⁵¹

Armlets, sometimes associated with finger rings in pagan graves, do not appear to have shared their increased popularity among the Christian Anglo-Saxons. Armlets do, however, appear in Viking context: a plaited gold example was found at Wetherby, Y,⁵² and others in the Goldesborough, Y, hoard;⁵³ a silver example has been found in London.⁵⁴

11. Summary

Certain trends in dress which are apparent in the graves of the conversion period evidently continued among the Christian Anglo-Saxons.

Earlier pagan fashions involving "paired" brooches and wrist clasps had clearly been abandoned, though the traditional Germanic costume for women may have been reintroduced by Vikings in the North. The single circular brooch was to continue in popularity throughout the era. Other fashions may have been more short-lived. Pin suites and the adjuncts which in pagan times would have been attached to the girdle appear only early in the Christian period. Buckles and pins continued to be used.

The chief innovations which are apparent are the numerous "dress hooks" which first appeared singly in the conversion period, and the increased popularity of strap tags and finger rings.

There were probably differences between the costume of the Anglo-Saxons and that of the Vikings. Some functional objects worn by both communities, such as buckles and pins, may have been similar; but the difference in the choice of brooches, and the implicit differences in the costume which the brooches fastened, plus the differing taste which led the Vikings to treasure armlets, suggest that the appearance of some Viking settlers may have differed greatly from that of some native Anglo-Saxons.

D. SURVIVING REMAINS OF GARMENTS

1. The study of Anglo-Saxon textiles

The survival of textile remains from the Anglo-Saxon period has been recognised since the eighteenth century, when Douglas and Faussett noticed fabric in Kent graves; but archaeologists largely contented themselves with non-technical observations about such remains until the study of the textiles found among the relics of St. Cuthbert¹ revealed the quality and variety of stuffs, native and imported, in Anglo-Saxon England. Many other textile fragments from secular contexts were afterwards submitted for detailed study to Mrs Grace Crowfoot, who had analysed the Cuthbert braids. The majority of published analyses of secular textiles from the Anglo-Saxon period have been the work of the late Mrs Crowfoot and of Miss Elisabeth Crowfoot, who kindly made available and discussed unpublished material for the present study.

The secular finds are less well-preserved and of less artistic interest than the Cuthbert textiles (which, consisting of ecclesiastical vestments and imported silks, are outside the scope of the present study). Surviving examples do not include any complete garments. All are fragments, rarely larger than a few centimetres in length and breadth. It is, however, often possible to distinguish the type of fabric and the technique of manufacture, and from this information to make certain deductions about the costume from which the fragments derive.

2. Technical details: spinning, weaving, braiding

Early archaeologists were sometimes able to distinguish materials (linen, silk or wool, sometimes "worsted"²) by observation and simple tests, but in more recent publications, scientific analyses undertaken by bodies such as the Wool Industries Research Association and the Shirley Institute have ensured that the origin of any surviving fibres may be identified.

Varieties in spinning may sometimes be observed. (Spinning in Anglo-Saxon times was carried out by hand, by women using spindle and whorl. Spindle whorls are common archaeological finds).

It is often possible to distinguish the direction in which the thread has been spun ("Z" or "S") or in which single threads have been twisted together ("-ply"). In the appended chart (pp. 654-717) the phrase "Z-spun" in reference to a textile fragment indicates that both warp and weft threads were spun in this direction.



"Z-spun threads" refers to individual

Z-spinning

S-spinning

threads which may have been used only in one system (warp or weft).

Observation of spinning direction helps to establish what was normal practice in Anglo-Saxon textile production, and may supplement evidence of costume by indicating the presence of more than one textile in association with a skeleton. A textile fragment with Z-spun warp and weft may derive from a different piece of material from an associated fragment in which one system is Z-spun and the other S.

It is possible to produce a range of effects, including a pattern of checks, by varying the spinning direction of threads used during weaving, but Scandinavian evidence suggests that this practice was confined to the period from the second to fourth centuries.³ It is therefore possible, but not probable, that such variation in spinning direction would be used in a single piece of textile from the Anglo-Saxon period.

Early excavators were forced to describe the texture of the fabrics they found as merely "coarse" or "fine" or by comparison with the materials of their own era. Recent studies give more precise descriptions by means of thread counts: by counting the number of parallel threads in both warp and weft in a measured area of fabric (usually one square centimetre) it is possible to demonstrate the relative fineness or coarseness of a fabric.

When textile fragments have not deteriorated too much, it is possible to determine their weave. Two distinct, and complementary, methods were used to produce the majority of the textiles found in Anglo-Saxon context. The warp-weighted loom,⁴ used throughout the period, as attested by finds of the characteristic clay loom weights on settlement sites, could be used to weave sizeable pieces of textile, for, for example, blankets, sacks or clothing. This method of weaving depended on the warp threads being suspended from a horizontal beam, divided into front and back by a horizontal rod and weighted at the bottom (Fig. 4). The natural shed (the division in the warp threads through which the weft is passed during weaving)

formed by the division of threads into front and back, is an advantage of this over other methods of weaving which require mechanical means to make the shed. This type of loom is suited to the weaving of tabby (plain weave, in which the weft thread passes over one, under one of the warp, reversing the pattern in alternate rows, Fig. 5), 2 x 2 twills (over two, under two, repeating on different warp threads in the second and third rows, Fig. 6), which are the commonest weaves among Anglo-Saxon textiles, and also the rarer diamond or lozenge twills (Fig. 7). The warp-weighted loom, which was used in many parts of the world, and survived into modern times in North-West Europe, was an implement traditionally used by women. The constituent parts (uprights, beam, shed rod and heddle rods) could be taken to pieces and stored when not in use, or partially improvised (by suspending the warp threads from a roof beam) thus making it a suitable implement for domestic use, though it is possible that it was also used by skilled professionals in organized weaving sheds.

A second technique, braiding, could be used to produce strong, flexible, narrow bands. The majority of braids recovered from Anglo-Saxon context have been woven on four-hole tablets. In this method, the warp threads of the braid are threaded through holes in each corner of the small, square tablets, one thread for each hole. The threaded tablets are placed together in a pack and the ends of the threads secured. In weaving, the weft is passed through the shed between the top and bottom warps, and the shed is changed to make the pattern by turning the tablets so as to alter the positions of the holes (Fig. 9). This method necessitated no professional

equipment other than the tablets. Other desirable tools could be improvised, and in the absence of a frame, braiding could be carried out by attaching one end of the warp to a fixed point and the other end to the weaver's belt.

The braids thus produced are thick (three layers) the weft is concealed, and a pattern is made by the warp threads on both sides of the braid. The characteristic "plain" pattern produced by this method is a series of chevrons, but the method is very versatile and can produce many effects, including plaits. The products of tablet weaving were suitable for use as belts or as strengthening edges to garments. They might also be used as starting borders for the warp-weighted loom, and as such, would be connected to the loom-woven fabric by weaving (the weft of the braid becoming the warp of the larger piece of textile) not by sewing threads.

3. Sources of information

The majority of extant textiles owe their preservation to contact with metal, (though there are a few important exceptions,) rust from the metal having surrounded the textile. There are many other cases in which rust has entirely replaced textile, but has preserved the impression of it. From such impressions (referred to in the chart as "replaced textile") it is sometimes possible to determine the weave and other details.⁵

The majority of the evidence available derives from the fifth to seventh centuries, since most surviving examples derive from pagan graves, being the remains of fabrics used to clothe the dead or wrap their possessions. Textile fragments which are manifestly not the

remains of garments (such as wraps of spears or strips used to bind the hand grips of shields) have not normally been included in the present survey. Two textiles from Coombe and Lakenheath which did not appear to derive from garments, but which are of unusual weaves, have been included for comparative purposes.

Fragments of leather have been frequently found in pagan graves, usually attached to metal belt equipment. Archaeologists have also recorded visible stains in the soil, marking the positions of decayed leather articles buried with the dead. Detached leather may also survive in soil without contact with metal, probably due to the action of tannins. Complete shoes from late Saxon and Viking York are among the leather recovered under such circumstances.

Other items to be considered include the possible remains of fur garments from pagan burials, and the gold wire surviving from brocaded garments worn by richly-equipped pagans.

The conclusions which follow are deduced from information set out in the large chart, Appendix 1, (pp. 654-717). The chart has been compiled from published records, replies to a questionnaire sent to all museums having objects from the Anglo-Saxon period, personal visits to museums and from information provided by Miss Crowfoot. Some textiles mentioned in published records are now lost, or have been destroyed during the cleaning of the metalwork to which they were attached. Many surviving remains are too fragmentary or too much deteriorated for analysis; in other cases analysis is not possible without removing the textile from its attachment, or without unpicking, and so destroying, part of it. The purpose of the chart is to list as exhaustively as

possible the remains of clothing which have survived, or did survive until recently, their position in relation to the body, if they were grave finds, and any other relevant information.

Information has been drawn from the following sites: Kempston,⁶ Leighton Buzzard II, Chamberlain's Barns, A⁷ and B⁸ and Totternhoe, Marina Drive,⁹ Bd; Abingdon I,¹⁰ Blewburton Hill, Blewbury,¹¹ Frilford,^{I,12} Lowbury, Aston Upthorpe,¹³ East Shefford,¹⁴ Wallingford¹⁵ and Long Wittenham I,¹⁶ Bek; Cop Round Barrow, Bledlow,¹⁷ Stone II¹⁸ and Taplow,¹⁹ Bu; Barrington A²⁰ and B,²¹ Burwell,²² Cambridge I, St. John's Cricket Field,²³ Foxton,²⁴ Haslingfield,²⁵ Melbourn²⁶ and Little Wilbraham,²⁷ Ca; Benty Grange, Hartington Middle Quarter,²⁸ Brushfield, Lapwing Hill,²⁹ Heath Wood, Ingleby,³⁰ Hurdlow, Hartington Middle Quarter,³¹ Sharp Low, Tissington³² and Swarkeston,³³ Db; Broomfield,³⁴ Dovercourt,³⁵ Mucking³⁶ and Saffron Walden,³⁷ Ex; Bishop's Cleeve,³⁸ Kempsford,³⁹ and Leckhampton Hill,⁴⁰ Gl; Alton,⁴¹ Snell's Corner, Horndean⁴² and Winchester,⁴³ Ha; plus Bowcombe Down, Carisbrooke⁴⁴ and Chessell Down,⁴⁵ I O.W.; King's Walden,⁴⁶ Het; Woodstone,⁴⁷ Hu; Beakesbourne I,⁴⁸ Bifrons, Patrixbourne,⁴⁹ Breach Downs, Barham,⁵⁰ Chartham Down,⁵¹ Chatham Lines,⁵² Coombe, Woodnesborough,⁵³ Dover II, Old Park,⁵⁴ Faversham II, King's Field,⁵⁵ Finglesham, Northbourne,⁵⁶ Greenwich Park,⁵⁷ Holborough, Snodland,⁵⁸ Howletts, Littlebourne,⁵⁹ Kingston,⁶⁰ Lyminge II,⁶¹ Minster, Thanet,⁶² Osengal,⁶³ Riseley, Horton Kirby II,⁶⁴ Sarre,⁶⁵ Sibbertswold,⁶⁶ Stowting⁶⁷ and Worthy Park,⁶⁸ K; Barkby Field,⁶⁹ Le; Fonaby, Caistor,⁷⁰ Laceby,⁷¹ Sleaford,⁷² Tallington⁷³ and Welbeck Hill,⁷⁴ Li; Broome,⁷⁵ Caistor-by-Norwich,⁷⁶ Grimston,⁷⁷ Hunstanton Park,⁷⁸ Kenninghall I,⁷⁹ Sporle⁸⁰ and Thetford,⁸¹ Nf; Holdenby,⁸² Holmanby⁸³ and Wakerley,⁸⁴ Nh; Galewood,⁸⁵ Nb;

Cassington,⁸⁶ Great Tew,⁸⁷ Minster Lovell,⁸⁸ Stanton Harcourt I,⁸⁹ Wheatley⁹⁰ and Yelford,⁹¹ O; Market Overton,⁹² R; Musden Fourth Barrow, Ilam,⁹³ St; Holywell Row, Mildenhall,⁹⁴ Ipswich,⁹⁵ Lakenheath,⁹⁶ Mildenhall,⁹⁷ Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham,⁹⁸ Snape,⁹⁹ Sutton Hoo,¹⁰⁰ Warren Hill, Mildenhall¹⁰¹ and West Stow Heath,¹⁰² Sf; Farthingdown, Coulsden,¹⁰³ Sr; Alfriston,¹⁰⁴ High Down, Ferring¹⁰⁵ and Woodingdean,¹⁰⁶ Sx; Baginton,¹⁰⁷ Bidford,¹⁰⁸ Stratford, Alveston¹⁰⁹ and Stretton-on-Fosse,¹¹⁰ Wa; Ashton Valley II,¹¹¹ Petersfinger, Clarendon,¹¹² Roche Court Down III,¹¹³ Sherrington,¹¹⁴ Winklebury II¹¹⁵ and Winterbourne Gunner,¹¹⁶ Wi; Boynton,¹¹⁷ Cheesecake Hill, Driffield,¹¹⁸ Driffield,¹¹⁹ Ganton Wold,¹²⁰ Kirkburn II (Eastburn),¹²¹ Londesborough,¹²² Occaney Beck,¹²³ Painsthorpe Wold I,¹²⁴ Saltburn-on-Sea,¹²⁵ Sewerby,¹²⁶ Uncleby,¹²⁷ Whitby¹²⁸ and York,¹²⁹ Y. The sites are marked on Map 1.

4. Fabrics

Surviving fragments show that wool and linen were in common use. Threads of both materials have also been found in workboxes. Plain weaves, 2 x 2 twills and other, rarer weaves, are found in both linen and wool. Silk, which was found among the St. Cuthbert textiles, both as imported cloth and as sewing threads used by English embroideresses, has rarely been recorded from pagan graves. The recorded instances are not recent, and are not among the textiles which have been scientifically analysed. The published occurrences are from Benty Grange, Db, a conversion period burial of a warrior unusually well-equipped with helmet and chain mail^(p. 670), and from Chatham Lines, K, where the burials were evidently those of a prosperous community of the fifth and sixth centuries^(p. 68). The general absence of silk from other pagan graves may be an accident of survival, but may reflect the rarity of silk at this early stage in the Saxon era.

5. Spinning

The majority of Anglo-Saxon textiles have Z-spun warps and wefts, though there are some variations: S-spun threads from Barrington A and B and Haslingfield, Ca (pp. 659, 660, 662-6, 668), Welbeck Hill, Li (pp. 692-4) and Caistor-by-Norwich, Nf (p. 695); and S-ply threads from Barrington (pp. 662-3), Haslingfield (p. 669) and Wolbeck Hill (pp. 692-4). Scandinavian textile finds suggest a chronological development in the fashion of spinning directions: the oldest Scandinavian examples (first- and second-century) are S-spun in both directions, later examples have mixed spinning, one direction Z, the other S (late- first- to fifth-century) giving way to the predominantly Z-spun fashions of the Viking Age.¹³⁰ The Anglo-Saxon textiles correspond to this chronology, being mostly Z-spun, with a few variations, mostly mixed spinning.

E. Crowfoot has observed that the combination of Z- and S-spun threads is used in the (unpublished) Sutton Hoo, Sf, textiles for particularly fine fabrics, and that this corresponds to Scandinavian practice.¹³¹ This spinning arrangement occurs also at Welbeck Hill, Li, in a textile which is not particularly fine, but is woven in an uncommon diamond twill weave which was probably considered a fabric of superior quality (p. 692).

6. The positions on the body of textile and leather remains

Textile and leather remains are most often found attached to clothing fasteners: brooches, buckles, strap ends and wrist clasps. Fabrics associated with brooches are most often found attached to the iron pins at the backs of the brooches, or to the

supports of those pins. These fabrics thus derive from the stuffs to which the brooches were pinned. Less frequently, textile may be found on the front of brooches. In the case of annular brooches (the pins of which are visible from the front) textile found on the front of a brooch pin may derive from the garment worn underneath the brooch, brought forward by the pin which passed through it. In other circumstances, fabrics found on the fronts of brooches must derive from garments or wraps worn over the brooches, such as cloaks, coats or shrouds, which may or may not have been secured by fasteners found among the grave-goods. Buckles and strap ends may contain the remains of the belts or straps which were fastened into them, but may also preserve fragments of the garments worn over or under them. Clasps, shown by repeated archaeological finds to have been worn at the wrist, occasionally enclose fragments which must be the edges of sleeves.

Other metal articles worn on the person, usually attached to the belt, sometimes preserve traces of textile. This may derive from the skirts of garments worn under them, from garments or shrouds worn over them, or from straps from which they hung. Articles found in this position may also preserve traces of leather or fabric pouches which had hung from the belt.

Textile remains may help to clarify the role of the third brooch, frequently found in pagan graves. Third brooches found at Mucking, Ex (Grave 90), and Lakenheath, Sf (Grave 9) preserved textile on their fronts as well as on their backs (pp. 672, 701), so did not

fasten the outermost garment or wrap. (The textiles on the front were tabby-woven in both cases.) A third brooch found in a grave at Warren Hill, Sf (p.708), lay over a layer of textile which itself covered the necklace, so this brooch might have been attached to the outer garment. However, this may not have been a functional brooch, since the excavator's opinion was that it had been sewn on, rather than pinned.

The large cruciform brooch in Grave 82 at Barrington B, Ca, found overlying one of the smaller brooches "paired" at the shoulders (p.663), would seem to have clasped a garment worn outside that clasped by the "paired" brooches. Yet the textile remains found on the larger brooch can not be distinguished from those on the small, and as the relatively unusual combination of Z- and S-spun threads appears on both, it is likely that they derive from the same material. Twill textile found on a third brooch in Grave 9 at Lakenheath, Sf, (worn centrally) was also similar to that on the associated "paired" brooches. The thread counts were not identical, but not sufficiently unlike to preclude the possibility that they derived from the same piece of material (pp.700-1). The evidence from textiles, therefore, supports the possibility that this, and other third brooches worn centrally, clasped the gown to the blouse or other garment beneath it (the gown itself being fastened at the shoulders by "paired" brooches).

Similarly, a pin found in Grave 56 at Welbeck Hill, Li (p.694), was covered with textile probably identical to that on the back of an annular brooch (possibly one of a "pair") found in the same grave,

which would suggest that both fasteners were attached to the same garment.

7. Tabby textiles; shrouds

The textiles found on the front of brooches are most often tabby weaves. There are examples from Wallingford, Bek (p. 658), Barrington B, Ca (p. 662), Mucking, Ex (pp. 672, 675), Bishop's Cleeve, Gl (p. 677), Beakesbourne and Riseley, K (pp. 680, 687), Laceby, Tallington and Welbeck Hill, Li (pp. 690-4) and Lakenheath, Sf (p. 701). Tabby weaves have also been found on the outer surfaces of buckles recovered from male graves at Mucking, Ex (p. 672) and Great Tew, O (p. 697). At eight of these sites, textiles of other weaves were found in association with the plain weaves, either on the other side of the metal fastener to which the tabby weave adhered, or elsewhere in the grave. It seems possible that these outer, tabby textiles are the remains of shrouds, particularly those from the Mucking buckle and the Wallingford, Laceby and Tallington brooches which have been identified as linen. Tabby-woven wool has only been identified on the fronts of brooches in two recorded instances, both at Welbeck Hill, Li, Graves 41 and 49. In the former grave, tabby-woven flax was found on the front of a second brooch, and in the latter, detached fragments of what may have been flax were found. It is possible therefore in both cases that the tabby-woven wool textile was not the outermost, and that a linen wrap, probably a shroud, was originally present.

Shrouds, of which little or nothing survives, have been visible to excavators on opening graves at Leighton Buzzard, Bd (p. 655), Sporle, Nf (wool, p. 696), Warren Hill, Sf (p. 707), Driffield (linen) and Ganton Wold, Y (p. 714). Many grave-goods from other sites, particularly girdle adjuncts, preserve traces of linen, and of tabby-woven textile, and it is possible that these are the remains of shrouds.

It is apparent, however, that textiles of plain weave could be worn as garments, also that textiles other than tabby weaves occur on the fronts of brooches. Tabby-woven cloth has been found on the backs of brooches from Barrington, Ca (pp. 661, 666), Ipswich and Lakenheath, Sf (pp. 699, 702) and Petersfinger, Wi (p. 711), and on the undersides of buckles in male graves at Snell's Corner, Ha (linen, p. 678), Great Tew, O (p. 697) and Petersfinger, Wi (p. 711).

8. Twill textiles; 2 x 2 twill

Recorded instances of twill textiles preserved on the fronts of brooches are less common than cases of tabby. There are examples from Barrington and Haslingfield, Ca (pp. 664, 669), Mucking, Ex (two instances, pp. 675-6) and Welbeck Hill, Li (p. 694). The Haslingfield brooch and one of the Mucking examples had different textiles on the backs, suggesting that more than one garment was worn. The textile from the front of the Mucking brooch was coarser than that on the back, and the example from Barrington was also of a coarse twill, consistent with use as an outer garment.

In the majority of cases in which textile from the backs of brooches has been preserved, it has been found to be 2 x 2 twill.

Twill textiles (either 2 x 2 or incapable of detailed analysis) have also been found on the belt equipment of both sexes, at Barrington A and B, Ca (female, pp. 660, 662), Mucking, Ex (male, pp. 672-4), Lakenheath, Sf (male and female, pp. 701, 704) and Londesborough, Y (p. 715); and on other articles, usually girdle adjuncts, at Mucking, Ex (female, pp. 674-5), Yelford, O (p. 698), Lakenheath, Sf (female, pp. 703, 705) and Winterbourne Gunner, Wi (male, p. 713). It is likely therefore that a belted gown or tunic in 2 x 2 twill, usually woollen, was worn by both sexes, clasped, in the case of women, at the shoulders or breasts by "paired" brooches. The find of a detached piece of 2 x 2 twill at Whitby, Y (p. 716), attests the continued use of this popular weave into the Christian period.

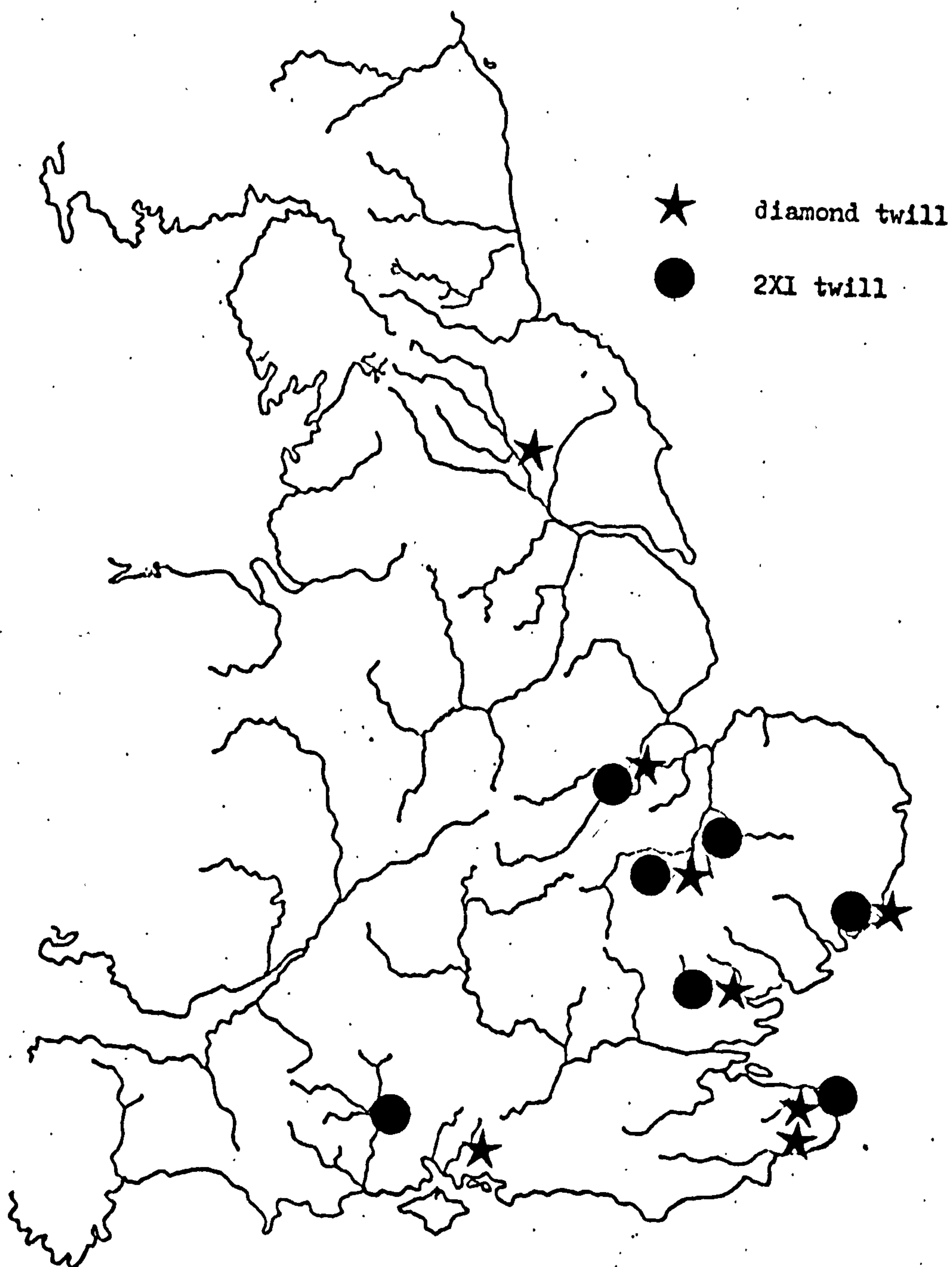
9. 2 x 1 twill

The rarer 2 x 1 twill (Fig. 8) has been found at Barrington B, Ca (p. 666), Broomfield, Ex (p. 672), Osengal, K (p. 687), Welbeck Hill, Li (p. 692), Lakenheath and Sutton Hoo, Sf (pp. 701, 707) and Petersfinger, Wi (p. 712), but only three of these instances provide clear evidence that the fabric was part of a garment. A fragment was found on the underside of a buckle from Barrington B (No. 34.854) and another on the underside of one of a pair of brooches from Petersfinger (Grave 29). At Welbeck Hill (Grave 3) the specimen, which was associated with annular brooches, was identified as flax. These finds suggest that the 2 x 1 weave could be used for the gown or tunic as the 2 x 2 twills were.

Unlike the 2 x 2 and patterned twills found in Anglo-Saxon graves, the 2 x 1 weave is unsuited to the warp-weighted loom, since, in its weaving, the warp threads must always be divided asymmetrically.

Thus, although it would be possible to weave such a fabric on the loom, this weave fails to exploit the division of the warp thread into two balanced halves, and the resulting natural shed.¹³² The 2 x 1 construction is more likely to have been developed for, and woven upon, some other type of loom, such as the two beam loom. There is no definite archaeological evidence for the existence of such a loom in Anglo-Saxon England, but unlike the warp-weighted type with its clay weights, it would be unlikely to leave much trace. It is possible that such a method of weaving survived in the country from Roman times, or that it was introduced during the Anglo-Saxon period. An eleventh-century Old English list of 'towntola', implements required for textile production, apparently fails to mention loom weights¹³³ which supports the possibility that some loom other than the warp-weighted was in popular use at the time.

The 2 x 1 twills are, however, relatively rare. At least one of them (from Lakenheath) exhibits a high quality of workmanship and two derive from outstandingly well-equipped burials (Broomfield and Sutton Hoo). It seems likely that they were luxury items. Their distribution, apart from the example from Petersfinger, Wi, is confined to the eastern counties south of the Wash (Map 2). This suggests localized production, or limited distribution from a trading point if the textiles were imported. The English 2 x 1 twills are older than any others yet found in Western Europe. There are older examples from the Near East, where looms other than the warp-weighted were in use. It is possible that the Anglo-Saxon examples were imported from the Near East¹³⁴ and sometimes put to use in the same way as native-woven fabrics.



Map 2. DISTRIBUTION OF RARE TWILLS

10. Diamond twills

Diamond, or lozenge, twills have been found at Barrington B, Ca (p.665), Broomfield, Ex (p.671), Snell's Corner, Ha (p.679), Coombe and Dover, K. (pp.683), Welbeck Hill, Li (pp.692-3) Sutton Hoo, Sf (p.707) and in a Viking level at York (p.716). It is apparent that these examples had not all been used as garments, but the fabrics had apparently been used for clothing at Barrington B and Welbeck Hill (being found on the undersides of brooches, and probably on the upper side of a brooch at Welbeck Hill), at Snell's Corner (under and over buckles), and at Dover (attached to a pin). The sixth- and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon examples are among the earliest of a considerable corpus of such fabrics from North-Western Europe of which the latest are tenth-century Scandinavian and Icelandic examples. The textiles are of consistently high quality. The group of such fabrics from Birka, Sweden, which have received considerable attention, have been considered the product of skilled professional weavers.¹³⁵ The place of origin of these fabrics is uncertain. It is likely that these diamond twills were developed for the warp-weighted loom and some Scandinavian examples had clearly been woven upon it. Since England has produced early examples, and the warp-weighted loom is known to have been in use in this country, the possibility of an English origin for this type of weave could be considered. However, it is possible that diamond twills were popular among the Germanic peoples even earlier than the Anglo-Saxon examples were produced. A female figure on a Mainz sculpture, wears

trousers incised in a diamond pattern (Plate VIII) and a girl depicted on a gravestone from Mainz has an incised diamond pattern on her costume over the left breast (Plate IV). This ornament may have been only a decorative feature of the Mainz sculpture, but since similar decoration is also discernable on the trousers of a male figure ("a Parthian prisoner") on a Roman clay lamp found in Corfu,¹³⁶ it is possible that the patterned weave is represented by these.

Hoffmann argued against a Western European source for these textiles, on the grounds that the textile industry of this area was insufficiently developed at this period to produce such standardized fabrics. She considered them imports.¹³⁷ Geijer has suggested that these patterned twill fabrics may be identified with the pallium Fresonicum or Frisian cloth¹³⁸ some of which was sent, according to Charlemagne's biographer, the Monk of St. Gall,¹³⁹ by Charlemagne to Haroun-al-Rashid, in the ninth century. The reliability of the Monk, and the origin and quality of the textile called "Frisian cloth" have provoked considerable discussion. The role of the Frisians is now agreed to have been a trading rather than manufacturing one. Various European sources for the textile other than Frisia have been suggested¹⁴⁰ but Geijer considered that "Frisian" cloth was manufactured in Syria and exported to the West, consolidating her identification of Frisian cloth with diamond twill by citing a fragment of this weave, of proven Syrian origin.¹⁴¹

The Anglo-Saxon examples, which, like the 2 x 1 twills, are found in a limited area (Map 2) which includes two rich sites (the same two), are likely to be early products of trade with Frisian merchants, originating from professional workshops in Syria.

11. Braids, plaits, fringes

The remains of tablet-woven braids have been found attached to the backs of brooches from Blewburton Hill, Bek (p. 657), Barrington A and B and Haslingfield, Ca (pp. 660-4, 668), Beakesbourne, K (p. 680), Laceby and Welbeck Hill, Li (pp. 690, 693-4), Ipswich and Lakenheath, Sf (pp. 699, 704). The braids found on two matching brooches from Blewburton Hill were part of a starting border utilized by the weaver when setting up the warp-weighted loom to weave the twill textile from which the Blewburton Hill woman's gown was made; but clearly the wearer had exploited this border, for ornament or practical use. The chevron-patterned braid would form a decorative edging to the garment. It would not fray, and its presence avoided the necessity of hemming a raw edge. It also provided a strong attachment point for the brooches which fastened the tunic.

The Blewburton Hill braids are the only Anglo-Saxon examples so far identified as starting borders (though a closing border from Broomfield, Ex, p. 671, and a braid attached to two edges, forming a corner, from Sutton Hoo, Sf, p. 707, have been found). The method of attachment of others, whether structural in the same way, or sewn to the other fabric after weaving, has not been established. However, the frequency of occurrence (three of the sites listed above offer more than one example) suggests deliberate choice, rather than the accident that a garment was made from the beginning of a length of cloth. It is possible that the braids fulfilled a useful function. It has already been noted (Section B, XXXI, 1a, pp. 340-1) that Viking

women who wore "paired" brooches to support their tunics, usually attached them to loops which were fastened to the front and back of the garment (Geijer's Hangerock)¹⁴² at each shoulder (Fig. 3). The loops which survive inside Viking "tortoise" brooches are tubular, and unlike any Anglo-Saxon finds; but it is possible that Anglo-Saxon braids were sometimes used for a similar purpose, supporting the garment and avoiding the danger of the metal fastener ripping the thinner material of the gown. The braids may have edged the gown, or like the Viking loops, been used as shoulder straps.

The possibility of a practical function may be extended to the plaits which have been found on brooches at Welbeck Hill, Li (p. 692) and (possibly) Barrington B, Ca (p. 664); the warp weave braids from Haslingfield, Ca (p. 669), and Laceby, Li (p. 690); and the textiles with the appearance of string attached to the pin supports of brooches from Kempston, Bd (p. 654), Barrington A, Ca (p. 660), Mucking, Ex (p. 676), Bowcombe Down, IOW (p. 678) and Cassington, O (p. 697). It has been supposed that the string was used to mend broken brooches, and certainly the pin was missing from the Mucking brooch when it was excavated. Yet it is not unusual to find that the iron pins of brooches, other than these examples with string, have rusted away. It is possible that the plaits and braids other than tablet-woven examples also decorated the neck-line of the tunic, and that these and the string-like threads were fastened to the brooches deliberately, perhaps in the case of the string, for use as shoulder straps. The Bowcombe Down grave, however, in which there were four brooches, all with string, suggests that the string need not necessarily function in this way.

Threads which may have derived from fringe have been found on several brooches from Barrington B, Ca (pp. 661-2, 665-6), and, possibly, Welbeck Hill, Li (p. 693). The use of fringe as a decorative edging is not attested elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon context, but fringes may have been a traditional feature of Germanic costume since they are sometimes depicted ornamenting the cloaks of Germanic men on Roman sculptures, for example the second-century Trajan's Column.¹⁴³

12. Belts

It is probable that tablet-woven braids were used as belts, indeed such braids may have been used for the many girdles which are attested by the survival of the knives and girdle adjuncts which were attached to them, but apparently did not require buckles or rivets. The tablet-woven braid attached to a strap end found on St. John's Cricket Field, Cambridge, had probably been used as a belt (p. 667). The traces of tablet-woven fabric on a key from Ipswich, Sf (p. 699), may indicate contact with a belt, and the textile attached to the tabs from Alfriston, Sx (p. 709), may also derive from a woven, possibly embroidered, girdle.

Leather belts are attested by more evidence. The shape of belts has been visible in the soil to excavators of graves at Burwell, Ca (p. 667), Holywell Row, Sf (p. 699) and Woodingdean, Sx (p. 710). There are numerous instances of leather remains attached to buckles. Fragments have also survived in contact with belt plates and strap ends. Leather attached to girdle

adjuncts may also, in some cases, derive from belts. Leather belts appear to have been worn by both sexes throughout the pagan period, and are evidenced from most areas.

Only from Taplow, Bu (p.659), Beakesbourne, Chartham Down and possibly from Sibertswold, K (pp.679,682,689), is there evidence of ornamented leather and these examples may not derive from belts. All are from late pagan sites. (Many surviving leather fragments are, however, so small and/or have so deteriorated that any decoration would have disappeared.) The ornamented examples consist of a stamped fragment from the well-equipped grave of a man at Taplow, and punched leather from the Kent sites, associated in one case, at least, with a female burial. Faussett considered that the Beakesbourne fragments were the remains of knife sheaths and there is no clear evidence to the contrary.

A combination of textile and leather was apparently used to make the belt of a female buried at Burwell, Ca(p.47). Both materials were attached to an openwork buckle of the type which, it has been suggested (Section B, XXXI, 1b, pp.387-8) might have been worn with a girdle of brightly-coloured material. The leather found on the tongue of this buckle suggests that the part of the belt which fastened was leather, but the association of textile may be seen as support for the suggestion of a coloured girdle. The excavator of Grave 134 at Kingston, K (p.686), considered that there the belt had been lined with linen. It is possible that a similar combination of leather and textile had been used in this instance, but it is also possible that the textile remains derived from the tunic worn under the belt.

13. Cuffs

As leather strips and woven braids appear to have provided alternatives for use as belts, so both occur attached to wrist clasps. Some of those examples of wrist clasps which have been discovered embedded in leather, such as those from Sleaford, Li (p.691) were considered by their excavators to have been the fasteners of leather armlets. However, the textile attached to clasps found at Mildenhall and Mitchell's Hill, Sf (pp.705-6) demonstrates that at these sites the clasps fastened sleeves. The clasps were sewn to tablet-woven bands of the same width as themselves. The tablet weave edged the twill textile of the sleeve. When both portions of the clasp were hooked together, they closed the slit at the sleeve edge so that it fitted closely at the wrist (Fig. 10). The Lakenheath, Sf, clasps (p.704) and possibly those from Woodstone, Hu (p.679) and West Stow, Sf (p.708), also attached to textile, may have fastened sleeves of this kind.

It is therefore probable that the leather associated with clasps at Sleaford and Welbeck Hill, Li and Holywell Row, Sf (pp.691,692,694,699) had also been used as sleeve edging. The use of wrist clasps, as has already been observed (Section B, XXXI, 1a, p.367) was a fashion of Anglian areas. The use of leather rather than braided wrist bands does not appear to have been a regional fashion within this larger area since, although the two Lincolnshire sites which have produced leather bands are north of the sites with tablet weave, Holywell Row, which also evidenced the use of leather, is located close to other Suffolk sites, Mildenhall, Mitchell's Hill and West Stow, which had textile.

It has been suggested (Section B, XXXI, 1a, p. 368) that the sleeved garment was known in a wider area than the wrist clasp. It is possible that sleeve edging of the type found on wrist clasps was not itself confined to Anglian areas. Leather attached to the button brooches found at the wrists of a Petersfinger, Wi, skeleton (p. 711) may derive from a similar fashion.

14. Discussion of individual graves

Before the consideration of garments other than woven, and of textile and leather adjuncts to the costume, the fabrics from eleven individual graves will be discussed. In each case more than one textile was preserved, making some reconstruction of the costume possible.

a. Mucking, Ex, Grave 117 (Chart pp. 672-3)

In Grave 117 at Mucking, a man was buried with an elaborate belt, the buckle and plates of which were decorated in Quoit Brooch Style, suggestive of a fifth-century date for the burial. The belt equipment preserved several layers of material which showed that the belt, which was leather, had been worn over a woollen twill garment, and was covered by undyed linen, in plain weave, of two degrees of coarseness. The woollen twill garment is likely to have been a tunic and the undyed linen the remains of a shroud, possibly two shrouds.

b. Snell's Corner, Ha, Grave S10 (Chart p. 678)

The later, probably male, burial in Grave S10 at Snell's Corner reveals a different use of materials. The tabby-woven

textile, possibly linen, found underneath the buckle, may derive from the tunic, while the fine woollen outer layer, possibly diamond twill, may be the remains of a cloak.

c. Blewburton Hill, Bek (Chart p. 657)

The textiles attached to matching brooches from Blewburton Hill demonstrate that the woman wearing them was dressed in two inner layers of finely-woven textile which were probably undergarments, of which the outer (and finer) was 2 x 2 twill. A third textile, a coarser 2 x 2 twill, woollen, probably derives from a gown edged with the tablet-woven starting border which was clasped by both brooches.

d. Laceby, Li (Chart pp. 690-1)

A fabric similar to the last-mentioned Blewburton Hill example was probably utilized for the gown or tunic at Laceby, as represented by a tablet-bordered twill textile. The tabby-woven textile, probably linen, found covering the Laceby brooch, may have been the remains of a shroud.

e. Welbeck Hill, Li, Grave 41 (Chart p. 692)

Three graves from Welbeck Hill have produced more than one textile, but as the positions of the grave-goods have not been made available, it has not always been possible to determine the relationship between the fabrics. The burials under consideration are all probably female. The body in Grave 41 was probably wrapped in a shroud (tabby, flax) which covered a coloured woollen cloak in plain weave, perhaps bordered by a plait. The cloak was possibly clasped together and fastened to the gown by the square-headed brooch,

although there were no traces of this textile on that brooch, only upon the annular brooch which had been covered by the wool garment. The unusual combination of spinning directions shared by the fragments of twill textile on the backs of both these brooches suggests they derive from the same fabric. This material may have belonged to a gown fastened by the annular brooch (or by a pair of them) to which the cloak was attached by the square-headed brooch. The string of beads was probably tied to the annular brooch (or brooches). Alternatively it is possible, though unlikely, that the square-headed and annular brooches were "paired" together, fastening the twill gown. The woollen cloak may have only partially covered the body, passing over the annular brooch, but leaving the square-headed one in contact with the shroud.

f. Welbeck Hill, Li, Grave 49 (Chart p.693)

The female in Grave 49 at the same site is likely to have been dressed in an undergarment of twill-woven linen, and a twill gown with tablet-woven border, fastened by the annular brooch (or a pair of them). Over this, and covering the brooch, was worn the coloured textile of tabby-woven wool, as in Grave 41, which was probably a cloak.

g. Welbeck Hill, Li, Grave 56 (Chart p.694)

The 2 x 2 twill textile which had left its impression on the pin in Grave 56 at Welbeck Hill, was possibly identical with the threads found on the back of a brooch in the same grave. The inner of the two textiles found on the bronze wire ring was also a 2 x 2

twill, and was of the same degree of coarseness as that on the pin, but differed in spinning direction. Both warp and weft of the textile on the ring were Z-spun, but both Z- and S-spun threads (replaced) were observed on the pin. It is possible that these textiles derived from different garments of the same degree of coarseness, but in view of the similarity of weave and thread count it is possible that they belonged to the same material, and that, the spinning direction varied, possibly as a deliberate device to make a pattern. This twill (or at least the Z-and S-spun remains) probably derived from the gown which was perhaps fastened by a tablet-woven border to the annular brooch or brooches. The outer textile on the wire ring may have been identical with the coarser of the textiles on the front of the brooch, and may have been a cloak, probably wool, Z-spun twill. The tabby weave on the front of the brooch could derive from a shroud, particularly as loose flax threads were found in the grave, possibly also deriving from a shroud. However, the relationship between the textiles on the front of the brooch is unclear. The tabby was apparently covered by the twill on the brooch pin, yet did not appear between the layers of textile on the wire ring. The textiles on the front of the brooch pin may have been worn under the brooch. Finally, the presence of wrist clasps in this grave suggests that one of the textiles may have belonged to a sleeved garment.

h. Lakenheath, Sf, Grave 28 (Chart pp. 702-3)

The female buried in Grave 28 at Lakenheath wore an outer layer of tabby-woven textile, a cloak or shroud, found on the outside

of the bronze buckle, and on the knife and iron strip. It is possible that a fur garment was worn, but the fur remains are more likely to derive from a pouch, hanging with the girdle hangers from the leather belt which was fastened by a bronze buckle and finished off with a metal tag. Three different textiles appear to have occurred in the hip area, one the tabby mentioned above, the others 2 x 2 twills, one finer than the other. It is possible that one of the twills derived from a second pouch, but consideration of the textiles in relation to the jewellery suggests that the finer textile belonged to a gown fastened by "paired" brooches, though preserved only on the iron of the chatelaine, not on the brooches themselves. The coarser twill may have derived from a cloak fastened under the chin by the square-headed brooch.

i. Lakenheath, Sf, Grave 33 (Chart pp. 704-5)

A similar arrangement to that suggested above may have existed in Grave 33 at the same site. The cruciform third brooch may have fastened a twill cloak (thread count 9 x 9) under the chin, while the finer twill found on metal above the knees may have derived from a gown fastened by "paired" brooches, perhaps bordered by the four-hole tablet braid. The tabby-woven textile associated with the wrist clasps may have derived from the sleeves of another garment, probably a blouse, which could have been bordered by the two-hole tablet braid.

j. Petersfinger, W1, Grave 25 (Chart p. 711)

Comparison with the latter Lakenheath grave suggests that the tabby-woven textile associated with leather and button brooches in Grave 25

at Petersfinger, may have derived from a sleeved garment with leather cuffs. The outer layer of twill textile on the brooches may have come from the gown with which the arm was in contact.

k. Leighton Buzzard IIB, Bd, Grave 39 (Chart p.655)

The textile in the Leighton Buzzard grave has not been analysed, and apparently no longer exists, but the grave is of interest since it contained the only typically seventh-century pin suite to have been found in association with textile. The Leighton Buzzard pins were covered by coarse textile and appear to have fastened together two other layers of textile, differentiated by the necklace which lay between them. The possibility that the linked pins paralleled the function of the earlier "paired" brooch fashion has already been discussed (Section B, XXXI, 1b, p.385). It is unlikely that the pins and layers of textile would have appeared in the positions described if the pins had clasped together the front and back edges of a tunic as "paired" brooches appear to have done. The suggestion of Leeds, considering the evidence of Gurney, the excavator, was that the pins had fastened down a veil. Superficially, at least, the suggestion seems plausible. Such a veil could have been an innovation of the seventh century, possibly as a result of Christianity. The evidence of art and literature shows that women were accustomed to cover their heads throughout the Christian Saxon period. The suggestion was, however, rejected in Hyslop's publication of the site: "it was clear that the pins had been used to fasten a cloak or outer garment to the dress underneath it ... no textile remains were found in the region of the skull".

It is clear, therefore, that the pins were used to secure an outer garment to an inner, but the exact nature of both garments remains unclear. Since the pins were linked by a chain, it is possible that they had the secondary function of holding together the edges of a cloak; or that this was the primary function, and the pins need not have passed through the inner layer of clothing. It would be unjustified, however, to assume that the chain must have been functional. The practice of linking a pair of brooches by a chain across the breast is known in North-West Europe from pre-Anglo-Saxon times when the chain appears to have had only ornamental value.¹⁴⁴ The chain linking the pins would, of course, have prevented the loss of one of the pair if the garment were not fastened down symmetrically. The Anglo-Saxon cloak appears to have been a versatile garment, and such a variable fastener might be suited to it.

It would seem reasonable to suppose that the elaborate necklace of rings-and-beads, and the handsome pins, would be worn in such a way as to be displayed, during life, even if both were covered by a shroud in death. Assuming that the layer of textile found covering the pins derived from a shroud, the Leighton Buzzard woman may have worn a front-fastened cloak over a gown. Another possibility is that the pins were covered by a shroud, or a cloak worn only outdoors, and that the pins fastened a robe which opened at the front to reveal the jewellery and under-tunic as worn in the Frankish grave discussed in Section B, XXXI, 1a (p. 353).

15. Fur and hair; "shaggy" cloaks

Archaeology has produced little evidence of the wearing of fur garments and no indication of the tailored skin capes and caps which earlier Scandinavian sites have yielded.¹⁴⁵ There is one possible instance of a fur cap from Anglo-Saxon context, found under the skull of a child at Farthingdown, Sr (p.708). Other traces of fur or hair in seventh-century barrows at Broomfield, Ex (p.672), Musden, St (p.698) and perhaps at Fonaby, Li (p.690), may have been the remains of fur garments or covers. The position of the fur found in Grave 28 at Lakenheath, Sf (p.703), leads to the conclusion that it may have been a pouch hanging from the girdle. (Discussed in subsection 14, h, p.448, above.)

From Taplow, Bu (p.659), Benty Grange, Db (p.670), Broomfield, Ex (B 4, p.672), Broome, Nf. (p. 695 /) and Snape and Sutton Hoo, Sf (pp.706-7), there have been recovered remains which may derive from "shaggy" cloaks. All but Broomfield were barrow burials, and the Broomfield grave was of unusual and elaborate construction. All apart from Broome (an uncertain case, in which reddish-brown hair was found adhering to the skull) were clearly seventh-century and well-equipped burials. All apparently commemorated men, though for various reasons there are few skeletal remains of these burials: because of soil conditions at Taplow, because the skeleton was cremated, as at Snape (and possibly Sutton Hoo) or because skeletons had either completely decayed or never been present as at Benty Grange and Broomfield (and possibly Sutton Hoo). The burials therefore are of similar date, sex and social status, and may share some details of ritual.

The "shaggy" cloaks are attested by finds of reddish-brown animal hair, sometimes in contact with textile. Appleyard and Wildman have suggested that the effect was produced by the use of the wool of a double-coated sheep. A tabby-woven example, not a grave find, from York (p.716) which may be Saxon, probably derived from such a fleece. It seems possible, however, that the pagan period garments were woven by the technique of pile weaving, in which pile threads are inserted into the fabric during weaving, producing a fleece-like effect. This ancient technique was used to produce textiles of which eighth- and tenth-century fragments have been recovered from Sweden, and late-ninth-to tenth-century examples from the Isle of Eigg (Scotland) and the Isle of Man. "Shaggy" cloaks were among the articles traded by the Frisians c. A.D. 600 to 900 and were produced in and exported from Ireland at this time.¹⁴⁶ It is possible that the fur and textile fragments from pagan Anglo-Saxon sites are the remains of "shaggy" cloaks which were Irish or Frisian imports.

16. Gold

Gold strips which were embroidered or brocaded into decorative bands testify a luxury fashion of limited distribution. Gold fragments were found in the seventh-century Taplow, Bu, barrow (p.659), but in only one other male burial. Reports of the excavation of Taplow are conflicting, but E. Crowfoot and S. C. Hawkes concluded that the gold strips had decorated the belt and diagonal baldric, rather than edging the cloak as had previously been suggested.¹⁴⁷

Other finds of gold strips derive from earlier (mid- to late-sixth-century) graves at Chessell Down, IOW (p.679), Bifrons,^{Chatham Lines} Faversham,

Howletts, Lyminge, Sarre and Stowting, K (pp. 630, 631-3, 635-6, 638-9) and Holywell Row, Sf (p. 699). The distribution of gold strip is therefore mostly confined to Kent, exceptions being the Taplow find, Holywell Row and Chessell Down. Other articles in the Taplow and Holywell Row graves suggest Kentish influence, and the Chessell Down grave is in the Isle of Wight, where archaeology has not contradicted Bede's statement that the people were of the same stock as the inhabitants of Kent.

A fragment of gold ornament was found attached to the blade of a sword in a grave at Faversham, K (p. 613), having probably decorated the hem or sleeve of a man's garment, but the majority of gold strips have been found near the skulls of female skeletons. Crowfoot and Hawkes concluded that they were worn as fillets, and represent the adoption of a Frankish fashion, since there are a number of continental parallels, both literary and archaeological, for the wearing of gold brocaded bands as fillets (vittae), in the Carolingian and Merovingian periods.¹⁴⁸ There are fewer parallels for the brocaded "bracelets" worn on one wrist by women at Chatham Lines and Sarre. The closest are a burial (c. A.D. 1000) at Mammen, Denmark, where padded silk arm- or wrist-bands decorated with gold-brocaded tablet weave were found, and the burial of the woman in the Cathedral of Saint-Denis, Paris (dating to the latter half of the sixth century) who had worn gold-embroidered cuffs on the wide sleeves of her robe. The decoration of one wrist only, represented by the two Kent graves, has not yet been paralleled.¹⁴⁹

The gold in these braids consists of strips of gold foil, not, as in the later Cuthbert embroideries, gold "spun" round a silk core.¹⁵⁰

The workmanship of the pagan period braids therefore exhibits a different technique from the late Saxon examples. The gold braids are confined to rich graves, and apart from the Faversham and Taplow examples, to female burials from a limited period of the sixth century. They are confined to burials otherwise richly equipped, and are often associated with a recurrent pattern of grave-goods (see Section B, XXXI, Chart, pp. 359-60) perhaps deriving from a ceremonial costume or regalia.

The Heath Wood fragment of a metal-embroidered braid is a unique and much later example of a similar technique and article known to the Viking settlers.

17. Adjuncts to costume

Finds of leather and textiles in pagan graves may not always derive from the garments. It is clear that the knives which were usually carried at the belt were often contained in leather sheaths. Evidence for this is found in burials of both sexes, throughout the pagan period, but only the perforated leather fragments from Kent suggest that these objects may have been ornamented. Leather, or leather-and-textile pouches appear chiefly on seventh-century sites -- Totternhoe, Bd (pp. 655-6), Burwell, Ca (p. 667), Beakesbourne, K (p. 679) and Winklebury, Wi (p. 713) -- the late-sixth-to seventh-century Petersfinger, Wi (pp. 711-13), and sites which were in use for a considerable period of time, up to and including the seventh century -- Abingdon, Bek (p. 656) and Holywell Row, Sf (p. 699). It is possible that these pouches were a late pagan addition to the articles normally worn on the person. It is possible that, like the boxes which have been found in some conversion period graves, they mark a

change in burial habits. The pouches, unlike some boxes, however, do not appear to have been habitually used to contain jewellery or other items which would normally be worn on the person. Evidence of pouches has been found with burials of children and adults of both sexes.

18. Footwear

Pagan period graves provide little evidence of footwear. The metal lace tags which have been found near the feet of a few skeletons mostly derive from the seventh century, though the Chessell Down, IOW, example, containing worsted thread, is earlier (p. 679). Only the (probably seventh-century) grave of a child at Stanton Harcourt, O, has yielded shoe leather (p. 698), and only the piece of shoe mud with imprint of linen from the grave of two children at Totternhoe, Bd (p. 655), suggests that linen stockings or slippers might be worn. It is, nevertheless, likely that some form of footwear was worn in the pagan period. Wells has pointed out that the incidence of leg fractures among pagan Anglo-Saxons may result from the wearing of clumsy footwear¹⁵¹ and also noted a tendency towards tibial infections which may have resulted from tight gartering or the habitual wearing of a "buskin" above the ankles.¹⁵² Corroborative evidence may yet appear in the form of textile or leather finds.

A wider range of evidence is available about later footwear, particularly deriving from York, where several complete shoes of various types have been recovered (pp. 716-7). The footwear from York includes a boot fastened by means of a leather toggle (Fig. 11);

a slipper, the sole of which was extended in a triangular projection up the back of the heel (Fig. 12); and shoes reaching to the ankle. The latter were joined by a seam at the side (Fig. 13). Examples from Hungate were either provided with slits for thongs passing round the ankle, or were fastened by means of a triangular flap which covered the instep and was attached by a latchet. A similar ankle shoe, from the Roman fortress site at York, had three slits in the throat, making the opening elastic.

The boot is unlike any illustration of Anglo-Saxon footwear, but the slipper resembles the footwear of the figure on a sculpture at Codford St. Peter, Wt (Plate XXXVII). The ankle shoes resemble in shape most shoes illustrated in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but differ in that none of the archaeological finds have fastening or decoration running in a strip down the centre front of the shoe. This feature is characteristic of most illustrations. However, shoes found in the ninth-century boat burial at Oseberg, Norway, do offer a parallel (Fig. 14). Two pairs were shaped like the Anglo-Saxon ankle shoes and were fastened by thongs. One was seamed down the front like those in Anglo-Saxon illustrations. A second, finer, pair, were seamed on the inner side of the foot, but decorated with a false seam at the centre of the front.¹⁵³ It is possible that this style became popular in England towards the end of the Saxon period, though it is a feature of primitive shoes from various regions, not only North-West Europe.¹⁵⁴

Other remains of Anglo-Saxon footwear — a pair of soles from Whitby, Y (p. 716) and fragments from Thetford, Nf (p. 696) — confirm that shoes of the Christian Saxon period were flat-heeled, round-soled (unlike the pointed shoes characteristic of the later medieval

period) and fastened by leather thongs. The soles were stitched, not nailed as Roman shoes are known to have been.

19. Summary

Surviving remains of clothing, mostly from pagan graves, demonstrate that wool and linen were in common use. The majority of surviving textile fragments are Z-spun, but other variations occur. Many corpses were evidently buried in shrouds, usually of tabby-woven linen; but since the remains of shrouds have been found on the fronts of buckles and brooches, and other textiles on the backs of these, it seems that the shrouds were worn in addition to the clothing.

In the pagan period, both sexes commonly wore a garment of 2 x 2 twill, usually wool (a textile which was to remain popular in the Christian period). This fabric was used by women of the fifth and sixth centuries for the gown supported by "paired" brooches, and by men for the garment which was belted (probably a tunic, but possibly trousers). Men might also wear a belted garment of tabby weave, and women a gown of the same. The woman's gown could be edged by fringe, or by a decorative braid which could act as suspension-point for the brooches. Braids, plaits and "string" may have been used by women as shoulder straps. In addition to the gown, women wore a sleeved garment, probably a blouse, edged with tablet-woven or leather cuffs. The sleeved garment could be made of twill-woven wool, though there is also evidence of tabby-woven and linen (twill) undergarments.

Belts might be tablet-woven, or leather. Some may have been made of both leather and textile. The knives which were attached to the belts of most people could be carried in leather sheaths.

Both sexes probably wore outer garments of tabby weave or of a twill coarser than the gown/tunic. The rarer 2 x 1 and diamond twills could be used for the outer garment or the gown/tunic. These rarer weaves had a limited distribution and may have been imports.

Gold-embroidered headdresses (and cuffs) enjoyed a limited popularity among prosperous Kentish women in the sixth century, probably being a Frankish fashion. Similar gold decoration was employed on the belt and baldric of a man buried in the seventh century at Taplow.

Fur garments are occasionally attested from seventh-century graves, and it seems probable that "shaggy" cloaks, possibly imported, were worn by a limited number of prosperous men buried at that time. Other developments of the seventh century include the punched leather belts worn by both sexes in Kent, and the pouches which evidently had been carried at the waist in various areas. The conversion period also offers increased evidence of footwear — linen stockings or slippers and leather shoes. Ninth- to eleventh-century footwear — slippers, shoes and boots — survives from workshops and other (non-burial) sites.