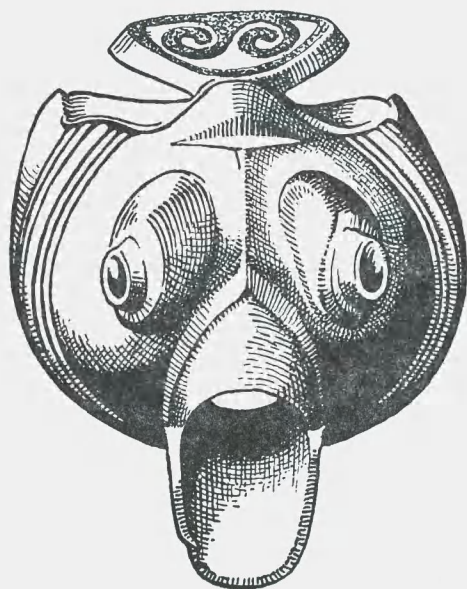


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BEDFORDSHIRE
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Volume I 1962

EDITED BY
W. H. MANNING

THE BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COUNCIL
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The County of Bedfordshire has been without a journal dealing with archaeology since the end of the last century. The great increase of interest in archaeology since the last war has been reflected in the county by the formation of a number of societies each dealing with a part of Bedfordshire. The result of this has been a considerable increase in field-work and excavation without an organisation capable of co-ordinating the work or the resources to produce a permanent journal. The formation of the Bedfordshire Archaeological Council in 1959, on which all the leading societies and individuals working in the county are represented, was an attempt to remedy this situation. As soon as the initial work had been done attention was turned to the problem of publication and the writer was invited to edit a journal devoted to the archaeology of Bedfordshire. Before a start on the journal was possible it was necessary to raise a considerable sum of money and a public appeal was issued as soon as the format of the publication had been decided. Once it was clear that sufficient money could be raised to guarantee the first volume printing began.

To mention by name all those who by their advice and services have helped the editor in the production of this journal would be impossible, but special mention must be made of Mr Charles Freeman and his staff at Luton Museum who undertook most of the work connected with the appeal, and of Mr Ronald Chapman and Mr Sheppard Frere who have given invaluable advice on costs and format. Our printers, the White Crescent Press Ltd of Luton, deserve a special word of thanks, from the Council for the generous terms on which they have undertaken the work, and from the editor for the patience with which they have borne with his inexperience. Finally we must thank those individuals and firms, listed at the end of the volume, who have made this Journal possible by their donations and subscriptions.

W. H. MANNING

Neolithic and Bronze Age Sites at Barton Hill Farm Bedfordshire

JAMES F. DYER

with a description and analysis of the pottery by Isobel F. Smith

THE eastern Chilterns are bounded on their northern edge by a narrow belt of chalk downland which must by Bronze Age times have been relatively free of woodland, and along which ran the Icknield Way. For the most part this ancient track followed the foot of the chalk escarpment and seems seldom to have formed a ridgeway. Along its course are numerous barrow cemeteries of typical Bronze Age type, with here and there a barrow which has produced Neolithic pottery and flint implements.¹

The sites here described stand on the crest of a long, low spur at a height of 525 ft above sea level, and, commanding extensive views along the Icknield Way to the north-east and south-west, would have been visible on the skyline for a number of miles. Today this ridge is crossed from west to east by the Streatley to Lilley Hoo road, some $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles due north of Luton. The sites lie to the south of the road opposite the entrance to Barton Hill Farm, in Front Field, and have long been under the plough. (Nat. Grid Reference: TL/093282).

In 1948 Dr J. K. St Joseph photographed from the air a number of cropmark circles in Front Field (Photo. No's ER/44, 45, 46) and filled what had, till then, been a curious gap in Chiltern barrow distribution. In 1955 Miss D. M. Edwards took further aerial photographs which confirmed that Front Field contained at least three cropmark circles and a curious row of intersecting pits.

The subsoil at Barton Hill Farm is Middle Chalk which is softer and more weathered than that at similar sites further west in the Chilterns and Wessex. The topsoil averages 12 in. in depth and is separated from the chalk in places by a thin layer (2 in) of orange clay that spreads from a deposit of clay-with-flints on the eastern side of the field.

The position of the sites excavated at the time of publication of this report are shown on Fig 1. The numbering is that of the order of excavation.

¹*Arch. J.* CXVI (1960) 1-24

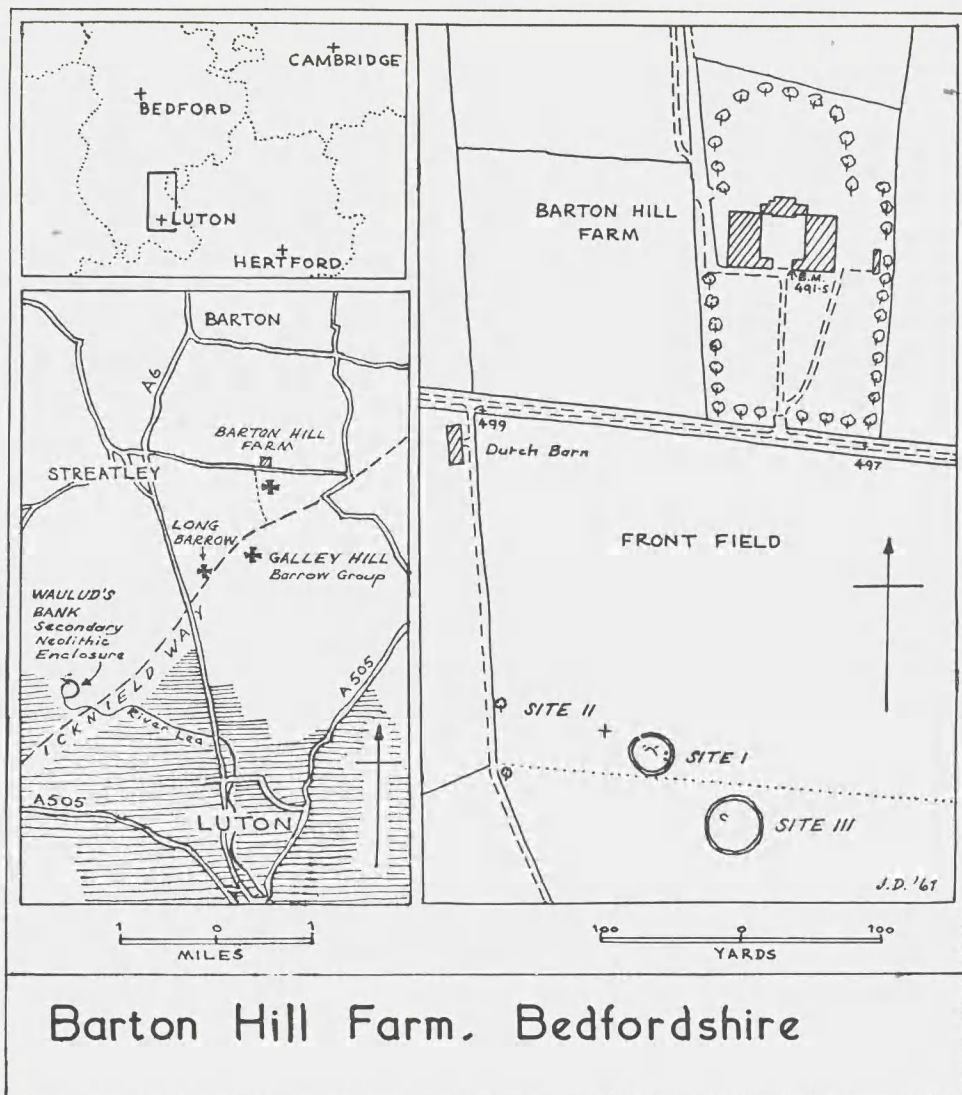


Fig 1. Location Map for Barton Hill Farm showing its relation to other Neolithic sites in south-east Bedfordshire.

ORGANISATION

The excavations, directed and financed by the writer, were carried out with an average of 12 volunteers during two weeks in 1954 and again in 1955. Most of the diggers had no previous experience of excavation. In order to maintain adequate supervision Miss D. M. Edwards was appointed Assistant Director in 1955.

SITE I

This was the first site to be excavated. It was dug during August and September 1954 by members of the South Bedfordshire Archaeological Society and boys from Luton Grammar School.

SUMMARY (FIG 2)

The site may be interpreted as a sacred monument consisting of a regular circular ditch broken by an entrance causeway on the north-western side, with evidence of an external bank. In the centre of the site were traces of sleeper trenches probably representing the foundations of a rectangular wooden mortuary enclosure, and on the eastern side of the enclosed area, two crouched burials, apparently unaccompanied, and possibly later in date. The symmetrical ditch with single entrance is reminiscent of Class I henge monuments. The pottery from the site is of Middle Neolithic type, closely paralleled at Whiteleaf in Buckinghamshire, where a similar wooden enclosure and discontinuous ditch were found.¹

METHOD OF EXCAVATION

As no trace of the site was visible on the field surface, the approximate centre was located from the air photographs and a probe survey was carried out. The approximate outline of the ditch having been established, an assumed centre was chosen, and four quadrants were set out from it, separated by baulks 3 ft wide and 40 ft long. Each quadrant was systematically stripped to the natural chalk, the exposed sections were drawn, and the baulks were removed from the centre outwards. It was found necessary to extend the main sections, especially on the north side, as they did not completely cover the width of the ditch.

STRUCTURAL FEATURES

The Ditch (FIG 3)

The ditch was circular in plan, with a maximum outside diameter of 96 ft, enclosing a circular area 78 ft across. On the west-north-west side was an entrance causeway $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide. The ditch section was very irregular and varied in width from 8 to 14 ft, and in depth from 20 in to 32 in. The bottom of the ditch in some

¹*P.P.S.* XX, 228

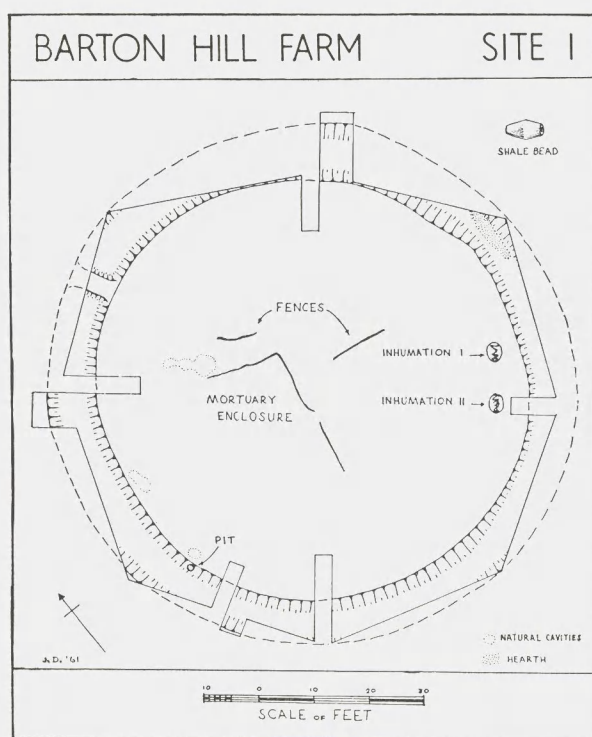


Fig 2. Plan of Site I showing the area excavated in 1954.

places approached flatness, in others it was markedly 'U' shaped.

The filling, whilst varying in quantity with the depth of the ditch, was uniform throughout. On the floor, notably on the outside edge, but frequently spreading across it and up the inner edge, was a shallow layer of primary chalk silt and bank spill. Above this was a thick layer of reddish-brown soil on top of which was one of mid-brown soil; this was replaced in a small area of the north-east quadrant by a large burnt patch. The upper surface of this layer merged with grey-brown soil which completed the infill of the ditch.

It was very noticeable that the sides of the ditch facing west were all more weathered than those facing east. This may have been due to the direction of the prevailing winds and rain in Atlantic times.

The entrance causeway of undug chalk was six inches lower than the interior area of the site and rose about a foot from the ditch bottom. Its direction seems to have borne little relationship to the rest of the features inside the site, but it may be

connected with Site II which lies outside it to the north-west. The fact that the causeway was lower than the interior of the site suggests that it formed a suitable step down into the ditch as well as up into the site. This, together with the fact that the ditch floor had a well trampled appearance, may be indicative of some form of ritual ceremony or dance, and bears comparison with Sir Cyril Fox's excavations at Ysceifiog in Flintshire.¹

A few sherds of middle neolithic pottery and the bones of ox, deer and pig were found in the ditch, mainly on the western side. The pottery is discussed by Dr Isobel Smith in Appendix I.

A small regular pit 12 in deep and 1 ft in diameter was dug into the inner south-western face of the ditch. It contained nothing but orange clay, and whilst resembling the cremation pits frequently found in round barrows, it appeared, on clearing, to be quite fresh and unused. The sides were cut vertically and curved sharply to form a flat bottom.

The 'Sleeper' Trenches

These shallow trenches had been much destroyed by the deep ploughing which scoured the site, but sufficient remained to indicate a probable rectangular enclosure and two isolated 'fences', on its northern sides.

The enclosure measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide by 12 ft long, the longer side being broken by an entrance gap 1 ft wide, at which point the sides turned outwards very slightly. The longest sides ran in a north-westerly direction and lay to the south-west of the site centre. Only the north and east sides were complete, with a few vague traces remaining of the south and west sides. The trenches averaged 3 in deep and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in wide; they were quite distinct from the white chalk in which they were cut, their filling being deep orange-brown in colour.

Six feet east of the eastern wall of the enclosure and at right angles to it, another trench indicated the existence of an isolated fence 5 ft long. A second fence $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft long lay to the north of the enclosure. How much more of these fences has been destroyed by deep ploughing, it is impossible to say.

The Inhumation Burials No I AND II

On the eastern side of the central area, lying $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft and 4 ft from the inner edge of the ditch and 5 ft apart, were two burial pits. The northern was oval in shape, 4 ft long by 2 ft wide and 9 in deep. It contained a flexed female adult skeleton, lying on its left-hand side and facing the centre of the site. The bones were very friable and after cleaning had to be given a number of coats of polyvinyl acetate before they could be removed.

¹Fox: *Life and Death in the Bronze Age* (1959) 1-11

The body had been buried in a most awkward and unusual position. It had been laid on its back, rather too high in the pit, so that its head touched the side of the grave and was twisted sharply to the left, pressing tightly down onto its chest. The feet seem to have been drawn up to the base of the pelvis, with the knees in the air; the legs were then bound tightly together and the knees were forced downwards and sharply to the left.

The weathered and worn condition of the bones and the fact that the elbow joints, ribs, pelvis, knee joints and feet were missing, would seem to confirm that the body had remained in the open for some considerable time, perhaps in the wooden enclosure, before final burial in the pit. The grave contained a number of snail shells. (See Appendix IV).

The southern grave pit, also oval in shape, measured 3 ft 4 in long and 3 ft wide by 9 in deep. It contained the crouched remains of a boy of about 16 years. He lay on his left side facing the centre of the site. The arms were drawn up in front of the face and the legs were tightly drawn together. The skeleton was in a much better state of preservation than that of the female, but the hands, elbows, parts of the pelvis and the heads of some of the leg bones, were again missing. Near the arms was part of the rib-bone of an ox, the only grave-good present. Below the chin was a single fusiform shale bead (see Appendix I). The primary filling of the grave consisted of an inch of fine chalk silt, with chalk rubble above it, indicating the manual filling of the grave at a fairly short interval after the burial. (Plate Ib).

A note on the skeletal remains appears as Appendix IV.

The Bronze Age Hearth

An extensive burnt area in the ditch on the eastern side of the site and quite high in the ditch filling possibly represents the hearth of itinerant Bronze Age campers or even the builders of Site III. Four sherds, probably of Collared urns, (see page 15) were found amongst the ashes of the fire. The wood burnt may have been oak (Appendix III).

Other Features

Two irregular depressions filled with orange clay were cleared in the south-western quadrant; one appeared to be a natural tree-root hole, the other contained two sherds of indeterminate pottery. Its purpose is obscure.

DISCUSSION

Site I presents a number of curious features with which we are becoming increasingly familiar as more barrows and allied sites are excavated throughout Britain. The fact that the site was ploughed down to solid chalk, thus removing all

traces of a bank or mound makes the classification of the site difficult. Slightly more primary chalk silt on the outer edges of the ditch suggests that an outer bank may have been present, whilst the presence of an entrance causeway and the 'mortuary enclosure' may well indicate no internal mound. Certainly the field surface when freshly ploughed shows no white scar of scattered chalk characteristic of a ploughed-out barrow mound. If we accept an outer bank and single entrance causeway we are faced with a superficial resemblance to a Class I henge monument. The inhumation burials are, however, somewhat unusual. At both Dorchester-on-Thames (Site I)¹ and Woodhenge² single inhumations were found, though it is probable that both were dedicatory. At Barton Hill there is a strong possibility that burial No I (the flexed female) is primary and dedicatory, whilst No II, the crouched male (a more characteristic Bronze Age fashion) buried with the rib-bone of an ox, and a shale bead which is most likely of Bronze Age date, would appear to be secondary. Burial No II may well indeed have been placed in Site I as a final deposit before Site III came into general use.

The single entrance causeway is fairly common in Chiltern barrows and is represented at Whiteleaf and in two barrows at Saunderton, Bucks.³ The barrow on Warnes Hill above Bledlow may also contain an entrance causeway, though in the writer's opinion the site consists of two barrows in a single enclosing ditch.⁴ Grinsell, in 1941,⁵ listed eleven other henge barrows in southern England with one or more entrance causeways. Mortuary enclosures have been discussed at length by Prof. Piggott⁶ and the rectangular Barton Hill enclosure seems best paralleled by the structure discovered by Pitt Rivers, beneath Wor Barrow in Dorset,⁷ though we must not ignore the possibility that we may be dealing with the ground plan of a hut, like that excavated by Kersten at Sarmenstorf in Germany.⁸ The position of the short fences on the north side of the site seems strongly to suggest that they may well have served a similar function to the structures observed in long barrows by Phillips at Giant's Hill, Lincolnshire, and Grimes at Burnt Ground and Saltway Barn, Gloucestershire.⁹

¹ Atkinson: *Excavations at Dorchester, Oxon.* (1951) 12.

² Cunnington: *Woodhenge.* (1929) 13.

³ *Arch. J.* CXVI (1960) 1-24

⁴ *P.P.S.* XX (1954) footnote, 215.

⁵ *P.P.S.* VII (1941) 106-7

⁶ Piggott: *Neolithic Cultures* (1954) 59.

⁷ Pitt Rivers: *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*: IV (1898), but see also *P.P.S.* XXVII (1961) 160

⁸ Kersten: *Offa I* (1936) 56-87

⁹ Grimes: *Excavations on Defence Sites*, I, (1960) 36

SITE II

This site, partly excavated at Whitsun 1955, consists of a chain of intersecting pits of varying sizes and depths, similar to those excavated at the Windmill Hill long barrow in 1959 by Dr Isobel Smith and Mr Paul Ashbee.¹ Beside the pits was a crouched female burial in an oval grave, on top of which forty large flints had been rammed. A large post, 9 in. in diameter had stood at the head of the grave. A full report of this site will be published on the completion of the excavation.

SITE III

This was the third site to be examined and was dug during September 1955 by boys from Luton Grammar School and volunteers answering an announcement in the C.B.A. *Calendar of Excavations*. It was directed by the writer with the assistance of Miss Dorothy Edwards.

SUMMARY (FIG 4)

The site represents a circular ditched enclosure which may have had an internal and external bank. To the north-west of the centre a pit containing a horseshoe shaped structure of turf was uncovered. Sherds of Collared urn indicate a Bronze Age date for the site.

METHOD OF EXCAVATION

The site, which showed clearly in newly ploughed soil, was invisible in the barley stubble when excavation commenced; and due to the unusually dry summer it was impossible to detect the ditches by probing. The approximate centre of the site was found from Miss Edwards' aerial photographs, and four trenches 5 ft wide and between 55 and 80 ft long were cut from the centre to the cardinal points. In each trench the ditch showed as a dark band in the white chalk. Our assumed centre was, we found, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft west of true. The western half of the site was then dug by the quadrant method. Unfortunately the eastern half had been dug into clay-with-flints and time and the wet weather which developed during the excavation would not permit us to clear more than the surface of the south-eastern quadrant and the ditch section in the radial trench to the east.

STRUCTURAL FEATURES

The Ditch (FIG 3)

The ditch was slightly oval in plan with a minimum outside diameter of 116 ft and a maximum diameter of 119 ft, enclosing a circular area 97 to 100 ft

¹*Antiquity*: XXXIV (1960) 298

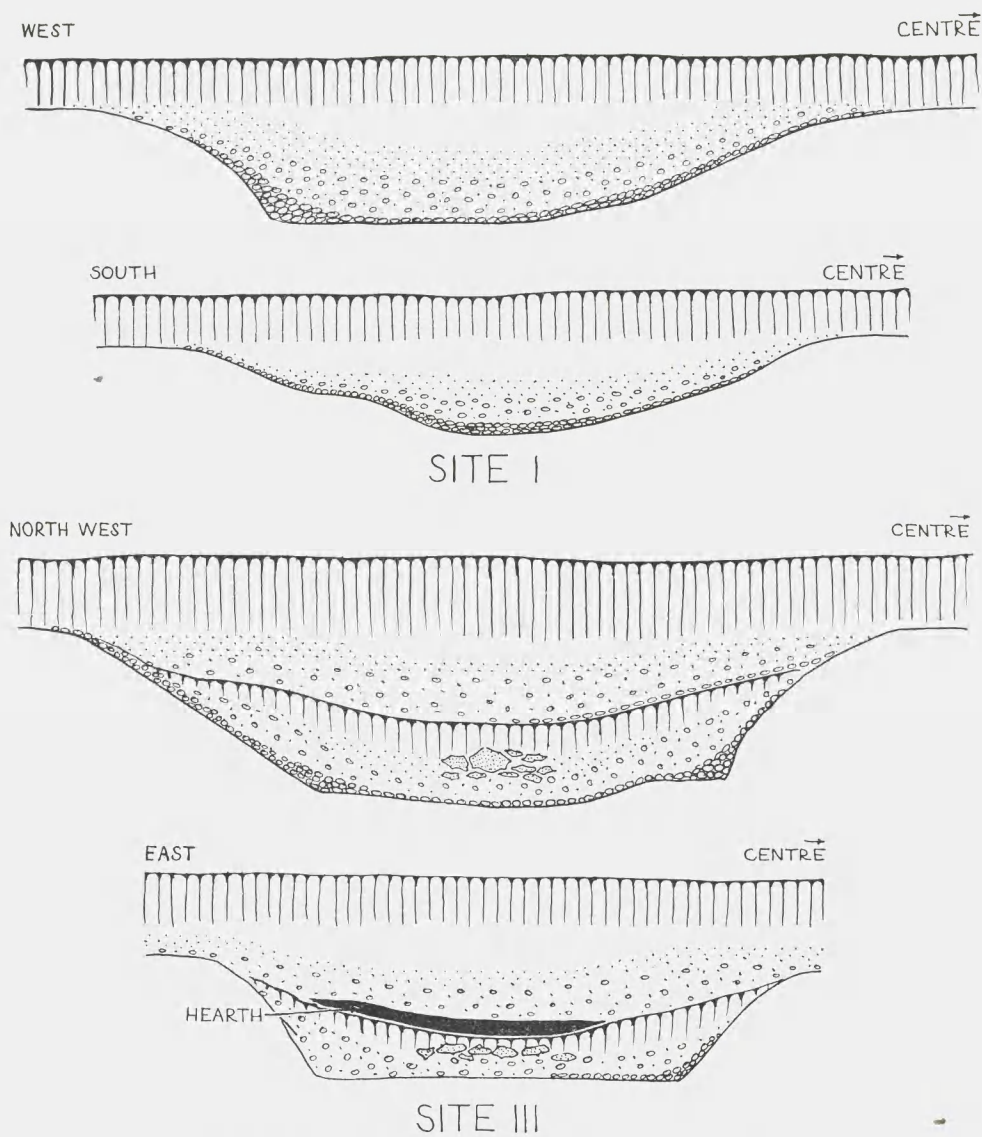


Fig 3. Sections across the ditches of Sites I and III. (1 inch=3 feet)

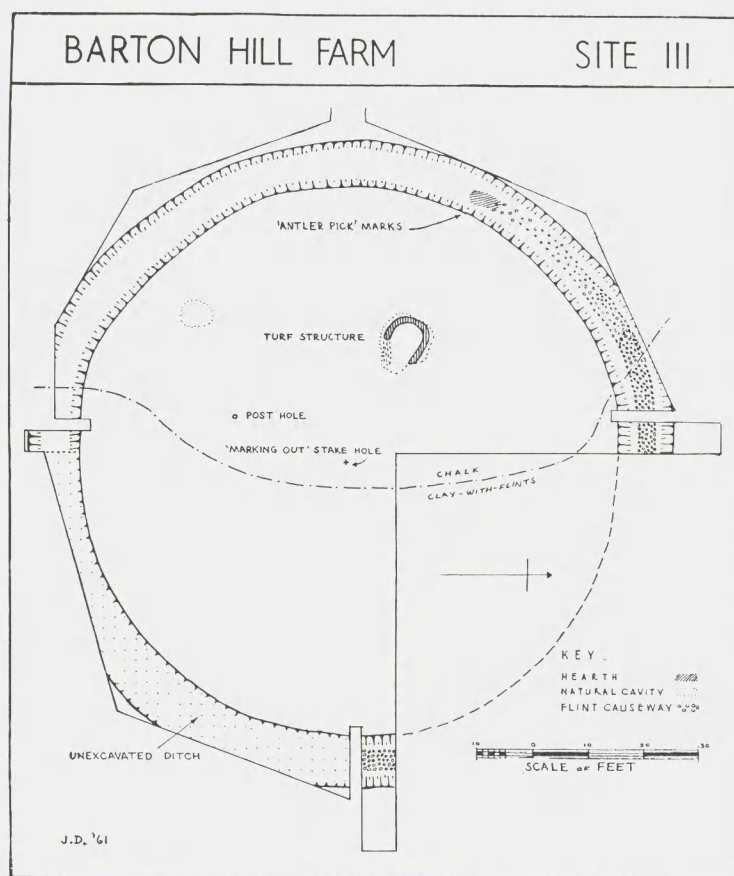


Fig 4. Plan of Site III showing area excavated in 1955.

across. The ditch section was very regular with a wide, flat bottom and almost vertical sides.

Site III overlies a slight ridge which makes the ground to the east and west lower than that to the north, centre and south. The depth of the ditch has been varied to meet this divergence and keep the bottom as close to horizontal as possible, consequently the depth varies from 2 ft 4 in to 3 ft 6 in. The width at the surface is a constant 9 ft.

The filling of the ditch suggests that banks on both sides have slipped into it, although they may have stood some distance back from the edge, probably being separated from it by a narrow berm. This is indicated by the quantity and angle

of rest of the primary filling of chalk rubble and grey earth, containing sherds of Collared urns, occupying the inner and outer angles of the ditch bottom. A layer of grey earth, suggesting a pause in sedimentation when plants were growing in the ditch, lies above this. The grey-brown middle ditch filling contained further sherds of Collared urn and a few pieces of weathered Neolithic pottery which may have originated in Site I but been incorporated in the bank of Site III when this was thrown up at a later date. The upper filling of the ditch was of brown earth and was almost devoid of finds.

In the north and eastern sections of the ditch a 'paving' of flints underlay the grey humic layer. Its significance will be discussed later. Suffice to say here that it continued around the ditch bottom of at least a third of the site, and was graded with the largest flints in the centre, and smaller stones on its edges. The flints had been placed in the ditch after the deposition of the primary chalk rubble.

On the innermost western edge of the ditch a large number of small circular depressions were detected, clearly indicating the use of antler picks in the construction of the site.

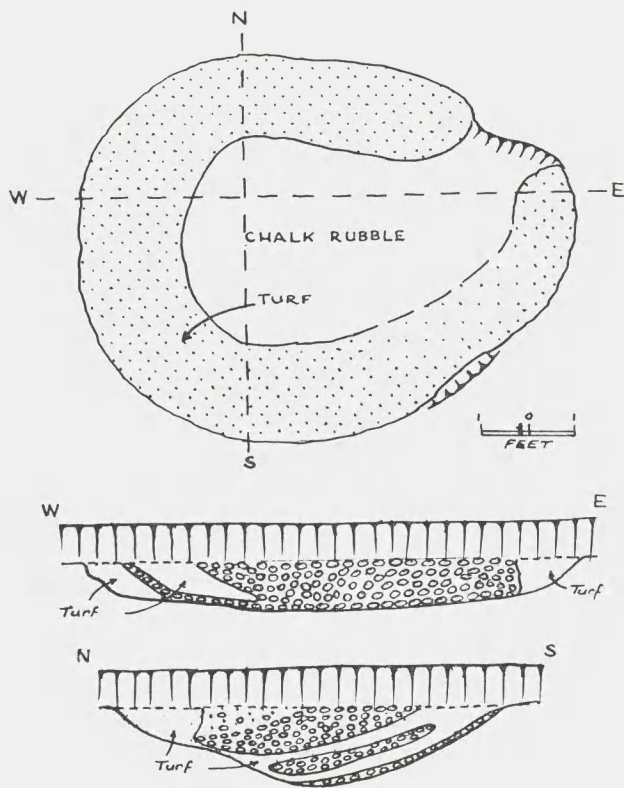
The Turf Structure (FIG 5)

An oval depression 11 ft long, 10 ft wide and 2 ft deep at its centre, lay 20 ft north-west of the centre of the site. Piled around the sides, except for a narrow gap on the east, was a wall which may once have been turf, now represented by grey-black soil. These walls were 18 in wide and 8 in. in height from the bottom of the depression, on the north side where they were best preserved. They had been considerably disturbed by ploughing on the southern side. The turf walls having been established around the sides, the pit itself had been filled with tightly rammed chalk rubble; this was presumably done to give the structure greater strength at the wall base. A single sherd of indeterminate pottery was found on the bottom of the depression.

Other Features

In the geometric centre of the site a small hole 6 in. in depth indicated the position of a stake used to mark out the original circle of the ditch. A single post-hole lay 21 ft south-west.

The eastern side of the site which extended into the area of clay-with-flints, had been covered with a thin layer of trampled chalk, perhaps deposited in order that the whole of the central area might appear as a white disc. The colour of the site seems to have been of some importance in prehistoric ritual. The coating of the banks of the Thornborough henge monument with gypsum, in order to



Turf Structure : Site III

Fig 5. Plan and sections of the turf structure in Site III.

produce a chalk-like effect, may be quoted as a comparison.¹

In the three-quarters of the site examined there was no sign of an entrance causeway of the type found in Site I. A probe survey in the north-eastern quadrant gave no indication that one existed there either, but due to the hardness of the ground and fact that at this point the ditch was dug in clay not chalk, the possibility of its existence cannot be completely ruled out.

¹*Yorks. Arch. J.* Vol. XXXVIII, (1955) 441

Seed Deposit

At a depth of 2 ft in the ditch on the western side (see fig 3) a deposit of many hundreds of seeds was found associated with a sherd of Collared urn. Since the urn and seed lay on the turf line representing the top of the grey humic layer, it is clear that they are later than the constructional phase of the site, and may well represent a period in the Bronze Age when the immediate vicinity of the monument was under cultivation. Dr Godwin's identification of the seeds (Appendix II) indicates that they are all weeds of fallow ground; their collection together, obviously by human agency, may indicate their use for some lost culinary art or herbal remedy.

DISCUSSION

As in Site I the complete removal of all surface features by ploughing makes it difficult to interpret this site. When it was visited in the winter of 1954 two circles of scattered chalk clearly representing the ploughed-out banks were visible on the ground surface. This observation, together with the evidence of the ditch silting indicates that we are dealing with a concentric-bank enclosure. The apparent absence of an entrance rules out the most obvious connections with henge monuments, although the turf structure, which may be interpreted as free standing turf walls or a corbelled turf 'bee-hive' hut, must represent yet another type of mortuary enclosure.

The trouble taken to level the ditch bottom again indicates that it had a part to play in the religious ritual; and that this continued for some considerable time after the site's construction is indicated by the flint pavement above the primary rubble deposit. The fact that this pavement is found at its best on that part of the site constructed in clay-with-flints, and peters out when it reaches the chalk seems to indicate that the stones provided a dry causeway along the ditch bottom in the area most likely to become waterlogged, and were unnecessary in the area of the quickly draining chalk. This again must indicate the use of the ditch for processions and dances.

Mention has already been made of the coating of chalk spread over the western half of the site. All these factors, together with the situation of the site so close to Site I, must indicate that we are dealing with a religious monument and not a barrow. We are surely faced with the survival of henge-barrow traditions well into the Bronze Age.

A hearth on the north-west side of the ditch again may indicate the camping place of travellers along the Icknield Way, or perhaps the fire of farm labourers resting from their work in the nearby fields. Dr Godwin's seed report gives us definite evidence for cultivation in southern Bedfordshire some 1500 years B.C.

This gives valuable support to the evidence from Dray's Ditches, just over a mile to the south-east, where Bronze Age field boundary ditches were found below an Iron Age A dyke.¹

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr R. F. Farr, the owner of the Barton Hill Farm sites for his very ready co-operation, kindness and enthusiasm at all times; to Miss Dorothy Edwards, Assistant Director for her invaluable support; to Dr Isobel Smith, Dr I. W. Cornwall, Miss M. Maitland Howard, Dr H. Godwin and Dr J. C. Trevor for their specialist reports which follow. Mr T. J. Little kindly allowed us to use his Auster aeroplane to take aerial photographs of the sites before and after excavation. Professor R. J. C. Atkinson, Mr Nicholas Thomas, Mr C. E. Freeman and Mr A. C. Jordan visited the sites during excavation and gave help and advice wherever possible. Wheelbarrows were kindly loaned by the Luton Corporation. Lastly, but by no means least, to the diggers themselves whose names are unfortunately too numerous to mention individually, but without whose loyalty and enthusiasm the work could never have been undertaken, the writer offers his sincere thanks.

APPENDIX I

THE FINDS

THE POTTERY by DR ISOBEL F. SMITH (FIGS 6 AND 7)

SITE I

The pottery from the ditch-filling appears to belong to two periods: the majority of the approximately two dozen sherds found are of Middle Neolithic type, but four sherds belong to the Bronze Age. The latter are probably intrusive, since they were found in association with a hearth. All the pieces are very small and most are undecorated wall fragments. The only sherds with distinctive features are illustrated in Fig 6.

In form, decoration, and fabric the rim sherds find their closest parallels in the pottery from the Whiteleaf Barrow in Buckinghamshire.² Fig 6:1, though so

¹*Ant. J.* Vol. XLI (1961), 34.

²Scott, "The Excavation of a Barrow on Whiteleaf Hill, Bucks.", *P.P.S.* (1954), 212-30, see figs 5-7.

fragmentary, almost certainly comes from a flat, expanded rim with deep transverse impressions similar to Whiteleaf 17 and 18; Fig 6:2, with incised chevrons on a tilted rim which projects on either side of the neck, may be compared with Whiteleaf 6 and others. Both the Barton Hill sherds are soft, coarsely laminated in section, and contain fragments of grit: burnt and unburnt flint in the case of No 1, burnt flint and shell in No 2; both are black. The slightly flattened, internally and/or externally expanded rims of Fig 6: 4-6 closely resemble Whiteleaf 7, 19 and 38 respectively. These sherds are relatively hard and close-textured, with clean, sharp fractures. No 4 is gritted with fine particles of quartz, 5 and 6 with fine burnt flint; all three are black. The oblique oval depressions on the rim of No 4 are a normal feature of the developed form of Windmill Hill ware found in eastern England.

The horizontal twisted-cord impression on the interior of No 4, just below the rim, is of course unusual on Windmill Hill ware; but it lends further support to the view put forward in the report on the Whiteleaf pottery¹ that in eastern England a close relationship in form and decoration exists between the developed Windmill Hill wares and the Ebbsfleet-Peterborough group.

On the basis of these rim sherds, which should be contemporary with the Whiteleaf pottery, and of the fabric of many of the wall sherds², it would appear that Site I was Middle Neolithic in date.

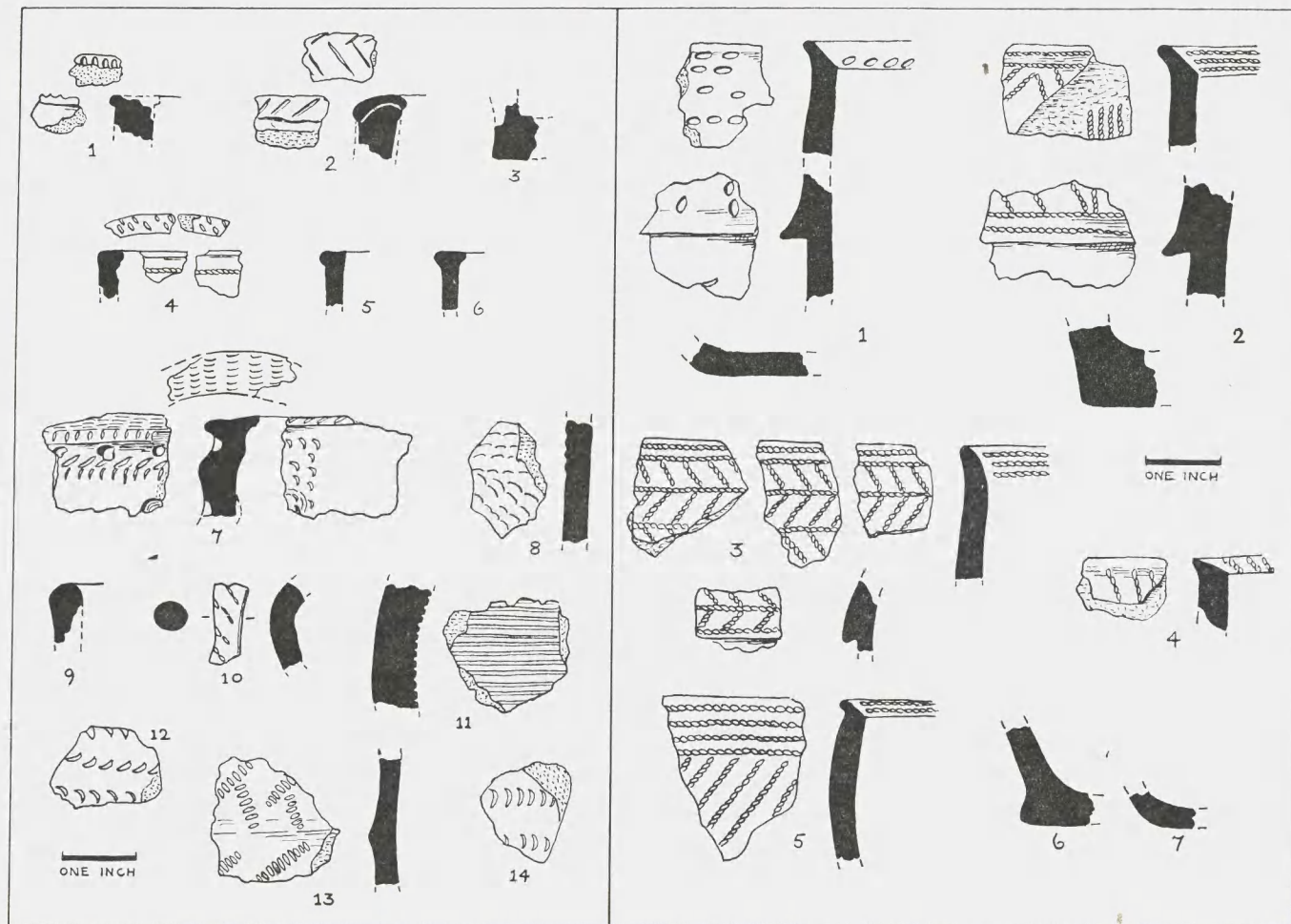
Of the four intrusive sherds, three are wall fragments which in fabric and finish are unlike Neolithic wares but closely resemble the Collared urns from Site III described below. The fourth, a small fragment from a flat base, is shown in Fig 6:3; this may have belonged either to a Late Neolithic Rinyo-Clacton pot or to a Collared urn.

SITE III

Both Late Neolithic and Bronze Ages wares are represented in the pottery from this site, but the majority is of the latter type. There seems to be a significant difference in the position of the two classes in the ditch filling, for those sherds found in the most critical position (on or near the bottom of the ditch along the edges, where rubble would have begun to fall almost as soon as the ditch had been dug) belong to vessels which must be assigned to the Bronze Age. The few certainly identifiable Neolithic sherds occurred at a higher level in the rubble or in the middle ditch filling and it is probable that they were lying on the surface before the ditch was dug and were carried in during the process of silting. But it should be noted that in several instances parts of the same Bronze Age vessel

¹*Loc. cit.*, 227-8.

²Over 50% of the total number of sherds from the site; eight of these are gritted with shell and four are comparable with Abingdon No. 1 ware. (cf. *Case Ant. J.* xxxvi (1956), 19 and references there cited).



Figs 6 and 7. Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery from Barton Hill Farm.

were found in a primary position and also near the top of the ditch filling: e.g. Fig 7:1, rim sherds in rubble, but small fragments from centre of rim in upper ditch, and Fig 7:3, partly in primary filling, partly in upper part of middle ditch filling. Most of the sherds are in good condition, though a few from all levels show signs of more or less intensive weathering.

NEOLITHIC POTTERY

(a) *Windmill Hill ware?* Two sherds may belong to this group. Fig 6:9, found high in the coarse chalk rubble, is a small undecorated rim sherd of black, flaky ware, containing abundant burnt flint. A plain black wall sherd, thickly studded with fragments of quartz, and of coarsely laminated structure, also fits better into this category than into any other.

(b) *Peterborough ware.* Fig 6:7 represents a sherd of Peterborough ware in the Mortlake style, with a heavy rim and the neck reduced to a mere groove. All the decoration, except for the pits, has been made with the fingernail. The pits in the neck have been produced with an implement of irregular shape. The panelled arrangement of the internal decoration and the indication at the lower edge of the sherd of the presence of a pit or pits on the body of the pot below the neck are unusual. The external surface is brown, the rim and interior black. The fabric is quite hard and contains coarse burnt flint which projects from the surfaces. This piece comes from the middle ditch filling, as do five other fragments which may belong to the same bowl; one seems to be part of a round bottom and two others bear traces of some indistinct scheme of decoration. A very small sherd from the same level, with faint markings suggesting bird-bone impressions, seems also to be Peterborough ware.

Fig 6:8, from the coarse chalk rubble, is decorated with lines of fingernail impressions set end to end. This technique occurs sometimes on the latest forms of Mortlake ware, but is characteristic of the most evolved style of Peterborough series (Fengate ware) where, as in this instance, it was used to make organized geometric designs, frequently on elongated, overhanging rims.¹ The soft, friable fabric, brown outside and black within, is typical; it contains coarse burnt flint and sand.

UNCLASSIFIED SHERDS

Fig 6:10 is part of a small handle of fine, smooth, red ware; the ornament appears to have been made with the fingernail. In fabric the sherd resembles beaker ware, but in size, circular cross-section, and ornament it differs from the handles normally found on beakers or on the handled bowls of the Early Bronze Age. No

¹ Cf. pottery from Astrop, Northants. (Leeds, *Report Oxford Arch. Soc.*, 1912, fig. II) and Peterborough (Leeds, *Ant. J.*, ii (1922), fig. 8b.)

other sherds were found which could be assigned to the same vessel, so the affinities of this piece remain uncertain. It came from the junction of the coarse and fine chalk rubble.

Fig 6:11 represents one of a pair of sherds which lay on the bottom of the ditch towards the centre. They come from a vessel with thick, slightly convex walls; the exterior is weathered and shows no sign of ornament. On the interior surface is a series of flat-bottomed horizontal grooves, 1 mm wide and 2 mm apart. The exterior is red, the interior and core black; the paste contains much coarse sand and burnt flint. Five sherds of the same type, but lacking the internal grooves, occurred higher in the filling. The best parallel for internal grooving of this sort occurs on a curious fragment from Astrop, Northants,¹ which appears to represent the attempt of a potter working in the Peterborough tradition to imitate a beaker.

Fig 6: 12 and 14 are wall sherds with rows of vertical or oblique crescentic impressions made with an implement; two other small pieces bear similar decoration. These may come from pots of Peterborough type or, as the surface finish of No 12 suggests, from Collared urns of the type described below.

OVERHANGING-RIM OR COLLARED URNS

The remaining pottery (Fig 6:13 and all of Fig 7) consists of fragments that have come from Collared urns. Although there are a good many wall sherds evidently belonging to the rim and base sherds illustrated, it is not possible to reconstruct any of the profiles completely.

The only certain indication that some of the urns may have been tripartite in form is afforded by Fig 6:13, which has a slight shoulder. All the collars seem to have been deep; the upper and lower fragments of Fig 7:1 appear to belong together; in the case of Fig 7:2 there is, however, a considerable difference in thickness between upper and lower parts. The variation in details of shape of the internal bevels and of the overhanging edges is interesting, and is paralleled by the varying forms of the surviving bases. The base fragments shown in Fig 7:1 and 2 seem to belong with rims, since they share minor peculiarities of paste and grit.

The ornament requires little comment; that on Fig 7:1 consists of lines of oval depressions, possibly not forming a definite pattern; Fig 6:13 bears deep and wide whipped cord maggots; the rest have patterns impressed with twisted cords. The zoned design on Fig 7:3 suggests the survival of a decorative tradition deriving from Bell Beakers.

Except for Fig 7:4-6, which are red or reddish brown in colour and have dull (4) or weathered (5-6) surfaces, the finish of the urn sherds is exceptionally good.

¹ Leeds, *op.cit.*, 1912, Fig. 1:1

The colour is pale buff, often with tints of orange, and the surfaces are well smoothed, with a slight waxy sheen. The pots have been fairly well fired, though dark cores seem to be the rule. Medium to fine grits of various substances were mixed with clay: sand, burnt flint, crushed potsherds, and chalk. These appear in varying combinations in individual pots.

In view of the unusual quality of these vessels, it is interesting to note that a sherd of similar ware was found in the mound of Barrow No 2, The Five Knolls, Dunstable.¹ It comes from the lower part of a Collared urn with a profile like that of Fig 7:1; the exterior of the rim bears faint vertical strokes.

THE FLINT INDUSTRY (FIG 8)

The fields surrounding Sites I and III are littered with many deliberately struck flint flakes: in most cases the flint being almost pure white in colour. Twenty-eight wasters and core trimmings were found in the ditch of Site I, together with four serrated blades and an end-scraper. The serrations on the blades were microscopic in size and could only be seen with a lens. All four bore narrow bands of lustre indicating that they had been used for sawing. Site III produced fourteen wasters, some bearing traces of gloss. Sixteen blades from the same site were probably used as knives, some of them had serrated edges (Fig 8: 3-8) and one (7) also had a little gloss. Two fine flint points from the ditch may have functioned as awls. The hollow scraper or notched triangular flake (Fig 8:2) was the only implement of grey black flint from either site. The material was probably derived from the clay-with-flints on the hills to the south. The trimming on its concave edge suggests that it may have served as a simple spoke-shave.

THE SHALE BEAD

A small shale bead was found below the chin of burial No 2. Fusiform in shape, it measured 1.3 cm long and its greatest diameter was 8 mm, its narrowest diameter was 4 mm, the perforation was 2 mm in diameter. (SEE FIG 2 INSET)

A consideration of single shale beads from eight other sites in Britain suggests that they may be very broadly classified into two groups based on their length. Group I, those beads of 2.5 cm and over, associated with causewayed camps and chambered tombs; and Group II, less than 2.5 cm in length and more commonly associated with Food-vessels and Collared urns. As Prof. Piggott has said, the distribution of these beads, assuming all the shale originated at Kimmeridge, must indicate wide trade contacts with Dorset.

¹Unpublished; Luton Museum, registered under L 586/39

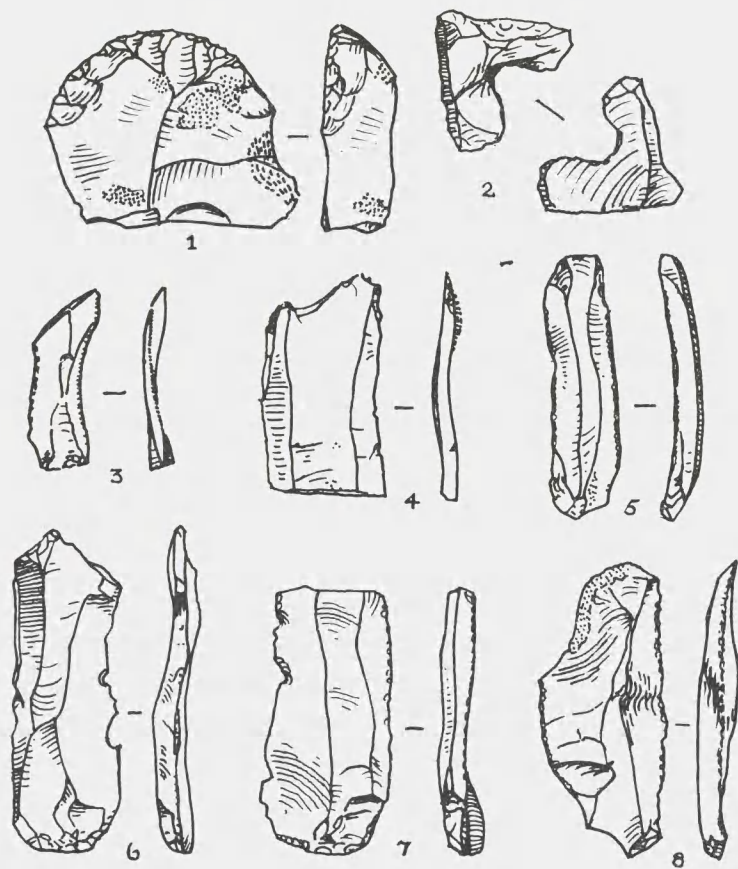


Fig 8. The Flint Industry from Sites I and III.

GROUP I

Maiden Castle: length 5.6 cm
 Notgrove: length 4.0 cm
 Eyford: length 2.5 cm
 Windmill Hill: length 4.0 cm
 Hembury: length c.5.0 cm
 Painsthorpe Wold: length 5.1 cm (jet)

GROUP II

Cow Down, Wilts.: length 1.2 cm
 Radley, Berks.: (6 beads) 1.3 cm to
 2.4 cm
 Barton Hill I: 1.3 cm

It is interesting to note that the Cow Down bead was found with a cup-shaped vessel, 4 in high, which had an undecorated handle reminiscent of the Barton Hill example. (Fig 6:10).

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON THE SEED FROM SITE III

by DR H. GODWIN

University Sub-department of Quaternary Research, Botany School, Cambridge

<i>Aethusa cynapium</i> L.	occasional
<i>Atriplex patula</i> L.	abundant
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i> agg.	common
<i>Viola</i> -subgenus <i>Malanimum</i>	very abundant

(identifications by Miss C. A. Lambert)

The three first-named species are weeds of cultivated ground, and it is possible that the fourth type is the field pansy, *Viola arvensis*, which had a similar habitat. It is certainly not suggestive of intact chalk grassland, and the frequencies are such that they suggest a deliberate collection such as is known from the Danish Iron Age. In that case it has been supposed that the seeds were collected from the weeds of the fallow.

APPENDIX III

REPORT ON THE SOIL-SAMPLES FROM SITES I AND III

by DR I. W. CORNWALL

Department of Environmental Archaeology, London University Institute of Archaeology

Thirty-eight samples, including three from a modern soil-section for comparison, were received. All were examined for pH-value, presence of calcium carbonate and alkali-soluble organic matter. In addition, the acid-insoluble residues of several were prepared and examined under the binocular microscope in order to detect carbon-grains which might indicate the action of fire at the spots from which the samples were taken.

The experimental results were as follows:

All samples were found to contain free calcium carbonate, as was to be expected in a shallow soil on chalk of the rendsina type.

Sample		pH	Alkali-sol. humus [mg./100 gm.]	Charcoal
SITE I				
Modern Soil	(3) (top)	8.3	6.2	
	(2)	8.6	4.2	
N.W. Ditch Section	(1)	8.7	1.0	
	(5)	8.3	3.4	
	(4)	8.2	1.6	
	(3)	8.3	2.4	+
	(2)	8.2	2.0	
	(1)	8.2	1.0	
N.E. Quadrant, B.A. hearth		8.3	5.0	
Ghost fill of mortuary hut		8.8	1.0	+
Burial I		8.6	3.0	+
SITE III				
E. Ditch	(6)	8.5	6.4	
	(5)	8.8	4.8	
	(4)	9.2	3.9	
	(3)	8.7	6.4	+
	(2)	8.5	<1.0	
	(1)	8.5	<1.0	
S.W. Quadrant	(5)	8.3	3.1	
	(4)	8.6	2.7	
	(3)	8.9	3.4	+
	(2)	9.0	2.5	
	(1)	8.8	3.3	
Turf fill from mortuary hut		8.0	1.0	trace
General fill of mortuary hut		8.4	<1.0	
SITE II				
Pit II	(7)	8.1	2.4	
	(6)	7.8	3.4	
	(5)	7.8	2.5	
	(4)	8.0	3.8	
	(3)	7.8	2.6	
	(2)	8.0	2.2	
	(1)	8.0	2.4	
Pit I	(7)	8.4	1.1	
	(6)	8.2	4.0	trace
	(5)	8.5	1.9	
	(4)	8.1	3.1	
	(3)	8.3	3.0	
	(2)	8.1	3.6	
	(1)	8.1	9.7	

These figures show only fractional variations of pH about the theoretical figure, 8.4, for free calcium carbonate in equilibrium with atmospheric CO₂. Lowering of this figure is often correlated with an increase in humus, which fixes the calcium as calcium humates with loss of CO₂. As long as any free carbonate is present, the pH can never fall much below 8.0, certainly not as far as 7.0 (neutrality), or beyond it into the acid range.

Answers to questions.

1. Is the lowest silt of the ditch (N.W. Ditch, No 1) wind-blown or water carried?

It is certainly not wind-*sorted*, as a loess is sorted, but probably comes from the immediate lip of the ditch. Wind, rain-wash and tumble from the sides, due to frost in the first winter after the ditch was opened, are the probable agencies of its filling. The sediment itself does not show which, but wind alone is *not* responsible.

2. Do the other samples (of N.W. Ditch) give any indication of vegetation and climatic conditions; especially (3), 8 in – 12 in from ditch bottom, dated by pottery to E.B.A.?

Sample (3) shows a slight increase in organic matter over the rest, save for the modern A-horizon at the summit. This suggests a pause in sedimentation and growth of vegetation on the filling. Since rain and frost are the most potent agencies in filling hollows, this may suggest a phase warmer or drier or both, but this is slender evidence indeed on which to base conclusions as to the Bronze Age climate. In such a soil there will be no plant-remains preserved to suggest what the vegetation may have been.

The snail-shells present (determined by Miss M. M. Howard) are as follows:

- Pomatias elegans*
- Marpessa laminata*
- Discus rotundatus*
- Cepaea hortensis* or *nemoralis*
- Oxychilus* sp.

also: *Caecilioides acicula* amongst bones of skeleton.

These are all common species of the present-day conditions and do not suggest a climate at all different from that of today.

3. Does the sample of grave material give an indication that the grave was left open to silt up naturally?

The absence of snails and of *rendsina* crumb-structure, save in worm-burrows suggests that lumps of relatively unweathered subsoil were returned to the ditch in one operation. Such clods, though small, would have been broken down into much finer aggregates if accumulating gradually under the influence of the weather, without human intervention. It therefore looks as if the grave was filled in in one operation, probably immediately after the body was laid in it.

4. Is it possible to identify any of the material in the B.A. hearth?

Charcoal, possibly oak, is present, but the fragments are too small for a certain determination. There are snail-shells, obviously secondary to the fire. Nothing else is unusual or specially informative – grains of quartz and calcium carbonate and somewhat iron-stained flint pebbles. There are a few tiny particles of burnt clay, possibly pottery. No heavy metals present save iron (i.e. no copper, tin).

5. Are there any indications of wood from the mortuary enclosure 'ghost'-trench (Site I)?

There is no wood, and none would be expected at an alkaline pH as high as 8.0, for under these conditions all organic matter tends to be quickly converted into amorphous humus. There is a small amount of unidentifiable charcoal.

6. Site III. Do the samples give any indication of the prehistoric climate and vegetation?

The answer is the same as for Question 2, to which nothing can be added.

7. Is the substance from the ditches and mortuary hut, described as 'turf' correctly interpreted?

As before, no identifiable plant-remains have survived. Grasses do contain siliceous skeletons, and these were sought in the acid-insoluble residues, but they are, in any case, probably destroyed in a short time on exposure to alkaline conditions. The samples do contain small amounts of charcoal.

8. If the substance in the ditches is turf, is there any indication of how long it remained before the site was reoccupied?

In Sample 3 of both the E. and S.W. ditch sections there is a small increase of humus suggestive of increased vegetation, if not complete turfing over of a temporary standstill in sedimentation. Even assuming it to be turf, which is perfectly reasonable, though we can adduce no evidence of the correctness or otherwise of the assumption, we do not yet know enough of the rate of humus-formation – even assuming that conditions were no different from those of the present day – to make even a wild guess as to the time interval involved. If conditions were at all different, any guess based on present conditions would certainly be far off the mark.

9. The pottery suggests a relatively short occupation. Is there any corroboration of this in the samples?

Only as in (8), above. The difference in humus-content in the ditch-sections, at the level of Samples (3), is only small, and this would suggest only a short interval of standstill and weathering at that level. What is 'short' in pedological terms – perhaps a few centuries – is still possibly too 'long' for the measurement of archaeological events. The measures are only relative and subjective. The buried soil is certainly not a mature rendsina if you compare it with the modern soil, either in depth or humus-content.

APPENDIX IV

NOTE ON THE HUMAN REMAINS

by DR J. C. TREVOR

*Director, Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, Faculty of Archaeology
and Anthropology, University of Cambridge*

Of the two individuals whose remains have been recovered at Barton Hill Farm,* (Site I) the first (Burial I) represents an adult female, aged probably between 25 and 30 years, and the second (Burial II) a young male, approximately 16 years old. The post-cranial bones of both subjects are fragmentary and eroded, as, apart from the mandibles, are the skulls, which have been restored. As many measurements as possible have been made on these by Mr C. B. Denston of the Duckworth Laboratory, and Mr D. R. Brothwell, University Demonstrator in Physical Anthropology, has reported on the dentition. Details of their observations will be deposited at the Luton Museum. Mr Denston is also responsible for determining the sex and age, and the writer agrees with his conclusions. The cephalic indices of both the adult female (74.1) and of the adolescent male (75.6) fall well within the recorded ranges of the British Neolithic population.

The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable

C. L. MATTHEWS

with notes on the grave goods and their historical significance by John Morris and a report on the human remains by Dr Brothwell

IN August 1957, during the construction of a new housing estate on the hitherto open down, now named Marina Drive (Nat. Grid Ref. TL/000213) the builders unearthed a skull and spearhead. The find was reported to the police, and subsequently shown to Mr Charles Freeman, curator of Luton Museum, who visited the site and asked the Manshead Archaeological Society to investigate.¹

The Society observed signs of other graves in the water-main trenches, and the builder, Mr P. A. Hemmings of Luton, readily gave permission for excavation. Thanks are also due to him for his active interest and help in providing facilities for the storage of tools and finds.

The site lies on the crest of a plateau that juts out of a Chiltern down, a few hundred yards north-west of the present course of the Icknield Way and about a mile west of Watling Street. It overlooks the site of a large Roman 'courtyard' villa, recently excavated by the Society, opposite Totternhoe Church. To the west stretches the Vale of Aylesbury, its horizon almost forty miles away.

The Bronze Age Burial

The Saxon burials (plan, fig 1) were grouped round a Bronze Age barrow. An uninterrupted flat-bottomed ditch, 2 ft 6 in deep and about 10 ft wide, enclosing a circle 50 ft in diameter, was sectioned in two places, and observed at several other points in builders' trenches. The ditch was filled with loam and small chalk in layers, apparently the debris of a mound, which sealed some indeterminate flint gritted potsherds, probably of the Bronze Age. Just off the centre

¹The excavations at Marina Drive and at Puddlehill are among those undertaken by the Manshead Archaeological Society of Dunstable, formed in 1951 to undertake rescue excavations in the face of advancing quarrying. Discovering that their excavations were hindered because they did not know enough about sites elsewhere, the members of the Society joined the Dunstable branch of the Workers' Educational Association and applied to the W.E.A. and to the Board of Extra-Mural Studies in Cambridge for a tutor. They received Miss Isobel Smith and subsequently Dr John Morris. Neither the scale of excavation, nor the present report would have been possible without the generous, continuing and understanding support consistently offered by the Cambridge Extra-Mural Board.

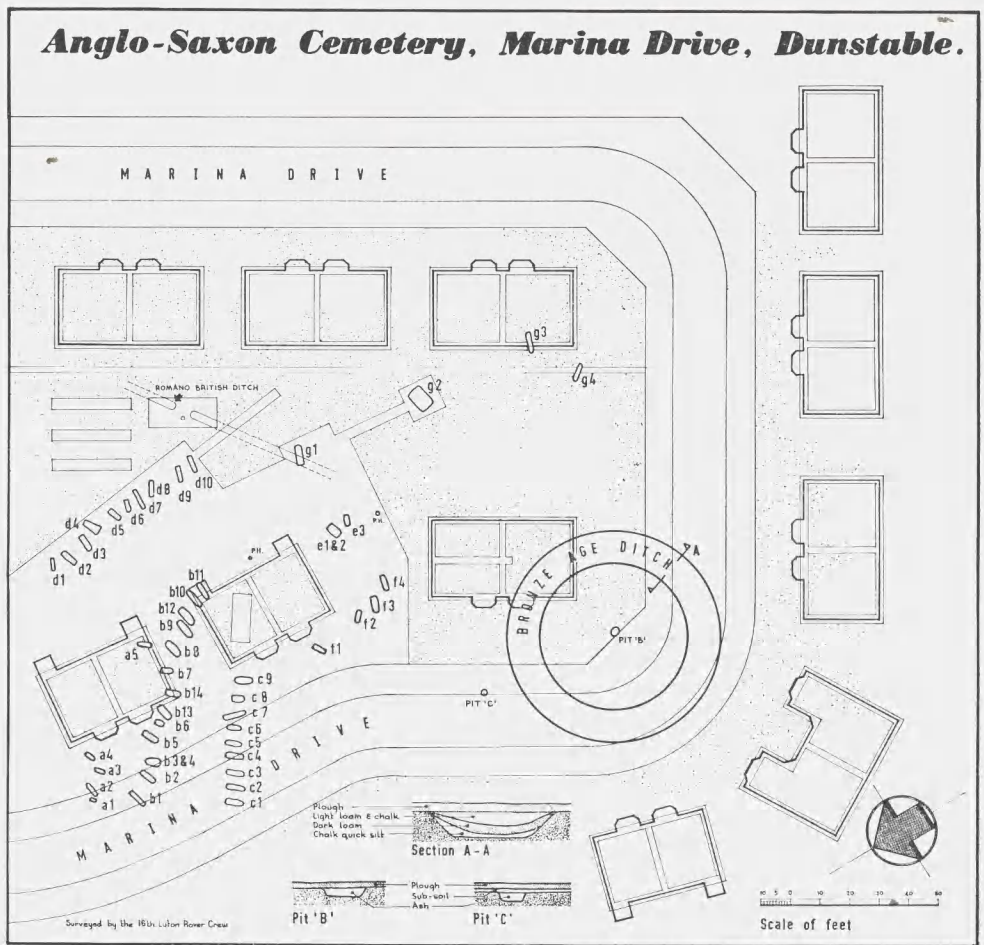


Fig 1. Plan of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable, showing the position of the graves.

of the enclosed circle a small pit contained burnt human bones, ash, oak charcoal¹ and a bronze dagger knife of the 14th or 15th century B.C. A few yards north of the ditch, a second small pit contained ash, burnt pig bones², and a few small sherds like those found in the ditch.

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

This contained at least 49 burials, arranged in a rough quarter circle around the barrow; most were shallow irregular depressions sunk 12 in to 18 in into the natural chalk, here covered by some six or seven inches of topsoil. The surrounding area was searched for further graves, without result, save for a couple of surface finds³. If the cemetery ever contained more burials, it would appear that they must lie at some little distance from those already discovered, in a separate grouping.

The Graves

C. L. MATTHEWS

AN asterisk after the skeleton number means that grave goods were found with the burial; grave goods are printed in italics; the cardinal point means the direction from head to feet, i.e. the direction the body would face if it were lying on its back and were lifted directly on to its feet; grave depths are measured from natural chalk level which is here overlaid by 6 to 7 in. of soil.

Skeleton

Number

A1* S.W. Child, about 8 months ($\pm$ 2 months). Sex unknown. Bones brittle and eroded, skull completely collapsed. *Necklet of three beads, two small, one of glass, another of paste formed in twisted circles; third, between them, was a long thin bead of deep blue amethyst quartz, broken in two, one half under chin, other by waist. It may have been disturbed by moles. Hanging from necklace by small bronze ring was beaver's tooth, drilled to take the ring.*

Grave fill was loam and at bottom of grave was smear of sand and a little gravel, foreign to area.

A2 S.W. Male, 17-25 years. Skull in good condition, but rather broken. Slight rotation of lower molars noted. Drain trench cut through middle of grave removing all bones but skull and legs.

Grave 5 ft 9 in long $\times$ 1 ft 10 in wide $\times$ 18 in deep.

A3 S.W. Small child, unknown age and sex. Fragmentary and eroded skeleton; lying on back with head pushed forward on to right shoulder, arms straight out by sides.

¹Kindly identified by the Royal Botanical Society.

²Two teeth, six metapodials, incomplete humerus, angle of lower jaw, ulna, two incomplete scapulae, and four phalanges, all of pig, identified by British Museum, Natural History.

³Some years ago children found two skulls in a field to the south, and a small bead, apparently Saxon, was recently picked up in the same field; but trial cuts found no graves, and a local gardener who had planted a beech hedge around it also found nothing. The skulls and bead may be ploughed out strays from the known burial area. In Coombe Drive, a new road in the immediate vicinity, four stone beads were reported from a garden; but the construction of the houses and the road, as of Marina Drive, was closely watched, with the keen co-operation of the builders, and no further graves were found. Building operations covered the ground to north and east of the cemetery, and the ground to the west was examined, though somewhat less thoroughly.

Grave 4 ft 0 in long $\times$ 2 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 16 in deep.

The Grave fill of loam containing three small fragments of coarse pottery.

A4* Grave removed by gas main. Workmen recovered *iron knife*.

A5* Grave cut out by builder, but sufficient remained to show that it was 11 in deep orientated 032°

Blue amethyst quartz bead.

B1* S.W. Male, 20-25 years. Upper central incisors directed slightly inwards. Foramen incisivum large. Grave cut through by drain trench.

Grave 6 ft 3 in long $\times$ 1 ft 10 in wide $\times$ 10 in deep.

Small iron knife opposite waist.

B2* S.W. Youth (?), 15 ($\pm$ 1 year). Maximum length of right femur estimated at 475 mm. Lying on back with head turned to right, right arm by side, left arm across chest.

Grave 6 ft 3 in long $\times$ 2 ft 1 in wide $\times$ 13 in deep.

Two small iron clips lying on skull, and cowrie shell about 2½ in long beside it.

B3, B4* S. (Buried in Same Grave)

B3 Male (?), 17-25 years, maximum length r. femur 454 mm, l. fibula 348 mm, r. tibia 359 mm.

B4 Female, 35-45 years. Maximum length r. femur 431 mm, r. radius 234.5 mm, r. humerus 313.5 mm.

B3 and B4 were lying in same grave side by side. Both had left arm straight by sides, right arm on breast, man's elbow resting on woman's shoulder, feet upright against end of grave.

Grave length 5 ft 9 in long $\times$ 3 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 16 in deep.

Between bodies lay bone comb; under it and slightly on edge was decorated and enamelled bronze escutcheon of hanging bowl; under them was pair of iron shears and iron chain with hook at one end and shackle at other, identified at British Museum as part of pair of scales. It lay on top of small blunt ended knife, whose handle had been bound in linen. Below knife, small iron clip and brown stain in soil was all that remained of small leather wallet, about 3 in deep and 3½ in across top. Beside these was small round work box of silvered bronze, its lid secured by small chain, containing few threads of wool. Woman had small iron knife at waist, marks of cloth binding wound obliquely round handle remained in soil.

B5* S.W. Male, about 25-30 years. Maximum length r. femur 474 mm, l. ulna 285 mm.

Laid out straight, feet upright against end of grave, head twisted over left shoulder.

Grave 6 ft 3 in long $\times$ 2 ft 3 in wide $\times$ 14 in deep.

Small iron knife lay on left beside lumbar vertebrae, blade pointing towards head. Secondary wisdom tooth by right shoulder blade; as there was no soil under it, it had probably been carried in bag.

B6 S.W. Child, 8 years ($\pm$ one year). Sex uncertain. Estimated length femur 245 mm. Lying on back, head forward on chest, knees doubled up, legs bent to right.

Grave 3 ft 0 in long $\times$ 1 ft 10 in wide $\times$ 8 in deep.

B7 S.W. Child, 6 years ($\pm$ one year). Sex uncertain. Estimated length femur 280 mm. Head bent forward perhaps by forcing body into grave. Southern walls of house had cut away legs.

Grave 2 ft 0 in wide by 10 in deep.

Fill for 6 in above body was loam containing four sherds of Romano-British pottery; fill above this was small chalk and loam.

B8* N.E. Male, 35-45 years. Maximum length r. femur 404 mm, r. tibia 385 mm, l. radius 265 mm. General condition of bones good. Slight rotation of upper incisors. Laid straight out, arms by side, legs slightly askew, head bent to right.

Grave 6 ft 5 in long $\times$ 2 ft 9 in wide $\times$ 16 in deep.

This grave alone was filled with lumps of chalk lying in contact with bones. Fill includes several worked flint flakes and scraps of Romano-British pottery. Among latter was sherd from base of pot fitting sherd found in Grave D4. *Iron belt buckle at waist; knife at left hip, handle outward.*

B9* W. Youth ($\pm$), 15 years ($\pm$ 1 year.) Estimated length r. femur 463 mm. Laid straight out left arm by side, right hand on thigh, head upright against end of grave.

Grave 6 ft 0 in long $\times$ 2 ft 3 in wide $\times$ 14 in deep filled with loam. In grave fill was piece of sandstone with gloss probably having been used as rubber. This type of sandstone can be closely matched in Carboniferous system of Gloucestershire. (Identified by British Museum (Natural History) Sub-Department of Anthropology.)

B10 Entirely removed by building operations.

B11* W. Male ($\pm$), 17-20 years. Maximum length r. femur 459.5 mm, r. tibia 363.5 mm, r. radius 256 mm. Lying in extended position.

Grave 6 ft 3 in long $\times$ 1 ft 3 in wide $\times$ 15 in deep.

Iron spear head by right of head, said by builder and police to have pointed toward feet, taken to Luton Museum before controlled excavation began. If position was correctly reported, shaft must have been broken off before burial. To left of waist was iron knife.

B12* W. Male, 25-30 years. Maximum length l. femur 505.5 mm, r. tibia 407 mm, l. humerus 357 mm. Laid straight out with left hand under pelvis and right hand above it, head bent forward and turned to left.

Grave 6 ft 5 in long $\times$ 2 ft 8 in wide $\times$ 16 in deep.

By left hip was iron knife 7½ in long, handle pointing to feet. To right of waist was iron scramasax (fig 2, 1), with 17 in blade and 7 in tang carrying traces of wooden handle. Near handle were two bronze studs with leather still existing on loops at the back of stud. These were probably attachments of leather strap to sheath.

B13 W. Male ($\pm$), 17-25 years. Both lower second molars developed slightly inwards; pyriform aperture noticeably asymmetrical. Maximum length r. femur 488 mm, l. humerus 342 mm, l. radius 276 mm. Lying on right side with knees bent, right arm stretched out in front of body, left arm stretched outwards. In grave filling of loam, were a few sherds of Romano-British pottery.

B14 Removed by building operations.

C1, C2, C3 These graves lying under road were reported by contractor who broke through concrete to lay drains. Only a few fragments of bone survived. No grave goods reported.

C4* S.W. Male, 25-35 years. Maximum length: r. tibia 390.5 mm, l. humerus 323 mm, l. radius 265.5 mm. Laid straight out with left arm by side, right arm at angle with hand on chest. Grave under concrete road was very difficult to excavate, but was filled with loam.

Grave 6 ft 6 in long $\times$ 2 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 12 in deep.

Sheath hanger at waist, iron knife at left hip, handle upward.

C5* S.W. Child, 9 years ($\pm$ 1 year). Bones considerably eroded. Laid out straight, right arm by side, left arm bent with hand on waist, left leg crossed over right.

Grave 5 ft 0 in long $\times$ 2 ft 2 in wide $\times$ 10 in deep. Loam filling with three small sherds of pottery. *By right neck were two small beads (fig 3, 1) one of paste, other of light blue glass with spiral eggshell blue glass inlay.*

C6* S. Child, 6 years ($\pm$ 1 year). Estimated length l. femur 225 mm. Lying on left side, left arm extended, right arm at right angles across body, knees bent and feet crossed.

Grave 4 ft 10 in deep $\times$ 2 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 14 in deep.

Ox rib lay in front of hip.

C7* S. Female, 17-25 years. Staining present, probably through contact with bronze. Upper

premolars slightly rotated. Skull particularly small and feminine, cranial capacity only about 1130 cc. Maximum length: r. femur 414 mm, r. radius 219 mm, l. humerus 304 mm. Lying extended with left forearm across lumbar vertebrae, head turned to right.

Grave 6 ft 10 in long $\times$ 2 ft 6 in wide $\times$ 14 in deep, filled with loam.

Across the throat was necklet of silver wire rings and beads (fig 3, 2) evidently worn as festoon secured at each shoulder. Below centre of necklet was pierced silver disc and pendant of bronze. Under left ear was silver wire ear-ring (fig 3,3).

C8 S.W. Child, 12 years ($\pm$ 1 year). Estimated length l. femur 395 mm. Laid straight out, head pushed forward, feet against end of grave, left arm by side, right forearm across body, hand on waist.

Grave 5 ft 0 in long $\times$ 2 ft 3 in wide $\times$ 18 in deep, filled with loam in which were three small fragments of coarse pottery.

C9* S.W. Male, about 25 years. Maximum length: l. humerus 322.5 mm, r. femur 464 mm, r. fibula 344.5 mm. Laid straight out head forward, feet against end of grave, right arm by side, forearm bent across waist.

Grave 5 ft 11 in long $\times$ 2 ft 3 in wide $\times$ 16 in deep filled with loam.

By left side was iron knife, handle upward. On right shoulder blade was small group of teeth (p.47 below); as there was no soil beneath them, they were perhaps worn in small pouch hung from neck.

D1 W. Youth (?), 15 years ($\pm$ 1 year). Estimated length l. femur 387 mm. Lying straight out with knees bent to right, left forearm across hip, right arm bent back from elbow to shoulder, head bent over left shoulder, top of skull removed by ploughing.

Grave 4 ft 7 in long $\times$ 1 ft 7 in wide $\times$ 6 in deep.

D2* W. Male, 17-25 years. On top of skull was small triangular bronze plate with three clenched bronze nails, perhaps remains of bronze fittings to leather cap. This bronze had stained skull and above right ear was similar stain. No bronze was found in this area, but it could have been removed by ploughing. Lying straight out, face downward with head turned to right, arms folded under chest, knees bent to left.

Grave 6 ft 0 in long $\times$ 2 ft 4 in wide $\times$ 9 in deep, filled with loam.

To left of head was scramasax (fig 2, 2) its hilt level with top of skull; three rivetted bronze loops and bronze sheath-chape lying in positions indicated.

D3 E. Female, 25-35 years. Fragmentary. Lying straight out, arms by side, left hand on hip. Skull damaged by ploughing.

Grave 5 ft 10 in long $\times$ 2 ft 8 in wide $\times$ 8 in deep.

D4* S.W. Male 17-25 years. Generally in good condition. Maximum length: r. humerus 373 mm, l. tibia 424 mm, l. radius 285 mm. Lying straight out, arms by sides, feet crossed right over left, head bent forward on chest.

Grave 6 ft 3 in long $\times$ 3 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 1 ft 3 in deep filled with loam in which were found many small fragments of Romano-British pottery, and sheep's tooth. A fragment of a piece of one of these pots came from same pot as fragment from Grave B8.

Under hip was iron knife, handle downward.

D5* W. Child, 11 years ($\pm$ 1 year). Laid straight out with left hand on chest and right hand on waist.

Grave: 5 ft 0 in long $\times$ 2 ft 2 in wide $\times$ 10 in deep filled with loam.

By left hip was iron knife, with iron sheath hanger at waist. By right shoulder blade was small iron rivet.

D6* W. Child, 1 year ($\pm$ 3 months), in extended position.

Grave: 4 ft 6 in long $\times$ 1 ft 8 in wide $\times$ 8 in deep filled with loam.

Below left ear was single blue bead.

D7 W. Male, 17-25 years. Generally well preserved. Maximum length: r. humerus 353 mm, radius 280 mm. Lying straight out, right arm by side, left hand on hip, feet crossed right over left. Right hand had been cut off above wrist and lay detached by right thigh; nose broken. Left collar bone broken some considerable time before death, but allowed to heal without setting or use of sling.

Grave: 7 ft 0 in long $\times$ 1 ft 6 in wide $\times$ 11 in deep; unusually well cut with neat, slightly undercut sides, filled with loam.

D8 W. Child, 13 years ($\pm$ 1 year), Slight surface erosion. Laid straight out with both hands on chest, feet flat and extended.

Grave 5 ft 9 in long $\times$ 1 ft 9 in wide $\times$ 15 in deep; well cut filled with loam.

D9* W. Youth (?), 15 years ($\pm$ 1 year), Maximum length: l. femur estimated at 417 mm.

Laid straight out, face downwards, head bent back, hands under chest, both elbows touching sides of grave, legs crossed at knees.

Grave: 5 ft 9 in long $\times$ 1 ft 11 in wide $\times$ 15 in deep filled with loam containing two sherds of Romano-British pottery.

At waist was iron ring.

D10* W. Female, 17-25 years. Slight rotation of upper first pre-molar. Maximum length:

l. femur 467 mm, l. tibia 367 mm, r. humerus 345 mm, r. radius 244 mm. Laid straight out on right side, right arm extended, left arm bent up under body, legs bent.

Grave 5 ft 0 in long $\times$ 1 ft 11 in wide $\times$ 15 in deep, clean cut with neatly rounded ends, filled with loam in which were several sherds of Romano-British pottery and small flint scraper.

A Necklet (fig 3, 5) of silver wire rings and beads with three small cup-like pendants, evidently secured at shoulders as festoon. At waist was bronze silvered ring (fig 3, 6).

E1*, E2* N.W. (Buried in Double Grave) E1 Child, 12 years ($\pm$ 1 year.) Approximate length: r. femur 382 mm. Lying straight out with both forearms over stomach, knees bent to left.

E2 Child, 8 years ($\pm$ 1 year). Somewhat fragmentary. Lying straight out with both arms bent up across chest.

Grave: 4 ft 9 in long $\times$ 3 ft 2 in wide $\times$ 12 in deep filled with loam.

By right hip of E1 an iron knife, handle upward, blade touching thigh. Across throat of E2 was necklet (fig 4, 1) evidently secured at shoulders as festoon, of eight beads, four amethyst, two glass, one amber and one fishbone. Hung from it were three pendants, two (fig 4, 2) fishbone and one (fig 4, 3) beaver tooth. To left of head was silver wire ear-ring (fig 4, 4); on right forearm were bone ring (fig 4, 5) with circle and dot decoration, silver bronze 'short-long' brooch (fig 4, 7) without pin, five sided crystal (fig 4, 6) and small iron knife. Between feet of skeletons was a considerable collection of objects, comprising:

1. Bronze work-box (fig 4, 8) with lid attached by chain, decorated with punched pattern, full of thread and small roll of material (p. 39 below).
2. Stone spindle-whorl (fig 4, 9).
3. Highly polished milky quartz pebble (fig 4, 10).
4. Flattened mass of iron, with an embossed bronze mount (fig 4, 11), whose design seems to represent a swan. Attached were several fragments of cloth, the whole lying in brown stain probably remains of leather purse.
5. Another brown stain, 3 in square, with iron spike and iron clasp above it probably remains of second purse.
6. Four fragments of Roman bottle glass.

Very near feet, standing upright against end of grave, was flattened layer of puddled chalk, bearing imprint of woven pattern. It was probably a cake of mud, adhering to shoe or stocking of one of children in grave.

E3* S.W. Child of 8 years (± 1 year). Bones very fragmentary. Lying in extended position with right arm across lumbar vertebrae head bent forward.

Grave: 4 ft 0 in long $\times$ 1 ft 7 in wide $\times$ 12 in deep, filled with loam.

Encircling neck was necklace (fig 3, 7) of fifteen beads of amethyst, amber, glass, fishbones and paste, secured at back by small silver clasp in shape of two cones. Within necklace was cylindrical silver box or locket, perforated at ends and decorated with punched pattern of triangles and lozenges. To left of head was silver wire ear-ring (fig 3, 8). By left thigh was red pottery spindle-whorl (fig 3, 9). On knees lay flat bronze disc (fig 3, 10), 2 in diameter, with punched decoration in wheel shape, cowrie shell, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in long, small iron knife (fig 3, 11); and brown stain with iron clip (fig 3, 12) evidently purse.

F1 S.W. Female, 35-45 years. Length: l. tibia 352 mm. Lying straight out, right arm by side, left arm bent across waist. Drain trench had cut away sides.

Grave: 5 ft 0 in long $\times$ 1 ft 8 in wide $\times$ 12 in deep filled with loam.

F2* W. Small child, age uncertain, bones very fragmentary. Lying straight out with hands on pelvis, head turned to left.

Grave: 4 ft 6 in long $\times$ 1 ft 8 in wide $\times$ $7\frac{1}{2}$ in deep filled with loam.

Necklet (fig 5, 2), evidently secured at shoulders as festoon, of silver wire rings and beads of fishbone, glass and paste, with single bronze pendant, shaped like miniature tin-hat, $\frac{1}{4}$ in in diameter. By left ear was silver wire ear-ring, (fig 5, 1) threaded through small black bead. At waist was bronze girdle-hanger, (fig 5, 6), with iron chain attached to it and fragment of blue glass (fig 5, 7) decorated with spiral bound inlay of red and white glass, apparently fragment, perhaps of handle of glass vessel. At feet were two bone needles (fig 5, 8) $3\frac{1}{2}$ in long and cowrie shell, just over 2 in long.

F3* N.W. Male, 17-25 years. Maximum length: r. femur 496 mm, r. tibia 390 mm, l. humerus 340 mm. Lying straight out, hands on hips. Long cut across front of skull caused by sword or similar weapon which was at least partially healed, but appears to have become infected.

Grave: 6 ft 3 in long $\times$ 2 ft 6 in wide $\times$ 13 in deep filled with loam amongst which were few sherds of Romano-British pottery.

By left foot were two ox ribs. By left arm small bronze staple, at waist iron sheath hanger (fig 5, 11), and three inches nearer to skull, iron knife point upward, with, above it, blunt ended iron tool, probably sharpening steel, (fig 5, 9), evidently carried in same sheath as knife.

F4* S.W. Female, 35-45 years. Maximum length: r. humerus 296.5 mm. Lying straight out, left arm by side, right across stomach.

Grave: 5 ft 10 in long $\times$ 2 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 13 in deep filled with loam in which were few fragments of Romano-British pottery.

To left of waist, a small iron knife, point upward.

G1* W. Adult, 20-25 years. Upper right canine deflected slightly inwards. Maximum length: l. femur 492 mm, l. radius 260 mm, r. tibia 372 mm. Lying straight out, arms by side.

Grave cut through shallow ditch containing grey pot sherd of late Roman date.

Grave: 6 ft 8 in long $\times$ 3 ft 0 in wide $\times$ 14 in deep filled with loam in which were two sherds of late Romano-British pottery.

To left of waist lay small iron knife, hilt upward.

G2* S.W. Male, 20-25 years. Lying straight out in centre of grave, with clean cut sides and rounded ends, 8 ft 0 in long $\times$ 5 ft 3 in wide $\times$ 2 ft 7 in deep, largest on site. Bones of right leg had been disturbed while flesh was still on them, and right foot was found below right femur. This may have been work of moles. Skulls of young dogs or fox cubs (identified by British Museum (Natural History)), found in grave filling which consisted of loam.

Two jars to left of skull. One fired red and decorated with punched dots (fig 5, 4), other plain vessel, same

shape but very poorly fired, and collapsed under earth pressure. Bases of these vessels were slightly rounded and chalk appeared to have been placed around them to hold them upright. Flat slab of chalk was lying above pots and had apparently been used as covering when grave was filled. On left of skull lay iron arrow head or javelin (fig 5, 5). At waist iron knife was still in sheath; the leather had become impregnated with iron oxide and survived in recognisable form, (fig 5, 3).

Grave fill was of loam except for pieces of chalk around pots.

G3* W. Male, 20-25 years. Grave destroyed by building operations, though pieces of skull and other bones were preserved.

Iron knife reported to have been found.

G4* N.W. Male, 25-30 years lying on right side, knees drawn up to chest, right hand doubled back on right collar bone, left forearm across waist. Burial was crouched up at end of grave 6 ft 0 in long $\times$ 1 ft 9 in wide $\times$ 14 in deep. In loam filling were few small fragments of Romano-British pottery.

On bottom of backbone lay small iron buckle.

The Grave Goods

JOHN MORRIS

Weapons

The single spearhead is of a common type¹, found frequently in pagan Saxon burials of all dates and in all parts of the country; but the javelin is an unusual weapon, not easy to parallel. The scramasax is a common weapon, of Frankish and Kentish origin, not yet reported from graves of the fifth century, but quite common in later burials.

Dress

The buckles are of normal common type; caps are rarely reported, but easily escape detection.

Knives

Knives are the commonest objects found in all Saxon burials of either sex. The Marina Drive examples do not significantly differ from others elsewhere.

Miscellaneous Metal Work

The staple, clips and rivets are the preserved portions of objects of leather or other perishable material. Shears of identical pattern are often found, but the steel is common in Yorkshire, rare elsewhere; over a dozen came from a single cemetery at Uncleby in the Wolds², whose dateable burials all belong to the late sixth century; none have yet been discovered in a burial of any earlier date. Scales are not common; examples are known from Long Wittenham in Berkshire,

¹Classified as type B by the present writer in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 56, 1959, 122, pl XXII.

²PSA 24, 1911-12, 154.

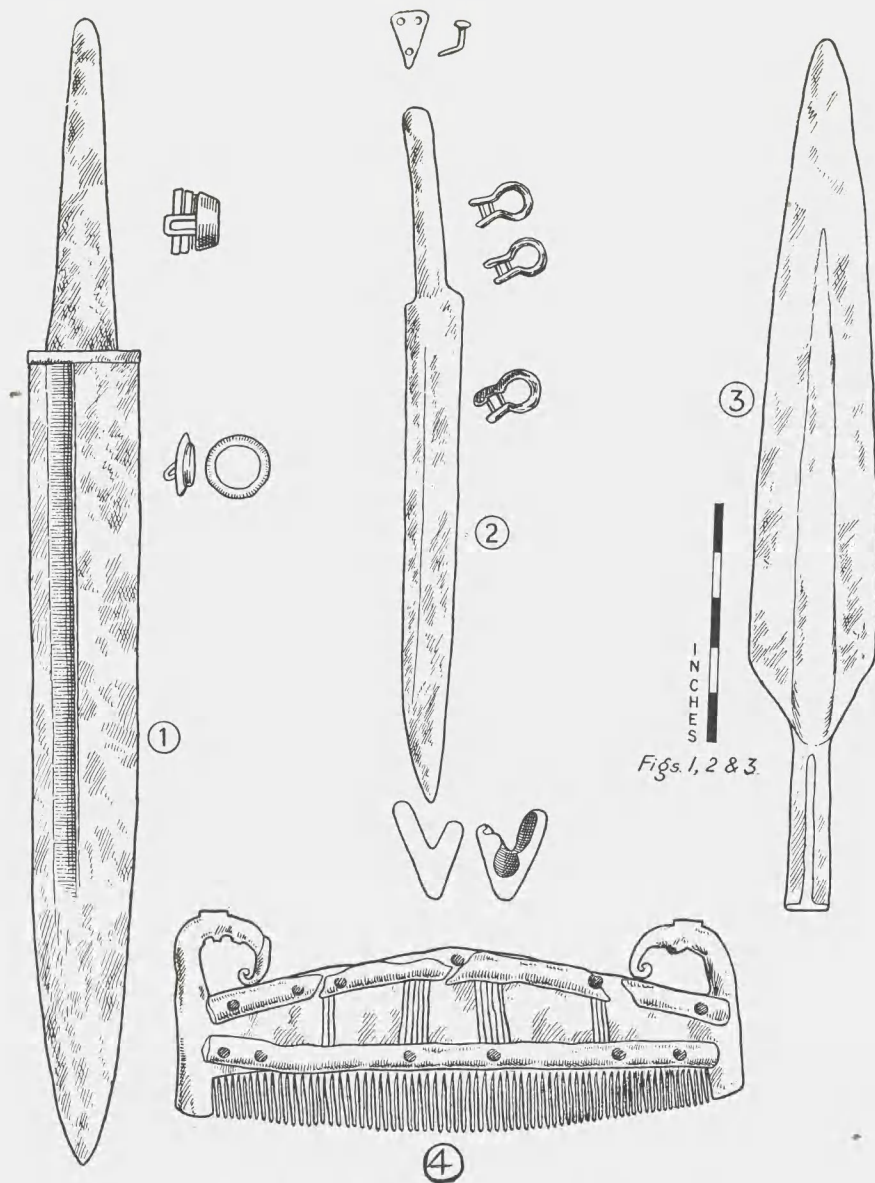


Fig 2. Grave Goods from the Marina Drive Cemetery

1. Skeleton B12. Iron scramasax and bronze studs drawn in approximate position as found.
2. Skeleton D2. Iron scramasax and 3 bronze loops for carrying sheath and bronze sheath shape drawn in approximate position as found. Triangular bronze plate with bronze rivets from leather cap(?).
3. Skeleton B11. Iron spearhead.
4. Skeleton B3/4. Bone comb with supporting strips rivetted with iron pins. The weapons are $\frac{1}{8}$ scale, the remainder $\frac{1}{4}$.

Desborough in Northamptonshire, Barton-on-Humber, and from several sites in Kent¹; the Barton grave contained a workbox and hanging bowl, and was certainly of the late sixth or early seventh century, a period when, in general, it became fashionable to bury occasional unusual objects with the dead.

Funeral Meats

Funeral meats are occasionally found in most cemeteries.

Amulets

Beaver teeth² are occasionally reported, especially in Kent and the north, though boars' tusks are somewhat commoner. At Wigberlow³ in Derbyshire, a beaver tooth was mounted on a gold hanger, and was found with a garnet studded pin, surmounted by a cross, and a gold disc with filigree ornament, jewellery of Kentish inspiration scarcely earlier than 600 A.D. None has been found elsewhere in any earlier burial. Boars' tusks are of similar date. Cowrie shells⁴, exotic objects from the Indian ocean, are also characteristic of Kent and Kentish influence, in many late pagan Saxon graves; Kingston Down and Wingham in Kent, Linton Heath in Cambridgeshire, Alfriston in Sussex afford examples. Pierced faceted crystals in women's graves are also of Kentish inspiration, but spread more widely; Faversham in Kent, Fairford in Gloucestershire; Brightampton and Long Whittenham on the middle Thames; Glen Parva near Leicester⁵; Warwick (Emscote) and Northampton (St Andrews) show their wide distribution; they also begin somewhat earlier, for the Glen Parva burial is hardly later than the first few decades of the sixth century, but the fashion lived long. Unusual pebbles, like fossil sea-anemones and other strange objects sometimes found in English soils, are occasionally encountered in Saxon graves; but extra human teeth are rare. It is easier to suppose that they were held to preserve a magical or prophylactic quality than to imagine them as the insignia of a village dentist; Anglo-Saxon society could scarcely yet afford such specialist practitioners.

Ornaments

Beads are common in Saxon graves of all periods and districts, though amethysts are characteristic of Kentish culture and of a late date. The disc and rings also have little distinctive about them. The fragments of glass were presumably broken pieces found in the ground and treasured as ornaments, rather than remnants of vessels owned by the Dunstable community. Hanging bowls and their

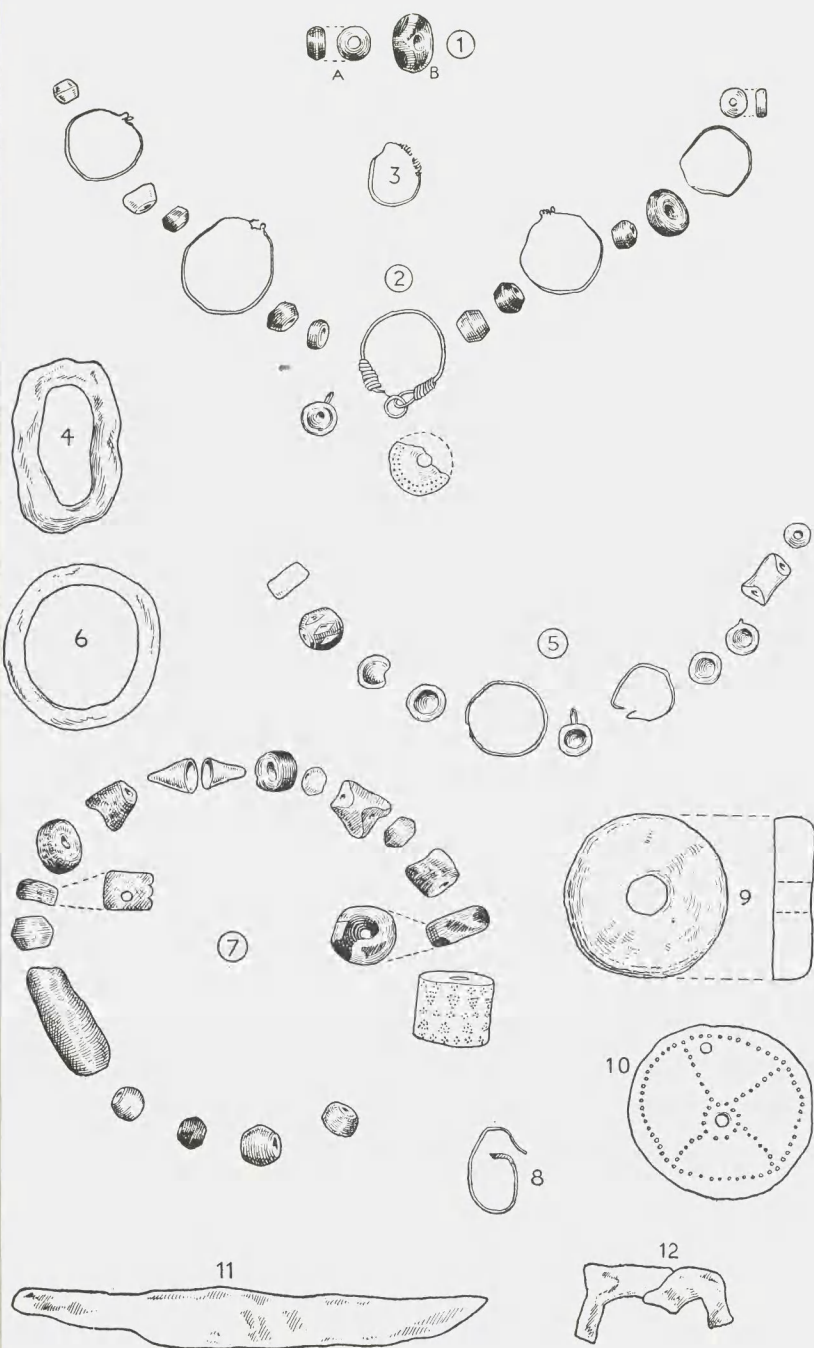
¹*V.C.H. Berkshire* 1, 234; *Northamptonshire* 1, 230, Scunthorpe Museum.

²Identified by the British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.

³*V.C.H. Derbyshire*, plate p.270.

⁴*P. Somerset A. & H. Soc.* 79, 1933, 45; *Journal of Conchology* 20, 1934, 46.

⁵*V.C.H. Leics.* 1, 230.



1. Skeleton C5. Two beads (a) paste (b) blue glass with light blue glass inlay.
 2. Skeleton C7. Dress festoon of silver wire rings and beads. Two pendants, one a silver disc, the other a bronze bracteate.
 3. Skeleton C7. Silver wire ear-ring.
 4. Skeleton D9. Iron ring.
 5. Skeleton D10. Festoon of silver wire rings and beads, with bronze bracteate pendants.
 6. Skeleton D10. Bronze silvered ring.
 7. Skeleton E3. Necklet of amethyst, amber, glass, fishbones and paste, secured by small silver clasp in the shape of two cones. Within the necklace a cylindrical box or locket.
 8. Skeleton E3. Silver wire ear-ring.
 9. Skeleton E3. Red pottery spindle whorl.
 10. Skeleton E3. Bronze disc with punched decoration.
 11. Skeleton E3. Iron knife.
 12. Skeleton E3. Iron purse mount.
- All $\frac{1}{4}$ scale.

Fig. 3. Grave Goods from the Marina Drive Cemetery

escutcheons are many and widespread, and the 'scroll' or 'trumpet' pattern of the Dunstable escutcheon is the commonest of all designs. Though the form of the bowl is well rooted in the Roman past, bowls so ornamented have very rarely been found outside Anglo-Saxon graves in England; all dated examples belong to the late sixth or early seventh century. Their use and place of manufacture are disputed. Necklets festooned from shoulder to shoulder, often with silver wire rings, and silver wire earrings, with beads threaded on them, are of the late sixth or early seventh century wherever they can be dated, and are commonest in Kent or areas of Kentish influence; the festooned necklet is particularly frequent in Cambridgeshire, the beaded ear-ring in Yorkshire. The wire rings suspended from the necklet may be cheap substitutes for the gold 'bracteates' often hung from the richer Kentish necklets; in the South Midlands, they are most frequent at Leighton Buzzard. The brooch (fig 4, 7) is of the general type termed 'small-long',¹ a cheap imitation of the common cruciform brooch of the Anglian districts, from Norfolk and north Bedfordshire to Yorkshire. But though the general type is the commonest of all Anglo-Saxon brooches, the particular form seems unique in England. The unusual grooved ribbed headplate, the ribbed bow, and the foot are exactly paralleled at Borgstedt in Hanover,² the headplate, with a quite different foot, at Lunde in West Norway³; but it has apparently not yet been found in this country, though a somewhat similar footplate occurs on later brooches in central England⁴. The burial ground at Lunde was in use for a long time, and has a number of close parallels with some English burials⁵; but the Borgstedt cemetery, though poorly recorded, does not look as though it lasted much after 500 A.D. The brooch therefore seems two or three generations older than any other dateable object in the cemetery. But it had ceased to be a brooch; its pin was gone, and it was found on the forearm of a child, as though sewn to her sleeve, in a grave that contained a work-box, a faceted crystal and a beaver tooth, hardly buried earlier than the end of the sixth century. The brooch may have been an heirloom; or, like the pebble and the broken glass, it may have been a chance find in the soil, preserved as an ornament. Such a brooch would not have been out of place at Luton, whence it might have been plundered or purchased.

¹ Studied by E. T. Leeds, *Archaeologia* 91, 1945, 4-46.

² Leeds lists one similar and two identical headplates from Borgstedt, figs 2a; 1c; 3b; of the identical headplates, one has the unusual bow of the Dunstable brooch, but has lost its foot; the other has the Dunstable foot. The quite common concentric ornament on the Dunstable brooch is found on the Lunde, but not the Borgstedt examples.

³ One identical and one similar headplate, Leeds, fig 1, a-b. I have not observed this headplate on any other brooch. 'Radiate' brooches (not earlier than the late fifth century) have clearly influenced these brooches.

⁴ e.g. High Down, Sussex, cf. Barrington A, Cambridge, Leeds, 37, fig 23g, cf. h. In both these brooches the headplate is fanciful and late, while the distribution of this 'lozenge' footplate (Leeds, 39, fig 24) fans out from the Barrington-Haslingfield cemeteries south west of Cambridge like that of the late sixth century applied saucer brooches (p. 61).

⁵ e.g. a cremation in a Croydon type cauldron (cf. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 56, 1959, 106). Exactly matched at Loveden Hill (Lincoln Museum).

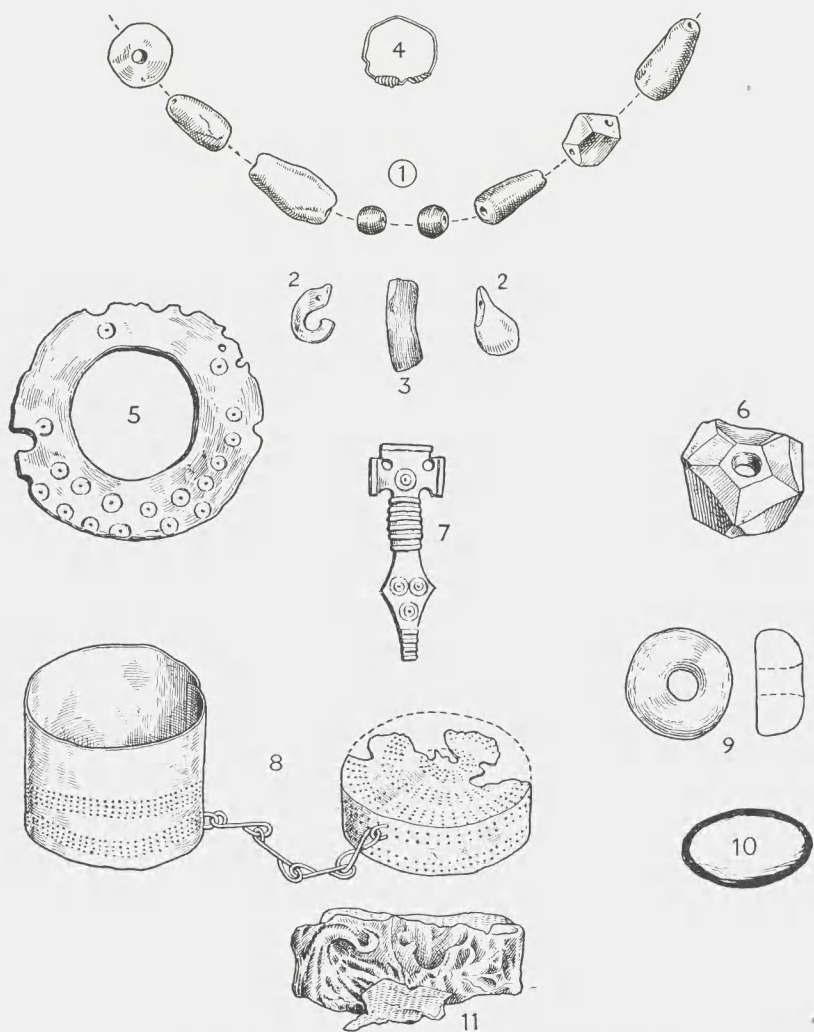


Fig. 4. Grave Goods from the Marina Drive Cemetery

All Skeletons E1/E2

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Festoon of beads. Amethyst, glass, amber and fishbone. | 6. Facetted crystal. |
| 2. Pendants of fish bone. | 7. Silvered bronze 'small-long' brooch. |
| 3. Pendant of beaver tooth. | 8. Bronze workbox. |
| 4. Silver wire ear-ring. | 9. Stone spindle whorl. |
| 5. Bone ring. | 10. Polished milky quartz pebble. |
| | 11. Bronze mount with fragment of material. |
| | All $\frac{1}{4}$ scale. |

Household Objects

The work-boxes. About a score of these little boxes are known, several containing flax or other textiles, with thread and needles. They are most numerous in the north; half-a-dozen come from the Yorkshire Wolds, at least three from barrows in the Derbyshire uplands, one from Barton-on-Humber, and one from Northamptonshire. In the south, two have been found in Kent, at Kingston Down and Sibertswold, and two in Cambridgeshire, one of them at Burwell. Five have been found in Bedfordshire, the two Dunstable boxes, and three in the Kempston cemetery by Bedford.¹ They are so alike that they may well be the product of a single craftsman, presumably at work not far from the Humber estuary. Their date is not in doubt; the Barton box and two of the Yorkshire examples were found in separate burials each of the late sixth or early seventh century, containing late interlace ornament, while the cemeteries of Burwell, Kingston Down, Sibertswold and the Derbyshire barrows contained no burials earlier than the late sixth century; no work-box has yet been found in an earlier grave.

Girdle-Hangers

Girdle-hangers are common in sixth century Anglian graves of northern and eastern England, where the normal form is a long shaft ending in a couple of hooks or a squarish plate perforated with large holes, whence hung keys, work-boxes and the small household goods of women. The Dunstable hanger is quite unlike any found in England, but is almost exactly paralleled in the Frankish cemetery of Selzen near Mainz², and roughly similar objects are not uncommon on the upper Rhine among the Alamanni³. The Selzen cemetery contained coins of Justinian (died 565), and most of its burials seem to be of the sixth century. Though no parallel is known from Kent, it is at least likely that a rare object so characteristic of the Rhineland should reach Dunstable by way of Kent.

Purses

Purses are not uncommon in graves of all periods and districts, though they are not readily identified unless they were manufactured with a sizeable metal clasp. Pins, needles, spindle-whorls and combs are frequent and not distinctive; the Marina Drive pins and needles are however closely matched at Puddlehill across the Watling Street (p. 53 below). The locket is more rare, but no more distinctive.

The pots are plain vessels such as are commonly found in any Saxon burial ground of any age in any part of the country.

¹Uncleby, *PSA* 24, 1911-12, 154 (at least 4); Painsthorpe Wold, Kirby Underdale, and Garton Slack, Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches* 117, 248, figs 279, 643 Hull (Scunthorpe) Museum, *VCH Derbyshire*, 1, 269-270; *VCH Northants*, 1, 240; *PSA* 9, 1881-3, 93 (Cransley near Desborough); *VCH Kent*, 1, 346, 351; Cambridge Museum, Burwell grave 121, cf. a late derivative, grave 42; *Cambs. Ant. Soc. 4th series* 3, 55, 70 fig 28, 36; *VCH Beds.*, 181.

²Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua* 2, 235 pl vi, 4, cf. 3.

³Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, iv, 399; xci, 2. cf. a Kentish pendant iv, 401, xcii, 3.



1. Skeleton F2. Silver wire ear-ring with small bead.
2. Skeleton F2. Festoon of silver wire rings and beads of fishbone and paste with small bracteate pendant.
3. Skeleton G2. Iron knife in sheath.
4. Skelton G2. Red jar decorated with stabbed dot pattern.
5. Skeleton G2. Iron javelin or lance head.
6. Skeleton F2. Bronze girdle hanger.
7. Skeleton F2. Fragment of glass.
8. Skeleton F2. Two bone needles.
9. Skeleton F3. Iron Sharpening "steel".
10. Skeleton F3. Iron knife.
11. Skeleton F3. Sheath hanger.

All $\frac{1}{4}$ scale.

Fig. 5. Grave Goods from the Marina Drive Cemetery

Index of Grave Goods

Dimensions and particulars of objects, where not given, may be found in the appropriate plate, or in the description of the graves. After each grave, what is known of the age and sex of the person is given by the following abbreviations: M for Man, W for Woman, C for Child, Y for Youth, B for Baby.

Weapons and Dress

- 1 Spearhead B11 (M), *fig* 2, 3
- 2 Scramasax B12 (M), D2 (M), *fig* 2, 1; 2, 2.
- 1 Javelin or Lance Head G2 (M), *fig* 5, 5
- 1 Leather Cap? B2 (M), D2 (M), *fig* 2, 2
- 2 Buckles B8 (M), G4 (M) iron.

20 *Knives* (in graves where a knife is the only object, it is marked with an asterisk*; in those marked * †, the sheath hanger accompanied the knife).

- | | | | |
|---------|----------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A4* — | B8 (M) | D4* (M) | F3† (M) <i>fig</i> 5, 9, 10, 11 |
| B1* (M) | B11 (M?) | D5* (M) | F4* (W) |
| B3 (M) | B12 (M) | E1 (C) | G1* (Y) |
| B4 (W) | C4*† (M) | E2 (C) | G2* (M) <i>fig</i> 5, 3 |
| B5* (M) | C9* (M) | E3 (C) <i>fig</i> 3, 9 | G3 (M?) |

Miscellaneous Metal

- 1 Sharpening Steel F3 (M) *fig* 5, 9.
- 1 Bronze Staple F3 (M).
- 2 Iron Clips B2 (Y), B3/4 (M/W).
- 1 Rivet D5 (M).
- 1 pair Shears B3/4 (M/W).
- 1 pair Scales B3/4 (M/W).

Funeral Meats

- 1 'Sheep' rib C6 (C).
- 2 Ox ribs F3 (M).

9 *Amulets, etc.* (all except the human teeth found with children).

- 2 Beaver teeth A1 (B), E2 (C), *fig* 4, 3.
- 3 Cowrie shell B2 (Y), E3 (C), F2 (C).
- 1 Facetted Crystal E2 (C) *fig* 4, 6.
- 1 Quartz Pebble E 1/2 (C) *fig* 4, 10.
- 2 extra Human teeth B5 (M) (1), C9 (M).

23 *Ornaments* (13 found with children).

- 1 Necklace E3 (C), *fig* 3, 7.
- 2 Small necklets A1 (B), C5 (C).
- 4 Festoon necklets, with silver wire rings and beads C7 (W) *fig* 3, 2, D10 (W) *fig* 3, 5, E2 (C) *fig* 4, 1
F2 (C) *fig* 5, 1 & 5, 2.

- 4 Ear-rings C7 (W) fig 3, 3; E2 (C) fig 4, 4; E3 (C) fig 3, 8; F2 (C) fig 5, 1.
 1 Brooch E2 (C) fig 4, 7.
 1 Hanging Bowl Escutcheon B3 4 (M/W) pl. IIID.
 1 Bronze Disc E3 (C) fig 3, 10.
 3 Rings. Iron D9 (Y) fig 3, 4; Bone E2 (C) fig 4, 5; Bronze A1 (B) D10 (M) fig 3, 6.
 2 Glass Fragments E1/2 (C), F2 (C) fig 5, 7.
 1 Bronze Mount E2 (C) fig 4, 11.

13 Household Articles (10 Found with Children).

- 2 Work-boxes B3/4 (M/W), E1/2 (C) fig 4, 8.
 1 Locket E3 (C) fig 3, 7.
 4 Purses B3/4 (M/W), E1/2 (C) (2), E3 (C) fig 3, 12.
 1 Girdle Hanger F2 (C) fig 5, 6.
 2 Bone Pins F2 (C) fig 5, 8.
 2 Spindle whorls E 1/2 (C) (stone). E3 (C) fig 3, 9 (pottery).
 1 Comb B3/4 (M/W) fig 2, 4.

Pottery Vessels

- 2 G3 (M) fig 5, 4.

Rich Graves

- B3/4 (M/W), E3 (C), F2 (C), E 1/2 (CC).

Exceptional Graves

- B11 (M), D7 (M), G3 (M?).

12 without Grave Goods

- A2 (M), A3 (C), B6 (C), B7 (C), B9 (Y), B12 (M?), C8 (C), D1 (C), D3 (W), D7 (M), D8 (C),
 F1 (W).

5 Destroyed Graves

- B10, 14; C1 - 3.

2 Double Graves

- B 3/4 (M/W), E1/2 (CC).

Shoe-mud

- E 1/2 (CC).

The Marina Drive Settlement

JOHN MORRIS

THE cemetery was the burial ground of a community; the stray Roman sherds in the grave filling suggest that the land had been farmed in Roman times, and the Saxons no doubt also lived and farmed nearby; the child (E2), buried with a muddy shoe, had last walked on a chalky soil.

The burial ground does not seem to have been used until shortly before the coming of Christianity, at the end of the sixth century; the steel and scales, the cowrie shells and beavers' tooth amulet, the hanging bowl and work boxes are all of much the same date; of the dateable objects, apart from the brooch, only the crystal and the Frankish girdle hanger could be earlier; but they need not be. The total absence of early grave goods, among something over eighty objects recovered, is emphasised by comparison with cemeteries that lasted longer. The cemetery at nearby Luton, (Biscot Mill), whence forty odd graves were recovered (gazetteer p. 68) lasted from early in the fifth century to late in the sixth. The weapons and brooches compare as under:

	<i>Swords</i>	<i>Spears</i>	<i>Shield-bosses</i>	<i>Scramasax</i>	<i>Brooches</i>
Luton	1	16	8	—	32
Dunstable	—	1	—	2	1 (no longer a brooch)

Luton is typical of normal long lasting cemeteries throughout lowland England, Dunstable of late sites. The Dunstable women were poorer, their husbands' graves had fewer and later weapons; it need not be assumed that they were as poorly armed in life, with less need of weapons than their long established neighbours at Luton. On the contrary, it is probable that their weapons were too much in need to be wasted on the dead.

The age distribution of the dead is remarkable, quite unlike that of the few Anglo-Saxon cemeteries where comparable figures are available, and quite unlike any normal community. Mr. Brothwell's estimates give the following results:

<i>Age</i>	<i>under 5</i>	<i>6-15</i>	<i>17-25</i>	<i>20-25</i>	<i>25-30</i>	<i>35-45</i>	<i>Total</i>
Men	—	—	8	4	4	1	17
Women	—	—	2	—	1	3	6
Children	4	14	—	—	—	—	18
	4	14	10	4	5	4	41

Only one in ten lived beyond 40, and of these three were women, only one a man. But sixteen young men were buried, against only three young women. Either the community was short of wives, or men died five times as easily as women; and the character of the grave goods suggests that up to half the elder children were boys between 12 and 15. Over half the dead were men and boys of an age to fight, and it is probable that most of them fell in defending their settlement. Two or three were wounded to the bone.

The community was probably short lived; men died young in Saxon England, but the total absence of anyone of either sex over 45 among forty individuals is unusual; it suggests that the settlement was established by young immigrants, who left their old folk at home, and did not stay long enough for any among them to grow old. A community that lasted some twenty years or so would explain the peculiar bias of the figures. The nature of the grave goods would place these years roughly between 580/600 and 600/620 A.D.

The pattern of early death is heightened by the unusual affection lavished on the children's graves; only one adult grave (B3/4) is at all well furnished and only two of the adult women have so much as a necklet. But four of the younger children are buried with a wealth far greater than their elders, and ten of the eighteen children's graves contain some bead or small token. Yet nearly all the men (fourteen out of seventeen), and half the women went to their graves with nothing but the clothes they wore at death.

The origins of the small struggling community are alien to the district in which they settled; their grave goods have little in common with Luton, Toddington, Kempston, but much in common with Kent and northern England. It is possible that the northern influences came by way of Kent, for all northern objects found at Dunstable are paralleled in Kent.

The figures are too erratic to point to the probable size of the community; infant burials are few; ten per cent is not high in an age of heavy infant mortality, but it may be that very small children were buried under the eaves or in the corner of a field. But the community cannot have been large, and its burial ground argues a small colony of Kentishmen established on hostile territory in Bedfordshire in the last years of the sixth century, fighting for survival for a decade or two before they either moved to other fields, returned whence they came, or were overwhelmed by their enemies.

Note of The Human Remains

D. R. BROTHWELL

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ON the whole, the bones were in a fairly good state of preservation. The determination of age from skeletal material is still far from exact, and in the adult there may be an error of quite a few years. In the child and adolescent, eruption times of the teeth and development condition of the long bones may be taken as fairly accurate age indicators. In the case of adults, however, I have had to rely upon age change at the pubic symphysis and degree of attrition on the teeth. The degree of cranial suture closing, which seems somewhat unreliable as an age indicator, has been ignored.

Adult skeletons were sexed by means of certain pelvic and skull features, and to a lesser extent by the long bones. Non-adults have not been sexed.

Details of measurement, sex and probable age are given in the grave descriptions. The following table gives the estimated heights.

Individual Measurements and Mean Stature Estimates of the Marina Drive Series

(Calculated to the Nearest Half Inch)

Individual Heights for Males				Heights of Females	
5 ft	11½ in	5 ft	10 in	5 ft	1½ in
5 ft	7½ in	5 ft	9 in	5 ft	7 in
5 ft	9½ in	5 ft	10 in	5 ft	4½ in
5 ft	8 in	5 ft	9½ in	5 ft	2 ins
5 ft	7 in	6 ft	1 in		
5 ft	10½ in	5 ft	9 in		
		5 ft	11 in		
Mean Height				Range	
Males	..	..	5 ft 9½ in	5 ft	7 in - 6 ft 1 in
Females	..	..	5 ft 3½ in	5 ft	1½ in - 5 ft 7 in.

The group as a whole is rather tall.

Evidence of injury

Various pre-mortem injuries were noted in this series, and may be listed briefly as follows:

B5 (young adult male). One definite case of injury, and a very probable second, was seen in this skeleton. On the left side of the skull vault, extending from the frontal across the coronal suture on to the parietal, is a slight depression. No sign of disease is present and it seems likely that it is the site of a fairly superficial old healed injury. At the distal part of the right tibia was found a short cigar-shaped exostosis. Again, little sign of disease was associated with it, and the degree of healing prevented any definite conclusion as to the exact cause.

D7 (young adult male). At the distal end of the right ulna and radius, an area of bone is missing, and the position of the hand when excavated suggested that it had been severed from the arm. The broken area, however, does not show any clean cut marks and might be purely isolated erosion; alternatively, the cut surfaces may be obscured by erosion and there is still a possibility of mutilation.

The left clavicle had clearly been fractured some time before death. Healing is seen in the considerable amount of new bone which is forming around the break, although complicating factors would appear to have been present. It is probable that the individual was in no way bandaged or prevented from moving his left arm or shoulder region. The result is that the two halves

of the bone have never had chance to join properly, with the result that a 'false joint' has formed, even though much bone has been laid down in this region.

F3 (young adult male). On the right half of the frontal bone, and extending from the coronal region towards the right orbit, is a long narrow 'V' shaped trough. Its general shape is definitely indicative of an injury by a long sharp instrument. Clearly, some healing has taken place, but the exact extent of recovery is obscured by surface erosion. One part of the wound displays a particularly roughened area suggesting that the injury became infected to some degree. It seems very unlikely that this injury alone resulted in the death of the individual, and the weapon did not cut through into the brain tissue.

G2 (young adult male). On the lower part of the shaft of the femur is a shallow injury about 3 cms long and 1.5 cms wide. This seems to be the least healed wound of those occurring in this series, although there is, nevertheless, sufficient to show that the individual did not die immediately after it. Again, the weapon must have been sharp and not heavy enough to cause breakage.

G4 (young adult male). The form of the right clavicle showed clearly that a fracture had taken place some time before death. As often found in cases of this sort in early man, the broken pieces had not healed in correct position, the result being noticeable but harmless distortion.

Evidence of Disease

(a) Osteo-arthritis.

Rheumatic changes of this type, commonly resulting in the so called 'lipping' at the articular surfaces of various bones, were found in the following Dunstable skeletons:

B4, on certain lumbar and cervical vertebrae; *B5*, on some lumbar vertebrae; *B8* on lumbar vertebrae; *B13* on the femoral heads and lumbar vertebrae; *C9*, on certain lumbar and thoracic vertebrae; *D3*, the beginnings of osteo-arthritic changes on one or two thoracic vertebrae; *D4*, on some thoracic vertebrae; *F1*, rheumatic changes are present on certain lower thoracics, at the right humerus head, and at the glenoid fossae and mandibular condyles of skull; *F3*, may have commenced on the lower thoracics; *F4*, noticeable 'lipping' on some cervical, thoracic and lumbar vertebrae.

As is usually the case in early skeletal material, there would appear to be a predominance of lumbar change over the other areas which may be involved. It is unlikely that any of the conditions described would have produced any great inconvenience to the person concerned.

(b) Oral health.

From the evidence of caries (tooth decay), tooth loss due to disease, and abscesses, available, it can be said that these Dunstable Saxons enjoyed particularly good oral health even in comparison with the general Saxon disease frequencies. Also, they showed even better dental health than groups representing immediately before and after the Saxon period.

G2. There was evidence in the palate that two supernumerary teeth (i.e. extra teeth) had existed, only one, however, was present for examination; a small socket representing the second. These were found in midline and behind the medial incisors. The remaining right supernumerary was slightly smaller than any of the other teeth, being shaped rather like a canine. Owing, perhaps, to food debris impacted between the left medial incisor and left supernumerary, an abscess had developed on the former, and it may be tentatively suggested that this had led to the extraction of both a little time before death.

While on the subject of supernumerary teeth, it may be noted that there was possibly another one by the thorax of skeleton. Mr Glen, who examined the specimen, says, "The cementum covering the root had been stripped off here and there suggesting (surgical) interference with a small bevelled tool to facilitate its removal. The root was particularly yellow, perhaps through some form of staining."

G2. The sacrum displays pseudo 'spina bifida', the dorsal part of the bony covering over the neural canal being absent. The incomplete remains of three lumbar vertebrae were also found to be anomalous. In each case, the vertebral body had been considerably destroyed, the areas of erosion being somewhat globular in form. As the remaining bony tissue of each centrum appeared to be healthy, the disease concerned seems far more likely to be a tumour (possibly a neurofibroma) than tuberculosis. To my knowledge, this is the first tumour of this type recorded in archaeological material. This may well have led to the death of the individual.

The 'pouch' teeth

Associated with skeleton C9 were a number of teeth which may possibly have been contained in a 'pouch'. These quite clearly had not fallen from the jaws of this individual, there remaining in this skull twenty-nine of the possible thirty teeth present at death.

At least seven teeth are represented, their identity being as follows:

1. Upper right 2nd or 3rd molar. There is evidence of slight caries at the neck and may be also enamel hypoplasia.
2. A premolar (upper left?).
3. An upper right 3rd molar. Slight decay at the neck and possibly very slight enamel hypoplasia.
4. One decayed root of a premolar.
5. A lower right 3rd molar.
6. Upper left 2nd or 3rd molar. Caries at the neck.
7. Two decayed roots of possibly the same molar (a 1st?).

There was not sufficient evidence to say for sure whether the teeth belonged to one individual, although there was very little wear on any of the teeth and none of them appeared to be duplicated. If only one individual is represented then the degree of wear suggests a fairly young individual. How and why the teeth were removed is difficult to say; the fact that not all the teeth were decayed suggests that extraction is not the only answer, and one wonders whether they could not have been a memento from a close relative.

Acknowledgements.

I am particularly indebted to all those who assisted in the washing and reconstruction of much of the Dunstable material. Also to Dr and Mrs Ashton for their hospitality on a number of occasions. Last but not least, to my wife for her general help during the preparation of this report.

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Saxon Remains on Puddlehill, Dunstable

C. L. MATTHEWS

With a note on the animal remains by Eric Higgs

PUDDLEHILL is the name of a high crest of chalk down running eastward from Watling Street, in the parish of Houghton Regis, a mile north of Dunstable. Half a mile to the west of Watling Street, on the same ridge, lies Maiden Bower, a large circular earthwork extensively used in Neolithic and Iron Age times and conceivably as a religious centre throughout the Roman period. The quarrying of the Associated Portland Cement Company is removing the whole of Puddlehill, to the level of the surrounding valley, and, since 1951, the Manshead Archaeological Society of Dunstable has undertaken rescue excavations, with the help and co-operation of the Company.

On top of the hill lay a succession of farmsteads, dating from the beginning of the Iron Age, about the fifth or sixth century before Christ, through the Belgic and the Roman periods, ending with an Anglo-Saxon settlement. The Iron Age and Roman sites will be described on another occasion; the Anglo-Saxon discoveries consist of a dwelling house and two separate burial grounds.

BURIAL GROUND I

Grave 1

The earliest burial (pl IV) was of a tall warrior interred with his weapons in a shallow grave 6 ft long, cut through an earlier Romano-British ditch and orientated north-south with the head to the south. The heels were pressed against one end of the grave, the head bent forward against the other end, the spine slightly twisted. Even thus compressed, the skeleton was fully six feet long.

On the left shoulder lay an iron shield boss, with four iron rivets, evidently used to secure leather straps to the back of a wooden, hidebound shield which had surrounded the boss. The rivets on the rim of the boss had remnants of wood fibres adhering to them. Behind the boss was a bar of iron, a shield grip. Between the strap rivets was a small iron buckle, 1 in. in diameter, evidently securing the strap which enabled the shield to be carried on the shoulder when not in use.

At the waist hung an iron ring, and just below it a small iron knife. To the left of the head was the socket of a spearhead, containing wood fibres, whose blade had been broken off in antiquity and was not found in the grave. Just above the left ear was a long clean cut in the skull, the bone below it folded inwards. The heavy blow which caused this injury must certainly have been fatal.

The shield boss on the shoulder lay so near the edge of the grave, that the shield around must have overlapped the edge to lie partly over the natural chalk. It is probable, therefore, that the burial was covered by a low grave mound.

Grave 2

A few feet to the east another shallow grave had been dug into an earlier Romano-British ditch. A later cobbled road¹ had been laid over the end of the grave, and the skull was crushed into the cobbling. The skeleton had also been crushed, presumably by the traffic on the road. Before burial, the left leg had been roughly amputated above the knee, the leg placed separately in the grave before the body, which partly covered it. In the grave was a coin of Gratian (375-383 A.D.)

Graves 3-7

A number of graves were destroyed by quarrying; at least five separate burials are recorded. Within a few yards of No 1, parts of two burials which remained exposed in the quarry face were excavated. In one of them a portion of a bone comb, reinforced with bone strips held in place by iron rivets lay beneath the right shoulder blade. The other grave was dug deeper, and partially through No 1; its rounded end had removed the right shoulder and ribs of the warrior. Possibly the existence of the low mound above his grave had induced later generations to bury their dead in ground already known to hold the dead.

All the burials were orientated east-west, with the heads at the west end of the grave; the bone comb presumably belonged to a woman.

Grave 8

200 yards to the north-east a young person lay on the left side in a shallow grave. The bones were only 7 in below the surface and few of them survived the plough. One small blue bead, like those at Marina Drive, was found under the chin. This grave was orientated north-south with the head to the south.

BURIAL GROUND 2

Grave 1

Burial in a shallow grave 12 in deep x 6 ft 0 in long, lying on the left side with head to the north, with the knees drawn up and hands to the face. There were no grave goods. The teeth were very worn and decayed and some of the back molars had been extracted during life, the bone having partially healed.

¹On the surface of the road were several horseshoe nails; it may have been the coach road in use before the road improvements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; but it was certainly not the Roman Watling Street.

Grave 2

Burial partially destroyed by quarrying, lying face downwards with head to the north. The right arm was at right angles to the body and the left arm by the side. At waist was a small iron knife with tang pointing downwards and an iron belt buckle nearby. By the left hand there was another small knife and two small pointed iron spikes, probably the remains of a purse clip. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in away from this was a large red bead decorated with white, yellow and blue inlay, perhaps a decoration for the purse. Across the chest was a collar of beads secured at either shoulder by two large saucer brooches.¹ These saucer brooches were $2\frac{1}{8}$ in in diameter and $\frac{2}{5}$ in deep. They were of bronze, gilded and decorated with a medley of geometric pattern. At the back of each of them was a bronze catch plate, and a mass of rust, presumably the remains of disintegrated iron pins.

The brooches and beads had apparently been backed by leather. This was seen as a brown stain extending $1\frac{1}{2}$ in around the brooches and some of it survived beneath them where it had become impregnated with the iron oxide from the catch pins. There was also the impression on the back of the brooches of leather fibres.

The beads were found lying as illustrated in the photograph pl. IV b. There were four lines, and by their even distribution, they had been secured either individually to a material backing, or in two continuous strings. In all there were eighty beads; forty-nine of amber and the remainder of either glass or paste, most of the latter being inlaid in various colours. Beneath the beads there was another iron pin $2\frac{1}{8}$ in long with a ring head. This could have been used to secure the backing material of the beads to the woman's clothing, or as a cloak pin.

Grave 3

Grave length 6 ft 0 in long x 2 ft 0 in wide x 12 in deep. The skeleton was lying on its back with its head bent backwards to the north. The head had apparently been supported on a pillow at the time of burial. The right arm was by the side and the left arm bent across the vertebrae. The left leg was bent across the right which outstretched. The foot of this grave had been destroyed by quarrying. The leg bones of this skeleton were swollen by disease.

No grave goods were found.

Grave 4

Grave partially destroyed by quarrying. The skeleton was lying with head to the south. Femurs and lower limbs only remaining of this skeleton.

No grave goods were found.

¹The saucer brooches of Burial Ground 2 can be dated to the late sixth century, and are paralleled in the Aylesbury area at Stone.

Graves 1, 2 and 3 were in a line east-west approximately 20 ft 0 in apart. Grave No. 4 was 12 ft 0 in to the north, and perhaps indicates another row of graves yet to be discovered. All of these graves had been cut into a natural geological water course which at the time of burial showed as a depression on the hillside. Since the date of the opening of the cemetery ploughing on the hill had overlaid this water course with 2 ft of soil deposit containing Romano-British sherds. This deposit has made the discovery of further graves in this area very difficult, and although trial cuts have been taken in the immediate area without success, there may be other graves nearby awaiting discovery.

THE HOUSE

Fifty yards from Burial Ground 2 was a low mound of earth and in an adjoining field, which is under cultivation and cannot be excavated at present, lie two parallel rows of similar mounds flanking a trackway that leads to the crest of the hill. The mound therefore may be one of a series of small dwellings together constituting a village.

Beneath the mound lay a small cottage or hut (plan and section, fig 1). The chalk had been dug out to a depth of about 14 in to form an oblong floor, whose remaining straight side was 18 ft long; quarrying had removed the further side (probably no more than a third of the total), leaving rounded ends 7 ft 6 in wide. The whole was covered with a mound of 14 in of soil; since the normal depth of soil above the chalk is about 6-8 in, this may be the remains of a turf roof, carried on some sort of hurdling.

The sunken floor recalls the Saxon huts excavated in the village at Sutton Courtenay¹, Waterbeach², and Bourton-on-the-Water³. At Sutton Courtenay and Waterbeach, however, no postholes were observed outside the floor, but at Puddlehill, a massive posthole with a diameter of nearly 2 ft was found 4 ft 6 in out from the squared end of the hut, evidently a main support for the ridge pole. Dug obliquely into the chalk along the side of the floor were four large postholes, the remains of its side supports. The outline of the walls was preserved by the remaining postholes, and by narrow gulleys with a wider puddling of chalk on either side, evidently formed by the dripping of rain water from the roof. These features, coming to a point at one end and squared at the other, give the whole construction the shape of a boat with the ridgepole as a 'keel' and the side supports as 'ribs' (plan and attempted reconstruction fig 1).

At the western end of the hut, a number of very small pieces of clay were found, two of which held the impression of wattling. In the centre of the floor,

¹*Archaeologia* 73, 1924, 147ff; 76, 1927, 59ff; 92; 1947, 79ff.

²*Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 33, 133ff.

³*Ant. J.* 12, 1932, 288.

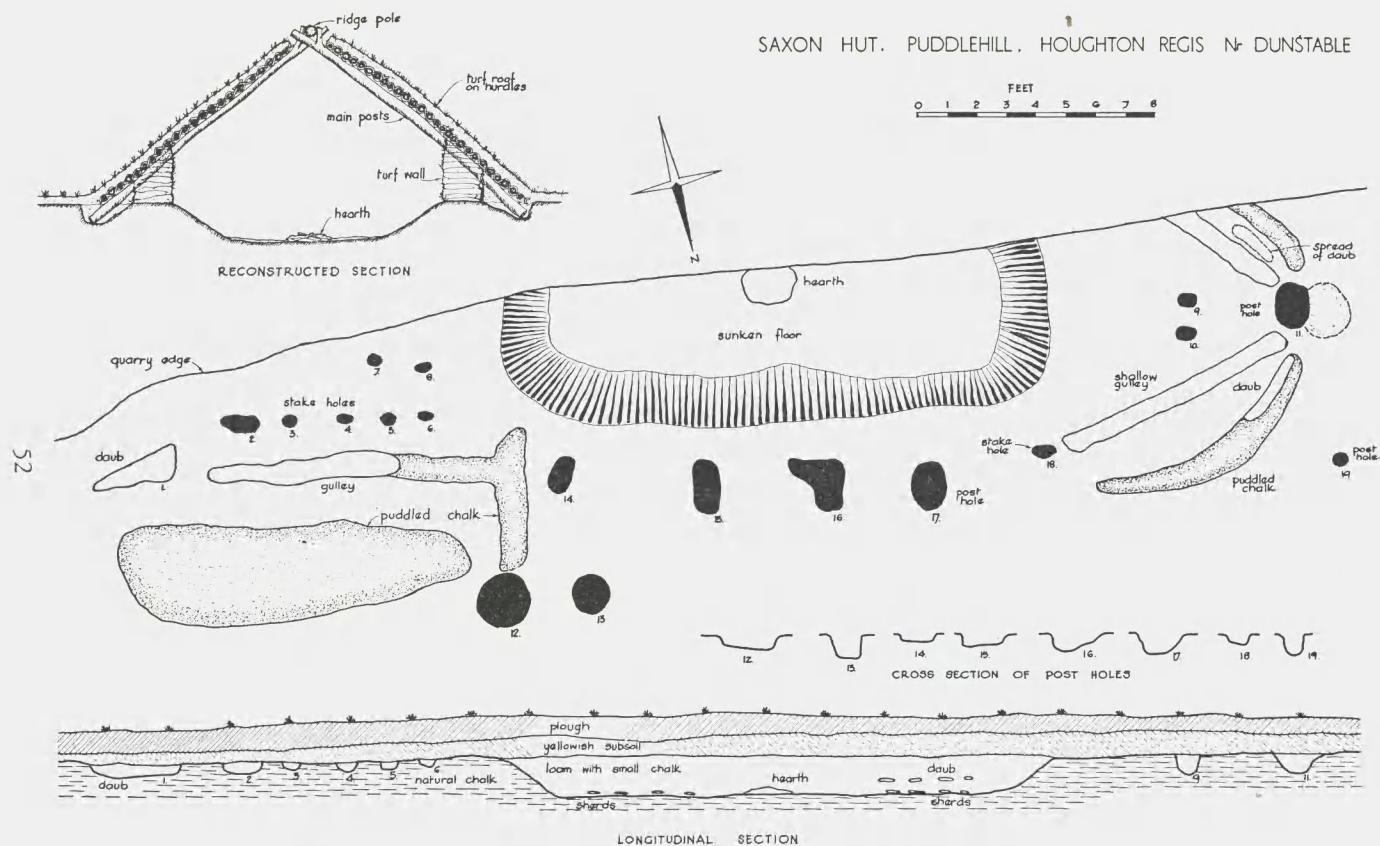


Fig 1. Plan and section of Saxon Hut at Puddlehill, Dunstable.

an area about 2 ft 0 in across, consisted of burnt chalk, a little ash and charcoal of hazel, hawthorn, oak and poplar or willow¹. This suggests an open hearth. No door was found between the surviving postholes; the doorway was therefore presumably in the south side, quarried away before excavation began.

Loam and small chalk, the debris of roof and walls, covered the floor. Beneath it, lying on the floor, were a number of small objects and a number of animal bones, sheep, cattle, pig and fowl. (See appendix page 55). Trodden into the floor was a coin of Constantine, together with a few sherds of Roman pottery, including the base of a Castor ware vessel, and with them a quantity of sherds of undecorated rough hand-made pots (fig 2), evidently Anglo-Saxon, but not always easy to distinguish from the Iron Age wares made a thousand years earlier, and discovered in quantity on the earlier farmsteads a few hundred yards up the slope. Together with the pottery was a small amber bead, very like those discovered in the Marina Drive cemetery, and a number of pins of bone and bronze (pl V). The long flat bone pin is not uncommon in Pagan Saxon cemeteries, and is closely paralleled at Kempston, Faversham etc. The small bone pins, both with a slight thickening above the point, are beautifully fashioned; such pins are found on Roman and post-Roman sites, but many of the Roman pins are much more coarsely worked, as, for example, one or two examples in the Verulamium Museum at St. Albans. Considerably closer to the Puddlehill pins are two from Frisia², probably of the fifth century or early sixth century, though both are somewhat longer, with less pronounced swelling, and not quite so elegant. The bronze pins are of Roman or Saxon date.

The dwelling is clearly Saxon; it may or may not form part of a small nucleated village, and may or may not be the home of the people buried in the adjacent cemeteries. Within the Saxon period, its date lies somewhere in the fifth to seventh centuries. The comb in the cemetery, and the fact that one grave at least cut out the grave of the warrior, suggests that one cemetery at least is more likely to belong to the middle or late sixth or seventh centuries than to the first generation of immigrants.

ISOLATED FIND

On the surface near the warrior burial a small Anglo-Saxon disc brooch was found; it is almost exactly paralleled on a slightly larger scale from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Luton (*Ant. J. VIII*, p. 177 ff.) and a few similar brooches have been found in other Saxon cemeteries.

¹The charcoal samples from the hearth in the hut were identified by the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, as "Charcoal derived from hazel (*Corylus sp.*), hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*), oak (*Quercus sp.*) and poplar or willow (*Populus sp.* or *Salix sp.*)

²P.C.J.A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde Eeuwe*, ed 2, 1951, pl. li, 7 and 8.

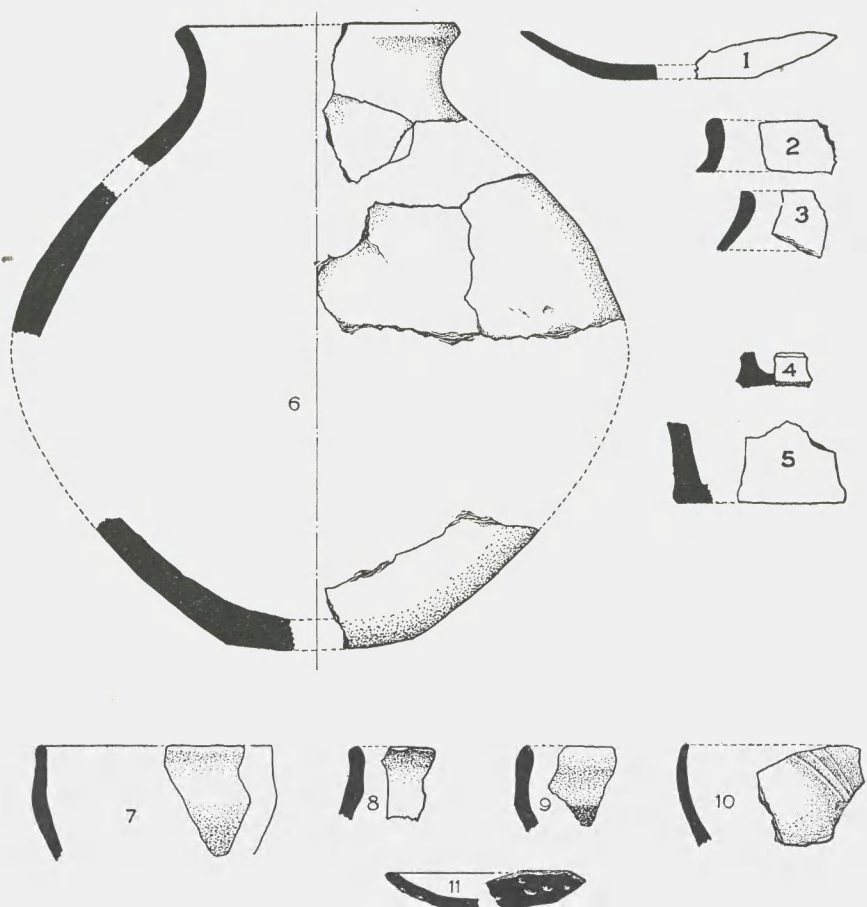


Fig 2. Anglo-Saxon Pottery from Puddlehill and Totternhoe.

1-6 from earth floor of hut at Puddlehill.

1. Base of hand-made jar, sandy paste, fired grey.

2. Rim of hand-made jar, grey paste.

3. Rim of lightly burnished soft black ware.

4. Base of Castor ware. (Roman)

5. Base of jar, dark grey paste with crushed shell. Outside biscuit colour.

6. Hand-made jar of grey paste with light scatter of shell grits. Lightly burnished on outside, fired brownish-grey.

7-11. from the Roman Villa at Totternhoe, all hand-made and well fired.

7. 8. 9. Rims of small jars.

10. Fragment of body of rounded pot decorated with curvilinear pattern impressed before firing.

11. Sherd of rounded base with the body of pot decorated with dimples.

ANIMAL REMAINS FROM THE SAXON HUT

ERIC HIGGS

Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge

THE animal bones from this site show that the favourite diet seems to have been sheep, then cattle, then pig, and lastly birds. None of the animals are old, all being of an age prime for eating.

SHEEP

The animals represented are clearly much smaller than the Dorset Horn type of moderately sized lowland sheep of today and indeed somewhat smaller than the Welsh mountain sheep. The following table, measurements in millimetres, is sufficient to show this:

	Length M2	Maxilla Length M3, M2, M1	Width of Condyle of Mandible	Length of Axis	Length of Prox End of Femur	Max. Dia. Prox End of Metatarsal	Breadth Prox End of Metacarpal	Radius Width of Prox End
Saxon	9	41	20	53	40	20	22	25
Welsh Mountain					41			30
Dorset Horn	14	48	26	67	54	23	26	38

The head, axial skeleton, fore and hind limbs are all represented so there appears to have been no selection of joints. As even the feet are represented, the absence of horn cones is noticeable. There is no evidence that the sheep were horned. Such evidence as can be gathered from bone shafts is that the sheep were of an unimproved type. There is no evidence for disease.

The sheep when killed were all on the young side. There cannot have been fewer than three sheep but there may have been more. One sheep must have been in fact, a lamb 3 months old, one about 10 months old, and one about 18 months old.

There is no evidence for a clearly defined butchering technique although all the long bones, except immature ones, appear to have been broken in antiquity.

CATTLE

The cattle are probably somewhat smaller than the modern shorthorn. At least two are represented, one an animal about 6 months old at death, and one a large adult.

BIRD BONES

Some evidence for domestic fowl, small, about pheasant-size. One large bird (one bone) unidentified.

SHEEP

Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 3 months old.
Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 1 year 6 months old.
Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 10 months old.
Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 9 months old.

Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 9-12 months old.
Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 9 months old.
Broken mandible *Ovis aries* 1 year 8 months old.

Teeth M² right hand side not erupted *Ovis aries* (smaller than modern Dorset Horn Ewe).
M² right hand side not erupted *Ovis aries* (width 14 mm for Dorset Horn - 9 mm for this specimen).
M² left hand side *Ovis aries* (smaller than Dorset).
M² right *Ovis aries* - length 10 mm (15 mm for Dorset Horn).
Incisor - broken *Ovis aries*.
I¹ Left - slightly worn *Ovis aries* (smaller than Dorset Horn).
I¹ Right - slightly worn *Ovis aries* (smaller than Dorset Horn).
I² Right - slight worn - *Ovis aries* (smaller than Dorset Horn).
M² - slight worn *Ovis aries* - length 10 mm (15 mm for Dorset Horn).
10 fragments of molar

Broken maxilla left P¹ not erupted, M¹ heavily worn, M² heavily worn, M¹ moderately worn, M² slightly, C 9-12 months old *Ovis aries*.

Broken maxilla right M³ just erupting, M² and M¹ - 1½ to 2 years old *Ovis aries*.
Measuring these three teeth dental length 41 mm (Dorset Horn 48 mm).

Fragment of left mandible M³ not erupted *Ovis aries*.

Unerupted right molar probably M² *Ovis aries*.

Fragment of mandible *Ovis aries* measurement of condyle 20 mm.

Fragment of mandible *Ovis aries* measurement of condyle 26 mm of Dorset Horn.

1 fragment sternum - sheep.

2 fragments humerus - sheep.

Astragalus - *Ovis aries* - very small.

Axis - *Ovis aries* - length 53 mm (Dorset Horn 67 mm).

15 sheep vertebrae and 4 fragments.

Broken femur proximal end - maximum length 40 mm - 54 mm for Dorset Horn - 41 mm for Welsh Mountain Sheep.

2 scapulae glenoid cavity only - small - probably sheep.

7 fragments of scapulae - probably sheep.

13 fragments of ribs, probably sheep.

2 femur heads - young animal - probably sheep.

Proximal epiphyses metatarsal - sheep - 20 mm max. diameter - Dorset Horn 23 mm.

Proximal epiphyses metacarpal - sheep - 22 mm in breadth - Dorset Horn 26 mm.

(The shaft of this is also present and is typical of the slender unimproved breeds).

Proximal epiphyses metacarpal (broken) sheep 19 mm - 26 mm for Dorset Horn (max. breadth).

Proximal epiphyses metacarpal (broken) sheep?

Radius sheep - young animal - both epiphyses detached.

Radius sheep - young animal.

Radius - proximal end - sheep - 25 mm max. width - 30 mm Welsh Sheep, modern, - 38 mm Dorset Horn, modern.

1 fragment distal end tibia - sheep.

Phalanges - 5 proximal - 1 medial - sheep.

1 distal end of femur - sheep - epiphysis detached. Young animal.

1 distal end of femur - sheep - epiphysis detached. Young animal.

1 patella - sheep?

- 1 tarsal – sheep.
- 4 carpals – sheep.

CATTLE

- 1 mandible *Bos taurus* – 6 months old.
- 1 fragment molar *Bos*.
- 1 broken molar – deciduous – *Bos*.
- 1 upper molar – deciduous – *Bos*.
- 1 upper molar *Bos* – large.
- 1 astragalus 59 mm maximum length, width 43 mm – 70 mm maximum length of modern short-horn, width 48 mm.
- 1 fragment of pelvis – acetabulum – max. diameter 57 mm – shorthorn 59 mm.
- 17 fragments of ribs – *Bos*.
- 3 spines – *Bos*.
- 1 terminal phalanx – *Bos*.
- 1 medial phalanx – *Bos*.

PIG *Sus scrofa*

- 1 fragment of pig scapula – small adult.
- 1 fragment of frontal bone and orbit – pig.
- 1 fragment distal epiphyses metapodial – pig – young animal.
- 2 pig phalanges.

The Anglo-Saxons in Bedfordshire¹

JOHN MORRIS

IN 410 A.D. Britain had been a Roman province for nearly four hundred years. In the midlands and the south, an integrated agricultural economy rested on a dozen cities, several scores of smaller towns and villages, and a large number of substantial farms and country mansions; politically, a dozen self-governing states, whose members felt themselves to be both British and Roman, as Roman as their descendants are today English, were run by established local aristocracies, co-ordinated by a central government appointed by the imperial authorities in Italy.

In 410 the Goths took Rome, and the imperial administration declared itself unable any longer to appoint that central government, thereby legalising whatever central British government the separate states might succeed in establishing. For a generation, Roman civilisation continued unaffected in town and villa; then, the national government, beset by foreign and internal enemies, invited in Saxon mercenaries to defeat the Picts, from beyond the Forth and Clyde. The Saxons were settled in eastern Britain, and did their job; but by bluff, intrigue and force they much increased their original numbers, and rebelled against the British, probably in the 440's, destroying the material basis of Roman civilisation in Britain. The greater part of the aristocracy emigrated across the channel, but some remained to organise a resistance movement, initiated by Ambrosius Aurelianus. It relied principally on fairly small 'commando' units of heavy cavalry, effective against Saxons who fought exclusively on foot, and ended with the decisive victory of the British, captained by Arthur, not far from the year 500. For two generations, the British remained in effective control of the island; but the mounted war bands formed the effective government of post-Roman states, and fought each other, until, in the years between 570 and 600, a second Saxon revolt swept them away and mastered a leaderless Britain, whose political fabric was totally destroyed.

In these two centuries there was no such thing as a county of Bedford. The area formed part of the state of the Catuvellauni, whose capital was Verulamium (St. Albans). No document records more than a faint tradition of its history; all that can be known derives from the archaeological record of the Saxon settlers. Unlike the Romano-British, the Saxons were customarily buried with a wide range of objects, ornament, weapon and clothing. The bare skeleton of a Briton of the period cannot be distinguished from a medieval burial made 1000 years

¹See Gazetteer p. 63 ff. and Map fig 1, p. 64.

later; but the articles interred with the Saxon dead not only signal their race, but often give rough indications of their date. Some objects, notably brooches and decorated urns, follow an evolutionary pattern, wherein early, middle and late styles may be plainly seen; several other kinds of object, for example wrist clasps, workboxes, gold ornaments and elaborate jewellery, the Frankish throwing axe or the evil looking dagger called the *scramasax* are found only in later graves, while some of these are found buried with 7th century coins. It is therefore possible to make certain rough inferences about the extent and character of the Saxon settlement and its spread at different times. Little reliance can be placed on a single object; one early brooch at Bishopstone near Aylesbury or at Dunstable does not establish early settlement; but quantities of early, middle, and late objects at cemeteries like Luton and Kempston do argue the duration and origin of the settlements they served; and the distribution in space and time of a large number of cemeteries warrants certain general conclusions about the evolution of the earliest English.

Several thousand Anglo-Saxon burial grounds have been recorded in England; a limited number of them contain several diverse objects of the earliest period, and suggest the limits of the first settlers at the time of the first revolt in the middle of the fifth century. Nearly all these earliest cemeteries lie on or east of the road from Colchester by Cambridge to York; a few lined the south of the Thames estuary in Kent, and three guarded the southern approaches to London by Croydon and Mitcham. The only others known reach down southwestward, on or parallel to the Icknield Way, at Sandy and Kempston, Luton and perhaps Toddington, and at Abingdon and Long Wittenham on the middle Thames. The majority of these early cemeteries lie within a mile or two of Roman towns and cities; if, as we are told, they were designed to protect the British against a Pictish invasion, then it is evident that the government anticipated a sea-born invasion whose goal was to penetrate by the Icknield Way towards Oxfordshire and the Cotswolds, the richest areas of late Roman Britain.

These earliest cemeteries lie in three main groups. Those in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire all practised cremation, were known as *Angles*, and used as their characteristic ornament the long brooch known as '*cruciform*'. Those in Kent practised inhumation, were known as *Jutes*, and, after the first generation or so, abandoned the cruciform brooch for an elaborate and beautiful jewellery derived from the Franks; but the Icknield Way cemeteries, from the Cambridge to the Oxford region, practising both burial rites simultaneously from the beginning, were styled *Saxon*, and wore the round brooch known as '*saufer*'. The Bedfordshire cemeteries lie in the middle of this Saxon area, their main centre in the Dunstable-Luton region, though at first they were clearly small isolated groups of Germans in a British countryside.

During the course of the wars, the original settlement areas were reinforced, and several new areas occupied, most of them by people who practised inhumation alone. There are many cemeteries which certainly began in the fifth century, though present evidence does not suggest that they are quite as early as the earliest. The most important of these areas are East Sussex; and Leicestershire. In Bedfordshire and the surrounding counties, there are few new sites. The cemeteries of the Aylesbury area were certainly in being by 500, while the Middle Thames sites were flanked by a line of cemeteries running up into Northamptonshire, with others down river at Reading and Shepperton. An important group of cemeteries came into existence south-west of Cambridge, at Barrington and Haslingfield, with many saucer brooches and almost all the dead inhumed; while newcomers with strong Scandinavian affinities appear at Ipswich, not far from the year 500, and bring with them a new type of brooch known as the great squarehead, which soon spread to almost all areas. It is however, noticeable that throughout the pagan Saxon period there are virtually no burials between the Icknield Way and the Thames; it is especially remarkable that the extensive excavations in and around Verulamium over a long period have not yet produced a single certain Saxon object. The explanation can only be a guess; it need be no more significant than the refusal of the local authorities to accept billeted Saxons earlier in the fifth century, and the tendency of later settlers to nucleate around their original settlements.

In the early sixth century, a contemporary British writer condemned an age of 'security' after the defeat of the Saxons, while Saxon record claims no new advance. What the victorious British did about the surviving Saxons is not recorded; the graves offer a little comment. The demarcation between the different brooch fashions, not quite absolute in the fifth century, now became entirely rigid. The Luton, Aylesbury, Thames-side and Surrey peoples used only saucer brooches; the Cambridge cemeteries alone used both saucer and cruciform, while the Anglian areas have not yet produced a single saucer brooch of the early sixth century. These harsh frontiers imply that there was little movement between one area and another; and some areas have an absolute shortage of objects of the period. The cemeteries of the Ouse, Nene and Welland, from Kempston northwards, have produced scarcely any ornament that can be positively dated to the first half of the century, while numerous such ornaments come from the Icknield Way sites. Inferences from these odd variants are far from secure; but it may be that the Icknield Way reservations enjoyed some greater autonomy than those further north. Nothing whatever is known of the political organisation of the area, save that a hazy British tradition remembers a great state called 'Calchvynydd', the land of the limestone hills, between Trent and Thames, whose prince Catraut was lord 'of Dunstable and Hamtoun (Northampton)'.

The first movements of the second Saxon revolt are recorded in the year 552, when a prince named Ceawlin (Colin) seized Salisbury. Five years earlier, the British record that the great plague of Egypt, Gaul and Italy hit western Britain; it did not affect the Saxons; for the trade of western Britain came exclusively by way of Biscay and Brittany, where imported mediterranean pottery of the period is found. Presumably the ships that brought pottery and wine also brought the plague. Sixteen years later, in 568, Ceawlin and another ruler called Cutha combined to drive the young king Ethelbert back into Kent; and in 571 Cutha fought against the Brit-Welsh at Bedcanford, and took four towns, Limbury, Aylesbury, Benson and Eynsham; and the same year he died. The entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle names the enemy as British, presumably the same power whom British tradition remembered as 'Calchvynydd', but credits Cutha with the capture from the enemy of four towns with Saxon names. These towns are all in the centre of the pre-existing Anglo-Saxon settlements, and the Chronicle implies that they had previously obeyed a native British authority. The earlier texts of the Chronicle do not say who Cutha was; some later manuscripts add a footnote, evidently a wild guess, to the effect that he was Ceawlin's brother. The distribution of brooches however offers a more convincing suggestion; the most striking saucer brooch of the late sixth century is the type known as 'Maltese Cross' (figured in *V.C.H. Beds.* I., p. 180, bottom row), and its derivatives. A dozen of the Maltese Cross type brooches have been found near Cambridge, and eight at Kempston; they and their derivatives spread westwards to Warwickshire and south-westward down the Icknield Way to the Thames, where, however, the commonest type (Aylesbury and Dunstable, Puddlehill) is native to the Oxford region. The origin of the brooch seems fairly clear, for at the Barringtons it emerges from a long ancestry of saucer brooches, while at Kempston it appears out of the blue, with no earlier antecedents. It seems that this brooch was fashionable among the Barrington women, and that Cutha was their chief. His name is also preserved in Cuddington and Cuddesdon along the line of the Icknield Way, and at Cuttleslowe, Cutha's burial mound, in north Oxford, where he presumably died. The decisive event would seem to be that Saxons from south-west Cambridgeshire destroyed the last remnant of British authority in Bedfordshire, liberated the Saxon settlements in the area, and marched down to meet Ceawlin, on his way up from the south, in the Oxford region. Though 'Bedcanford', in the form in which the name is preserved, cannot be Bedford, the site of the battle should none the less lie in the area roughly between Bedford and Hitchin or Dunstable.

In the next few years, Ceawlin continued his conquests westwards, while the Angles overran northern Britain. But in 584 Ceawlin fell and died. Then or soon after, king Ethelbert of Kent became master of all southern Britain, his frontier

marching with Northumbria on the Humber. Bede reports only the bare fact; its archaeological counterpart is a considerable spread of late sixth and early seventh century Kentish objects over southern Britain. It is probable that the two cemeteries of Leighton Buzzard and Dunstable (Marina Drive), whose ornament is characteristically Kentish, were the burial grounds of Kentish colonies or garrisons, planted down on the edges of the largest single concentration of Saxon settlement in the area. Ethelbert was converted to Christianity by St Augustine; but when he died, in 616, his children reverted to paganism, and his empire collapsed. Its collapse may well have occasioned the apparently speedy end of the Marina Drive settlement.

During the sixth century, the settlement around Dunstable grew greatly; that around Kempston and Bedford did not. Even on the banks of the Ouse, sites are few, and elsewhere ten or twelve individual burials about Hitchin are the only infiltration into new areas. Men still spoke Welsh by the river Beane in the early seventh century, and in the wide areas between the deserted Chilterns and the Thames there is still no English settlement; that was not to come until the monasteries of the late seventh and eighth century set about the clearance of the land. Two stray finds near High Wycombe are all that are earlier.

The graves have a little to say of the social evolution of the communities that used them; as elsewhere in England, most of the earlier burials are simple, one much like another; during the sixth century, an increasing proportion of rich women and girls are buried with ample grave goods, while beside them lie more and more bare skeletons, wholly unadorned. The swords and spears of their husbands cannot unfortunately be dated; but the increasing difference must surely reflect a difference in society. After several generations of farming and fighting, the primitive egalitarian communities were dividing into rich and poor. The political sequel finds its memorial in the chieftain's barrow of the early seventh century; no really rich barrow survives nearer than Taplow, though the fame of Goldenlow at Dunstable argues that it may have been of comparable splendour; and the densely populated area near Dunstable could surely have supported a chief no less magnificent than the ruler of the Maidenhead region.

Such princes made the underkings, occasionally named in Bede, who obeyed with greater or less willingness the authority of great kings. In Wessex for nearly two centuries, the underkings prevailed, and no powerful dynasty emerged. But the bulk of Bedfordshire, including Dunstable, fell to the authority of Mercia, whose kings firmly eliminated smaller local rulers. Their great king Offa (died 797) is held to have refounded St. Albans and had a palace at Offley; and it was probably under Mercian rule that the strong place of Bedford on the Ouse replaced the ill-defended Dunstable area as the main centre of the region, to give its name to the later shire.

GAZETTEER OF PAGAN ANGLO-SAXON DISCOVERIES IN BEDFORDSHIRE

THE Anglo-Saxon remains of Marina Drive and Puddlehill have their own antiquarian interest; by themselves, individual cemeteries have little historical significance. They matter because we lack any coherent record of our national history for the Roman and pagan Saxon periods; in default of such record, our history is reconstructed from a multitude of these small individual fragments of local history, each significant only when it is put into context with adjacent sites.

The Gazetteer includes all sites known to the author and to the Manshead Archaeological Society. The Society welcomes additions to the list and corrections thereto.

After the modern name, the national grid reference is given as closely as it is known.

Then follows a list of what was found, with a note of where the objects are now preserved, when known, and a reference to the source of our information. In the references, the following abbreviations are used:

(The names of periodicals are followed by a figure denoting the volume and page where the reference is to be found).

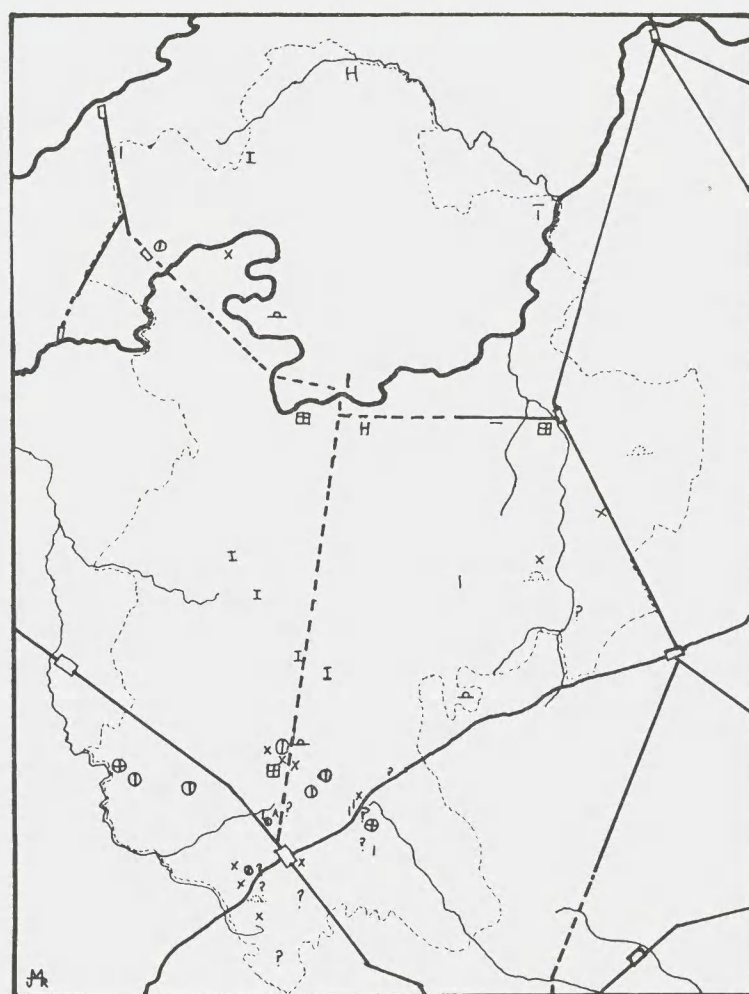
A.A.S.R.	Associated Architectural Societies Report.
A.C.R.	Cyril Fox, Archaeology of the Cambridge Region.
Ant. Jl.	Antiquaries Journal.
Arch.	Archaeologia.
Arch. Jl.	Archaeological Journal.
B.B.	Baldwin Brown The Arts in Early England, Vols. III and IV. 1915 followed by page and plate reference.
B.B.A.A.	Bulletin of British Archaeological Association.
B.M.	British Museum (followed by numbers denoting the appropriate entry in the Museum Accession Book, British and Medieval Department).
B.M.G.	British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities 1923.
C.A.S.P.	Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Proceedings.
C.A.S. 4to	Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Quarto Series.
Col. Ant.	C. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua.
Horley MS	Manuscript by W. Horley of Toddington, now in the possession of Mr K. Horley, 4 Park Street, Toddington.
Leeds Corpus	E. T. Leeds, Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Squareheaded Brooches 1949.
J.B.A.A.	Journal of the British Archaeological Association.
O.S.	Ordnance Survey Archaeological Branch, 6 in record sheet.
P.S.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 2nd series.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History, Bedfordshire, Volume 1.
E.P.N.S.	English Place Name Society, Vol. III, The Place Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. 1926.

CHALTON. *Probably about TL 02 26.* "A great battle was fought in Chalgrave Field"¹.

"I was informed by a person of Toddington that some years ago human skeletons, with pieces of armour, etc., were found in the valley of Chalgrave towards Charlton . . . also in the fields and gravel pits near Charlton, skeletons have been found . . . Likewise in this Charlton field, gold rings of ancient and curious workmanship have been ploughed up at different times, with other ancient articles, coins, etc."² "In a field at Chalton now (i.e. c 1875) in the occupation of

¹*Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1803, 1005.

²*Dunno's Originals*, IV, 1822, 15.



MILES 0 4 8 12

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| —□— Roman roads and towns | △ Dwelling(s) |
| - - -□ - Possible Roman roads and towns | ⌒ Barrow |
| □ Large cemetery | X Miscellaneous |
| ○ Cemetery | H Heathen Place-name |
| I Inhumation burial(s) | I Place-name in -ingas |
| - Cremation burial(s) | ? Doubtful site |

Fig 1. Map of Anglo-Saxon sites in Bedfordshire

Mr Anstey . . . some years since, whilst digging for gravel, many skeletons, weapons and gold rings were found"¹; "large numbers of Saxon graves have been found at Chalton, the bodies facing north and south, each with a knife at the waist"²; two skeletons, with a shield boss and two knives survive³.

The original account distinguishes between the 'gold rings' and coins, found without skeletons, in a different field from the skeletons with armour, ploughed up, whereas at least part of the cemetery was found in a gravel pit. The 'gold rings' may have been torques, commonly regarded in the early nineteenth century by local, as national, antiquaries, as 'gold-ring money' (cf., e.g., *Arch.* 27, 1838, 96); with the coins, they suggest a Belgic hoard, as, for example, at Snettisham in Norfolk (*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 20, 1954, 59; Norwich Museum). The cemetery clearly lay in the 'valley', presumably the low ground between Chalgrave Manor Farm and Chalton Manor Farm, and was found in the late 18th century. Later writers, except Worthington Smith, have confused the two sites. Weapons and knives without brooches are probably sixth century rather than fifth.

Sixth century?

CLIFTON. *TL 168 388*, between Shefford and Henlow. A small Saxon pot, found 1930, in Bedford Museum. The site might be the same as that called Henlow, see below.

Sixth century?

DEAN. *TL 058 683*, on the Northamptonshire boundary, between Rushden and Kimbolton. Harrowick, surviving as a farm name, is probably a heathen place-name, *E.P.N.S.* 14.

Fifth to seventh century.

DUNSTABLE. *TL 01 21*. A heavily stamped whole urn, with chevrons and four or five separate stamps, of the middle or late sixth century. Roach-Smith, *Col. Ant.* II, 233, pl liv. 2. Cambridge Museum
Mid to late sixth century.

DUNSTABLE. *TL 000 213*, Marina Drive. Forty-nine skeletons, found in 1957 with one small-long brooch, two workboxes, girdle-hanger, hanging bowl escutcheon, two scramasax, one spear, beads, pins, cowrie shells, amulets, etc., cf. pp 25 above.
Late sixth to early seventh centuries.

EASTCOTTS. *TL 067 472*, two miles south-east of Bedford, Harrowden Hill is a heathen place name, *E.P.N.S.* 91.

Fifth to seventh century.

¹Horley MS (cf. Toddington B, p. 70 below).

²Worthington Smith, *Dunstable, Its History and Surroundings*, 62.

³Luton Museum 1/28/373/4, excavated and presented by Worthington Smith in 1891. Hence Davis, *History of Luton*, 1874, 4; Blundell, *History of Toddington*, 1924, 5; *P.S.A.*², 21, 1906, 59; Baldwin Brown IV, 636.

EATON SOCON. *TL 173 612* Crosshall, between Hail Weston and St Neots. A cremation urn and beads, found 1932. OS *TL 16 SE*.
Undated.

TL 1721 60, 37, north of Duloe Hill Crossroads, about half a mile south of the site above. Two Anglo-Saxon inhumations with an elaborately worked scramasax *C.A.S. 4 to 5, 32*.
Seventh century.

EGGINGTON. *SP 958 254*, near Eggington House. Spears, knives, etc., with a bronze tube-like object, similar to that from Luton, Biscot Mill, grave 27, found in a gravel pit whence also came Iron Age and Roman occupation material.

Ant. Jl. 20, 1940, 230.

Fifth or sixth century.

FARNDISH. *SP 92 67*, south of Irchester, 'in a bank which forms the parish and county boundary, near the Roman road', a skeleton found early in the nineteenth century, with tweezers, knife, buckle,combe, three necklaces, mostly of amber beads, and a horned small-long brooch with lappets, as Leeds, *Arch.* 91, 35, fig 22 g.h. (Holywell Row). The type is confined to the Suffolk-Cambridgeshire borders, apart from this brooch and another at Sleaford, Lincolnshire.

B.M. 1828 11, hence *B.M. Guide* 84, fig 98; *V.C.H.* 190.

Late sixth century.

FELMERSHAM. *SP 990 578*, 80 yards W.S.W. of the church, two handmade pots, not earlier than the sixth century. *Ant. Jl.* 31, 1951, 46.

Sixth (or ? seventh) century.

FLITWICK. *TL 038 339*, Worthy End is a place name in-ingas, *E.P.N.S.* 150.

Fifth to seventh century.

HARROLD. *SP 9534 5725*, seven miles NW of Bedford, in a gravel pit north east of the village, seven or eight skeletons with part of scramasax, knives, beads, metal fragments and potsherds, and a sword possibly Saxon, found together with ditches and hearths, with pagan Saxon bone pins, potsherds, and beads; and with Iron Age querns, sword and spear. *B.B.A.A.* 49, Oct. 1952, 1. Bedford Museum.

Late sixth or seventh century.

HENLOW. *TL 17 38*, a small plain pot, probably from an inhumation, B.M. 1915-12-8. (Ransom collection), (hence *B.M. Guide* 23, *A.C.R.* 267) of the sixth or seventh century. Other pots B.M. 1915-12-2 and 7 (Ransom collection). The site might be the same as Clifton (p. 65 above), the adjoining parish. cf. Doubtful Sites. p. 74 below.

Sixth or seventh century.

HOUGHTON REGIS. *TL 004 234*, Puddlehill, a mile NW of Dunstable.

1. Inhumation with shield boss, broken spear and smashed skull.

2. Inhumation cemetery, with saucer brooches, etc.

3. Cottage, perhaps part of village.

(cf. p. 48 above, and doubtful sites, p. 75 below).

(1) Fifth or sixth centuries: (2) and (3) Late sixth or seventh century.

KEMPSTON. TL 0310 4764, two miles SW of Bedford. A very large cemetery, excavated 1863, with over 100 inhumations and many cremations of which twelve are recorded in detail. From the graves came four swords, many spears, knives and shield bosses (one conical) and over 100 brooches. The brooches include five fifth century 'cruciform' and one fifth century 'saucer' brooch, with one very late sixth century 'cruciform' and twenty late 'saucer' brooches, eight of them of the 'Maltese Cross' type (cf. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 56, 1939, 89, cf. 84, fig 6 e), found in quantity elsewhere only near Cambridge, and in scattered burials westward to Warwick and south-westward down the Icknield Way to the Thames. The urns (figured VCH 178-183; Baldwin Brown, 499, pl cxxxiv) include an early 'Bückelurn' (grave of Dec. 9-10, 1863); other early objects include an 'equal-armed' brooch (series 2), paralleled in England only at Luton (p. 68 below), but common in Germany (cf. J. Werner, *Bonner Jahrbuch* 150, 1950, 337, cf. 381 and 408) which is among the earliest brooches found in any Anglo-Saxon cemetery in England; an early fifth century sporan attachment (Baldwin Brown, 599, etc.); and an 'equal-armed' series 7) brooch of the fifth century. Late objects include a great squareheaded brooch (*Leeds, Corpus III*, B 8), several wrist clasps and three bronze workboxes, as at Marina Drive, Dunstable, (p. 39 above) a fish shaped badge (Baldwin Brown 202). There were many bead necklaces, but only one buckle, and none of the girdle hangers common in sixth century Anglian graves. Notable graves include that of 20 Oct. 1863, with 120 beads (including seven large crystal beads, a gold mounted carbuncle, a glass cone cup (Harden, *Dark Age Britain*, 159, III ai 1) probably of the sixth century, and a bronze earpick; 25 Jan. 1864, with a silver bead and ring, five amethyst pendants, and a crystal ball in slings; and 16 Nov. 1863, a half burnt body, with the bones of a rat and a leaf shaped spear, as Bekesbourne A, Breach Down, Kingston Down, etc., in Kent.

The fifth century ornament of Kempston is most closely matched in the Cambridge region, and in the cremation areas of Norfolk and northward; its late sixth century ornament is altogether without the common Anglian brooches, and is closer to the Saxon traditions of the south midlands, especially linked with the cemeteries south-west of Cambridge (Haslingfield and the Barringtons), with considerable Kentish influence in some graves. There are no objects dateable to the first half of the sixth century, though some of the many undateable objects might belong to this period. *A.A.S.R.* 1864, 269 ff; Roach Smith, *Col. Ann.*, 6, 201, ff, cf. 166 summarised in *V.C.H.* 1, 176 cf. 2, 8 and Baldwin Brown 784, cf. 192. Most of the objects are in the British Museum (1891 6-24, 1-340; 1875, 6-2, 1; 1876, 2-12, 17-25; 1884, 3-22, 19; 1896, 5-9, 1-4) and in the Bedford Museum; Luton Museum has reproductions of two brooches (217-218/35), and Letchworth Museum 8042 is an urn probably from Kempston; *PSA*², 13, 1889-91, 240 records another urn, Fifth century and late sixth to early seventh century.

KNOTTING. TL 003 635, on the county boundary, three miles SE of Rushden, is a place name in -ingas, *E.P.N.S.* 15. Fifth to seventh century.

LANGFORD. TL 18 40, two miles south of Biggleswade, a 'francisca' (Frankish throwing axe), common from the middle of the sixth century onward. *A.C.R.* 267, 'in the Ransom collection'. Late sixth or seventh century.

LEAGRAVE. TL 060 243, Wauluds Bank. Two contracted inhumations, found in 1905, with a 'Klapperschmuck' pin (Baldwin Brown 369, pl lxxxv, 2), a gilt bucket disc (Baldwin Brown 463, pl cxii, 2; *BM Guide* 67, fig 75), a stylus, two pairs of 'disc' brooches, and an ivory armlet. (casts in Luton Museum).

B.M. 1096 2-12, 1-8. *P.S.A.*² 21, 1905-7, 59; *Baldwin Brown* IV 636; hence *VCH*.
Mid to late sixth century.

LEAGRAVE. *TL* 065 238, Sarum Road. Skeletons found when laying a gas main in 1953, with a bone comb and iron knife. Luton Museum 264/53.
Undated.

LEAGRAVE. Uncertain location. Potsherd, found 1898. Luton Museum 143/33.
Undated.

LEIGHTON BUZZARD. 'A' *SP* 9215 2652, Brickhill Road sandpit (Deadman's Slade). Many cremations, in urns with 'warts', and 'chevrons, dots and rings' were recorded about 1850; a sherd from a sixth century stamped urn, and two brooches, probably from inhumations, were found in 1880 and are now in the British Museum. The name Deadman's Slade (cf. R. Richmond, *Notes on the History of Leighton Buzzard* = *Extracts from the Leighton Buzzard Observer*, 22 Feb. - 30 Aug. 1910, p. 24 cf. p. 1) suggests that numerous burials had been unearthed in the distant past. The brooches are a 'saucer' brooch with curved, sharp star pattern, of the mid sixth century, and a triangular 'small-long' brooch with a shovel foot (*Aberg*, p. 60; *Arch.* 91. 1945 98), of the sixth century. Two tumuli existed a mile to the north (*OS SP* 92 N.W.) *PSA*² 9, 1881-3, 29; *Baldwin Brown*, 636, 784, hence *VCH* 187; B.M. 1882, 8-24, 1-4.
Sixth century.

LEIGHTON BUZZARD 'B'. *SP* 9270 2642 Chamberlayne's Barn Pit. Seventy inhumations (with 22 more from an adjacent site) and three cremations, excavated by F. G. Gurney in 1932. The skeletons and grave goods were heavily corroded by the acid sandy soil. The finds include two spears and one conical shield boss; three brooches; two pendants, with punched dot and chased decoration, as at Bifrons (Kent); several buckles, including one of the Boars Head type (site 1, 8a), common on Kentish and Frankish sites; several bead necklaces with wire rings, and several large beads; one Frankish bottle vase, with several stamped and plain; one small urn with three rough lugs, and a spearhead 17 in long. Some sherds (site 1 grave 9) seem seventh century. The brooches consist of one disc or quoit brooch, 4.8 cm in diameter, the surface entirely covered with dots and triangles, and a fragmentary, much corroded version of the great Sarre I Brooch from Kent (cf. *Antiquity* 7, 1933, 427); the Sarre brooch was found with coins of the emperors Mauricius (592-602), Heraclius (610-641) and King Clothair II (613-628).

Luton Museum 14/57; B.M. 1935, 10-11, 1 (the lugged urn).

A brief report of the first few graves, written before most of the grave goods had been excavated or identified, appeared in the *Leighton Buzzard Observer* in August and September 1935, and is reproduced in the *Bedfordshire Archaeologist*, 1, 3, August 1956, p. 120.
Late sixth and seventh centuries.

LIDLINGTON. *SP* 991 388, three miles west of Ampthill, is a place name in -ingas, *E.P.N.S.* 77.
Fifth to seventh century.

LUTON. *TL* 0815 2292, Biscot Mill, Argyll Avenue and Montrose Avenue. Over forty inhumations and at least three cremations, with many burials destroyed without record.

The finds include one sword, sixteen spears, two of them with closed sockets, eight shield bosses, several urns and thirty-two brooches, with numerous small finds. The brooches consist of one 'Equal armed' (series 2), as at Kempston, among the earliest in England, eighteen saucer brooches ranging from early to mid-sixth century, one Great Squarehead (*Leeds, Corpus*, 95, b 6), seven disc and three small-long, one small Kentish squareheaded, and one late equal arm. The urns included one fine early "Bückelurn". In contrast to Kempston, there were no cruciform brooches or wrist clasps, and the great majority of the saucer brooches are of types common in the first half of the sixth century in Wessex and Sussex.

Luton Museum 411 (41/27) 127 (the main collection): 61-621 37; 5-6/45; 106/50. *Ant. Jl.* 6, 184; 8, 172; 11, 282. *Dunstable Museum Report* No. 2, 1926-27, 1924 contains a full list of finds. Early to mid-fifth century to late sixth or early seventh century.

LUTON. TL 028 215, Dallow Road Gas Works, by the main gate. Skeleton of a woman, with a pair of iron shears and a cowrie shell. Luton Museum 91/30; *Ant. Jl.* 11, 1931, 282-4. Late sixth century.

MOGGERHANGER. TL 1385 4905, five miles east of Bedford. An Anglo-Saxon cremation found in 1934. Bedford Museum. Sixth century,

OAKLEY. TL 01 54, three miles NW of Bedford. Bucklow, *Bucca's Hlaw*, means the barrow of an Anglo-Saxon named Bucca. *E.P.N.S.* 25. The place was somewhere near Oakley; the crown of Oakley Hill, TL 017 543, is a possible site. Late sixth or early seventh century.

PEGSDON. TL 127 340, four miles WNW of Hitchin. 'A skeleton with a knife in a barrow' excavated by Ransom in April 1870, Hitchin Museum has two Anglo-Saxon spearheads (one barbed) and boss, with leg bones, from 'Pegsdon Common', together with a Saxon bead necklace, while a box of sherds 'from the tumulus on Pegsdon Downs' includes two sherds from small Anglo-Saxon vessels. 'A few feet' from the tumulus Ransom found 'broken urns of brown pottery of the usual type' and 'underneath' them 'rudder urns... handformed... containing human bones mixed with pieces of wood and charcoal and iron nails'. The Ransom collection in the British Museum contains four Romano-Belgic urns from 'Shillington' and one from 'near Pegsdon'. A painting by Samuel Lucas, in Hitchin Museum, of William Ransom excavating the tumulus on Pegsdon Common locates what is probably the site.

These records may relate to several adjacent sites or to a single site; the barrow might be Anglo-Saxon, but it is equally possible that a small Anglo-Saxon cemetery was located in and around a Belgic-Roman barrow and surrounding cemetery. The absence of ornaments suggests a late date. *Heris. Nat. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 4, 1886, 39; Hitchin Museum 854-6, 858; British Museum 1915. 12-8, 13; 16-19.

Sixth century?

PULLOXHILL. TL 074 332, 2 miles east of Flitwick. Kitchen End is probably a place name in -ingas, *E.P.N.S.* 161.

Fifth to seventh century.

SANDY. *TL 18 48*. Inhumations and urns¹ found at various times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in and around the Roman cemetery outside the Roman town. Five urns survive; two², formerly kept at Ickwell Bury, are among the earliest found in any Anglo-Saxon cemetery in England; another³, is a fine large early stamped 'Buckelurn', and another⁴, stamped with chevrons, is of the type common at Lackford in Suffolk, and perhaps made there, of the late sixth century. A lead chalice, found in 1850 with wooden coffins, and published as Anglo-Saxon, is of the thirteenth century.

Early to mid fifth to late sixth century.

SHEFFORD. *TL 1350 3874*. A pair of mid-sixth century saucer brooches found in 1839, in or near a Roman cemetery. Cambridge Museum; *Arch.* 7, 1785, 71, fig. p. 79.

A.C.R. 267.

Mid sixth century.

SHILLINGTON. See Pegsdon.

SUNDON. *TL 03 27*, five miles NW of Luton, Cement Works. Skeletons with an Anglo-Saxon spear, 10 in long. Luton Museum 137/32.

Undated.

TODDINGTON 'A' *TL 013 293* Sheepwalk Hill. At least seventeen bodies discovered in 1844, 1861, 1868. 1873, 1884-5, with one shield boss, one sword*, three knives (1*), one buckle, two disc and one applied* brooch ($1\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter), seventeen beads (12*), one bronze pin*, six rings (two of wire, with a knot*, three of bronze, one of silver), a piece of folded bronze with rivet holes, possibly a wrist clasp, an earscoop* and tweezers*, a girdlehanger (:), a purse mount, four urns (one Frankish), and two stamped sherds (1*).

The objects marked with an * are preserved in St. Albans City Museum, 153-2, R. 241-5. Cf., Doubtful Sites, Harlington (Wickhern and Dyers Hall Farm), and Toddington, Wadlow, below, *P.S.A.*² 1, 1861, 399; 10, 1883-5, 35 and 173; 25, 1913, 183, hence *V.C.H.* 1, 185. Luton Museum, 71 and 73/49 (urns, found 1884 and 1868).

Sixth century.

TODDINGTON. 'B' *TL 002 283* Warmark. "In the year 1819 in a field in the parish of Tuddington . . . they discovered, for the length of a furlong or upwards of 200 yards and breadth of twelve yards or more, considerable quantities of human bones, pieces of armour, numbers of spearheads, with sockets and rivets . . . an ancient helmet of singular form."⁵ They 'were dug up from several fields . . . near the road . . . called Frenchman's Highway . . . in digging gravel. Since writing my former account . . . a person who was daily on the spot informs me that the extend of ground was of far greater dimensions than I have set down before; for those things were found all over that field belonging to Mr Hicks of Toddington; he considers that there were some thousands of bodies buried there . . . spears, daggers, etc . . . pieces of swords or daggers with two or three edges, and others like spits, were found, with numbers of buckles, rings, and other brass pieces of circular form . . . embossed with ornaments . . . a . . . small urn, containing

¹*Arch.* 7, 1785, 412; *A.A.S.R.* 2, 422, 427; 8, 117; *PSA*¹ 2, 1849-53, 109; ²23, 1909-11, 378. *Ant. JL.* 37, 1957 224, hence *V.C.H.* 1, 184 cf. 2, 10; *Baldwin Brown* 636; *ACR* 267.

²*B.M.* 1937, 11-11, 8-9, 1866, 10-28. *Ant. JL* 34, 1954, 201.

³*ACR* 260, pl. xxxi, 4, *Baldwin Brown* 497, pl. cxxxiii, 5; *V.C.H.* 1, 184.

⁴*B.M.*, W.G. 2281

⁵W. Nicholls, *Dunno's Originals*, "containing a sort of real, traditional and conjectural History of the Antiquities of Dunstable and its Vicinity, Dunstable, by a Totternhoe shepherd", part II, 1821, p. 13 cf. p. 8.

beads . . . Some ancient coins were found, but not many. Considerable quantities of spearheads, pieces of sword blades, parts of daggers etc., were dug out of both fields. A person of Toddington asserts that many of the pieces of swords etc., were worked up by the smiths of the town . . . Among other things were found a piece of copper, overlaid with a thin plate of gold; it is part embossed, other parts engraved or chased, and highly ornamented . . . the length is near five inches and the breadth three in the widest part. This ornament was also dug out in that field in the year 1819 . . . (The) beads . . . generally were composed of stone, though some were of a composition of glass, of many colours; the smallest were black or dark brown; others appeared to be made of agate or very hard white stone. Several of the ollae (pots) were filled with small bones, apparently the bones of human fingers, toes, etc. . . . A labourer . . . employed in digging gravel in these fields . . . found four of those circular sorts of plates before mentioned . . . of superior workmanship . . . composed of gold . . . of the shape and size of saucers, of 5 or 6 inches diameter, marked with flowers and figured work . . . Beads . . . of all sorts of colours . . . were found in masses in various masses in various parts of the field . . . The small pots . . . filled with little bones, were very numerous in one part of the field."¹

The account is accompanied by a plate; fig 1, the 'helmet of singular form', 'dug out with the gravel from a field belonging to Mr Hicks near the Frenchman's Way', is a shield boss; fig 2 is an Anglo-Saxon spearhead; fig 3 and 4, the embossed piece of copper 5 in by 3 in is a Great Square-headed brooch, identified by the late E.T. Leeds from the plate as nearest to his *Corpus* 103, B 6, from Coleshill in Berkshire, () 'not, I think, early'. Fig 5 is a string of Anglo-Saxon beads, fig 6 a plain wide mouthed full bellied urn, ill engraved, that might be Saxon. Figs 7 and 8 are Bronze Age spearheads, found in the east of the parish, near Cowbridge and Wadelows, by the mill stream (about *TL* 023 287). The 'brass pieces of circular form', and the four similar saucer shaped ornaments, 'five or six inches in diameter', are clearly large late saucer brooches with incised medley ornament, perhaps of the Aylesbury region type, like that from Puddlehill p. 53 above).

An eye-witness account written down over 50 years later records 'numbers of spearheads, swords, etc. . . . The urns, of which great numbers were found, were all of coarse material and very plain. Some few had the zig-zag ornament on them and were found in shallow parallel trenches filled with a fine black mould mixed with bones etc. I saw several perfect human skulls, and in many instances the plough had taken the lip off many of them (presumably the urns), which in every instance contained bones apparently as of the extremities.'²

Mr Hicks' field was a strip (*TL* 002 283) east of the Toddington-Tebworth road (Frenchmans Way, 1581 estate map in Luton Museum; Blundell, *Toddington*, ch. XV), just opposite the lands of Warmark farm. 'Several human skeletons have been dug out near the farmhouse of Mr John Osborne', on 'a tract of land called Warmark, west of the Leighton road' (Frenchman's Highway)². The present owner of Warmark Farm reports skeletons discovered many years ago on his land and taken away for sale to London Medical Schools, together with the recent discovery of a coin of Claudius. His children found 'pieces of tin with writing on them' in making a pond in the front garden of the farmhouse in 1954. The name Warmark occurs in the Dunstable Annals in the thirteenth century, *E.P.N.S.* 139; the editors suggest that the name means *wearg(a)-mearc*, 'outlaws

¹Dunno, Part IV, 1822, p. 3 ff. plate p. 8. Nicholls' text is reproduced, with a few omissions, by Sir Henry Brandreth, in *Arch.* 27, 1838, 96, and his plate was reprinted, with a short careless summary of his text, by Charles Lamborn, *The Dunstapologia*, Dunstable, 1859.

²Horley MS; the text of a lecture delivered by Mr W. Horley of Toddington on the Early History of Toddington, undated, but citing Davis' *History of Luton*, (published 1874), transcribed by kind permission of Mr K. Horley of 4 Park Street, Toddington.

mark, referring perhaps to a place where such were to be found, or where bodies might be thrown after execution'. If so, some burials had clearly been ploughed out well before the thirteenth century. Local tradition records a great battle fought all the way from Chalton (cf. p. 63) to Warmark'; evidently based on a recollection of the distinct Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; the early nineteenth century writers imagined the battle as between Aulus Plautius and *Tododumnus* in 43 A.D., Congerhill becoming a corruption of 'Tongerhill', the burial mount of 'Tongodumnus' (sic) (Nicholls), or as between Cutha and the British in 571 A.D. (Brandreth and Horley), the 'fingers and toes' found in cremation urns being 'the different members of the combatants lopped off during the fight and collected on the battlefield' (Horley).

The site is clearly a large cremation and inhumation cemetery on the scale of Kempston, the principal finds being weapons, beads, buckles and large late saucer brooches; a cruciform and a disc brooch in Northampton Museum (cf. Toddington, Doubtful sites, below), might be from this burial ground. The few recognisable objects are sixth century, but nearly all such large mixed cemeteries elsewhere in England began in the fifth century.

Fifth (?) to late sixth century.

TODDINGTON. *TL 019 284*. Fancot. "The writer has in his possession several fine specimens of Saxon earthenware obtained from the same (Sheepwalk) Hill and at Dyers Hill Farm, and at the old brickworks at Fancot" (Blundell). Of three Saxon urns presented by Blundell to Luton Museum, two came from Fancot. Two urns from Fancot, owned by Cooper-Cooper, may or may not have been Saxon. Luton Museum 70.75.77/49; Blundell, *History of Toddington*, p. 4. *Beds. Notes and Queries* 3, 63, cited by Blundell (urns).
Undated.

TODDINGTON. *About TL 022 306*, Wadlow, Redhill Farm, is *Wada's Hlaw*, the burial mound of an Anglo-Saxon named Wada, *E.P.N.S.* 138. The site adjoins Toddington 'A' above.
Late sixth or early seventh century.

TODDINGTON. *Probably about SP 99 29*, Herne Farm. Saxon potsherd, found by W. G. Smith in 1889. Luton Museum 75/38/28.
Undated.

TODDINGTON. Uncertain location. Finger ring; blue glass bead; fragment of 'small-long' brooch. Luton Museum 361/40.
Sixth century.

TOTTERNHOE. *SP 988 288* Well Head, Shirrell Springs. Late equal armed brooch, found by F. G. Gurney in 1915. Luton Museum, 284/52. *Dunstable Museum Report*, 1, 1925-6, 7.
Seventh or eighth century.

TOTTERNHOE. *SP 989 207*, Roman Villa site across the road from the Church. Decorated potsherd, ascribed by J. N. L. Myres to the late fifth or early sixth century. Manshead Archaeological Society Collection, Dunstable.
Late fifth or early sixth century.

WHIPSNAD. About TL 01 17, Sherd of a heavily stamped urn of the middle or late sixth century. St. Albans City Museum.
Mid to late sixth century.

WOOTTON. TL 009 405, NW of Amptill, Wootton Pilling is a place name in-ingas, E.P.N.S. 87.
Fifth to seventh century.

Doubtful Sites

ARLESEY (?). On railway line, probably between TL 188 325 and 189 355. "I hear that in carrying on the excavation and cuttings of the Great Northern Railway, some other sepulchral relics have since (i.e. about 1848/9) been discovered on the opposite side of the Wilbury Hills (i.e. opposite to Wymondley in Hertfordshire), but of this I have not yet learned any particulars except that among the bones, spearheads and other weapons have been found". W. Newton, describing the Romano-British cremation cemetery at Little Wymondley, in *J.B.A.A.* IV, 1849, 73.

The inhumation cemetery 'with spearheads and other weapons' was almost certainly Anglo-Saxon; the vague siting presumably refers to the stretch of the main north-eastern line between Ickleford (Cadwell) and Arlesey, then under construction.

BEDFORD. TL 0611 4960 Russell Park, Newnham, three-quarters of a mile east of Bedford, about fifty yards north of the Ouse. Three inhumations with a sword and three spearheads, found in 1896. *PSA*² 16, 1895-7, 114, hence *V.C.H.* 1, 186. Bedford Museum. A Viking sword was found nearby and the Saxon burials may or may not belong within the Pagan period. Bedford Museum.

DUNSTABLE. Rifleman Inn (Rifle Volunteer) TL 007 214. Skeleton found in 1906, Luton Museum 142/33, 'Rifleman Inn'. 'Four Saxon skeletons' found in 1924, 'Rifle Volunteer Inn', West Street, *Dunstable Museum Report*, 1, 1925-6, 7. The Inn, which changed its name between 1906 and 1924, is near the Marina Drive cemetery, but the evidence for calling these skeletons Saxon is not clear.

DUNSTABLE. Five Knolls TL 006 211. In 1929 G. C. Dunning and R. E. M. Wheeler excavated nearly 100 skeletons inserted into one of the Bronze Age barrows that name the hill-top; one skeleton (B 22) had a pierced Roman coin at the neck, and another (B 21) was buried with a bronze tube and a buckle, that might be either Roman or Saxon; elsewhere in the surface soil, but not in graves, were a variety of objects ranging from a pre-Roman brooch to a Roman goblet and Saxon potsherds and a buckle. Six of the ten groups of bodies, all young adults, three quarters of them men, nearly half of them with their wrists crossed behind the back, as though tied, lay in ordered rows, one group often displacing the skulls and limbs of burials beneath them.

The excavators somewhat surprisingly concluded that 'it is evident that most of the burials were carried out at one time', and suggested Saxon raiders executed by Romano-British captors¹; the anthropologists who examined the skulls, however, made the counter suggestion that they were Britons executed by Saxons, since the average cephalic index differs from the Anglo-Saxon

¹*Arch. Jl.* 88, 1931, 193.

group examined elsewhere, and is 'such as would characterise any collection of modern English skulls' and 'does not differ sensibly from the average given for Cambridge undergraduates or for convicts'. Since, however, it was 'distinctly more divergent' from the 'Iron Age group', they were led to postulate either a 'Bronze Age survival' or a colony of 'mediterranean Romans' in the Dunstable area². The number of pre-Saxon skulls so far examined seems, however, rather too small to warrant such deductions, in few of the considerable racial mixture of the population in the 2000 years between the beginning of the Bronze Age and the coming of the Saxons; but pagan Saxon skulls, more plentiful, and markedly divergent from both earlier and later norms, appear to be a more reliably distinguishable group, though their peculiarities seem later to have been absorbed into the prevailing type of the pre-Saxon population. Mr Don Brothwell of the Duckworth Laboratory, Cambridge, has kindly re-examined the Five Knolls skulls and reports that they differ significantly from the 263 Anglo-Saxon skeletons, including those from Marina Drive (p. 45 above) which he has examined; it is therefore unlikely that they were the skulls of pagan Saxons of the first few generations of settlement.

The 'battle-massacre' suggestion is, however, a doubtful interpretation of small groups of orderly manacled burials that cut each other out; Wheeler noted that the Five Knolls, on the northernmost lip of the Downs above the high road, was an ideal site for a gallows, which seems a much more likely explanation. Hanging was a Germanic, not a Roman penalty, and the pierced Roman coin and the buckle argue a date not many centuries after the Roman period, while the few Saxon objects in the top soil of the barrow suggest no more than that the soil was turned over in or after the sixth century. The Knolls might have been the site of a periodical assembly before the later Manshead Hundred centre at Tingrith (*E.P.N.S.* 112) was established, perhaps at some time in the seventh or eighth centuries.

HARLINGTON. *TL* 033 298 Wickhern. "Some fine specimens of Anglo-Saxon urns were found, many years ago, in a field called Wickhern, belonging to the late Mr Pearse; they were given to the late Mr James Wyatt. I do not know what has become of them . . . Wickhern adjoins Sheepwalk Hill (Toddington, cf. p. 70 above)." From the same field, the Horley MS records a Roman burial with Samian dishes and deer antlers, apparently the same site as that cited by Blundell, 5.

The Anglo-Saxon urns might be part of the Sheepwalk Hill cemetery; or might be a confusion with the Roman burial. *P.S.A.*² 11, 1885-7, 311.

HARLINGTON. *TL* 043 295 Dyers' Hall Farm. "The writer has in his possession several fine specimens of Saxon earthenware from the same (Sheepwalk) Hill and at Dyers Hall Farm and at . . . Fancot". The Fancot (cf. p. 72 above) urns survive. Dyers Hall Farm fields adjoin Sheepwalk Hill, and, if they were Saxon, may have formed part of that cemetery.

HENLOW. *About TL* 17 38. *Haemma Hlaw*, the Hens' Burial mound, an exceptional form. *E.P.N.S.* 170. If the derivation is correct, the barrow may have been Saxon or earlier; there were Saxon burials nearby, cf. Henlow, Clifton, pp. 66 above.

HOUGHTON REGIS. *About TL* 023 043, East Hill and Chantry Farms. Cobbled paving with late Saxon, St. Neots' and medieval pottery, with an Anglo-Saxon coin, and a pair of shears, which might possibly belong to the pagan period. Luton Museum 65/52; 206-7/53.

²*Arch. Jl.* 88, 1931, 210. and *Biometrika* 25 May, 1933, 15.

HOUGHTON REGIS. TL 000 247 Thorngreen Farm. Two Saxon knives which might have come from a pagan burial. Luton Museum L/7/338.

KENSWORTH. TL 036 184. Pottery vessel 'found in making the new parsonage cellar'. Luton Museum 76/49.

LUTON. TL 072 245 Watery Lane, Biscot. Under the foundations of a new bridge, 1913. A slender spearhead, later than types normally found in pagan Saxon graves, perhaps sixth to eighth century. Luton Museum 113/46.

LUTON. TL 065 230. 149 Beechwood Road. A skeleton with an iron knife is probably Saxon. Luton Museum 48/40.

POTTON. *Somewhere about TL 22 48.* The half hundred of Wenslow took its name from a lost barrow. *Woden's Hlaw*, probably somewhere in the Potton-Sutton area; *E.P.N.S.* 100. Galley Hill and John o'Gaunt's Hill are possible sites. The name suggests that the original settlers who bestowed it did not know who was buried there, and the barrow may therefore have been pre-Saxon.

STREATLEY. *Centred about TL 087 265,* Dray's Ditches, Galley Hill, Bramingham.

"When the old road was being made from Luton to Barton . . . in 1832 . . . from the old road which leads to Bramingham and Stockenbridge . . . earthenware pots were discovered, and a few British and Saxon coins. Antiquarians say that the Saxon soldiers were fed on oysters, which may account for so many shells being found there . . . At . . . Dray's Ditches, when the road was being made, a number of earthenware pots . . . some pieces of iron of singular shapes, etc. and a few Roman coins were found. Nearly at every rising ground between Luton and Barton, pitchers, pieces of iron armour, coins, etc., have been dug up"¹. The 'armour' and 'iron of singular shapes' might be echoes of the swords, spearheads and shield-bosses common in pagan Saxon graves. Four skeletons without grave goods buried in No. 3 tumulus on Galley Hill, excavated in 1951, might or might not be Saxon².

STUDHAM. *About TL 01 15,* Deadmansey. In a list of Anglo-Saxon burial places, in W. G. Smith, *Dunstable, its History and Surroundings*, 62, Studham is the only one not otherwise attested. Smith probably had evidence; but it is just possible that he was making an inference from the field name.

TODDINGTON. Uncertain location. A cruciform and a disc brooch in Northampton Museum, bought at the sale of the Cooper-Cooper collection in 1911, are entered in the accession book as 'Toddington, Beds.' This is probably where they were found, but might possibly refer only to where they were bought; since no such brooches are listed among the Sheepwalk Hill finds, they may have come from Warmark. The cruciform brooch, published by Aberg, 171, as from Finedon, Northants, presumably because it is exhibited with a comb from Finedon, without separate label, is an unusually well made group IV brooch, with double quatrefoil decoration, as on A3 Great Squarehead brooches, paralleled at Haslingfield, St John's, Cambridge, etc., and should date to about 550 A.D. or a little later. If it comes from Toddington, it lies well south and west

¹Davis, *History of Luton*, 1874, 33-34.

²Luton Museum L/12/52; *Bedfordshire Archaeologist*. 1, 2, 1955, 39

of any other mid-sixth century cruciform brooch in England. Northampton Museum catalogue entry 359 (formerly 355).

WHIPSNADE (?). *About TL 00 18*. Goldenlow. King Edward I's seneschal and marshal came to Dunstable to enquire after treasure found at 'Goldenclowe' in the reign of Henry III; the finder's son-in-law Adam Russ of Dunstable had 'become rich'; he and his effects valued at £30, fell to the king, and he compounded the fine for £10. The barrow had evidently contained an exceptionally rich gold treasure; it may well have been Anglo-Saxon of the seventh century. *Annals of Dunstable Priory* (Rolls Series) 1290 (1286); *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1292; *E.P.N.S.* 120. The site might be Golden Row in Whipsnade.

Rejected Sites

BIGGLESWADE. *TL 214 403* Edworth, Topler's Hill. A jewelled brooch with human remains is medieval. *Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1, 1840-6, 1845, p. 20 and pl iv., hence *Arch. Jl.* 12 1855, 96, *V.C.H.* 2, 7.

TODDINGTON. *TL 045 288* Foxburrow. The finds reported are Iron Age, Belgic and Roman. 'Clay lumps', 'used in cremation by the Anglo-Saxons' are probably kiln bars, and the speculations on the place name do not command support. *P.S.A.*² 6, 1873-6, 184, hence all later references.

Notes

Ravensburgh Castle — observations on its construction

The bivallate hill-fort known as Ravensburgh Castle is situated in the central Chilterns, one mile south of Hexton. Enclosing an area of almost seventeen acres, it spans the higher, western side of a plateau which is surrounded by deep, steep-sided dry valleys, one of which contains a spring. At its north-western corner the plateau is joined to the main hill-ridge by a narrow neck of land, some 200 feet wide. The interior of the camp slopes downwards to the east, where a line of rampart separates it from the remainder of the plateau. This eastern rampart is excellently sited along the crest of a natural drop in the land.

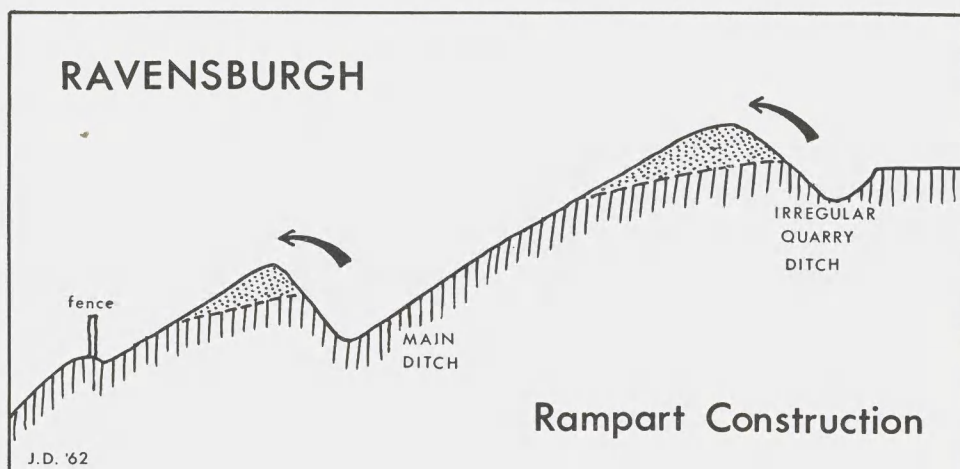


Fig 1. Ravensburgh Castle: The method of Rampart Construction.

The fort provides a fine example of Rivet's 'downward' method of rampart construction¹; the builders' intention being to provide bivallation with the least effort. All round the inner edge of the ramparts, small irregular quarry-ditches were dug and the material from them dumped outwards to make a rampart crest. Some 30 feet lower down the outer hill-slope a small ditch was dug and the material was again thrown outwards to provide a counterscarp bank. The irregular quarry ditches have been largely destroyed by forestry, but were partially recorded in the R.C.H.M. survey made in 1909², and can sometimes be seen on aerial photographs.

Ravensburgh has two entrances; one in the south-eastern corner is of a simple butt-type (Hawkes' later 'A')³. At this point the ramparts are more massive and the ditch deeper, apparently to give added strength at a point of natural weakness. Outside, and cutting across the entrance, is a modern afforestation bank. The main entrance is in the north-western angle. Here the entrance passage is oblique, the line of the rampart on the north turning inwards, and that on the south curving outwards. Adjoining the gateway in the north-western angle is a massive rampart mound 10 feet high. This may well have been built as an observation platform, since without it, it is

(1) Rivet, in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (1961) 29

(2) *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Hertfordshire* (1910) 114

(3) *Antiquity* V (1931) 73

impossible to get a clear view of the southern entrance from the north-western one, due to its being hidden below a ridge in the centre of the camp. From the same platform excellent views are obtainable of the Icknield belt, as far east as Wilbury hill-fort.

Just outside the northern entrance is a bank of earth, blocking the head of a coombe from the south, and originally giving added protection to the entrance, and perhaps forming part of a now-destroyed hornwork.

The centre of the camp has been entirely disturbed by afforestation removing any signs of occupation which may have been visible on the surface. From time to time sherds of Southern Second A pottery have been found, to give a clue to its cultural affinities.

JAMES F. DYER

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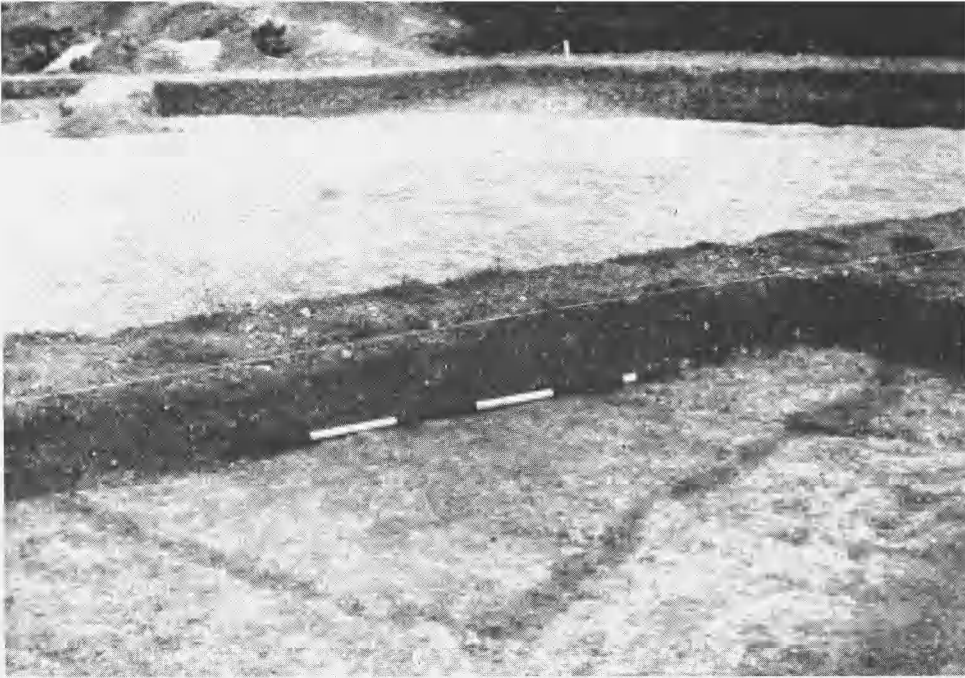
(a) BARTON HILL FARM SITE I

The entrance causeway on the north-west side of the site. Its worn surface suggests that it gave access to the ditch floor as well as to the interior of the site.



(b) BARTON HILL FARM SITE I
Crouched burial of a boy (scale in inches). The shale bead was found below the jaw-bone.

PLATE II



a. BARTON HILL FARM SITE I
North-eastern corner of the rectangular mortuary foundation.

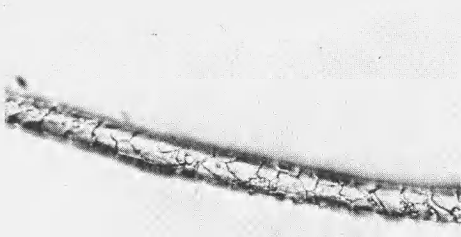


b. BARTON HILL FARM SITE III
The chalk-cut ditch on the western side of site III. Numerous antler pick-marks were found on the ditch side in shadow in the centre of the photograph.

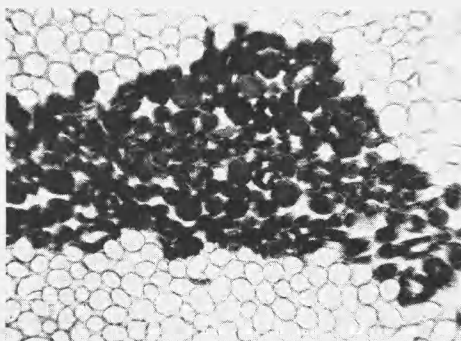
PLATE III



a. MARINA DRIVE CEMETERY Graves C7, C8 and C9



b. (magnification: x 200)



c. (x 100)

MARINA DRIVE CEMETERY Graves E1/2
Sections of wool fibres from work boxes.



d. MARINA DRIVE CEMETERY
Enamelled bronze escutcheon of hanging
bowl from Grave B3/4

PLATE IV

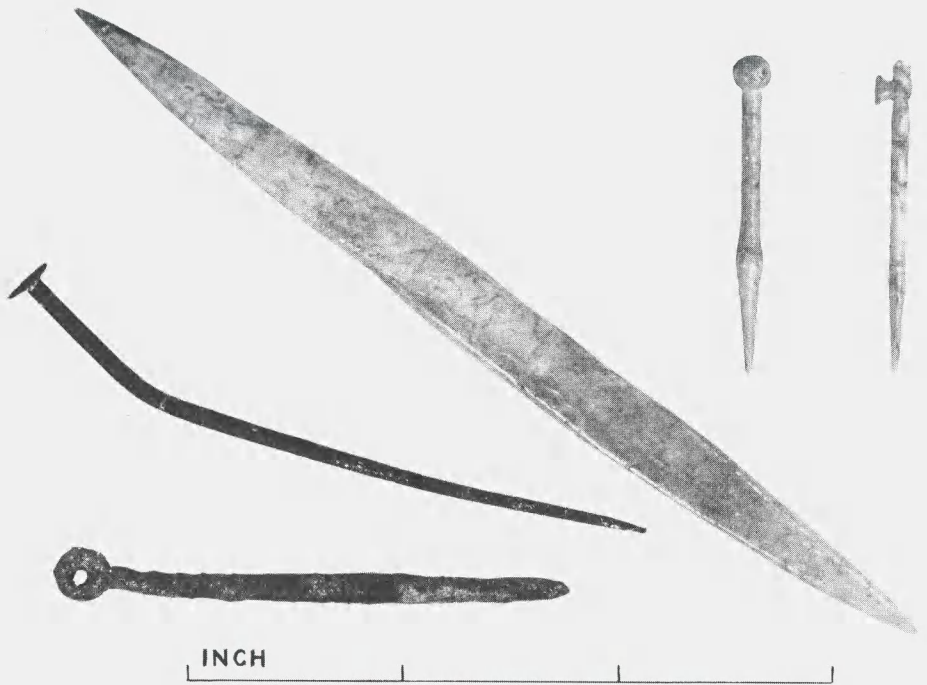


a. PUDDLEHILL CEMETERY Grave 1, Saxon Warrior, on edge of chalk quarry.



b. PUDDLEHILL BURIAL GROUND 2 Grave Goods from Grave 2

PLATE V



PUDDLEHILL SAXON HUT Bone and bronze pins.

PLATE VI



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Photo: by J. K. St. Joseph

RAVENSBURGH CASTLE from the air

