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A re-assessment of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials and burial rites in Wiltshire

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inferred (see Burial Rites) but these inferences must be regarded as hypotheses based upon what little is known about religious and social structures as set forth in legal codes, Church documents and the works of scholars who have attempted to reconstruct pagan Anglo-Saxon religion based upon Norse evidence. Any analysis of this type must lead to theoretical "conclusions". It is the most ~~pit-fall laden~~ hazardous aspects of the subject as it is impossible to determine whether any theory broached is correct except that some may suit the material better than others. In short, there is nothing concrete upon which to make any assumptions, especially as so little work has been done in this particular field.

Methodology

The factors considered in this analysis are as follows: individual burials: orientation, position, placement in the cemetery, size and shape of grave, comparative wealth, age, sex, and any abnormalities; burial places: location, placename and charter evidence, proximity to other burial sites, size, layout (evidence for clusters, rows and voids), date span, possible development patterns, over-all orientation, types of grave goods and their affinities, and how the site compared with others in the County.

This system had to be fairly flexible as each site and site report differed in the amount of information it could yield.

An attempt was made to analyse burials within the context of the rest of the graves in a cemetery or burial place and the entire group in the context of its location as pertains to geography, etc. Although this lessened the temptation to single out certain burials or burial places, not all of the sites proved to be of equal interest and one found oneself devoting more time to well-reported, interesting, or elaborate sites than to other less complex ones.

Because it proved necessary to re-date so much of this material, I have had to make a decision to accept the dating provided by other individual's corpora and studies. As has been stated elsewhere, the artefacts were not the main concern of this thesis. Texts relied upon included The Fifth Century Invasions South of the Thames (1965) and "Sugarloaf Shield Bosses" (1963)(V. Evison), for the Frankish material and late shield boss types respectively, A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches (Leeds,

1949), The Anglo-Saxon Connexion (Longley, 1975), hanging bowls, Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England (Myres, 1969) and The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements (and Corpus) (Swanton, 1974), spearheads and related weapons.

The dates given in site reports were compared with the texts and objects used by the excavator (when known) and then with other, more recent publications. Alternative datings for objects which could not be conclusively dated are discussed within the text. Appendix **IV** is a possible relative chronology for the Wiltshire sites. Unfortunately, a rough date (usually in the sixth century) was all that could be assigned to many sites because of the nature of the grave goods. However, such dating sufficed to provide a rough relative chronology.

Conclusions

The limitations faced included not only a lack of primary sources, but a relative lack of a cultural context as well. Reconstructions of this type are rarely completely accurate and they are far more viable when there is well-documented evidence available for comparative purposes.

This, coupled with the vagaries of the sources and site reports themselves, yielded a very meagre framework upon which to base conclusions. It is hoped that some of the material contained herein will be of value to others wishing to engage in the same type of analysis. There are so many gaps in the study of pagan Anglo-Saxon culture that even concrete archaeological evidence may be interpreted incorrectly, despite the care taken in the analysis of such evidence.

The following paragraph concludes an article written by a pre-historian, Robson Bonnichsen, entitled "Millies Camp, an experiment in Archaeology", and, although Bonnichsen was working in a pre-historic context, his summation is extremely apt in the light of what has been stated above.

> "In conclusion, this study suggests that although the prehistorian may be able to develop logical satisfying explanatory structures for understanding pre-historic data, there need not be any relationship between his models and the site(s) under investigation. If difficulties such as those encountered here are to be curtailed in the future, an acute awareness must be developed of limitations of inferential methodologies employed for interpreting prehistoric remains."
>
> (World Arch. 4, no. 3, 287)

The definition of these limitations is, in itself, an important study. The limitations inherent in publications and dating criteria and those implied by "inferential methodologies" circumscribed the limits of this thesis. These are even narrower than those encountered by Bonnichsen as there were no contemporary societies whose members might be able to correct the "inferences".

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historical Background

The literary evidence for the earliest phase of settlement in Wiltshire is extremely scanty and rests primarily upon information found in the A.S.C. and in early charters.

Wiltshire lies to the West and Southwest of the main centres of activity, Winchester (administrative and ecclesiastical) and Dorchester (the original West Saxon See), and it is only recorded in the A.S.C. when battles were fought on its soils or missionaries penetrated its borders. Bede also failed to note very much about the Men of Wessex before the coming of Birinus in 634 (the technical end of the Pagan period in the Kingdom). According to him, Wessex was originally populated by two groups of incoming settlers, the Saxons (who became the West Saxons) and the Jutes who occupied the province of Wessex "opposite the Isle of Wight (and) are called Jutes to this day." (Bede, 1956 ed. 56). The grave goods found in several of the earliest graves in the County provide evidence that both groups were probably co-operating in the primary phases of settlement.

One group which is mentioned neither by Bede nor the Chronicle, is the Franks. However, they seem to have taken some part in this endeavour. Their role is discussed throughout this thesis, but it should be mentioned here that this group appears to have had more than a mere trading relationship with the Saxons and the Jutes and would appear to have influenced burial practises to some extent. That the Saxons may have been the dominant force in the later Pagan period may be evident, both from the statements made in the Chronicle and the more typically West Saxon grave goods found in later Pagan graves, although this may relate to an increase in local manufacture and the fact that many of the artefacts which had accompanied the original settlers had already been consigned to graves.

The A.S.C. as Evidence

Recent discussions involving the validity of the dates as put forth by the A.S.C. render this text as somewhat suspect in terms of reliability. Especially impressive are those put forth by Dr. Evison in The Fifth Century Invasions South of the Thames (1965). Her deductions are based upon the early material which has been found in the Thames Valley, Kent, Sussex, I.o.W., Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Essex. From these artefacts, Dr. Evison reached the following conclusions:

> "Now the rest of the dates are not likely to be accurate, but the order of events is presumably correct. In allocating dates on the principles suggested above (i.e. moving the coming of Aelle and his fleet to Sussex from 477 to 449 based upon duplications in the Chronicle). Therefore it will be a useful procedure to base calculations on the Chronicle dates to obtain an idea of the sequence and possible spacing in time of events. The battles fought by Cedric and Cynric 13 years after the landing would therefore be placed at 462, the Battle of Old Sarum would become 487 and the Battle of Bedford 506. The reign of Ceawlin would extend from A.D.495 to 528, and the puzzling occasion when he and Cutha fought against the Britons at Fethenleah and Cutha was killed and Ceawlin 'returned in anger to his own' would have been in 519."
>
> (Evison, 1965, 84)

Considering the large quantity of late fifth and early sixth century material found in the County, Dr. Evison's theory suits the material far better than the A.S.C. date for the decisive battle of Old Sarum (552). Cemeteries such as Petersfinger and Harnham Hill are quite large by Wiltshire standards, but not when compared with some of the large cemeteries of Kent, for example. These aforementioned burial places do not reflect casual usage but may reflect very early settlement (C.F. Petersfinger, Blackpatch, Harnham Hill).

If Dr. Evison is correct in her assumptions, the chronology for the settlement of Wiltshire must be drastically altered (by no less than sixty-five years). The strict adherence to the A.S.C. date for this battle, which coloured many authors' opinions (especially those of E. T. Leeds, despite the fact that he did agree that settlement may have started up much earlier (Ant. J., 1933, 229ff)) on the dating of artefacts found in the county, may well be dispensed with, and a new date for the inception of settle-

ment, perhaps in the last quarter of the fifth century instead of the mid-sixth century date given in the A.S.C. substituted. However, certain discrepancies arise in the use of either Dr. Evison's or the traditional chronology, sites such as Barbury Castle (see Ap. I) having an A.S.C. dating of 556 A.D., have, to date, produced seventh century material only. What may be stated is that settlement had already begun in the Wiltshire area (especially in the valley of the Salisbury Avon) by the date suggested by Dr. Evison for the battle ~~of~~ at Old Sarum, but what may not be ruled out is the possibility of settlement prior to the A.S.C. date of Battle which may have been a successful attempt, on the part of the Anglo-Saxons, to extend their defensive network to include a stronghold still in Romano-British hands in the mid-sixth century. As has been pointed out by Gover in the E.P.N.S. volume for the County of Wiltshire, there is no reason to believe that peaceful co-existence did not exist between the two groups - native and newcomer - for a considerable period of time. (E.P.N.S. 1939)

The dating of the artefacts must also be reinterpreted. Cemeteries such as Harnham Hill and Petersfinger, heretofore assigned to the sixth and seventh centuries, when reassessed in the light of more recent finds and publications, proved to have come into existence by the end of the Fifth century (see p.73).

J. Musty (the excavator of Winterbourne Gunner and the barrows at Ford), puts forth a different opinion, the end result of which would be similar to the conclusions reached by Evison. He is in agreement with Hawks who suggests that the Battle of Old Sarum was of a defensive nature, a result of a British attempt to win back a fort already in Anglo-Saxon hands by 552. Musty also stresses the fact that not every event which took place during the period of primary settlement was recorded in the A.S.C. and points out certain discrepancies within the text that would make this theory an acceptable one. (Wiam, 1964, 104) But, he chose to adhere to the A.S.C. dating for the battle when assessing the material from Winterbourne Gunner, another cemetery in which late fifth century artefacts were found (see Winterbourne Gunner).

The A.S.C. provides a picture of the conflict which occurred in the county both during and after the pagan period. It was a

much contested area, fought over by the Britons, the Mercians, and perhaps by different groups within the West Saxon Kingdom itself. In its earliest phase, pagan Anglo-Saxon Wiltshire lay in an exposed position on the western frontier of the West Saxon kingdom, the clay lowlands and purbeck beds of the northwestern quarter of the county may have sheltered a large number of Romano-Britains, the dense forests of the Chute, Selwood, etc. and the heavy clays of the lowlands did not encourage settlement, whilst the Chute and the New Forest separated Hampshire from Wiltshire. The Old Sarum area may have been the original focus for settlement and there may have been a struggle for its possession from the earliest phases. During the Roman period, the Northwest, Southwest, and Old Sarum areas were heavily populated, the northern half of the county showing a heavier concentration of Villa sites, with native sites appearing to spread out over the chalk plains to the north and west of Old Sarum (Fig. 2). In the north and southwest, and to a lesser extent, throughout the county, there is some placename evidence that the native population may still have been well entrenched (Fig. 1). According to the A.S.C., this group continued to harass the Men of Wiltshire until the ninth century. There are no fewer than 36 Celtic/British or O.E./British hybrid placenames in the county and this does not include the more common river and stream names which are found throughout England. Nine names are of purely British origin, two more may be completely "native", nine hybrid names contain Old English and British elements, and twelve more may be hybrids of this type. Of particular interest may be the five surviving placenames which may refer to "Welsh" or native settlements: Cumberwell (Cumbra-welshman) in Bradford Hundred, the somewhat doubtful Britford in Cawden Hundred not far from Salisbury, Walcott (cottage of the serfs) in Blackgrove Hundred, Wallmead farm in Dunworth Hundred, and the last Walton in Downton Hundred, probably located near Downton itself. The editors of the E.P.N.S. volume for Wiltshire (1939) were impressed by the number of Celtic and British placenames in the County and stated : "Names of British origin are more prominent in Wiltshire than in any other district except perhaps Devon, which the survey has so far dealt with and they occur in every part of the county. For

many, perhaps for most, of them, no certain explanation can be offered. Even so, the mere fact of their survival points clearly enough to a period of peaceful intercourse between the Britons who survived the first impact of the Saxon invasion and the new Lords of their county" (E.P.N.S., 1939, x). Other evidence for the continuation of British settlement or influence beyond the pagan period may be noted. "Asser, biographer of Aelfred, a Welshman, mentioned the Welsh forms of some Dorset and Wiltshire (place) names, such as Durnqueir for Dorchester, Guilou for Wylye, which may indicate that a British language was still spoken to some extent as late as about 875." (Mawer, Pt.1, 1969, 28).

The situation as expressed by the A.S.C. would appear to be somewhat different. Naturally, the Chronicle emphasises conflict rather than peaceful co-existence. For convenience, the "original" A.S.C. dates have been adhered to in this section, although it must be kept in mind that, at least in some cases, they may be as much as 65 years later than the actual date for an event.

The earliest mentioned site in the County is Old Sarum, scene of a battle between the West Saxons and the Britons, in 552 (487), the West Saxons being victorious. A barrow situated about 600 yards to the south of the site contained fourteen erratically buried secondary skeletons, two of which were wearing "Roman or Romano-British" buckles. All of the skulls were brachycephalic, a skull type found very occasionally amongst the Anglo-Saxons, the majority of whom were dolicho- or mesocephalic. The Old Sarum skeletons all showed signs of having been buried with their wrists bound (see Roche Court Down, p.**101**). Therefore, whilst there is some archaeological evidence for a struggle at the site, it may not be assumed with any certainty that these skeletons relate to the 552/487 battle.

The same opponents fought against one another at Beranburh (Barbury Castle) in A.S.C. date 556. Barbury Castle lies well to the North of Old Sarum (approx. 20 miles). Human remains were found here, but, unfortunately, they were unaccompanied by grave goods. However, a scramasax and other weapons were found separately at this site (see **Ap.I**). These may only be roughly dated to the latest sixth and seventh centuries and may belong to a resettlement phase after the site had been won.

Perhaps the most decisive victory of the sixth century, in terms of the settlement of Wiltshire, took place at Dyrham (Dereham, Gl.) in (C.D.) 577. Dereham lies well to the northwest of Barbury. This might indicate that Anglo-Saxon forces were pushing into Somerset, and Gl. possibly through northeastern Wiltshire which they had already claimed. It is clear from the next entry, however, that the Saxon forces had but a tentative hold over this area. In 592, Ceawlin, King of Wessex since 560, was defeated by the Britons in a "great struggle" at Adam's Grave (Alton Priors) well to the southeast of Dereham. The native population does not appear to have remained docile after its defeat at Dereham but may have continued their struggle to re-assert its authority and make inroads into Anglo-Saxon held territory in the period between the battles of Dereham and Adam's Grave.

The late sixth and seventh centuries, the era of the great primary barrow burials, was fraught with skirmishes. Ceolwulf, who succeeded Ceawlin in 592, "Fought and made war either against the Picts, the Angles, the Welsh, or the Scots." The locations of his many battles are unspecified. Cyngils, who came to the throne in 611, fought the Welsh at the unlocated site of Beandun in 614 and "slew 2065 Welsh" (A.S.C. 1955, 22).

In 628, a new threat to the Kingdom of Wessex came to the fore in the form of Penda of Mercia. Cyngils and Cwichelm (of Wessex) fought against the Mercians at Cirencester (to the north of Aston Keynes, Wilts.). The Chronicle rather cryptically states that "they came to an agreement".

Apart from the sphere of warfare, perhaps the single most important event of the seventh century was the coming of Birinus, a missionary pledged to go where no teacher had preached before. He arrived in circa 634 and baptised Cynegils in 635. Oswald of Northumbria stood as his Godfather and Oswald's daughter was given as Cynegil's wife (thus forming an alliance between Wessex and Northumbria). To Birinus was given the newly formed See of Dorcic (Dorchester, Oxon.)(Bede, 1966, 148). The royal conversion did not survive the death of Cynegils. His successor, Cenwalh renounced the new faith, according to Bede (ommitted from the Chronicle), and shortly thereafter lost his kingdom, possibly to Mercia. After three years in exile with Anna (a Christian King of the East Angles),

Cenwalh was restored to both his kingdom and the faith and founded the See at Winchester in 648 (A.S.C., 1955, 28).

Bede's account of the ensuing events which contributed to the division of the See of Wessex between Dorchester and Winchester, concerns the Bishop Agilbert (of Gaul) whose foreign speech was unpleasant to Cenwalh who preferred a "Bishop of his own race", Wini, and gave him the newly formed See of Winchester. (Bede, 1968, ed. 152). Whilst this may make good reading and may contain a grain of truth, other events and developments may also have contributed to this division, such as the desire of the West Saxon King to create a See in his royal city - Wintancestir, and consolidate administration, or the fact that Dorchester was almost "border country", far from the administrative centre and perhaps more difficult to defend. The majority of Cenwalh's kingdom lay to the south of the Thames and was spreading westward, away from the original see. This is borne out, to some extent, by both the Chronicle entries and by the emergence of seventh century burials in south-western Wiltshire, an area which does not appear (from the present day Archaeological evidence) to have been heavily populated before this date and even afterwards fairly lightly.[1]

The conversion of Wessex was an extremely superficial one. Burials in a pagan or transitional mode took place over the next fifty years or more, probably culminating in the primary barrow burial at Maiden Bradley (Rodmead Down) which may date to the eighth century.

Cenwalh was forced to defend his territory throughout his long reign (A.S.C. 641-672). The A.S.C. mentions neither his aggressors nor all of his battlesites. In 644, he lost the overlordship of his kingdom to Penda of Mercia (at an unspecified site). An entry for 652 merely states that "Cenwalh fought at Bradford-upon-Avon", there is no mention of his assailants or who was victorious. He won a decisive victory against the "Welsh" at Penselwood (a hybrid place-name) on the Wiltshire/Somerset border and "drove them in flight as far as the Parrett"(A.S.C. 1955, 33). By 682, Centwine had driven the Britons to the sea.

The eighth century A.S.C. entries are largely concerned with Wessex' struggle against the Kingdom of Mercia. Ine of Wessex

1. Even at this date, there are no recorded burials in the north-western quarter and the only information available concerning this area is found in grants to the Abbot of Malmesbury (circa 650 onwards).

fought Ceolred of Mercia at Adam's Grave in 715. In the mid eighth century, a very peculiar situation arose in which Cuthred of Wessex "resolutely made war" against Aethelbald of Mercia in 741 only to become his ally against the Welsh in 743. 752 found them on opposing sides again. Cuthred won a victory over Aethelbald at Beorhford. Renewed conflicts against the "Welsh" occupied him in 753. A somewhat curious entry for 750 brings to light the possible internal conflict which may have been taking place. In this year, Cuthred fought against a "presumptous Ealdorman", at an unspecified location. Cynewulf, Cuthred's successor but one, was still being plagued by the "Welsh" against whom he frequently fought great battles. The other enemies, the Mercians, continued to be a problem until 823 (5) when Egbert of Wessex defeated Beornwulf of Mercia at Wroughton (Wilts.). Egbert became the protector of the East Engles in the same year and conquered Mercia in 827 (29). He was then made eighth Brethwalder in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms.

One of the most pertinent Chronicle entries concerns a skirmish between two Ealdormen in (circa) 800 and reads thusly:

> "and on the same day Ealdorman Aethelmund rode from the Hwicce over the Thames at Kempsford and was met by Weohstan with the men of Wiltshire. There was a great battle and both Ealdormen were slain and the men of Wiltshire had the victory."
>
> (A.S.C. 1955, 58)

This is the earliest recorded reference to the men of Wiltshire by name (Wilsaetan- dwellers by the Wylye (River? near Wilton)(E.P.N.S., 1939, xviii). As this entry is of a date well past the pagan and transitional periods, it seems appropriate to conclude the A.S.C. chronology at this point - as the men of Wiltshire take on a recognized identity.

Charter Evidence

Of somewhat secondary importance is the Charter evidence. It provides a flimsy matrix upon which to base the settlement of the County and shows the development of the religious houses, the property granted to them, and the change in overlords from West Saxon to Mercian to West Saxon again which occurred in the latest Pagan and middle Saxon periods.

They divide roughly into two categories, large tracts of land granted to institutions and smaller tracts given to individuals. In the seventh century, the majority of the grants were made by Mercian kings and the bulk of the earliest are gifts to the Abbot Aldhelm of Malmesbury. Most of this land is in the sparsely settled northwestern quarter of the County - to the west of the Selwood. Considering that Malmesbury was a Celtic foundation, it is always possible that this area was chosen deliberately because of its relative isolation and the possibility that many of its inhabitants may have been Romano-Britons. Bede makes no mention of this monastic foundation until the year 705, when Aldhelm was named Bishop of Sherbourne. The grants carry its foundation back to 675, at which time Aldhelm was at Malmesbury, and it is thought that the monastery, founded by the Irish Monk Maildubh, may have come into existence circa 650 (V.C.H. Pt. II, 1974, 476).

By the end of the seventh century, the grants become primarily West Saxon in origin and the main recipient is, again, the Monastery at Malmesbury. In the mid eighth century, however, the Mercian Kings were again parcelling out land in the County and the benefactors become more varied. The last Mercian grant of land in Wiltshire was made by Ecgfrith (at the request of Beorntric of Wessex) restoring Purton to Malmesbury. Hereinafter, the grants were all made by West Saxon Kings.

The Charters parallel the state of conflict emphasized by the A.S.C. They also bring to light how inaccurate or incomplete the A.S.C. can be as concerns events and places in Wiltshire. There is no mention of the coming of Maildrub or the monastery itself, although Glastonbury, further to the west, is mentioned as early as 688 (A.S.C. 1955, 40). Aldhelm is only mentioned at his death in 709, and there is nothing about his connections with the monastery in this passage. In a later period, Wilton, a Royal Vill of some importance, also comes in for scant reference. Although it held a nunnery and a Moneyer, it is only recorded as the location of a raid and as a burial place. Why these two fairly important sites appear so infrequently in the A.S.C. is an unanswerable question. Both controlled large tracts of land throughout the Anglo-Saxon Period, at the time of Domesday Book, the Abbot of Malmesbury held nine cossets of land plus four and one-half at Somesford, etc., and the

Abbess of Wilton controlled twenty-five burgessess paying £10.17.6d. per annum. (Darby & Finn, 1967, 60.) Therefore, it might seem odd that the accounts of these two religious foundations occupy so little space in the A.S.C.

The picture which evolves from the rather scant, insufficient historical data for the Pagan Anglo-Saxon period in the (modern) County of Wiltshire is one of conflict throughout the area lasting well into the post Pagan era, the most volatile were probably the Mercian threat to the North accompanied by almost constant skirmishes against the native population concentrated in northern and central Wiltshire. In the initial phase, battles took place as far to the south as Old Sarum. The A.S.C. supplies somewhat weak evidence for the emergence of local Ealdormen, some of whom led their men into battle. Overlying this is the shifting of alliances between the Mercians and the West Saxon Royal families, sparked off in the era of the feud between Cenwalh and Penda and culminating in the Battle of Ellendun (Wroughton, Wilts.) which finally put paid to Mercian involvement in the county. Of a more peaceful nature was the establishment (at a very early date) of the Monastery at Malmesbury and the later development of the Royal Vills at Wilton, Cricklade, etc.

Of the ordinary people, as opposed to extraordinary events, we know even less. As is stated by Bede, at least two groups of settlers initially occupied the area, the Jutes to the South (in modern Hampshire and I.O.W.) and the Saxons, to the North of them. From the A.S.C. it is possible to add another group, the "Celts, Romano-Britains, or Welsh", who were gradually (and with much difficulty), pushed northwestward from Old Sarum to Barbury to Dereham, and finally expelled altogether (if one believes the A.S.C. account) or assimilated to a degree wherein they no longer constituted a threat. The Anglian presence, which should, by all written evidence, be fairly pronounced by the end of the Pagan era, is sparsely represented by a trickle of what may be Anglian arteracts interspersed with the far more common West Saxon grave goods. A few pots which may have originated in East or Middle Anglia and some of the small brooches which show affinities to those from Kempston, Beds. would appear to be the sum total. The pots can not be proven as being Anglian and the brooches are of a fairly common type. These

are far more likely to be trade objects than an indication of new overlordship. The most diagnostic element of early cemeteries, both Saxon and more prevalently Anglian, cremation burials, either as a sole feature or intermixed with inhumations, is lacking in the County (to date), although such burials are plentiful enough to the North of the Thames. However, the Anglians may have influenced the introduction of barrow building into an area well to the South of the Derbyshire group. These may be related to such burials in Wiltshire (see p.196) an area surrounded by Counties in which this particularly form of burial never became the mode, even for the very wealthy. Unmentioned by name in any text are, as aforementioned, the "Franks", or settlers having a strong affinity to this group, who may have taken some undefined part in the earliest phase of invasion. The evidence for the presence of this group is fairly conclusive. Frankish warriors graves have been excavated at Petersfinger, Blackpatch, and Winterbourne Gunner. A fair number of rings, similar to those found in Kentish burials and on the continent, have been found at Harnham Hill, etc.

Therefore, there is evidence of some variety for at least five difference groups of people occupying or trading with the County in the Pagan Anglo-Saxon Period, the Saxons, the "Jutes", the Angles, the native population (literary evidence), and the "Franks" (archaeological evidence). How they merged and organized themselves, and how much the appearance of "typically" Frankish or Anglian grave goods may reflect trade rather than settlement is an extremely complex problem. As will be emphasized in more detail in the following chapters, all of these groups seem to have influenced both the burial practices and the grave goods found in the County.

The continental influence may also be seen in the rows and family clusters of E-W orientated graves containing one or more extended burials which parallels, to some extent, the development of Merovingian cemeteries, such as Marchelrot (Somme), (Boulanger, 1909), and some of the Kentish inhumation cemeteries (ommitting the cremation and hummock elements), such as Lyminge II, which generally lacked hummocks in any case (Meaney, 1964, 127). Both groups may find their antecedents in the row grave cemeteries of fourth century Laeti on the continent (discussed elsewhere - p.275). Limited information on the Hampshire burials would indicate that cremation

and inhumation co-existed in the post-invasion period (Worthy Park, etc.). The orientations noted in these cemeteries are not as consistent as those found in some of the Wiltshire burial places, nor is the organization as "strict" as that of a cemetery such as Harnham Hill. It is surprising that two adjacent areas, both within the same Kingdom, should vary to such an extent. In a later phase, primary barrow burials are lacking (to date) in Hampshire, although secondary barrow burials have been found. These are comparatively numerous in Wiltshire.

The solution may lie in the hypothesis that, although Wiltshire is included in West Saxon held territories in both Bede and the A.S.C., the invader population was never purely West Saxon, but included an aggregate of peoples who do not seem to have conformed only to West Saxon practices but had, to some extent, evolved their own. They were possibly taking the tradition of largish cemeteries, flint lined graves, standard orientations (or mutually exclusive orientations) and the rough organization of cemeteries into rows or clusters from the Continent, and, later on, adopting what would appear to be an Anglian custom, burial in purpose built barrows. Therefore, the Men of Wiltshire appear to have taken as their models in some instances not their own people, the men of Wessex, but the Men of Kent, the Anglian Kingdoms, and, possibly, the Franks instead.

The British, or Romano-British element is far more elusive, although Pitt-Rivers' excavations at Rotherley and Woodcuts do provide good comparative material (P.-R. 1888, II, III). A very few sites, most notably the early burials at Bassett Down (p. 137), do exhibit Roman or Romano-British artefacts, but these are even less plentiful than those items which must be considered as residual, such as some of the brooches found at Petersfinger and Harnham Hill. There may be some evidence for intermarriage, interbreeding between the two groups, which may have resulted in some influence upon burial practices, but these, for the most part, would appear to be fairly negligible. The anthropological evidence for most of the burials in Wiltshire is so poor as to make any detailed study of possible interbreeding impossible.

After the foundation of Malmesbury (post Pagan period), the "welsh" (i.e. Celts) may have contributed to the local style in Jewellery (see Roundway Down II) but, as aforementioned, their chief

contribution was in terms of placenames. As it may not be known exactly what social position(s) was held by the native population within the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, it may not be stated (categorically) that this apparent lack of influence resulted from the refugee or slave status of the indigenous population, although this may be a contributing factor. In fact, there were "Welsh" free men, as indicated by later legal codes, such as that of Ine). In any case, whilst there is evidence that these people were there in (what may have been) fairly large numbers, their ultimate influence on both the actual burials and the artefacts found therein would appear to have been very slight.

Possible Migration Routes

The main concentration of early burial sites is around Salisbury and along the Avon Valley up to the Vale of Pewsey. Similarities between some of the earlier grave goods found at Petersfinger (including the continental types) and those at Blackpatch might indicate that the initial phases at both cemeteries are roughly contemporaneous and that both areas may have been occupied or supplied by the same people(s). The major cemeteries of what will be called the "Old Sarum Group", Harnham Hill, Winterbourne Gunner and Petersfinger (see fig.6) all appear to have been in use by the opening decades of the sixth century (if not earlier) and may have remained in use throughout the pagan period. This may indicate both early and relatively heavy settlement in the area. Another group of settlements may have been concentrated (perhaps at the same time) in the Vale of Pewsey as evidenced by the comparatively long-lived cemetery at Blackpatch and another possible cemetery at Woodbridge, North Newnton. The concentration of sites at Winterslow may have evolved at a somewhat later date than the other two and seems to have reached its peak concentration in the transitional period as did the burials which spread out to the West along the River Wylye. A date in the first half of the sixth century may be assigned to the earliest known burials centring around Marlborough although the evidence is not particularly concluvive for this area.

One of the theories so often put forth by authorities on the period, such as Leeds (Ant. J., 1933, 230) attributes some (if not

all) of the primary settlement to groups travelling down the Thames, but, this must be re-assessed. Aside from the Bassett Down burials, which lie well to the south of the Thames Valley, nothing of a particularly early date has been found (to date) in the extreme northern portion of the County, in fact, very little of any relevant date has come to light. According to Domesday Book, this area was still very lightly settled at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and those settlements which did exist would appear to have been connected with the Boroughs of Malmesbury and Cricklade (Derby, 1969, 63). The other section of the County which is devoid of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, the extreme Southeast, also remained lightly settled, which may indicate a rather static pattern of settlement after the initial phase. It may be that the Thames Valley itself was used as a migration route but the clay lowlands surrounding it were not chosen for settlement (or burial), but this seems unlikely as the northern extreme is almost devoid of chance finds or (even) single burials. The settlers may have passed through very quickly, but, even so, it seems unreasonable to suppose that they left so little evidence behind them. Another explanation would lie in the possibility that the Thames played only a subsidiary part in the settlement of Wiltshire. (See p.259).

A more logical solution to the problem of initial routes into the area would appear to be the possibility that the majority of the incoming settlers travelled up the Salisbury Avon from Poole northwards and spread out from around the Old Sarum area. This route has obvious advantages. Old Sarum, an already well-established defensive site, lies near the confluence of several important Rivers and their valleys, the Avon, the Wylye, the Ebble, the Nadder, and the Bourne, most of which have their related burial sites (see p. These form a natural communications network and also provide transportation routes which encompass a large portion of the Salisbury Plain and Southern and Southwestern Wiltshire. They also link up with the major east-west running rivers to the North, the Kennet and its tributaries. "Strung along the valleys (Avon, Wylye, Nadder, Ebble and Bourne) were the settlements of Domesday Book converging in a striking fashion upon Salisbury itself." (Derby, 1969, 64.)

Thus, this pattern, which may have been established during the initial phase of settlement continued to be re-enforced throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. In addition, a few settlers may have reached northern Wiltshire via the Thames and the major Roman roads which cross it, and this may account for the similarities between brooches found in Beds. and Gl. and some of those found in Wiltshire, although, again, it may never be known how much of this may be put down to trade rather than settlement.

Conclusion

To summarize the above data, it is clear that the A.S.C. data for such crucial events as the Battle of Old Sarum are not to be trusted as settlement in this area was already well under way by 552. The overlordship of the area changed hands on (at least) three occasions, but this may have had little effect upon the Men of Wiltshire, although it may have influenced the burial practices of the aristocracy. The territory was won from the native population with a great amount of difficulty, but there is also some evidence for peaceful co-existence between the two groups, although this assumption rests primarily upon placename evidence.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF WILTSHIRE AND ITS EFFECTS UPON THE PLACEMENT OF PAGAN SAXON BURIAL SITES

(Information taken from V.C.H., Wilts, I, I, 1957)

CHAPTER 2

Geology

The topography of the Wiltshire area greatly influenced the positioning of settlement sites. The chalk plains have been favoured by man since the neolithic period (as evidenced by the distribution of long barrows). The well-drained, shallow, light soils of the chalk uplands and the higher and lower chalk plains provide easily worked arable land. Unfortunately, water supply is scarce and unreliable in all of the above excepting the lower chalk plain of the Salisbury Avon. The higher areas are served primarily by races and flood streams (see Fig. 3). The valley trenches, however, provide both light soils and an adequate water supply and it is obvious why these valleys have been (comparatively) heavily populated throughout mans' history in the area (V.C.H.,I,I, 1957).

When compared to the above, the heavy clay soils in the northern and northwestern portions of the county are scantily populated (see Figs. 3, and 5) There is good evidence that these areas may well have been heavily forested in Pagan Saxon times (V.C.H., I,I,1957) especially the Malmesbury area which was flanked on the north by Kemble forest and on the south and south-east by the Selwood.

These factors must be taken into consideration when looking at any settlement map of the County, and their effect upon Roman, Romano-British and Pagan Saxon land-use patterns is very marked.

Roman and Romano-British Sites

Villas are to be found on clay soils, the lower and upper greensand, clay sands, and both the upper and lower chalk plains (Fig. 2). The majority of these sites are located in the northern half of the county, and they are especially numerous near the Roman

town of Cvnetio (on the Kennet near Marlborough) and the town of Venlvcio to the west of the above. There are only six known villa sites in the southern half of the county as compared to twenty in the north. Some of the northern sites may owe their positions to Roman quarrying activities as eight lie on the limestone plateaux of the purbeck and portland beds.

Romano-British settlements have a much narrower geological distribution than the villa sites. They are almost entirely confined to the chalk lowlands and the scarps, being most numerous in the southern half of the county. Perhaps the heavier, more expensive iron plough needed to work the clay soils was beyond the means of these people, and they (also) sought the more easily worked chalk lands. The three northern Roman towns, Cvnetio, Dvrocornovium, and Vervcio, and the large town to the south, Sorviodvum (Old Sarum) are all linked by the Roman road system which, strangely enough, by-passed, to a large extent, the heartland of the Salisbury plain where native settlements are numerous.

Pagan burial sites

To date, no pagan Anglo-Saxon settlement sites have been excavated in the county, and any postulations which may be made must be based upon the locations of burial sites. In the Pagan period, the northern extremity and the northwestern quarter of the county were, as mentioned above, scantily populated, whilst the chalk lowlands and the valley trenches (coombes) retained their popularity. The correlation between native settlements and Anglo-Saxon burial places will be dealt with later, and, while it is clear that there is a relationship, it must be taken into consideration that both groups may have sought the same types of soil conditions and some overlap is inevitable. Therefore, it is not possible to estimate how much of this overlap is co-incidental and how much may indicate continual settlement because of the scarcity of excavated sites.

The geological break-down by burial types (cemeteries, single burials, primary and secondary burial in barrows) is as follows: out of seventeen cemetery sites fourteen lay on the lower chalk plain, the majority in or near river valleys, one lay on the scarp-foot bench, two sites on patches of the limestone plateau surrounded by the clay lowlands. Seven single burials were located on the lower

chalk plain, and two on the higher plain. Only one of the seven re-used long barrows was situated on the lower chalk scarpfoot bench, the remaining lay on the lower chalk plain. Seven primary barrows lay on the lower chalk plain (again, near rivers), and three on the scarp. Out of nineteen located barrows which had been re-used, fifteen were located on the lower chalk plain, two on the scarpfoot bench, and two on scarp. Therefore, it becomes evident that there is very little difference in the geological placement of a flat grave cemetery, single burials, or barrow burials. The vast majority of both types are situated on the lower chalk plain - usually near a river, or on the scarpfoot bench and scarp. Both types are confined to the same geographical areas as well, with the exception of the extreme northeastern sector, which, to date, only contains cemeteries and flat-graves, and a small pocket of re-used long barrows to the north and north-east of the river Wylye and to the west of the River Till (see Fig. 35).

Perhaps the most important feature of the county of Wiltshire is its river system. The majority of the burial sites in the county lie either along the rivers themselves or in the river valley trenches, and these valleys may prove to be the main lines of communication (and, perhaps, transportation). The most important of these rivers would appear to be the Salisbury Avon which flows from Poole Bay up into the heartland of Wiltshire. On or near the river and its main tributaries are located no fewer than eleven burial sites including both flat-grave cemeteries and burials in re-used barrows. Amongst the more important of these sites is the large cemetery at Harnham Hill, situated at the confluence of the Avon and the Nadder (Tis). The River Ebble flows east to west across most of the extreme south-west of the county, through the bleak, windy chalk downs to terminate not far from the cemetery at Winklebury Hill. Two sites, a cemetery and a single burial lie in the river valley, whilst five more flank the chalk plains to the (direct) north and south. Oddly enough, the Nadder, to the north of the Ebble, and also flowing east to west to the Somerset border is completely lacking in burial sites at the present time. The River Wylye, which gave its name to the men of Wiltshire (see p.8), runs west from the Salisbury Avon which it joins near Harnham Hill. Along its valley and those of its tributaries are located six burial

sites, all of which are barrow burials, both primary and secondary. Two additional sites, both re-used long barrows, lie on the lower chalk plain overlooking a tributary of this river. The short river, the Till, which flows north-south and joins the Wylye also flows by six sites, in this case single burial sites and secondary barrow burials only. The Bourne branches off the Avon near Salisbury and flows north to south out into Hampshire and then northwards almost to the Kennet. Three burial sites, two cemeteries and one barrow burial flank this river. The Kennet itself seems to have been one of the routes of access into northern Wiltshire. Seven sites lie either along the river itself or near its tributaries. The fact that, to date, no sites have been located on the Wiltshire side of the Thames is of great importance and will be discussed in more detail throughout this thesis. The Biss, which flows primarily through the clay lowlands, has only one very dubious site in its valley.

In addition to sites which actually lie on or near rivers, several others are located on the penninsula-like land masses between the rivers or southern Wiltshire, especially that between the Till and the Salisbury Avon. Seven sites are located herein. Between the Till and the Wylye valleys are located two re-used long barrows; two more lie between tributaries of the Wylye, four between the Nadder and the Ebble, and seven between the Bourne and the Avon. This may tie in with an attempt to share out the available water as will be discussed later on.

The Roman roads seem to have been used for access to a far lesser extent. The few sites which do lie on or near roads are mostly located to the north, in an area where interconnecting water ways are absent. Two barrow burials (one primary, one secondary) are situated on the Silchester road, both of which also lie between the Nadder and the Ebble. None are situated on the road from Winchester to (?) Cheddar, although the complex at Roche Court Down and Winterslow lies between the two aforementioned roads. Only one site lies on the Bath road, and this follows the route of the River Kennet. A greater number of sites lie on the road from Winchester to the east of Swindon (joins road to Cirencester). Four burials line this route, one of which is in the valley of the Bourne and the other on or near the Kennet. Four burials lie on the Cirencester road itself, all of these to the east-south-east of Swindon. From

the above information, it would seem clear that both the River and the roads may have been used in conjunction with each other, but of primary importance were the rivers and the river valleys.

> "The Saxon settlements ... whatever the actual historical facts of invasion - seem to have utilized the valley corridors which lead into the heart of the hills."
>
> (Ogilvie, 1928, 76)

PART A

The Relationship between burials and native settlements and Anglo-Saxon placenames mentioned in early Charters

The method used for determining distances was as follows: a map of the County was drawn on transparent paper, the burial sites to be used - sites where co-ordinates were not known were omitted - were plotted and concentric circles were drawn at 1,000 metre intervals. The ultimate figure of 3,000 metres was chosen for convenience, as any larger figure would have caused a confusing overlap of circles in densely populated areas such as Old Sarum. Readings were taken up to 4,000 metres with a compass when necessary. It was then determined where the native settlements, Villas, and charter names (which had been plotted on another map) were located in relation to the concentric circles.

Cemeteries, on the whole, are far more closely related to names found in surviving early Anglo-Saxon Charters than any other type of burial. Out of twelve accurately located sites, only four (33.3% of the whole) showed no relationship. A total of fifteen charter names were encompassed by the remaining eight, or, almost two per cemetery. Most of these lay between the 1,000 and 3,000 metre marks. When this was compared with the percentages for the relationships between cemeteries and native sites, it is obvious that there is much less correlation.

Cemeteries to native settlements

58.31%	no relation
8.33%	1,500m.
8.33%	2,000m.
8.33%	2,500m.
16.66%	3,000m.

Secondary burials in barrows, on the other hand, show a much more marked affinity to native settlements than they do to placenames appearing in surviving early Anglo-Saxon Charters. But, as both barrow burials and native settlements tend to be found on parish boundaries (discussed on p.23ff), this may be a bit mis-leading. If secondary barrow burials could be proved to be one of the earliest forms of inhumation, perhaps one could state that they were, somehow, directly influenced by these native settlements, but, as will be illustrated further on, they may be somewhat later than the earliest cemeteries and the latest may be as late as the primary barrow burials.

Only six of the secondary barrows out of eighteen used (multiple barrows at the same location - such as Winterbourne Stoke - were eliminated as the actual distance between each re-used barrow in the group is negligible. A central point was taken instead.) were within 3,500m. of an Anglo-Saxon Charter name - 33.3% of the total number of barrows. Of these, one was at 2,000m. and five at 2,500m. Therefore, the sample was very small. On the other hand, there were 25 plottable relationships between re-used barrows and native settlement sites. The breakdown is as follows:

Secondary barrows to native settlements

28.6%	no relationship
11.4%	0 - 1,000m.
22.8%	1,000 - 1,500m.
14.3%	1,500 - 2,000m.
14.3%	2,000 - 2,500m.
8.58%	2,500 - 3,000m.
0.00%	3,000m.[1]

1 It should be noted that the secondary burials in long barrows were, on the whole, closer to native settlement sites than were re-used round barrows. Only one, Sherrington, was not within 3,500m. of a settlement site.

PART B

Parish Boundaries (Fig. 4)

The following information was taken from D. Bonney's article in Wiam, 1966, pages 25-31. According to his lists, only one cemetery site lies on a parish boundary, and one additional site lies near a boundary. Six out of eleven single burials were situated on boundaries and one other near one. Three out of nine primary barrow burials lay on boundaries, two more were almost on divisions, and only 20.7% of the secondary barrow burials lay on boundaries whilst 37.95% were located near a parish boundary. These figures have proved somewhat inaccurate, however, and it would appear that the correlation between burials and boundaries would be more in evidence than is suggested by Mr. Bonney. Whilst this topic actually lies outside the scope of this thesis, it was necessary to acquaint oneself with the development of the parish system in Wiltshire in order to determine whether or not the high correlation between burial sites and parish boundaries was of any significance. Naturally, if these parishes or property divisions were not yet formed when the burial sites were established, some other factor or set of factors must account for the location of these sites. The "new" figures are as follows: five cemetery sites lie on boundaries, two are within 500m. of boundaries, six single burials lie near or on boundaries, two primary barrow burials lie near boundaries and one on, and nine secondary burials are situated near boundaries, whilst three are actually on them.

Bonney, who has done much of the groundwork on this subject, is of the opinion that, whilst ecclesiastical boundaries did not develop until the tenth or eleventh century, the boundaries which they follow are considerably older (Wiam, 1966, 27). He states that "for an essentially rural area such as Wiltshire, the picture is a largely static one" (see cf. p.262). The late Saxon manors described in Domesday Book often conform to the later Parish boundaries, two or more being incorporated into a Parish. Mr. Bonney concludes that the boundaries themselves must have been delineated early in the Pagan Saxon period as five of the earliest burial sites, Bassett Down, Petersfinger, and the barrows at W. Overton, lie on or near Parish boundaries. This correlation depends upon the assumption that his first premise is correct. But there is some reason to view the situation as a "chicken and egg" problem.

O. H. T. Rishbeth added yet another dimension to the study of the development of parishes in southern England. He based their division upon the need for individual farmsteads or settlements to take in different types of land. "In the valleys they had water, wood, and meadows, on the slopes soil, shelter, and moisture, and on the hill tops the pasturage of the downs." He saw hill and valley strip form parishes, which include water meadows, arable, and down land as based upon this early form of landscape integration (Ogilvie, 1928, 76).

As he claimed that the Saxons settled in the River valleys and "organized" the chalk downs, his assumptions make good sense. In some respects, his hill and valley strips are still quite noticeable features of the Wiltshire Parish system. The long strip Parishes, such as Bishopstow, Norton Bavant, Heytesbury and Upper Lovell cross the Wylye and its valley trench and spread northwards into the lower chalk plain. The parishes which fan out in the centre of the county overlap the valleys of the Avon and the Till, the bulk of their lands being on the lower and higher chalk plains. Another group of parishes which radiate out from Collingbourne Ducis, share the valleys of the Bourne and the Avon and the higher chalk plain between the two rivers.

There are several other examples in the county, such as the parishes to the south of Broad Hinton which cross a tributary of the Kennet into the chalk scarp and plain to the east and west. Whilst this system does not encompass all of the Wiltshire parishes, it seems to break down most noticeably in the north-western quarter of the county, an area with little apparent Anglo-Saxon settlement until the foundation of the Abbey at Malmesbury, and even subsequent to this. In the area from, roughly the Parish of Oaksey to Heywood (see Fig. 4), the parishes take on an irregular patch-work like pattern which may be a residual of the fairly high concentration of Villas in the area. But it must also be mentioned that there is only one major river in this area (the Biss), although the area is riddled with streams, such as Gauze Brook, Derby Brook, the Lid, etc. Therefore, one might not expect to find the same type of land division in use. As much of this sector contains clay soils, and it has been noted that there is almost no provable Anglo-Saxon settlement on this type of soil, there is some possibility that these land divisions may be either residual or a product of the

later manorial or ecclesiastical system. The Parishes to the south of this group revert, to some extent, to the long narrow strip forms seen elsewhere in the county. These divide up the valleys of the Wylye, the Nadder, and the Ebble and the chalk downs which lie between them. As Rishbeth had suggested, very few of these parishes (the N-S and the E-W running strips) take in one type of land only - the majority parcel out the available river valleys and plains.

Another interesting feature of the long strip Parishes, which adds feasibility to Rishbeth's idea, is the fact that Parish boundaries of this sort very rarely follow the courses of the rivers or the river valleys even though these would provide natural demarcations. The only exceptions would appear to be a few of the parishes which follow the line of the Avon to the direct north of Old Sarum. Therefore, these rivers did not usually supply natural barriers between land holdings, but may well have been shared out. An excellent example of this centres around the Parish of Enford (cemetery at W. Chisenbury). The Salisbury Avon flows through the middle of this Parish leaving roughly half of the chalk land to either side. The villages themselves (modern towns) are strung out along the valley proper (Enford, E. and W. Chisenbury, Littlecote, etc.). The river runs roughly parallel to the boundary of Netheravon but not along it, and then cuts through the centre of Figheldene. The Ebble, as well, cuts through the Parishes of southern Wiltshire, rather than providing their borders. However, in the north-(west)eastern quarter, the picture is, again, a bit different. Herein, rather minor waterways, such as By Brook and Lid Brook do form portions of some Parish boundaries, the boundary between the Parishes of Colerne and Biddestone, for example, follows the course of By Brook; the Lid forms part of the boundary between Colerne and Box. Derby brook forms the boundary between Minety and Leigh and Leigh and Ashton Keynes. Brinkworth Brook divides Brinkworth and Dauntsey, and the Biss separates N. Bradley from West Aston, etc. This somewhat peculiar difference between Parish divisions in the north-west of the County and elsewhere may be due, in part, to the plentitude of permanent streams in the area as opposed to the dearth of such stable waterways in the central chalk plains, etc. On the other hand, it may also relate to a different land-parcelling structure in use in north west, of an unknown origin, which may pre- or post-date the long strip system.

The Roman roads form several of the Parish boundaries in the north-western quarter of the County - most notably the road which runs from Cirencester to Bath. Along this road lie Roman Villa sites, a Roman settlement site and several inhumations of the same period. A large number of sites of a similar nature follow the main east-west running Roman road which links Cvnetio with Verlvcio and the west. However, no apparent Saxon sites lie along either of these two roads with the exception of one single burial site at Marlborough which also lies in the valley of the river Kennet. The Cirencester road provides part of the border between Wiltshire and Gloucestershire and the western boundaries of the Parishes of Crudwell, Brokenborough, Norton, and Hullavington, but this road runs through the Parishes of Grittleton, Nettelton, and N. Wraxhall. The east-west running road mentioned above forms the southern boundaries of the parishes of Box, Colerne, Lacock, and Calne Without. In the rest of the county, the Roman roads play a lesser part in determining boundaries and often only form a small portion of a boundary. For example, the Winchester-Cirencester road forms part of the eastern boundary of Aldbourne and touches upon the eastern boundary of Cricklade, passing through the Parishes in between and beyond. The north-south running road between Cvnetio and Durocornovium forms the western boundary of Aldbourne and a small portion of the western boundary of Wanborough. The Portway forms no boundaries, and the road from Winchester to Bath touches upon several boundaries but forms none of them. In this respect, as well as to degree in which rivers and streams formed boundaries, the north-western quarter of the county differs significantly from the rest. The alignment of Villas and, subsequently, Parishes along the Roman roads in this area of the county may argue for a Roman date for the delineation of some of the property divisions in this sector, as little interference on the part of the incoming invaders seems to have taken place in the first two centuries of their occupation. The land holdings may have changed very little in the hands of the natives who may have reclaimed this area (based on placename and A.S.C. evidence, etc., see p. 5), and this system may have been incorporated into both the Anglo-Saxon and the ecclesiastical land division system. On the other hand, these roads and streams may have merely provided natural boundaries in an area which was

sparsely populated even in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and they may have been used for convenience when ecclesiastical parishes were being formed.

In fact, a defence of Mr. Bonney's suggestion that the Parish divisions are earlier than the burial sites which lie upon them may be made, but not from the location of the burial sites themselves. Although both he and Dr. Meaney are of the opinion that parish boundaries were "the places allocated to burial sites", it has been shown that, whilst a goodly percentage of these sites do lie on boundaries, an equal number, if not more, do not. On the other hand, thirty-four, out of a total of forty five native settlement sites lie on parish boundaries, representing some 75.5% of the whole, whilst 40% of the Villa sites are located on land divisions, and 80% of the miscellaneous building and temple sites. If these land divisions do prove to be pre-Saxon (especially in the north west), it may be that the older pattern included settlement at the borders of land held and cultivation taking place in the central areas, in other words, settlement near the streams which form many of these boundaries and farming "in land", a pattern which is reflected in the long strip Parishes, wherein settlement tends to lie along the rivers, except that the rivers, in this case, flow through the Parishes rather than forming their boundaries. None of the Pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites show as consistent or as close an association with Parish boundaries as do either the native settlement sites, the Villas (to a lesser extent), or the building sites.

Conclusion

It is difficult to postulate exactly what the figures of spatial relationship imply. Kemble (1863), and, much more recently, Bonney, have both emphasized this relationship between Barrows and parish boundaries. Kemble emphasized their use as landmarks in Anglo-Saxon Charters, and Bonney sees them as lying on or near boundaries which may pre-date or be determined by them. Yet, it is clear from the above that the relationship between barrows and boundaries is not as strong as that evidenced by boundaries and native settlement sites.

There are no fewer than eighty-three barrows and barrow groups mentioned in Wiltshire Charters. Heathen burial places and personal-name burial places are mentioned seventeen times, indicating that the

practise of using mounds as markers was heavily in use in the county. This may also suggest that burial places of other types were also marked in a fashion which remained visible until long after the burial place may have gone out of use (see Winkelbury hill). In any case, it is clear that the problem of the development of land divisions in Wiltshire is a very complex one. Some of the Parishes may reflect a Roman or pre-Roman land division which may be still noticeable in the north-western sector of the county, others may be purely ecclesiastical in nature and did not develop until the tenth or eleventh century. Another group may well relate back to Mr. Bonney's idea that these parishes were often made up of two or more late Saxon manorial estates, and a fourth group may have been determined by the types of soil and the sources of water available in any given area. Unfortunately, sorting out these groups is beyond the scope of this thesis. One may not even state categorically, at this stage, that the relationship between pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites and Parish boundaries is of great importance to the establishment of property divisions or if this relationship is purely co-incidental, the divisions either being formed before or after these sites were in use.

CHAPTER 3

THE CEMETERIES

Introduction to Cemeteries

(Figs. 6, 7, 15, and Inset A)

Seventeen sites have been classified as cemeteries for the purposes of this thesis. They range in size from Woodbridge (two excavated skeletons with strong evidence for other unexcavated graves in the vicinity) to Blackpatch (ninety-three excavated skeletons with more to be found).

Although the adjective "large" has been used to describe three cemeteries in this group, Blackpatch, Harnham Hill and Petersfinger, these are not actually very large burial places when compared with such necropoloi as vast urn fields such as South Elkington (Lincs.) or the 274 or more inhumations found at Sarre (Kent). They may only be considered "large" in the context of an area wherein the largest burial place contained fewer than one hundred burials (to date) and several, Winkelbury Hill, Roche Court Down, Broadchalke, etc. yielded fewer than forty burials each (see Fig. 5). As stated above, the small size of these cemeteries may be due to incomplete excavation, however, in the case of Winkelbury Hill complete excavation may be assumed.

Orientation was given "feet first"[1] and skeletal positions have, to some extent, been generalized in an attempt to by-pass stressing minor variations which may be of little or no importance.

1. The decision to list orientations "feet first" rather than the more often used "head first" (W-E and S-N) was made in an attempt to circumvent the "Christian/Pagan" connotations which W-E and S-N orientations so often imply. Neither is exclusively one or the other, especially during this phase of cemetery development. It is hoped that this inversion will not cause undue confusion to the reader.

When a site report included a Pathologist's report on the skeletal material, this has been used to age and sex the inhumations. However, in the majority of these sites, most notably Harnham Hill (published) and Blackpatch (unpublished), classifications relied heavily upon the grave goods found in each grave. As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, this method is far from foolproof and, of course, it excluded those inhumations which lacked grave goods or contained a single object, such as a knife or a buckle, only.

A norm had to be determined in order to analyse deviant burials. In Wiltshire, the majority of the inhumations were orientated E-W or N-S (see Fig.37) and lay in extended or supine positions in shallow graves which were rarely more than 18" deep. Therefore, a crouched burial or a W-E or S-N inhumation would be considered to deviate significantly from the norm. Minor variations in orientation, whilst noted and analysed, may also be of little importance (at present). At Petersfinger, there seem to be a few cases wherein deviation appears to have been due to sub-soil conditions such as extremely hard flint or chalk. However, if it may be positively determined that burials were orientated towards the rising or setting sun, these slight variations may become crucial in determining peak seasons of mortality. To date, work which has been done on Sun positions and burial orientations (see p.**272**) seems fairly inconclusive.

Double graves fall into two categories, the more common of which is a large grave in which two extended inhumations lie side by side. It may be that such graves were originally constructed to house more than one inhumation as few skeletons interred therein have been severely damaged either by later burials or by the re-cutting of graves. The second category comprises single person-sized grave cuts in which later burials lie on top of the original. Again, there is little evidence to suggest that this form of burial is accidental (i.e. a new grave cut superimposed over an earlier one) as, in most cases, the sides of the graves do not appear to have been damaged. In both cases, the absence of secondary disturbances suggests that graves may have been marked. The haphazard cutting of graves which destroy earlier ones is almost totally lacking in Wiltshire, the exceptions being the (possibly deliberate) right angled graves at Petersfinger and Broadchalke.

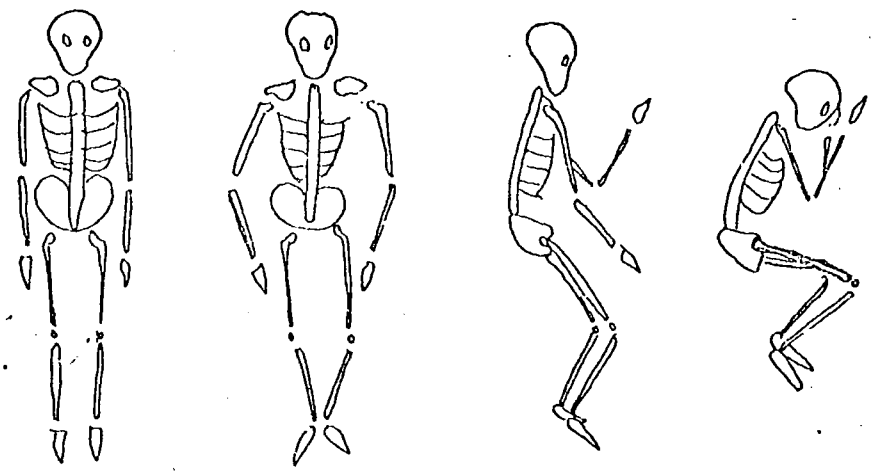
Triple graves of the first type occur at one cemetery only, Harnham Hill, whilst a triple one - atop the other graves - is found at Roche Court Down.

One question which may not be answered, either by inference or by excavation, is the number of families or settlements which may have used each burial place. Because of the (roughly) 150 or so years which may be allotted to the longer lasting cemeteries, it may be suggested that they served a maximum of six generations (and more probably five). Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the "average" size of a nuclear family. The comparative number of adults to childrens' skeletons might suggest that these families were small, but for the fact that childrens' burials, being smaller, shallower and containing more fragile remains are the least likely to be noticed, the most difficult to excavate, and the most likely to contain a skeletal "shadow" or nothing at all. Added to this is the fact that infant/child mortality rates have never been conclusively worked out and it is always possible that the majority of the children grew up to form another generation within the same cemetery. A very rough mathematical formula based upon the mean number of individuals per family being about four, would suggest that approximately seven families may have shared the largest of these cemeteries (at maximum) and, there are six or seven grave clusters at Blackpatch. However, this must be regarded as purely hypothetical.

Physiological evidence is not abundant and the characteristics upon which it is easiest to determine family relationships, such as eye colour and facial characteristics, are, of course, lacking. Abnormalities, such as polydactyly or other congenital defects, are either scarce or poorly recorded for this group. Such features, which may be analysed from skeletal material, such as height or skull shape do not, on their own, provide conclusive evidence for the isolation of family groups. In any case, it would be more logical to suggest that several families (perhaps branches of the same family) shared these plots because of the spatial organization of some of these cemeteries, such as Blackpatch, Petersfinger and Broadchalk.

Placename information has been taken from the E.P.N.S. Volume for Wiltshire (No. 16), edited by Gover and Stenton and referred to throughout as E.P.N.S., 1939. O.S. co-ordinates were taken from

individual site reports, Dr. Meaney's Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites (1964), and the V.C.H. for Wiltshire, Vol. I Part I (1957). Geographical and geological placement was determined from the V.C.H. map of Wiltshire in the Pagan Saxon Period (No. 10).



Skeletal Positions

Fig. 15

CEMETERY ANALYSES

A: Blackpatch

This large cemetery, the most extensive and potentially the most interesting of all the Wiltshire burial places, is not yet published as excavations are still going on. Excavations commenced in January 1969, after a farmer had reported finding spearheads in Blacknall field (O.S. SU 155580). Mr. K. Annable, Curator of the Society's Museum at Devizes, has been directing excavations on the site, and the writer is extremely grateful to him for allowing this material to be incorporated into this thesis.

As Blackpatch is an unpublished site, it presented certain problems which were not encountered when analysing other cemeteries. At present, there is no skeletal report, and the majority of the burials were sexed by their grave goods. There is, quite probably, some margin of error when this method is used on its own, as some types of grave goods, such as large buckles and, even, beads or brooches, whilst commonly found with one sex, are occasionally buried with the other. Also, individuals who had been buried without grave goods could not be classified. This was particularly true of the southern-most area of the cemetery wherein the graves tend to be poor or very poor.

The limits of the cemetery have not been reached, except, perhaps, in the northern area where trial trenching failed to locate any further burials. Any conclusions based on this material are subject to revision when the cemetery has been fully excavated.

One of the greatest challenges, when working with unpublished material, is classifying and dating the grave goods. Blackpatch has an eclectic collection of brooches, swords, and other objects, and in some respects, this collection differs from those found in cemeteries to the south of it. At this stage, it does not appear to have lasted as long as some of the southern cemeteries, particularly Petersfinger. Most of the shield bosses are of the waisted or carinated variety. One, in particular, is similar to that found at Bassett Down, Wilts. The spears are, for the most part, "H" types. There are also a number of small anthropomorphic button brooches and simple cruciform and square headed brooches which may

also be very early. At the other end of the dating scale are the saucer brooches and the large, ornate square-headed brooch found in female grave number 21. But, as the evidence now stands, it is doubtful that the cemetery lasted well into the seventh century, unless some of the graves without grave goods date to this period. Most, but not all of the grave goods were available for photographing or drawing.

The size of the cemetery is daunting, there are no fewer than 93 burials to date, and apparently, more await excavation. Petersfinger and Harnham Hill contained 63 and 64 graves respectively. This cemetery may be as much as twice this size. There is also a possibility that there may be a few cremation burials in this cemetery. If so, these are the first ever found in the county and would alter the picture considerably. At present, these cremations have yet to be conclusively dated. The site is riddled with Iron Age pits and fragments of Iron Age pot, and calcined bones were also found in the fill of one of the graves. Number 61, the possible cremation included on the site plan, contained three burnt glass beads only. Whilst it is necessary to mention the possibility that there are cremation burials at Blackpatch, it was thought best not to stress this point until more conclusive evidence has been brought forth as they may date to an earlier period of occupation.

Geography and Placenames

Blackpatch lies on the scarp of the higher chalk summits in the Vale of Pewsey, between the Avon and Bourne valleys. It is situated near the boundary separating the Parishes of Pewsey (containing the cemetery) and Manningford. This is also the boundary which separates the Hundred of Kinwardstone (Pewsey) from the Hundred of Swanborough (Manningford). The town of Pewsey is approximately 1¼ miles to the NE of the site. There is no listing for Blacknall field in E.P.N.S., but it may be so called because, as at N. Newnton, the graves had left long dark patches on the surface of the field. The town of Pewsey, itself, is first noted in the Will of King Alfred (C.S. 1885, 553) as "aet Pefessigge", a part of a large parcel of Wiltshire land given to his eldest son Edward in 880. This grant also included Great Bedwyn and Alton

(which contains a Saxon Church). The small cemetery at N. Newnton is about 1 mile SW of Blackpatch and the secondary barrow burial at Everley is about 2 miles to the SE. The cemetery at N. Newnton may have been of considerable size, as other "black patches" were noted during excavations, but, as the data now stands, Blackpatch, unlike the Harnham Hill-Petersfinger group of cemeteries, is isolated from other large cemeteries.

Orientation and Layout (Fig. 7)

Whilst the vast majority of the graves at Blackpatch lie roughly E-W, this orientation is not as strictly adhered to as at Winkelbury Hill or Harnham Hill, or the E-W orientated graves at Petersfinger. Graves 13 (male), 19 (female), 25 (baby), 53 (female), 62 and 70 (males), 72 (unclassified), 73, 77 (female) and 67 (unclassified), are markedly more N-S orientated than the remainder of the graves. The majority of the N-S burials lie to the south of the large cluster of graves in the southern sector of the cemetery, 53-77. Grave 70 is that of a sword-bearing male. The rest are poorly to moderately equipped but their grave goods do not differ significantly from those found in E-W orientated graves. It must be stressed that only a very few of the graves, 1 (male), 7 (male), 22 (female), 34 (male) and possibly 68 (male), were almost due E-W, and these are amongst the wealthier graves on the site.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the site plan (as it now stands), is the large void, almost 70' wide, in the centre of the site. This is 40' wider than the "void" at Petersfinger, but the graves at this cemetery follow much the same layout pattern as illustrated by Petersfinger (especially if the plan is turned upside down!). Whilst there is no evidence of a barrow at either of these two sites, it is always possible that one had been ploughed out prior to excavation as primary Saxon barrows tend to be quite small and less than 2' high. On the other hand, these "voids" may have contained structures which have either left no traces or were not looked for.

The site also resembles Petersfinger in that it is roughly "cluster-linear". These rows of graves are a bit more obvious on the Petersfinger plan, but it must be emphasized that the plan shown for Blackpatch is, in fact, a working drawing. The entire

section to the south of the main northern cluster had to be reconstructed from fairly rough field plans when first analysed.

The clusters themselves are of much interest. Unfortunately, the Southern-most clump in the cemetery contained a high percentage of unsexed skeletons. However a few very interesting features emerge when the cemetery is broken down into these groups. The wealthiest graves are divided up equally throughout the site, with the exception of the aforementioned southern cluster. Graves 1 and 7, a sword-bearing and an axe bearing male respectively, lie in the NE portion of the cemetery, 21 and 22, an elaborate female and male (sword) grave respectively, are in the centre of the large northern cluster and lie due west of 1 and 7. Wealthy female grave 56, and moderately wealthy male grave 9 lie end to end in the East-central cluster with several children grouped around them. Wealthy female grave 50 lies to the south of the same section. Grave 47, a wealthy male grave containing a sword, lies diagonally across the void from the above. Number 68, another wealthy male grave, and 67, a moderately wealthy female grave are to the NW of 47's small group. Lastly, N-S orientated grave 70, a sword-bearing male grave, lies to the east of the southern cluster. It would almost appear that each village head-man or patriarch (for lack of a better word), had his own section of the cemetery and his kin (and probably his servants as well) were buried in his assigned section. This is also mirrored at Petersfinger, wherein the two wealthiest early male burials, 60 and 21, lie at the opposite ends of the cemetery.

The northern cluster at Blackpatch is of particular interest, especially the segment of which graves 21 and 22 are the focal points. With only one exception, grave 45, the graves surrounding the central burial get somewhat poorer as they move away from the central graves and those almost directly adjacent to them to the east.

Childrens' graves are scattered throughout the northern cluster, however there is a concentration of them to the north and east of the central graves, and another to the north and east of double burial 12/13. The east-central cluster contained no fewer than five childrens' graves, three of whom were wearing one of the oddest grave goods in the cemetery (and in the county), iron chokers or collars. Only one other child, 33, at the extreme northern outskirts of the northern cluster, had such a collar and there are no

parallels for them within the county. The possibility that these children were slaves immediately came to mind, but had to be negated as these children were also among the few to have small quantities of grave furnishings of any sort buried with them. Also, the adults buried with them (possibly their parents if these groups are made up of members of the same family), whilst not the wealthiest burials on the site, were fairly well equipped. These collars may have been a fairly short-lived local style, or, perhaps they are indicative of some sort of rank or status within the community. Of the remaining children, No. 11 (no grave goods) lies isolated to the east of a pit in the northern cluster, 63 lies between 64 (male) and 65 (an adolescent or adult female), 79 to the south of unclassified skeleton 80, and 46 with wealthy male No. 47 and female 48. Grave 32, in the western half of the northern cluster, lies adjacent to female 31 and male 28. Unlike Petersfinger, no children were buried with each other in the same grave, although in graves 24 and 25, both children intersect at right angles, nor were any children buried with adults. There is only one double grave at Blackpatch, 12/13 in the northern section and this contained an adult female and an adult male.

Grave Cuts

The graves are extremely irregular and relatively shallow. As there was no data available for the last thirty graves, it was not possible to calculate the average depth of the grave cuts. Some of those measured, especially those of children, were less than 5" deep. The deepest grave now recorded was only 15" deep and was that of wealthy female number 21, No. 22, the adjacent wealthy male grave was 13" deep and seems to be the deepest of the recorded male graves. These graves are considerably shallower than those at Petersfinger, the deepest being 2½" shallower than the female norm for that cemetery. Unlike the community at Petersfinger, the inhabitants of Blackpatch did not produce nice neat rectangular or ovoid graves. In fact, the grave cuts are so irregular as to suggest that they may have been pick-axed out rather than dug out with a shovel.

Positions

The skeletal positions are as erratic as the orientations. The vast majority were buried in variations of extended, though many were

akimbo. The care taken in placing the body which was noted at Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, or Winterbourne Gunner is absent at Blackpatch. If anything, this cemetery more closely resembled Broadchalke in this respect.

Positions other than Extended

No.	Sex	Orientation	Position
12	male	E-W	on left side facing 13
39	child	E-W	on left side
65	child	E-W	on left side
73	child	N-S	on left side
33	infant	E-W	on right side
36	infant	E-W	on right side
24	infant?	N-S	indeterminant
20	female	E-W	flexed on right side
21	female	E-W	on left side
44	female	E-W	turned on left side
50	female	N-S	turned on left side
80	unknown	off N-S	flexed on left side
84	child?/unknown	E-W	flexed on left side
88	unknown	E-W	turned towards left side knees bent

These burials are found in most sectors of the cemetery. As at Petersfinger, these positions are more commonly used for female and childrens' burials. There is also a tendency for infants to be placed on their left. The single male burial, No. 12, lies in a double grave and is turned to face the other occupant. None of the "iron collar" burials (children) in the east-central sections were turned in any way. The majority of the childrens' burials listed above lay in the northern cluster (24, 33, 36 and 39). 65 and 73 lay in the southern cluster. Three flexed or turned adult females (20, 21 and 44) lay in the northern cluster as does the single male burial. Number 50, female lies in the east-central, the unclassified crouched burials are confined to the southern sector. 15.20% of the burials were placed in positions other than akimbo or extended. There were no face-down burials, nor were any of them mutilated in any way. The most common positions were extended with both hands on the pelvis, or extended with one hand on the pelvis. Unlike the data from Winkelbury Hill, it would appear that there was no segregation of positions.

There are no graves with flint linings, packings, coverings or pillows. The site has been ploughed, and the graves may have been deeper (had a denser top-soil cover) than they now appear, but the turf that had been stripped off to dig the graves may have sufficed to fill them, especially those only 5" deep. Unfortunately, the fill of the graves was not recorded, and it is always possible that the chalk which was removed may have been used for building purposes or some such activity - as a recurring question is "what was done with the quantities of chalk that had been removed from the graves if it wasn't used to back fill them"?

The Population Break Down

The break down by sex and age is as follows:

Classification	Total number	Percentage
Cremation	1?	1.086
Adult Males	21	22.8
Adult Females	30	32.3
Infants	6	6.516
Children	18	19.5
Unclassified Adults	16	17.375

This cemetery has a fairly high percentage of females and children. The proportion is slightly higher than that for Petersfinger 16/74 (Petersfinger), 24/92 (Blackpatch) or roughly 80/370:96/370, but the difference is not great.

In both cemeteries, this works out to less than one child per possible couple, although, if the theory that the spatial division at Blackpatch indicates family divisions, it is obvious that this exceedingly low proportion of children to adults is incorrect in at least some cases. There are four females and one definite male buried in the east-central section with no fewer than five children grouped around them for example. The other large group of children is situated around graves 21, 22 and 34 (1 female and two males), and there is a rather "suspicious" row of five females and one baby lined up to the west of this group. None of these burials is poor, They may be unmarried female relations of the male in the group, as at present there are more female burials in the cemetery than male, however, this seems unlikely. There is a possibility that men took

second and even third wives if a high proportion of the women died in child-birth. As there is no skeletal report for these individuals, it was not possible to estimate their ages, so this, again, is unprovable. Even so, a 5:1 ratio of females to males in the rich northern section and 4 (or possibly 5):1 again in the east-central section is difficult to justify in terms of re-marriages due to the loss of the spouse, especially as in another two instances, 46, 47 and 48, and 63, 64 and 65 there is only one child buried with a (single) probable couple. As always, with graves this shallow, it is possible that other infants and small children have been lost to ploughing or not located by the excavators, and this may account for there being relatively few children at Blackpatch. But, this is a carefully run, thorough excavation and childrens' graves which had not been properly cut into the chalk but lay on the surface have been excavated. However, it is a possibility to bear in mind. The entire situation is not aided by the fact that there is not data as to age or sex for at least 16 of the burials.

Considering the small number of children found at Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, and Winkelbury Hill, other suggestions must be brought forth, such as the hypothesis that very small children were not normally buried in the usual community burial place but were placed in midden heaps or disposed of in whatever fashion was convenient and that only older children or the babies and young children of influential families received "adult type" burials. Another theory would be that, despite the slight evidence that this were not the case, few children died in the very early years of life, or few children were born. It is always possible that some of the adults in the cemetery are the off-spring of earlier settlers, but, even in very primitive societies, taboos and local custom may inhibit the number of children conceived. Long periods of breast-feeding can also cut down the possible number of children born into one family. On the other hand, herbs and potions may have been used as abortives. There is literary evidence for this and for infanticide.[1] Babies

1 Canons of Edgar. 10th Century.
p.406. 10. Si mulier infantem suum intra se perdiderit, vel postquam natus sit, potibus vel quibuocunque rebus, x annos jejunet, iii in pane et aqua, et vii prout confessarius eius misericorditer ei praescripserit, et usque poeuiteat.
A. W. Haddon & W. Stubbs, Councils Eccles. Documts.(1871) Vol. 3, 274.2

which had been killed may not have been buried in the same fashion as those who died a natural death. This is an extra-ordinarily complex problem, and there is little conclusive evidence on which to make any assumptions, but it is possible that a combination of all the above is responsible for the curiously low ratio of children to adults for this cemetery and for others in the county. Perhaps the answer lies in the middens of as yet unexcavated early pagan Saxon settlement sites. But, it must be remembered that in subsistence level communities, children are both a liability and an asset. They provide a potential work force, yet they are a drain on the communities' resources until they become old enough to contribute to them. Some of the children will not survive to this point (naturally), but if the disparity between what a group can produce and what it needs to survive becomes too great, other methods must be adopted to ensure the continuation of the group. Sometimes infanticide is couched in religious ritual, sometimes it is simply an acceptable form of expedient behaviour in a group under stress.

The Grave Goods and Possible Dates for the Cemetery

As stated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, the grave goods at Blackpatch are of a slightly different nature to those from the southern group of cemeteries and they may hint at some possible migration into the area from the Thames Valley, but this may have taken place after its initial period of use. Some of the earliest grave goods find parallels at Petersfinger and Harnham Hill. None of the dating to follow is definitive, due both to the fact that there is probably more to be added as further work is done on the cemetery, and that a small percentage of the material was not available for analysis. Also, the writer is not a specialist and the information had to be gleaned from several sources, some of which may be out-dated.

Blackpatch is not a particularly wealthy cemetery despite the fact that no fewer than four swords have been found on the site and several of the graves give evidence of moderate wealth. Only fourteen of the graves contained no grave goods at all, and these tended to be those of unclassified adults or babies and children. Eleven others contained a single object, generally a knife, a spear or a few beads. On the other hand, the number of pairs of brooches

found is notable, 18 pairs plus five single brooches (Figs. 10, 11) ranging from early anthropomorphic button brooches such as those found at Harnham Hill and Petersfinger through simple cruciform and small square-headed brooches and simple disc brooches to an elaborate B6 type great square-headed brooch found in grave 21.

The female and childrens' graves with datable grave goods

Leeds was of the opinion that the small anthropomorphic button brooches found at Petersfinger and parallelled at Blackpatch are of an early date and may be Frankish in derivation (see Petersfinger) (Leeds, 1953, 48). They are found as far afield as Chessel Down (I.O.W.) and Alfriston (Sussex) (Baldwin-Brown, 1915, III, plate 58), both of which may have started up in the late fifth century. These brooches were found in the following graves: 66, 67 and 44 (Fig. 11). This would indicate that even at an early stage in its development, the cemetery was already non-(un?) nucleated. Grave 44 also contained 30 to 40 beads of amber, glass and crystal, and grave 67 an unidentified buckle. There is no conclusive evidence that these three graves need be any later than the first quarter of the sixth century. Of the same date may be grave 50, a wealthy female, grave goods: a pair of running-spiral decorated brooches with some affinities to one found at Duston, N. Hants. The motif is found on fourth century Roman buckle plates according to Baldwin-Brown (Ibid., 331). The Blackpatch example is an extremely fine, well executed piece with tight spirals and may be early in the development of the type. The spiral and the anthropomorphic motives are occasionally found on the same piece, in a debased form, as at Fairford. A purely running-spiral decorated brooch found at this cemetery was very much debased, the spirals loose and heavily stylized, probably indicating that the Blackpatch piece was considerably earlier. Blackpatch grave 50 also contained a bucket, a (possible) buckle, purse fittings, a knife, and beads. Whilst none of these objects could be accurately dated, they may indicate a very early date for this burial (in the first quarter of the sixth century), and possibly no later than 500 A.D. according to Baldwin-Brown. There are many continental examples of this type, and a brooch from Harmignes[1] (Belgium) is quite similar to the Blackpatch piece.

1. This brooch is of the plate type.

Next come a largish number of graves which contained simple cruciform, square-headed and disc brooches with ring and dot and/or punched triangular decoration, and a very peculiar pair of equal arm brooches.

Pairs of Brooches other than Button and Disc
Early to mid 6th. (approx.)

No.	Type	Possible Dates	Comparative material
15	small square-headed	Possibly Leeds B1 ? ½ 6th	Bifrons, Kent (Baldwin-Brown III, plate XXXIV, nos. 1, 10)
19	small square-headed	Possibly debased Leeds A1, probably ½ 6th may pre-date B3 (Leeds	Roughly parallels Bifrons example - found with cruciform brooch
26	equal arm	With "D" loop buckle may be late 5th-6th	No exact parallels, similar to pair found at Alfriston, Sussex
31	small gilt square-headed	Possibly Leeds type B3 - probably ½ 6th	Somewhat debased example between Chessel Down and E. Shefford types
74	small-long	½ 6th?	Almost identical to pair from Kempston, Beds. (Baldwin-Brown III, plate XLII)
85	small long	May be as early as 500 A.D.	Kempston, Beds.
93	small long	No other datable grave goods	Same as above
Unpr.	small square-headed similar to No. 15, pattern more pronounced		

Square-headed and cruciform brooches and their derivatives (Figs. 10, 11) are uncommon in the cemeteries in southern Wiltshire. In fact, none have been found at Petersfinger and there were only a very few found at Harnham Hill, both large cemeteries which start up in the late 5th century. Round-headed and small anthropomorphic button brooches make up the earliest brooch forms on these sites, whilst button brooches and derived forms of small square-headed and cruciform brooches are amongst the earliest grave-goods at Blackpatch. This curious lack of square-headed brooches in the south may indicate slightly different "tribal" or trading affinities are in evidence at Blackpatch. The early Frankish element which was so strongly represented by only a very few objects at Blackpatch (unless, of course,

the button and spiral brooches which are relatively common on this site were derived from Frankish pieces or are direct imports - see Petersfinger).

The second half of the sixth century is probably represented by four pairs of gilt bronze saucer brooches, a pair of very badly preserved Kentish type disc brooches, and a magnificent large square-headed brooch. Two pairs of applied saucer brooches, that from grave 60 and 62 were in very poor condition and could not be analysed as their front plates were almost completely worn away. A nice pair of saucer brooches with a cruciform-divided pattern and what seems to be late zoomorphic panels was found in grave 21 (Fig. 10). This grave also contained the large Leeds type B6 square-headed brooch, a late form which is almost identical to a piece found at Luton, Beds.[1] Grave 22, the wealthy male grave adjacent to 21 may be slightly earlier in date. There were no parallels found for the saucer brooches.

From female grave 55 came the worn Kentish-style disc brooches apparently based on a large, multi-pointed star motif, and a pair of very deep saucer brooches with an elaborate central boss and a rather weak, poorly defined surrounding pattern terminating in a twisted-garland type border similar to that found on the saucer brooches from grave 21. Two female graves contained hard, stamped grey-ware pots, one of which is complete (biconical)(Fig. 9). There were no exact parallels for either of them. Both are quite small, the complete one being only 5½" tall, which would probably classify them as accessory dishes rather than cooking-pots. One is somewhat similar to a pot found in Norfolk (undecorated) which may date from the mid sixth century, also found in this grave were bronze bucket hoops, and other undatable objects.

Therefore, the date span of the brooches would appear to be late fifth to late sixth, and these dates are also parallelled by the furnishings found in the male graves.

1 Special mention should be made of the great square-headed brooch found in grave 21. It is a fairly well executed object with rather debased faces in its three roundels, a simple, neatly divided head, and ill-defined interlace on the body. Bird-like heads form the upper terminals (wings) and the bow is well-arched and decorated with a grooved continuous zig-zag pattern. A central line divides the body of the brooch and terminates before the rounded foot. The body is remarkably similar to Leeds' brooch number 95 (type b6), found at Luton, Beds. the bow is also treated in a similar manner, although the head differs somewhat. The brooch is a Saxon type and appears to date from the mid to late sixth century and is definitely not of the seventh.

Grave Goods from Male Burials

Whilst some large spearheads were found with the male burials, they tend to be type H3'5, a variety which went out of use by the second half of the sixth century. There are no sugar loaf shield bosses, nor are there any undoubtedly late buckles. Four swords were found, each about one yard long, with rather simple cocked hat pommels and beautifully worked gilt cross-bars. There were also four buckets. Amongst the more notable grave furnishings was the axe found in grave 7 (Fig. 8). This is of the Colchester type and is markedly different from the example found at Petersfinger which had a wide, well-flared head. The Blackpatch axe has close affinities to one found at Rouen and one from grave 116 at Wijster. Both have small, slightly rounded heads with well formed, small sockets.

One type of weapon, the scramasax, is absent from the site altogether.

The following graves contained "H" type spearheads and, in some cases, waisted or carinated shield bosses a few of which had exceptionally large buttons similar to that found in grave 20 at Petersfinger (roughly dated to 550 - see p.92).

"H" Type Spears and Associated Finds - all probably pre-550 (Swanton Corpus, 1974, 20)

No.	Spear Type	Associated Finds
5	H2(?)	large buttoned carinated boss
8	H1	nil (Fig. 8)
12	H2	nil
16	H1	mis-labelled mini-spearhead or toy, very small but acceptable specimen
22	H3	rectangular buckle, other luxury items, Petersfinger 21 type boss
28	H	
34	H2	waisted boss
45	H2(?)	knife and undatable buckle
64	H2	nil
68	H3	Petersfinger 20/21 boss type, other objects

Graves Containing Undatable C2 & E2 Spears

28	C2	only
45	E2	knife and undatable buckle

The four graves which contained swords were: grave 1, sword, bucket, bone pin, bronze object, and a possible fragment of a penannular brooch, grave 22, (H3 spear), sword, a knife or long seax with numerous scabbard fittings, buckle - to be discussed (Fig. 8), grave 47, sword, bucket, spear, knife, shield boss and bindings (Fig. 8), potsherds (at feet), snail shells, and a pair of tweezers, and grave 70, sword, boss, bone fragment, iron object, knife, and an iron shoulder strap or buckle.

The gilt buckle found with one of the wealthiest male graves on the site, No. 22, is a beautiful heavy, chip-carved piece with an oval loop, a single tongue, and a rectangular plate set with a central, rectangular red glass cabochon (or boss) (Frontispiece). Whilst similar pieces are not numerous, it resembles a buckle found at Worthy Park (Hants.), and another at Gilton, Kent. The plate on the Blackpatch buckle is fussier than that on the Gilton example, but the treatment of the central boss and the position of the corner rivets is remarkably similar. The Blackpatch buckle also bears some resemblance to the more ornate "Frankish" buckle found at Petersfinger (grave 20), which has an ivory inset and a decorated loop (refer to Petersfinger).

As aforementioned, this was found in conjunction with a large type H3 spearhead and a large-buttoned boss, and the grave would seem to date towards the middle of the sixth century. Therefore, the apparent time-span of the datable male burials would appear to be similar to that of the females. There are no notably seventh century graves, and the majority appear to date to the first half of the sixth century with a few dating to post 550.

There is no discernable pattern of development within the cemetery as each cluster seems to have been in use contemporaneously. However, it must be noted that few of the graves in the southernmost cluster could be dated as few contained grave goods (and it is always possible that these graves may be later (or even earlier) than the datable graves). At present, the cemetery at Blackpatch seems to have lasted tor a slightly shorter period than Petersfinger, and a larger concentration in the first half of the sixth century is evidenced by the number of early brooch types found at Blackpatch as compared to Petersfinger. But, new evidence may alter these dates somewhat.

On the whole, Blackpatch is somewhat richer than Petersfinger and considerably wealthier than Harnham Hill in terms of grave goods found, and these objects are more eclectic than those found at the more southerly sites. The influence at Blackpatch would appear to be slightly more "Saxon" at an earlier date than Petersfinger and there may even be a few "Anglian" grave goods if the pots are, truly, similar to some found at Norfolk. There is also a rather strong Kentish influence apparent by the mid sixth century, as indicated by the belt buckle, the Bifrons type brooches, and the "Gilton/Petersfinger" type shield bosses.

Childrens' Graves

A brief mention should be made of childrens' grave goods although they add little to the over-all dating evidence due to the fact that several of these objects may have been out of use by the time they were interred. As at Petersfinger and Harnham Hill, the older children tended to be somewhat better equipped than the younger, only two of which, 23 and 36, possessed grave furnishings.

Grave Goods found in Childrens' Graves

No.	Grave Goods	Dating
16	Hl spear head	late 5-6th
17	Fe Pin	
23	small brooch, bead ring	
33	Fe collar, buckle, metal strips	
35	Toilette set, bz. bindings, beads, seeds (?)	Probably ½ 6th. Toilette set similar to one found at Herpes
36	"toy" knife, broken brooch or buckle, curved metal rod	
37	small buckle, knife	
38	gilt button brooch, bz. buckle, beads, nail	may be ½ 6th, or earlier - brooch
51	Fe collar, knife	
52	Fe collar, knife	
53	Fe collar, Fe ring, bz. fragments, beads, knife	
54	knife, 3 beads, Fe plate	
63	beads	
65	beads	

Surprisingly enough, none of the childrens' graves surrounding the central burials in the northern cluster were particularly elaborate. Grave 38, one of the wealthiest children's burials, lies near adult graves which were only moderately equipped. This grave was also the deepest and the most neatly cut of the childrens' graves, many of which were extremely shallow.

Once again, it should be emphasized that the wealthier graves were spread throughout the site, with the exception of the southern most section (which may contain grave 70). There were more wealthy graves in the northern cluster than elsewhere, but, then, roughly half of the graves found are in this cluster.

There is another group of burials which should be singled out because they hint at possible rituals or burial customs. A very few graves, numbers 50, female, 58, child or adolescent and 40, unclassified adult, were surrounded by bands of charcoal or decayed wood on either side of their bodies, indicating the possible use of biers. To date, other examples have not been found in the County (see Swallowcliffe Down, p.213). These are not trace remains of coffins as no fittings were found in these graves, nor do they appear to be Holywell Row-type bed burials. The closest known bier burial is in a barrow at Bishopsbourne, Kent, which contained a female skeleton with planks of wood at her head and feet and charcoal spread throughout the grave fill, but, proper coffins are more common than biers both in Kent and in Wiltshire. None of these three graves were particularly deep, one, number 50, was quite a wealthy grave, two, numbers 40 and 58, very poor. Two of them, 50 and 58, are located in the east-central portion of the cemetery, the third, 40, lies at the northern edge of the northern cluster. Were these biers indicative of some particular rank or role within the community, such as wise-woman or shaman, one might expect that these individuals might have been of the same sex (and possibly around the same age), and may have been buried in the same mode - i.e. either with or without grave goods or with certain types of grave furnishings. As this is, apparently, not the case, other reasons which are not immediately evident must lie behind this limited use of biers. In the cases of the child and the female, the wood had been burnt, possibly in the same tradition as the "passing through the fire" which Faussett had noted amongst coffin

burials in Kent. The skeletons, themselves do not appear to have been burnt to any great degree. In the third case, the remains were extremely fragmentary. This is so uncommon a practice that one keeps returning to the theory that it was only used for a specific group of people, but the "who's and whys" must remain a mystery.

Seven graves contained nodules of pyrites. These may be native to the site, but the nodules appear to have been deliberately placed in the graves as they were at Broadchalke. Graves which contained pyrites were: 6, child, no other grave goods, 10, female, pot, 20, wealthyish female, 24, unclassified adult with a simple grave good, 45, wealthyish male, 49, unclassified adult with single grave good, and 80, unclassified adult, no other grave goods. These nodules may have been merely pretty objects - as were the quartz pebbles found in the fill of some of the other graves, or, they may be strike-a-lights, amulets, touch-stones, etc. Iron pyrites is commonly known as "fool's gold" as it glints and sparkles like real gold, and it may be that it was mistakenly or symbolically considered precious.

Another interesting feature of the site is that, although it is riddled with Iron Age pits, the graves carefully avoid them, even though it would have been simpler to have made use of them, especially as these people do not seem to have been very proficient grave diggers.

Location and Possible Migration Routes

The most obvious migration route for the bulk of the population at Blackpatch would appear to be the valley of the River Avon which passes within one mile of the site and connects the area with the Old Sarum region.[2] (This might account for some of the similarities in grave goods found both at Blackpatch and at Petersfinger, etc.) The site lies between the forests of West Wood (to the north) and Chute (extending as far as the Collingbournes in the Saxon period). There are no Roman Roads nearby, and considering the southern nature of some of the grave goods, most noticeably, the small anthropomorphic button brooches, it is more than possible that at least some of the

2 The 1" O.S. map (No. 173) shows an area of strip lynchets and possible earth works about 2 miles to the East of the cemetery, whether or not these are indicative of a Saxon settlement site is unknown as no excavations have taken place.

settlers did travel up the Avon from the Salisbury area or maintained contact with sites to the south, whilst a few may have travelled down from across the Thames, as close affinities between the small square-headed brooches found at Kempston and those at Blackpatch might indicate. But, either (or both) groups of objects may result from trading with either (or both) of these groups, and determining a route of entry based upon grave goods alone seems most foolhardy.

Conclusions

From the material which has been excavated to date, it may be stated that Blackpatch was not a very long-lived cemetery and probably was out of use by the beginning of the seventh century. It may have had contact with communities both to the south (Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, etc.), and to the north (Bassett Down and perhaps Fairford (Glous.) and Kempston (Beds.) of it. In general, it was not a particularly wealthy cemetery, but several individuals had the where-with-all to own large, handsome pieces of jewellry, swords, axes, and buckets. The cemetery seems to have been laid out in family or extended family plots with one or two wealthier individuals buried in each. A large void was apparently left in the centre, possibly having ritual or religious significance or containing a religious "centre" of some sort which had left no traces. Children are intersperesd throughout the cemetery, but, where there are several to a group, they tend to lie next to each other. The orientation is erratic, the norm being roughly E-W, and the graves are badly dug. Unlike Winkelbury Hill or Petersfinger, the skeletons do not appear to have been arranged with any great care. Some of the grave goods are uncommon in the county, pots, square-headed brooches, etc., and at least one custom, the use of a bier, has no parallels in the area. This cemetery may contain a slightly more mixed population than others to the south, as the early grave goods are more strongly "Saxon" in character, but there is also a fair amount of Kentish material, and a few objects which may be Frankish in origin. Future excavations should prove most interesting, especially if more cremation burials with provably pagan period grave goods are found, but the site has already altered the picture of settlement in central Wiltshire considerably and has added much information to what is known of the stylistic influences which were in evidence in the incoming population.

B: Broadchalke

There are two excavated and published cemeteries in south-western Wiltshire, both of them small, poor, and isolated. But, Broadchalke and Winkelbury Hill have little else in common. Winkelbury Hill is a barrow-cemetery complex which may be quite late, and Broadchalke is a poorly organized flat grave cemetery which may date from the early to mid-sixth century

In many ways, Broadchalke is the antithesis of the Petersfinger/ Harnham Hill group of cemeteries. The site lies 400 yards south-east of the now-standing church at a height of 80' above the river Ebble. It is approximately 5.3 miles to the east-north-east of the cemetery at Winkelbury Hill, 4.3 miles west-south-west of the cenotaph and secondary barrow burials at Coombe Bissett, and five miles west-south-west of Wilton. The site's position near a church and on the heights above a river correspond to the placement of Petersfinger (p. 76), but unlike the Old Sarum cemeteries, it is not surrounded by other burial sites of its period. Broadchalke occupies the end of a long strip lynchet which the excavator, R. C. Clay, attributes to a Saxon field pattern. (Clay, 1927, p.94). There is early charter evidence for the placename. In 955, 100 mansiuncum at Ceolom (Chalke) were granted to the Nuns of Wilton by King Eadwig. This charter also contains a reference to Winkelbury Hill (Finberg, 1964, p.91). Ebbesbourne is mentioned in an even earlier charter, a confirmation of Cenwahl's grant of 45 mansae at Eblesburnan (Ebbesbourne) to the Church at Winchester, drawn up by Egbert, King of the West Saxons, in 826 (Finberg, 1964, p.73). Whilst the authenticity of the 826 Charter is in doubt, Finberg considers the latter charter to be genuine. The site's location at the end of a long strip lynchet is somewhat puzzling, as Broadchalke is the only site in the area known to lie on land which may have been cultivated at a time when the cemetery was in use. Either it is a later land pattern which purposely avoided a flat, and therefore known and possibly marked cemetery, or a pre-existing pattern with the cemetery superimposed upon it. Unfortunately, Clay does not make the relationship clear.

The site report is ambiguous on several points. There are no drawings of the individual grave cuts, and the site plan is so small as to make it difficult to determine skeletal positions. The site

notes are choppily written and often confusing. Clay dated the cemetery to the year 500 on the flimsiest of evidence, and, in some ways forced his evidence to suit his opinions. On the other hand, the skeletal report by Sir Arthur Keith is quite good, though limited in scope. He did not include most of the femoral measurements, and is proved impossible to re-calculate the heights. He also mentioned that eight of the skeletons showed dental crowding, but failed to note all eight. On the whole, the report is adequate if somewhat disappointing, especially when compared with Pitt-Rivers analysis of Winkelbury Hill, published some 40 years prior to the excavation of Broadchalke.

The site was discovered during chalk quarrying, and six of the skeletons were lost prior to excavation. One of these was a sixteen year old male buried N-S, the remaining five were not recorded. Nineteen graves were excavated by R. C. C. Clay and published in Wi.A.M., 43, 1925-27. Seven of these were male, six were female, one a youth, two were children, two were unsexed adults, and one completely destroyed. All of the interments lay in poorly cut graves which were, on the whole, too short to contain them. The method used for burial was to dig down to the natural chalk, create a rough cist, as at Harnham Hill, and recover the bodies with soil (covered in flints at Harnham Hill). Burnt and unburnt flints and pieces of pyrites were found in each of the graves. Clay was of the opinion that these were of some ritual significance, but, as he failed to indicate where in the graves these flints were located, it is impossible to ascertain what their "significance" was. They may have formed the cists or have been cover-stones, or they may have occurred at random throughout the graves. The graves, themselves, do not conform to any particular pattern (Fig. 12).

Orientation

No.	Sex	Orientation	Percentage	No.	Sex	Orientation	Percentage
2	male	E-W		12	unknown	N-S	
7	male	E-W		9	unknown	N-S	31.5%
15	male	E-W					4-N.half
4	female	E-W					2-S.half
10	female	E-W		1	male	S-N	N.section
16	female	E-W	31.5%	13	male	WNW-ESE	S.section
			4-N.half	17	female	NE-SW	S.section
			2-S.half	19	youth	SE-NW	S.section
3	male	N-S				all 5.25% each	
5	male	N-S		11	female	NW-SE	
6	child	N-S		14	female	NW-SE	10.5% S.half
18	child	N-S		8	unknown	destroyed	

Whilst there is a fair percentage of E-W burials, the majority are N-S or deviants from N-S. In no orientation save NW-SE (female) is the sex of the skeletons exclusively to one sex, and all of the orientations are scattered throughout the cemetery. There may have been some rude attempt at organization, and this will be more fully discussed further on.

Whilst the large "Old Sarum" cemeteries show consistent body positions, the majority extended, this is not the case at Broadchalke. The skeletons lie every-which-way, one No. 19, displacing an earlier burial whose remains were found scattered throughout the grave. Twelve of the Broadchalke skeletons were extended, but seemingly without the care found at Petersfinger or even Winkelbury Hill. The limbs seem somewhat askew in all of these burials, but, as previously noted, the site plan leaves much to be desired.

Positions Other Than Extended

No.	Sex	Position	No.	Sex	Position
1	male	right side, knees flexed	15	male	left side, knees flexed
9	unknown	on left side	19	youth	on left side
11	female	on left side			

Of the twelve extended skeletons, five had had their heads pushed forward onto their chests. All of these positions are found at Winkelbury Hill as well, but a larger percentage of the skeletons at Winkelbury Hill were found in neatly extended positions. There seems to be little correlation between orientation and position. Of the six E-W burials, four were more or less extended, one was half-turned onto his left side, and one was disturbed. Four of the N-S burials were extended, one was placed on its left side, and one was disturbed. The female buried NE-SW (No. 17) was extended, No. 13, male, orientated WNW-ESE, was akimbo overlying disturbed skeleton No. 12 (?male). Of the two female NW-SE burials, one, No. 11, is akimbo, No. 14 was buried in an extended position with her right arm up to her chest. No. 19, a youth in a re-used cist, was buried on his left side and orientated SE-NW. Three of the flexed burials occur in the northern half of the cemetery, Nos. 6, 9, and 15. One, No. 19, lies to the extreme south in the southern half of the cemetery. There are two sets of superimposed graves in the cemetery, Nos. 12 (unsexed) and 13 (male), and Nos. 10 and 11, both female. In both cases an approximately N-S grave

has been cut across by an E-W running one. None of these graves contained datable grave-goods, but this might indicate the N-S orientation preceded E-W on this site in some cases. There is no conclusive evidence for this, however.

The grave goods are very scanty, three spear heads (H_2, H_3 and G_1), three knives, an iron lump (?brooch), and one iron buckle, and a mammalian form shield boss (Ant. J., 1963, 91). Winkelbury Hill, the cemetery nearest Broadchalke, produced rather more. It is possible that Broadchalke contains the remains of a pioneer community about ten miles away from the centre of activity at Old Sarum, with few opportunities for trade and little to trade with. It is a moderately early cemetery, and, most probably, a short-lived one. The most noticeable feature of the grave goods, aside from their paucity and their 500-600 date, is their distribution within the cemetery. All three of the spearheads, the only shield boss (which in this case indicates the wealthiest grave on the site), and the one iron object found at the shoulder of female skeleton No. 4, are to be found in the four most northern graves on the site. Of the three males, two, Nos. 3 and 5, were buried N-S, and one, No. 1, was buried S-N. The female was placed E-W. There are no intervening graves. Grave No. 1 contained the H_3 spearhead datable to the late fifth-first half of the sixth centuries. Grave No. 3 had the G_1 form spearhead, roughly datable to the sixth century, a localized form which does not extend to the Upper Thames or to the South Saxon kingdom. Grave No. 5, directly to the north of No. 3, contained the H_2 spearhead (dated as contemporary with the H_3) and the shield boss (which is considered to be later). The three knives are also found in a cluster. Two are contained in overlapping graves 12 and 13. Number 13 also possessed the small iron oval-looped buckle. The third knife was found in female grave No. 17, directly to the SW of the other two. As at Petersfinger, the children were ill-provided for, none of the three had any grave goods, but this may be due to the poverty of the community rather than to any age segregation. Five of the adult males had some simple grave goods, whilst only two of the women were buried with anything at all. (36.8% of the burials had equipment of some kind, but, with the exception of No. 5, even they had a minimal amount of the simplest, most common forms of grave furnishings.) When one compares this with some of the wealthier and probably contemporary graves found at Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, or Winterbourne Gunner, it seems obvious

that these people represent a much different stratum or element in pagan Anglo-Saxon society. Again, this paucity of grave goods could be due to the relative isolation of the community, but this would not explain the total lack of heirlooms or goods imported with the community which are found in fair numbers at the larger cemeteries. There is another possible cause, however, and this, again, is the admixture of two communities with a partial blending of their burial customs. In this instance, a Romano-British/Pagan Anglo-Saxon mixture is a distinct possibility. The most notable supportive factors for such a theory are as follows: the cemetery is poor, badly laid out, inconsistent in orientation with a possible shift from N-S to E-W and ? back again, the burials seem to have been somewhat carelessly interred and occasionally overlapped, there were few children's graves found, the men somewhat outnumber the women (possibly due to the small size of the cemetery and purely co-incidental - the skeletal reports for the first five skeletons are missing). This compared far more strongly with Romano-British cemeteries such as Cirencester, Rotherly and Woodyates than it does to such cemeteries as Petersfinger or even Winkelbury Hill, another poor cemetery exhibiting a totally different pattern of organisation (p.**114**-more fully discussed further on).

There is even some physical evidence for a possible admixture of populations. It must be stressed that the following sector is mainly theoretical, and is, itself, an experiment on the part of the writer, who is not a geneticist, as to whether or not one can tentatively analyse a community and its inter-relationships using anatomical material and criteria. In the case of Broadchalke, this proved most useful as the skeletal report is superior to the site report in many ways, and little could be gleaned from the site report itself. It seems clear, from the skeletal analyses prepared by Sir Arthur Keith and from the excavator's notes, that Broadchalke was the final resting place of only two or three families, two of which may have been related to each other in the generation prior to the establishment of the cemetery. These divide up into a husky, robust group, including 11 (female) and 15 (male), and a more finely made group including number 10 (female) and number 2(male), plus intermediate forms due to incomplete dominance, heterogenity, and masked genes. It is interesting to note that No. 3 and No. 13 (both males) are reported as having "neolithic" and "Romano-British" skull types respectively.

The archetypal skeletons for comparison of the two groups are Nos. 2 and 15, males, and Nos. 10 and 11, female. These were selected because their skeletal reports were most complete and they seemed to represent the two different groups very well. Number 2 was a slightly built forty year old male with somewhat crowded, perfect teeth, a large dolichocephalic head and a small face with weak jaw muscle attachments. He stood about 5'5" (not re-worked owing to the absence of the relevant skeletal data). Number 15 was a 30 year old male of extremely robust build, a peaked chin, overlapping bite, and a dolichocephalic skull, who stood about 5'10". The two females were quite obviously related to the respective males and offer as great a contrast. Number 10 was a very slightly built female with a stature of under 5', an overlapping bite, and ?some crowding of the incisors, whilst number 11 lying beneath number 10, was a heavy-boned woman with a prow shaped jaw and a dolichocephalic skull who stood about 5'2" tall. It is interesting to note that the two pairs of skeletons are not buried in the same portion of the cemetery, number 2 and number 15 being in the northern sector, and 10 and 11 in the southern, perhaps indicating a cemetery division by marriage as is common today rather than a patrilineal division. This is only a theory, however.

The dental analyses of the skeletons provided further evidence for family relations. There are two congenital dental conditions present plus one which may have been influenced by the diet of the population. The most interesting of these conditions is the absence of wisdom teeth in some of the skeletons. Only about 20% of the population (modern) lacks these teeth and it is a recessive trait (Brothwell 1963, p.112). Most people do develop wisdom teeth, although occasionally they do not develop a complete set. The total absence of these teeth is an inheritable characteristic and a fairly uncommon one. This feature, combined with other inheritable characteristics such as jaw shape, aided in isolating out family members.

Absence of One or More Third Molars

No.	Sex	Molars Missing	Chin Shape
3	aged male	absent - right side only	intermediate
4	aged female	no third molars	peaked
13	male	no third molars	square
17	aged female	no third molars	peaked

For reasons which shall be explained later, number 13 was omitted from the original "family" group. Numbers 4 and 17 both had peaked chins, number 3 had a chin of intermediate form. It is possible that these three individuals may have been brother and sisters, the parents carrying the trait for the absence of wisdom teeth as a dominant/res. or res./res. combination, and for the two chin shapes, peaked and squared. (These factors are not carried by the same gene.)
A second, and more plausible possibility, and the one more favoured in the light of the remaining skeletons and the organization of the cemetery is that number 3 was first cousin to numbers 4 and 17, sisters. This solution would be far more practical in terms of the "production" of an extended family as the other would lead to a situation in which most of the members of the community were co-sanguine relatives, and, therefore could not increase the size of the community without bringing in outsiders. Both of these possibilities have been charted out.

Next, we have the crowding of the incisors, which tends to be a dominant or an incomplete dominant, meaning that members of the same family may show varying degrees of crowding. Nothing is said of numbers 4 and 17.

Crowding of Incisors, Chin Shape and Height

No.	Sex	Crowding	Chin Shape	Height
2	male	incisors	peaked	5'6"
3	male	incisors	intermediate	5'5½"
6	child	incisors	indeterminant	unknown

Plus five additional cases, numbers not noted

Numbers 2 and 3's mens' head shapes differ. Two was small of face, with a large dolichocephalic skull and a correspondingly large brain capacity and weakly developed supra-orbital ridges, number 3 was also dolichocephalic, but his skull showed well-marked ridges. Unfortunately, the skulls of numbers 4 and 17 were not analysed. Herein, we have three individuals, numbers 2, 3 and 6, who may well be related to each other but, most probably are not of the same generation or, perhaps, not of the same nuclear family. Number 2 is recorded as having all of his wisdom teeth, number 3 as having half. Given the aforementioned genetic information, it is unlikely that numbers 2 and 3 were brothers. This may be a father (3)?/son (2)?/daughter (6)? relationship or even a father/son/grand-daughter relationship, but as the father's mate is

unknown, it is impossible to decide which, if any, of these relationships, is the correct one. There are also no datable grave goods which would aid in establishing a chronology. It is also possible that the individuals were cousins rather than of the same nuclear family. As to the possible identity of the mother/mate, if it may be assumed that the consistent breaks inbetween grave groups in the cemetery indicate the limits of extended (patrilineal?) family plots, then one may eliminate those female skeletons in sub-sections 1 and 3 (see plan). Of the remaining skeletons in section 2, 9 is an unsexed adult, 7 is a male, and 14 an unanalysed female, 8 is completely disturbed. Number 7 presents an interesting problem as he cannot be eliminated as a member of 3's projected family, despite that fact that his jaw was square and slightly prominent (more similar in form to 16's for example), on the grounds that number 3, the father, was quite possibly a hybrid (PS) for peaked and squared jaws. If he had been paired with another PS individual, they could have produced both peak jawed progeny, such as number 2, and square jawed children such as number 7.

number 3?

	P	S
P	PP 1	PS 2
S	PS 3	SS 4

Box One - number 2
Box Four - number 7

Thus number 3's possible family tentatively consists of number 3, an unknown mate, ?number 14, two or three "children", numbers 2(male), 10 (female), and ?7 (male), and the possible child of number 2 and an unknown mate, the nine year old girl, number 6, who might also be another child of number 3.

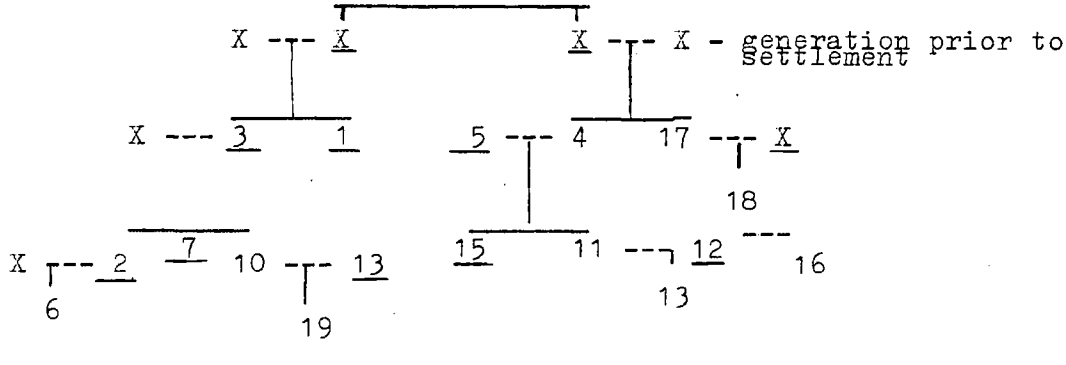
The other groups may spring from the families of number 3's ?cousins, numbers 4 and 17 (female), each of whom is buried in a different sub-section of the cemetery, number 4 in section 1, and number 17 in section 3. These are both aged, peaked chinned individuals who lacked wisdom teeth. One, number 4, was calculated to be of medium height. Both may have showed some crowding of their incisors, if they truly are relatives of 3. Number 4, and an unknown mate, possibly number 5 due to his proximity to this skeleton, could have produced numbers 11 (female), and 15 (male), two robust individuals, one of

whom (number 11) had a peaked jaw, the other a jaw of intermediate type, both of whom are reported to have had all of their wisdom teeth. The possible parental genotypes being (4) PP (peaked), NN (no wisdom teeth), T (S) medium height with genes for both tallness and shortness), and (5 - conjectural) PS (hybrid square and peaked), WN (or probably WW - wisdom teeth), T(T, or S) stature yielding number 15 - PPWNTT (peaked chin, tall, with wisdom teeth (as above), and number 11, PS (prow shaped chin), WN, see number 15 T(S), medium height. Again, number 15 is buried with the encorporated extended family of number 4, including his possible cousins - number 3's male and unmarried children, number 3 and ?mate, whilst 11 is buried with her ?husband's family in section 3. It is possible that if number 12 is a male, this is number 11's mate, with their ?child number 13 superimposed over number 12 and their ?daughter-in-law, number 10 (daughter of number 3) superimposed over number 11. This would indicate a cross-cousin marriage, possibly amongst second cousins once-removed: father's son's daughter (number 10), father's brother's daughter's daughter's son (number 13). Thirteen is a square jawed individual who completely lacks wisdom teeth, who does not seem to fit into the same group as numbers 4 and 17 and both of these individuals were peak jawed, although he may not be eliminated entirely. Number 11, his ?mother, carried on in her genes both a lack of wisdom teeth and square jaws, although, as a hybrid, she exhibits the phenotype of a prowed jaw and wisdom teeth. Number 12 is unanalysed, but, if he is male, and is the father of number 13, he must have carried the chromosomes for the same features, either as an SSNW, PSNW, S(S)WW (number 12's type), or PSNN. He could not have been an PPWW, as this would have made it impossible for him to have produced a child who was an SSNN, no matter what the mother's genotype was. As to the robust tall skeletal forms of numbers 11 and 15, this is also possible if number 4 is the mother, as she carries (theoretically) the genes for tallness although she herself is of medium height. A genotype TS, if married to a TT or TS individual could produce children who are taller than the parents.

Unfortunately, two of the children, numbers 18 (aged $3\frac{1}{2}$), and 19 (aged 14-15) were not well analysed and it was not possible to link them conclusively to any of the groups. As they both lie in sub-section 3, they may well be the off-spring of number 17, 10 and 13, or 11 and 12.

Five of the analysed skeletons had overlapping bites of a modern form, numbers 2, 10, 11, 15 and 16. Number 16 is an elderly female who may be related to numbers 12 and 13, as she, too, had a square jaw. Number 3 is listed as having an edge-to-edge bite, but he is listed as an aged individual, and, according to Brothwell, this condition could have been brought about by extreme wear to the teeth. Keith suggested that the predominating overlapping bite coupled with generally weak masticating muscles could indicate that the settlers came from a stock long used to an easy life with plentiful and somewhat refined food (more will be said about this further on). It is evident that there need only be two or three groups involved to produce all of the genetypes and phenotypes expressed in this cemetery. It also seems clear that at least two of these groups came from the same stock if not from the same extended family. It is such a small group that it is dangerous to make any generalizations about it, but it appears to have been a settlement which only lasted for two or three generations and was poor throughout its history. Below are two possible breakdowns of the geneology at Broadchalke, the one favoured by the writer is labelled 1. Factors such as location within the cemetery have been taken into consideration as well as physical traits. A distance of about 15' was noted between groups 1 and 2 (sections), and 2 and 3. These "void" areas are markedly broader than the average gap between graves and appear to have been, in some way, deliberate "boundaries" between groups. As has been noted, females seem to have been buried apart from the male members of their nuclear families. The skeletal report is not quite complete enough, nor are there enough datable goods for a completely accurate analysis. It also must be remembered that six known individuals were lost prior to excavation.

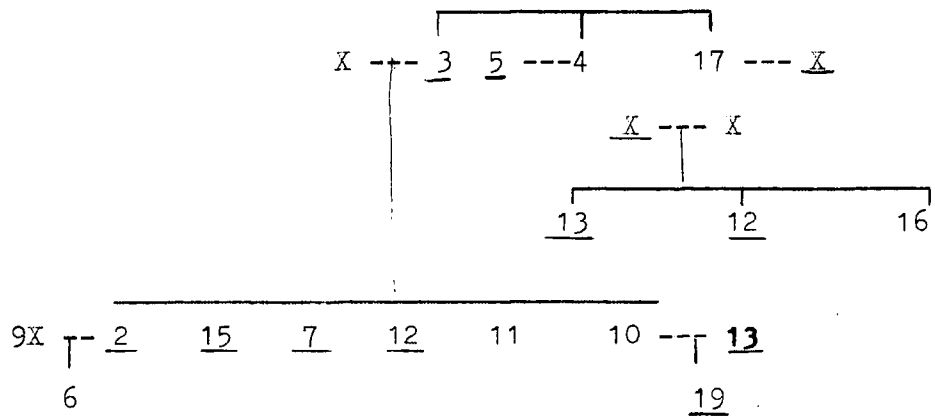
Number 1



Underlined numbers - males

Number 2

X ---- X - generation prior to settlement



Two of many possible breakdowns

The average age of death amongst the males was 46.66 years. It was difficult to determine the average for the females as only two ages were provided giving an average of 40 years. In three additional cases, female skeletons were determined to be those of aged individuals. Broadchalke seems to contain a higher percentage of middle-aged and elderly individuals than Petersfinger, perhaps due to its isolated position which may have protected the people (somewhat) from infectious diseases. At least 31.5% of the cemetery was over the age of 40 at time of death, 16.5% were between 30 and 40. The infant mortality rate must have been low, or the birth rate was low, or these people buried their very small children elsewhere. The burial of small children in a separated area has no known precedent at the Old Sarum cemeteries wherein new born infants were given the same care and buried in the same places as older children. But there are only three children buried at Broadchalke, a 3 year old, a 9 year old girl, and a 15 year old boy. One of the six lost skeletons is reported to have been that of a 16 year old youth, a young man rather than a child. Perhaps there were other younger people in this group. The most reasonable analysis seems to lie in Broadchalke being a small, relatively short-lived, family-related homestead which, for some reason, possibly the physical discomfort of the climate or its isolated position, failed to survive later than the sixth century, and produced few excavated offspring.

Broadchalke is a problematical cemetery in many respects. Whilst it is possible to see a central "line", running N-S through the middle

of the cemetery, and containing mostly males, 5, 3, 2, 15, 12, 13, 19, and a shorter N-S row including 2 females and a child, 14, 17, 18; the cemetery is so small as to make this pattern partially co-incidental. There are more males than females or children buried in the northern half of the cemetery (sub-sections 1 and 2)(5 males, 2 females, 1 child), and more females and children than males in the southern half (sub-section 3)(4 females, 2 males, 2 children). But the sample is too small to be significant. On the whole, the cemetery remains an ill-organized, "messy" group, despite some feeble attempt to organize it. The most notable features are, as aforementioned, the gaps between the three groups of skeletons, a factor also noted at Roche Court Down and Winkelbury Hill, but, in both of these cemeteries, the vast majority of the skeletons lie in rows, are extended, and orientated E-W.

There is even some reasonable doubt as to whether or not it should be considered a truly Anglo-Saxon (or "mixed invaders") cemetery at all. The grave goods, while Saxon in nature, are inconclusive and meagre, and can be used neither for dating or for tribal-allegience purposes. They are almost meaningless, giving only a rough date of early to mid-sixth century for the cemetery with the exception of the problematical shield boss which appeared with an H type spear. At the same date corpses were being buried with elaborate grave goods at Petersfinger and Harnham Hill. The small size of the cemetery, and its short, poverty-stricken life, could account for this. Winkelbury Hill, the closest cemetery to Broadchalke, may be later in date, but it shows many similar characteristics to the Old Sarum group, such as a fairly strict attempt at organization, a consistent E-W orientation, an absence of overlapping graves, and a fairly consistent burial position (extended). Family dictates or convenience may have determined the helter-skelter lay out at Broadchalke. However, one may not exclude the possibility that this cemetery included only a very few "invaders", the majority of the interments being Romano-Britains. Even if one moves the Battle of Old Sarum up to 487, this leaves a maximum of about fifty years between the inception of Broadchalke and the take-over of Wiltshire. Broadchalke, lying somewhat out of the centre of action to the NE, and very close to several excavated Romano-British villages, such as Woodcuts and Rotherly, could be a mixed native and invader settlement. In fact, this cemetery has much more in common with the late Romano-British cemeteries such as

Cirencester (Glous.), Lankhills (Hants.), Rotherly (Wilts.) and Woodyates (Wilts.) than is has with cemeteries such as Harnham Hill, Petersfinger, or Winkelbury Hill. The data from Woodyates is the most complete and conclusive, and, as it is also near Broadchalke, it offers perhaps, the best comparison. This site seems to have gone out of use during the reign of Honorius (approx. 410), as based on the coin evidence, but it may well have continued into the fifth century. Twenty skeletons were found on the site, some buried neatly in a rectangular enclosure, the rest scattered about in the silt of ditches, pits, etc. Thirteen of these skeletons were male, two were female, two were unsexed, and two were immature, the other three were badly disturbed. Again there is a predominance of males and a curious lack of children. With the exception of the burials which were interred within the rectangle and were orientated five E-W, one SE-NW, the remaining 14 were, for the most part, carelessly buried, a few crouched, the rest extended or akimbo. Although the data is not complete, four skeletons were buried SE-NW, one SW-NE, four NW-SE, one E-W, three disturbed. In one case, number 19, a skeleton has either been pushed aside or brought from elsewhere and resembles the "piled" positions of skeleton number 8 at Broadchalke. Pitt-Rivers found some evidence for coffins amongst this group, but not every individual had one. There is also a general lack of grave goods amongst the group outside of the rectangle. Even within Pitt-Rivers' "Christian" rectangle, the grave goods consisted mainly of Charon's coins and pots (Pitt-Rivers, Vol. II, 1888). There are some striking physical similarities as well. Amongst the annotated skeletons from Woodyates, five had peaked jaws, two had square jaws, and two had broad rounded jaws, possibly of an intermediate type. There were also two cases in which the third molars had failed to develop (3 and 17). The height span was quite broad, the males ranging from 4'10" (?) to 5'10" as compared with 5'2" to 5'9½" at Broadchalke, but then the number of analysed male skeletons is higher at Woodyates than at Broadchalke. The other problem involved in comparing the height of the two groups is that Keith did not state his methods, nor are the femoral lengths given. It was not possible to standardize the two groups. In the case of one of the males at Woodyates, (No. 10) special mention is made of the feeble muscular attachments to the jaw, a condition which also has parallels at Broadchalke (No. 2). Unfortunately, there is no comparable information given for the skeletal material from Petersfinger or Harnham Hill.

Winkelbury Hill will be dealt with separately. It is also interesting to note that most of the adult skeletons at Woodyates are listed as "fully mature", the youngest recorded adult being 22 years of age.

Herein, we have two populations separated by about five miles and less than 100 years, whose physiognomies are somewhat similar (including the occasional lack of wisdom teeth), and whose rather haphazard burial practices are also somewhat alike. Given that they are probably not contemporary settlements, and that there seems to have been a fairly high concentration of Romano-British settlement in the area, it is not too difficult or too improbable to imagine that some of the settlers at Broadchalke may have come from these villages or have been the descendents of those therein. The only supportive evidence for a classification as an Anglo-Saxon semetery is the grave goods. Two of the spear types found at Broadchalke, types H_2 and H_3 are "The most characteristic of all Anglo-Saxon spear-types and perhaps the most popular eve, found in large numbers in all parts of the settlements." (Swanton, 1974). The third, type G_1, though somewhat less popular, is most commonly found south of the Thames. Therefore, their occurrence in an not necessarily (completely) Anglo-Saxon cemetery located within reach of a large group of early settlements around Old Sarum, is neither awkward nor conclusive. They could easily have been trade objects, "spoils of war", or pick ups. It is interesting to note that all of the three lacked ferrules. As these goods constitute the case for Broadchalke's inclusion as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, it seems a particularly flimsy one. The inclusion of flints (burnt and unburnt) and pyrites in the graves could also be seen as supportive evidence, hampered by the fact that it is unclear just how these flints were placed. Burnt flints do not occur at Petersfinger or at any of the other "mixed invader" cemeteries, save Woodbridge, North Newton, nor do they appear to occur at Woodyates. No attempt seems to have been made at the rite of half-cremation as Keith's pathology report makes no mention of calcined bones. It may hark back to Roman cremation practices, or the burnt flints may represent symbolic purification by fire.

When considered in the context of the other contemporary cemeteries in the area, Broadchalke consistently appears to be dissimilar in many respects. It is possible that it may only be tentatively classified as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery on the sole grounds of the dates given by the meagre grave goods. The physical evidence is inconclusive without

matching data for the large cemeteries in the Old Sarum area. The dental evidence is only marginally conclusive. The general lay-out of the cemetery does not conform completely to either the Old Sarum group or the Romano-British cemeteries, but it does seem closer in type to the latter. As the burial place of, perhaps, a single extended family or a very small community, great similarities between it and the larger cemeteries in the Salisbury area are not to be expected. But one might expect that so basic a tradition as extending the body for burial, or, perhaps, a fixed orientation may have been adhered to. If Broadchalke is a pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery, it is an extremely atypical one. It raises all sorts of questions such as the inbreeding of two populations, one of which is dictating the burial rites, what the marriage practices were within an extended family homestead, the way in which homesteads were established and developed, the amount of communication between outlying settlements and their ?parent settlements, and their relevant relationship to each other. All of this lies beyond the scope of this thesis. If Broadchalke is not a truly Anglo-Saxon cemetery, it supplies some meagre proof that the two elements in the early sixth century population of Wiltshire did co-exist, intermarry, and assimilate each other's cultures, thus producing cemeteries which show an admixture of both burial rites and physical types.

FACTORS	BROADCHALKE	CIRENCESTER-4TH	LANKHILLS-LATE PHASE
Absence of Coffins	Yes	Some-wealthy burials	Yes
Absence of Grave Goods (or Paucity)	Yes	Charon's coins and pots only	Yes
Erratic Orientation or change-over Orientation	Yes	Yes	Yes?
Small percentage of females and/ or children	Yes (children)	Yes	unknown
Crouched position	Yes	A few	unknown
Shallow Graves	Yes	Some	Yes
Too short graves	Yes	Unknown	unknown
Cut through burials - or replaced burials	Yes-3	Yes	No

	PETERSFINGER	WOODYATES
Absence of Coffins	Yes	A few
Absence of Grave Goods (or Paucity	Some graves others rich	Enclosure - Charons coins etc. rest poor
Erratic Orientation or change-over Orientation	No	Yes
Small percentage of females and/ or children	No	Yes
Crouched position	A very few	Some - all outside enclosure
Shallow Graves	Some - mostly children	Yes
Too short graves	Very few	
Cut through burials - or replaced burials	2 only	A very few

C: Harnham Hill

It is unfortunate that this cemetery was so poorly excavated and published as it is the second-largest burial place now known in Wiltshire. Harnham Hill, O.S. SU137287 (mis-printed in Meaney as SU137387), contained 64 graves, some of which held more than one inhumation, the total population being 73 plus five graves found post-excavation. It was strip-excavated by J. Y. Akerman in 1853-4 and published in WiAM. I, 1854, and subsequently published in Arch. 35, 1855.

The site came to the attention of the excavator when a carpenter constructing a fence found a human skull and the "drowner" on the estate found a spearhead and other grave goods. Whilst the excavation seems to have been fairly competently carried out, the subsequent reports leave much to be desired. The report is typical of its epoch. There is no site plan, the graves were neither measured nor drawn, few of the skeletons ever reached a pathologist, and only the more spectacular finds were illustrated. The descriptions of the grave goods are poor and vague, and, as not all of them are now displayed in museums, dating the cemetery was very difficult. In this respect, it is fortunate that the cemetery was a fairly poor one. These obvious limitations meant that, despite its size and location, very little could be learned from attempting to analyse the cemetery in any great detail. However, the available information suggests that this burial place conformed to some of the norms of its Old Sarum group, with a few obvious deviations. Some of these differences were quite interesting, but, as there is no true "structural" context, they were impossible to account for in terms of the cemetery lay-out, dating, etc. An attempt to reconstruct the cemetery based upon the few field notes in the text and the order in which the graves were found proved only marginally successful as the relationship of one grave to another was only rarely mentioned and it was not known whether the graves found on the same day in roughly the same section of the cemetery lay end to end or side by side, whether they lay close together or far apart or even next to each other.[1] An additional problem encountered

1 Even Miss Meaney seems to have been somewhat confused by this report and her statistics differ somewhat from the writer's.

was that more skeletons emerged from time to time after the cemetery had been excavated, and their locations are extremely vague. It is possible that there are other burials or burial groups at East or West Harnham, and that these burials are not part of the cemetery at all. As has been previously mentioned, the area around Old Sarum is fairly liberally sprinkled with pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and burials of other types. Petersfinger is situated about 1½ miles due east of the site, and the important cenotaph at Coombe Bissett about 1¼ miles due west. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the Salisbury area was well-settled by groups sharing a similar cultural background by the earliest decades of the sixth century, despite Chronicle evidence to the contrary. Miss Evison's arguments for moving the crucial Battle of Old Sarum back from 552 (Chronicle date) to 487 (re-worked date, Evison, 1965, 84) become more acceptable, for these large cemeteries, such as Harnham Hill and Petersfinger, are indicative of settled communities in existence at a date preceding the battle rather than of bands of single warriors or nomads.

Location

The cemetery lies at the foot of Harnham Hill overlooking the valley of the River Ebble. It is in the Hundred of Cawden and lies on the parish boundary of Netherhampton and Salisbury. The south transept of Salisbury Cathedral is nearly opposite the site, according to Mr. Ackerman, although in fact it is approximately one mile to the north-east of the site. Its combination of names is an interesting factor: Harnham or Hara's Hamm coupled with the name of the field in which the cemetery lies, Low field, which probably derives from hlaew (es) field or barrow field. There were no barrows visible at the time of excavation, but they may have been ploughed out. Without a site plan, it is unknown whether this cemetery followed the same arc or void pattern noticed at Blackpatch and Petersfinger. Perhaps there was a low mound (or more than one) on the site at some point, if so, it would indicate that the barrow/flat grave complexes are earlier than the transitional date suggested by both Winkelbury Hill and Roche Court Down, but there is no substantive proof. There is also no proof that the two names, Hara's hamm and hlaew - field are contemporaneous. The placename, Harnham, is first recorded in 1115 (E.P.N.S., 1939, 222).

Method of Burial

The graves at Harnham Hill differ markedly from those in the other Wiltshire cemeteries. There were no true grave cuts which penetrated the chalk. Instead, the bodies were laid upon the surface of the chalk, surrounded and topped, in most cases, by flints to form a type of cist. A few of the burials may have been wrapped in shrouds, as Akerman noticed that some of the brooches were found in a reversed position and the wooden bowl lying at the skull of male skeleton number 63 had textile remains adhering to it.[2] As in the case of the Winterslow sword, the object itself may have been wrapped, however.

Surface burials are generally found only in conjunction with the interments of very young children in the County, also, in most cemeteries wherein flint lined or covered graves are found, only a small percentage of the burials are covered in this manner. As aforementioned, at Harnham Hill, all of the burials displayed this feature.

The use of above ground flint built cists is reminiscent of Gallo-Roman influenced Merovingian cemeteries such as Premploz. Burial on the surface of the sub-soil is also a Frankish characteristic, although Salin believed that it only manifested itself amongst Germanic Frank. An interesting burial at Mengen (number 36), may illustrate what Akerman so poorly describes. The greater part of the burials at Mengen were protected by large flints placed so as to form a coffin-like cist. In this double burial, a very shallow hollow had been dug out and dry-stone walling has been used to make up the depth, this mock-cist was then filled and covered with a stone "plate", and then covered with top soil (Salin, II, 1952, 99). There are no illustrations of the Harnham Hill graves, and the walling may have consisted of one course of large, flat flints or even irregular flints roughly lined up to form a low wall around the body rather than the more complex structure found at Mengen. In any case, these two customs, so much more common in Merovingian cemeteries than in Wiltshire burial places, wherein only a few graves per cemetery are flint lined, may indicate a strong Frankish strain in the settlement at Harnham Hill, this is also somewhat borne out by the grave goods.

2 Whilst shrouds are rare, especially in Wiltshire, there is evidence that they were occasionally used in Kentish burials.

Orientation and Position

The excavator was greatly impressed by the neat, regular lay-out of the cemetery and by the almost constant E-W orientation of the skeletons. Only one skeleton, number 55, a male, was buried N-S. He was also one of the few crouched burials. Mr. Akerman was of the opinion that this deviation may have been due to "some unintentional dislocation after burial", as whilst the grave contained a shield grip, there was no umbo. However, if this is the case, the skeleton must have been disturbed before it had decomposed as it is complete and articulated. There fore, one may not rule out the possibility that for some reason it had been interred in this peculiar fashion originally.

As at Blackpatch, the vast majority of the skeletons lay either completely extended or with one or both hands on the pelvis. A few also had their legs crossed. Four skeletons lay in crouched positions, numbers 23 (sex unknown), 5), young person, 53, wealthy female, and 55 (N-S burial as above). All of these lay on their right sides. If Mr. Akerman did number the skeletons consecutively (by day and area), then three of these burials, 50, 53 and 55, may lie near each other. The positions are less varied than at Petersfinger or Blackpatch, and another element of society, young and mature adults, including males, were buried in crouched positions, unlike Petersfinger or Blackpatch wherein it was primarily children, infants, and women who were found placed upon their sides. Although the sample is **too small to be conclusive.**

There are five double burials at Harnham Hill,four of those are females and babies or very young children, numbers 13, 30, 44 and 61. This differs from the double grave at Petersfinger, wherein there were no woman/child double burials. Number 6, 14 year old and infant, and 30, no grave goods; number 44, tiny glass beads only; grave 13, adult, knife, infant, two tiny button brooches. Grave 61, probably a female child and adult female, fairly elaborate burial. Grave goods amber beads, paste beads (at the wrist and neck of the adult), a plain silver armlet, two knives, a bronze lion's head girlde ornament with bronze and iron links, two dish-shaped saucer brooches with blue plste studs, and a pair of bronze tweezers.

Two graves contained three burials each, all of an unsexed adult and two children. Grave 32, two skeletons, grave goods (the adult and 1 child), a child, grave goods a bronze armilla and small beads. Grave 58, 2 children, 1 adult, no grave goods.

There are no double burials, such as found at Petersfinger, Blackpatch, or even Winkelbury Hill, and only one possible double childrens' burial, number 6, which may also be a mother/child burial. Miss Meaney is incorrect in stating that "no children were buried on their own, and it is possible that some of the smaller, unsexed skeletons may also be those of children.

It is always possible that some of these double burials may have been due to convenience rather than custom. In cases of adult double burial, the secondary interment often disturbs the primary one indicating that the first burial was already decomposed and also hinting that the grave must have been marked for possible re-opening. Naturally, this is more true of one-atop-the-other burials than side-by-side multiple burials, but, amongst the double and triple side-by-side burials at Harnham Hill, this disturbance does not seem to be the case, the burials all appear to have been placed in their communal graves within a short time of one another. That they were not necessarily completely contemporaneous is suggested by the fact that the cradled position occasionally found at Petersfinger is absent.

The Breakdown

The group consisted of 17 proven females, 10 proven males, 14 children and young adolescents (to age 15), 10 infants, and 21 unsexed adults. Much of the classifying was done from the grave goods, and, as this is a poorish cemetery, more than one quarter of all the graves could not be classified. A few other skeletons were roughly sexed by their heights, but, as this is a particularly tall group of settlers (see section on heights), there is some overlap, some of the women were as tall as 5'7", some of the men were this short, therefore, even sexing a skeleton from its height proved inconclusive. The two to one ratio of children to adults holds true at this cemetery as well: 48 classified adults to 24 classified children or roughly one child per projected couple (see Blackpatch).

The Grave Goods

There was a higher proportion of graves without grave goods or with only a simple object at Harnham Hill than there was at either Petersfinger or Blackpatch.

Grave Goods

	Males	Females	Children and Infants	Unknown	
NONE	3	4	9	14	Total - 30
Single Grave Good	4	1	10	7	Total - 22

Six graves were moderately well-equipped:

Moderately Well Equipped Graves

No.	Sex	Grave Goods	Dating
1	Male	C3 spear, carinated boss	6th or later. Boss is buttoned and carinated but spear type more common to seventh century.
11	female	2 disc brooches knife	ring and dot and punched triangle decoration on brooches may be early by comparative evidence
42	female	pin, pr. of disc brooches	pre 550, affinities to Kempton types (B.M. cat.)(Fig. 13)
52	female	beads, clasp, brooch	poor condition, undatable
55	male	knife, boss, grip	poor condition, undatable

There are ten "wealthy" graves on the site, but very few of them are wealthy in the Petersfinger, Blackpatch or Winterbourne Gunner sense of the word. There were no axes, swords, or very elaborate buckles or brooches. Seven of these wealthier burials were females (including one in a double grave), one a male, one a child in a double burial, and one an unclassified adult (probably male, height in grave 5'7").

Wealthy Burials

No.	Sex	Grave Goods	Dating
12	female	wristlet of blue glass beads, Fe buckle, bz tweezers, pr. saucer brooches	undatable - poor condition (Fig. 13)
28	female	silver spiral ring, pre-Jellinge style bx. gilt belt ornament sheep's knuckle, bz. Roman coin, die-like bone fragment, toilette set	pre-Jellinge style ornament dates burial to the seventh century (B.M. cat.) (Fig. 13)
36	Female	spiral ring, bz. strip, beads, pr. square-headed brooches	probably pre-550 (Fig. 13)

No.	Sex	Grave Goods	Dating
40	female	spindle whorl, pr. button brooches, solid silver ring, silver spiral ring, plain gold ring, late Roman bow brooch, bz. spatula-like object (nail cleaner?)	spindle whorl similar to one found at Barrington, Cambs., grave need not be any later than the first half of the sixth. (Fig.13)
48	unknown	knife, pin, bz. tweezers, strike-a-light, two-pronged fork	undatable
53	female	large rectangular buckle, brooch, knife, narrow equal-arm brooches, beads, bz. ring	grave probably early in history of site
54	female	solid bz. "runic ring", bz. wire earring with beads, bz. fragments	undatable
62	child	amber beads (wealthy for child)	in double grave
62	female	silver armlet, beads, lion's head girdle ornament, pr. saucer brooches with blue glass studs, bz. pin	grave may be early in history of site, lion's head may be casted from Roman model, no zoomorphic ornament on brooches
63	male	boss, C4 spear, shallow bz. bound wooden dish with linen adhering	spear type late, grave probably no earlier than late sixth

In grave 62, the "fibula" was reversed and the excavator believed that this indicated that the individual had been buried in a shroud. The closest parallels for these brooches come from Duston (N. Hants.) and Caenby (Lincs.) wherein a brooch exhibited the same fat, somewhat debased and chaotically interwoven animals (style II0). The central boss bears a resemblance to one found at Afriston (Sussex)). These brooches may be of late sixth century date, although the material from Caenby is of the seventh century (Meaney, 1964,152). The small "lion's head may be of Roman manufacture or cast from a Roman model as Akerman was convinced that the style was not Teutonic.

Grave 12's brooches find rough parallels at Blackpatch (Fig. 13), but, in addition, they have an exterior accordian pleated border. They may not be dated with any accuracy, but, because of the absence of zoomorphic motives, they may date to the mid-sixth century if not earlier.

The ring found with skeleton 54 has no exact parallels within the Wiltshire corpus, although it is similar to the silver ring found in

grave 40. There are several heavy bronze and gold rings in the collection of the Nantes Musee, one of which (No. 325) is the same shape as the Harnham Hill samples and has a cross inscribed upon its oval plate. Although they exhibit different motives, it is probable that the Nantes rings and those from Harnham share a common ancestry.

Important Grave Goods from Less Wealthy Graves

Grave 13: (child), a pair of small, round-headed brooches with almost exact parallels to be found at Chessel Down (I.o.W.), which also bear strong affinities to a pair found at Herpes. These may be amongst the earliest objects in the cemetery, but, as the grave contained no other objects, caution must be used when dating the burial.

Some of the spearheads found indicate a wide spread in date.

Spears with no Related Finds

Grave	Type	Dating
Prior to Excavation	L	Late fifth-earliest sixth
" " "	"	" " " "
" " "	C3	Late type - late sixth-seventh
9	H1	Late fifth-first half sixth
17	C4	Late type - late sixth-seventh
24	H2	Late fifth-first half sixth

As evidenced by the above, this cemetery spans roughly the same dates as Petersfinger, although the evidence for a commencing date in the late fifth century is somewhat less well documented at Harnham Hill due to the paucity of grave goods in general. The cemetery may have lasted well into the seventh century as illustrated by the Pre-Jellinge style pin head and the long, late spear types, C3 and C4. The earliest pieces may be the button and round-headed brooches, the former of which were not as numerous as at Blackpatch, and the H1 and H2 and L type spear heads. Apparently, the community was less well-to-do than that at Petersfinger, wherein only 24 of the graves lacked grave goods, and the wealthy burials were far more elaborate than those found at Harnham Hill, especially by the large number of rings and the bronze belt buckles. The manner of burial also seems more Frankish than Saxon. The cemetery's neatness and conformity of orientation would also call to mind fourth and fifth century Merovingian cemeteries such as Villey St. Etienne or the Alemanic cemetery at Holzgerlingen. And, as

previously mentioned, the style of cist adopted also resembles those found in such cemeteries as Mengen.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the cemetery at Harnham Hill appears to have started up in the latest fifth of earliest sixth centuries and to have continued in use until sometime in the seventh century, as did Petersfinger. Its earliest artifacts and its general lay-out seem to be Frankish/Jutish, whilst the later pieces, such as the gilt saucer brooches may be more West Saxon in character. This also conforms to what is known of the cemeteries at Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner, the other two excavated cemeteries in the Old Sarum group, and to a lesser extent, to what is known about the development of the cemetery at Blackpatch. Apparently, this was a poorer group than any of the above or it may be that the dead were less elaborately equipped at Harnham Hill than they were at the other Old Sarum cemeteries. This puts forth a most interesting problem: is wealth or poverty really indicated by the abundance or lack of grave goods? A few of the graves at Harnham Hill give evidence of containing artifacts which span a long period of time - Roman to possibly seventh century in one case. These graves may contain aggregates of pieces no longer in use which have been consigned to a burial which may post-date the grave-goods considerably. A wealthy grave might only indicate that several of the objects had been contributed by different people and only a few actually belonged to the individual interred. Whilst this may be somewhat less likely to happen in male burials, because of the status and personal nature of weapons, it may be particularly applicable in the case of childrens' burials wherein the individual obviously owned very little personal property, and even very poor parents may have wished to bury something with their child, perhaps to insure that its spirit would return to them in the form of another child.[3]

3 Also found in many of the graves were worn sherds of pottery which Akerman attributes to the "Ophelia" tradition. Musty found such sherds littering the mound at Ford and considered them to be evidence that the site had been visited by mourners after the burial. Whilst the pot found at Ford is almost certainly Anglo-Saxon, that from Harnham Hill is not dated and may be intrusive in the grave fill as were sherds of cord-beaker and Iron Age pot at Winterbourne Gunner and Blackpatch, respectively.

It is particularly unfortunate that the dating for the cemetery at Harnham Hill is so sketchy, as it would have provided an excellent foil for the much better published cemetery at Petersfinger, the two being roughly of the same size and date span. But this cemetery does contribute more information about the crucial early period of settlement in the Old Sarum area and, again, strikes a blow at the Chronicle date for the Battle of Old Sarum, which can not be as late as 552 and most probably took place before the close of the fifth century, henceforth allowing communities of "mixed" invaders to commence settling in the Old Sarum area before the year 500 A.D.

D: Petersfinger

"Petersfinger lies on a slight natural terrace on the steep western escarpment of the Upper Chalk of Ashley Hill at a height of 230' O.D. above the hamlet of Petersfinger ... The river Avon flows ½ mile to the South of the Cemetery immediately across from the site stands the Church of St. Peter, Britford which may date from the first quarter of the ninth century. The lower surrounding land tends to become waterlogged." (Leeds, 1953, Introd.). It was thought by Leeds that the entire extent of the cemetery was excavated. The western extremes were lost to chalk quarrying prior to the first excavation which was carried out by Professor and Mrs. Piggott, Dr. J. F. S. Stone, and Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson in 1948. Thirty-one skeletons were excavated at that time. Further chalk quarrying proved that the limits of the cemetery had not been reached and a second excavation, carried out by Mr. R. S. Newell, was launched in 1951. Thirty-two more graves were unearthed at that time. The subsequent report was compiled by E. T. Leeds and H. de Shortt, and published in 1953 (Leeds, de Shortt, 1953).

The Rev. E. H. Goddard listed the following earthworks and finds for the parish of Clarendon in his compendium of "Pre-Historic, Roman, and Pagan Saxon Antiquities in Wilts." (WiAm, XXVIII, p.226): three barrows (all unexcavated), a mesolithic flint celt, a bronze age globular pot of "uncertain age", a British coin of the late Celtic period (found at King's Manor Farm), and an unexcavated Roman Villa (?) located in Clarendon Woods. It is obvious from this list that the area had been under sporadic occupation since the mesolithic period. There is good reason to believe that the cemetery began no later than the late fifth century despite the date of 552 given for the battle of Old Sarum in the A.S.C. As J. Musty has surmised in his discussion of the almost contemporary and close-lying cemetery at Winterbourne Gunner (WiAm, 1964), it is possible (in fact, probable) that the 552 battle was of a defensive nature rather than an offensive attack upon British held territory. Or, as Dr. Evison has suggested, the date of the battle itself is incorrect (Evison, 196, 89). This theory seems to fit the early date for the beginnings of Winterbourne Gunner, Harnham Hill, and Petersfinger. As it is somewhat doubtful that these large, organized, long-lived cemeteries initially contained fallen

warriors or incidental burials by a group of wandering pillagers (some of the earliest graves are females, most graves are well-cut and laid out), one must think in terms of pioneer-settlers in the Salisbury area as early as the end of the fifth century if not beforehand. If this is the case, then the population of the Salisbury region was, more than likely, a mixture of native and invader for at least fifty years prior to the Battle of Old Sarum if one accepts the A.S.C. date. As has been illustrated in the sections on the cemeteries at Broadchalke and Winkelbury Hill, there is some anthropological and ethnological evidence for the two groups intermarrying. Unfortunately, the skeletal report for Petersfinger was so scanty as to make analysis impossible. The average heights, 5'4½" for women, 5'8" for men, fit in with the other cemeteries in the area, although the males were somewhat shorter than those at Harnham Hill, for example. Petersfinger is one of the largest excavated cemeteries in Wiltshire, and one of the few well excavated and reported sites. Seventy-four skeletons were contained in sixty-four graves (Fig. 14). They ranged in age from new born infants to elderly men and women, and in date of interment from the late fifth century through to the seventh.

There are two prevalent orientations, East-West and North-South (feet first). In his introduction, Leeds comments upon this division in orientation:

> "A curious fact which emerges is that in the first thirty or so graves excavated, the richer were placed east to west and the poorer north to south (1-31) whereas in the remaining half the reverse was the case, implying changes of fashion and a long period of use for the cemetery."
>
> (Leeds, 1953)

Musty also feels that this shift in orientation must be indicative of a change in fashion.

> "The graves have two orientations: S-N (N-S) and W-E (E-W). These orientations are not randomly distributed and comprise two distinct groups of which the W- E group appears to be the earlier as in two instances S-N graves cut W-E graves."
>
> (Musty, WiAm, 1964, 103)*

* Misinterpreted - see section on development of cemetery

Dr. Evison sees the two orientations as being not only contemporary but equal in terms of wealth as well. The four earliest graves containing Frankish material consist of three E-W and one N-S orientated grave-cuts (Evison, 1963, 39).

This pattern continues throughout the entire life of the site. Persons of all ages, both sexes, and all apparent stratas were buried in each of these orientations. The orientation breakdown is as follows:

Orientation of Graves

Orientation	males	females	children	unknown
E-W	11	11	2	4 - total 28
N-S	12	8	15	1 - total 36
W-E	1			total 1

It must be noted, however, that many of these inhumations are not due N-S or E-W but deviate to greater or lesser degrees. These have been divided into two large groups as the amount of variation does not seem to be of particular or noticeable importance.

There is a case for "family" sectors in which the orientation had been dictated in the earliest phase of the cemetery, and subsequent graves were orientated to "suit" their section (see Blackpatch). There is both an E-W and a N-S linear arrangement, there are also E-W and N-S sectors, and, with the exception of a very few graves, these rows and sectors are consistent in their orientations as Musty had suggested. As will be seen, as the cemetery grew, a certain amount of crowding and overlapping occurred causing the final site plan to appear chaotic, but, in its earliest stage, there were two N-S and one E-W section, and as time passed, graves were added to each group, usually encroaching upon the centre of the cemetery (Fig. 16).

Position

The vast majority of the skeletons at Petersfinger were placed in an extended position, the hands sometimes folded over the hips or the pelvis.

Positions Other Than Extended

No.	Sex	Orientation	Position
12	male	N-S	akimbo
15	child	E-W	akimbo
25	female	E-W	akimbo
32	child	N-S	right side - flexed
34	female	E-W	right side - flexed
42	male	N-S	pushed into short grave
45	male	W-E	pushed into short grave
51	female	N-S	akimbo
48	female	N-S	right side - flexed
56	infant	N-S	pushed into side of grave
57	child	N-S	pushed into short grave
61 a,b	children	N-S	left-side - flexed
62	child	N-S	left side - flexed
59	male	N-S	legs crossed

One could speculate endlessly as to why these few graves deviate from the norm. Skeletons of all ages, both sexes, and all degrees of wealth ranging from the well-equipped grave of female No. 25 to the contentless graves of 45 and the infants, are included in this group. They range in date from No. 25 (late fifth century) to No. 42 (probably seventh century). Therefore, it is evident that none of these factors is the decisive one. The akimbo and too short graves will be dealt with first. In cases in which the grave cuts were too short, it may simply be due either to a poor estimate of the height of the individual or to the chalk and flint nature of the subsoil which caused a few skeletons, otherwise in normal extended position, to be slightly askew (No. 37, a female buried E-W had her feet resting upon natural flint blocks. These blocks caused the entire grave, (and subsequently, the skeleton) to be slightly out of line. These flint blocks may have caused the grave diggers to stop short and make do by pushing the head of the corpse forward onto the chest and or flexing the limbs.)

Side Positions

There are no measurements for grave 34, nor are her grave goods - three beads and a fragment of bone - datable. Female skeleton 48 (N-S), lying upon her right side, is buried in a rather short grave, 5'3" x 1'6", and, depending upon the stature of the individual (unknown), this cutting may have been too short to contain the body in an extended position. This grave is of particular interest as its grave goods were consistently early and included one and possibly two residual Roman Artifacts, a brooch and an ivory bangle. Her belt-slide dated to the late fifth century (Evison) and her amber beads were

typical of those found in Anglo-Saxon female graves. The idea that she might be an "alien" (A Romano-Britain) who was buried in the mode of her people had to be dismissed due to lack of evidence.

The most interesting of the deviations occur amongst the childrens' graves. Of one child, No. 32 (N-S), right side, little can be said except that the grave was isolated from the rest in the Southern extension of the cemetery and covered with a particularly heavy overburden of soil. The other three, 61AB (two boys or a boy and a girl), orientation N-S, and 62 (girl (also N-S)(left side) are amongst the only childrens' graves to contain grave goods. One fact that is fairly obvious from the size of the graves is that none of these were very young children. According to the lengths of the graves, they all could have been buried in the normal extended position as were most of the younger children, but apparently quite deliberately, they were not. Three of the graves are isolated from the bulk of the cemetery, but this might be due to their being late graves in outlying new sectors rather than to their being specifically and purposely isolated. No. 61AB is central to an area containing several childrens' graves similar to the E. Central sector at Blackpatch. Perhaps the irregular positions of these children are due to the fact that they are "middle-aged" children, too old to be buried carelessly and without grave goods as were most of the small children, and too young for proper extended adult burial. Several of the smaller children and infants seem buried in clusters - childrens' areas. These few older children (with the exclusion of No. 61) were buried amongst the adults. This grouping was also noted at Blackpatch, although it is not known if this is a deliberate pattern or co-incidental to children of the same family being buried together. The only constant factors that appear are the ages of the children buried on their sides or thrust into too small a grave, and the possible date of burial of those women buried upon their sides or askew. Graves 25 (E-W) and 51 (N-S), both buried askew, are early graves, possibly no later than the early sixth century; no. 48 (buried upon her right side, N-S) is also of this period. It is not possible to date no. 34 whose grave goods are more meagre and ubiquitous. Amongst the earliest male graves (such as 21, E-W), the extended position was used and the bodies were neatly laid out. There are also few male graves that deviate and none of the males were buried upon their sides, whereas two early female graves are askew, one was too decayed for the position to be determined (29), and two were crammed into a

too-small double grave,(63AB). Perhaps these early females were more carelessly buried than the males. Side burials are fairly rare in Wiltshire, a few burials at Broadchalke, Blackpatch and Winkelbury Hill and one at Harnham Hill were placed upon their sides, but for the most part, the position used is either the extended or the supine. Where one does find side position prevailing is in the late pagan cemeteries of Yorkshire such as Garton Slack (Mortimer, 1906), and there it is used for both men and women. Obviously, these cemeteries did not influence an earlier cemetery way to the south. Just why these few women were buried thusly remains a mystery. They are but a very small percentage of the cemetery, and seem to be early. One may think in terms of a slight change in custom as the later female burials are, for the most part, extended carefully and the earlier ones seem to be more carelessly buried although well supplied with grave goods.

Double Graves

(Included in this group are those cut through by later graves)

Another interesting small group is made up of double graves. These may be divided up into two groups, those in which a single large grave contains two skeletons placed at the same depth, and those in which one body has been buried on top of an earlier burial, either in the same direction or at a right angle. There are nine such burials at Petersfinger, four in which the same large grave contained two skeletons, two in which the overlapping burial corresponded to the orientation of the lower, two in which the overlying burial is in opposition to the underlying, and one in which a slightly too small grave contains the remains of two cramped and somewhat overlapping skeletons. Seven of these graves are orientated N-S. In one instance, graves 11A and B, andE-W grave (A) cuts through a N-S grave. Eleven A is a male skeleton dating from the early to mid sixth century, therefore, the cut through grave (B, unsexed) must be earlier. Grave 28 (N-S, unsexed) and grave 29 (E-W) show the exact opposite pattern. Grave 28 cuts through 29, a female skeleton dating to the early sixth century. Despite the fact that Musty records both as N-S graves cutting E-W graves, the site records state the opposite in one case. This may be proof positive that both orientations are contemporaneous and, occasionally, subject to change within the same family or cemetery sector. It is interesting to note that in both cases the later grave is orientated in opposition to the set orientation of the cemetery

sector in which the graves are contained whilst the earlier graves conform to the set direction.

Double Graves

No.	Sex(es)	Type	Grave Goods	Dating
11AB	- male	O	none, H2 spear	B: late fifth-first half sixth
17AB	female -	O	2 applied brooches, bz. tweezers, none	undatable
23AB	unknown	O	small bz. buckle and knife each	Leeds dated grave to seventh century, knees of upper skeleton drawn up to accommodate lower
39AB	male,female	S	none	undatable
49	male,female	S	none, roundel	dated by Leeds to mid to late sixth
55AB	male,child	S	K1 spear, Fe buckle broken H1 spear	late fifth-early sixth - cradled position indicated that burials are near contemporaries
59	male,child	S	H1 spear	late fifth-first half sixth
61	child,child	S	2 worn knives, H2 spear	may be early, but condition of knives rules out positive dating
63	female,female	S	see grave goods section	probably late fifth

O - overlapping
S - side-by-side

> The writer does not feel that it is feasible to date a grave by a single grave good (such as a spear or a buckle), especially in the case of those objects whose useful life may be long, or whose very gradual development may have taken place over a long period of time.

The most common form of double grave, aside from that containing a man and a woman, one which contains a woman and a child, is missing from this group. With the exception of No. 63, these graves are moderately to very poorly equipped. It is impossible to determine whether or not these people were buried in their double graves contemporaneously. The exception is No. 55 wherein the cradling position

would indicate that no great amount of time had elapsed between the burials. 63B may be slightly later than 63A as it is positioned to accommodate the lower skeleton. If the other double graves had to be re-opened to take a possibly allotted-for second burial, some form of grave marker is indicated, although no traces were found. It is also of interest that four of the double graves occur in close proximity to each other, 49, 55, 59 and 63, all located in the eastern sector of the cemetery. The other two, 39 and 61, are located in the centre of the cemetery and are only about ten feet apart.
Double burials may have been a family preference or custom of one or two small groups as they are not scattered throughout the cemetery.

Flints

Six of the graves were partially or completely lined or covered with flints, two are female, one is male, and two are children, one unknown, possibly female.

Graves with partial or complete flint linings

No.	Sex	Orientation	Location of Flints	Grave Goods/Dating
8	Female	E-W	large nodules below hips	mid-sixth
10	Female	N-S	covered by 4 large flints	disc brooches mid sixth century (Leeds, 1953, 46)
9	Female ?	N-S	3large flints on one side	undatable - 2 sherds only
12	Male	N-S	pack around	undatable
15	Child	E-W	pack around	undatable
18	Child	E-W	pack around	undatable

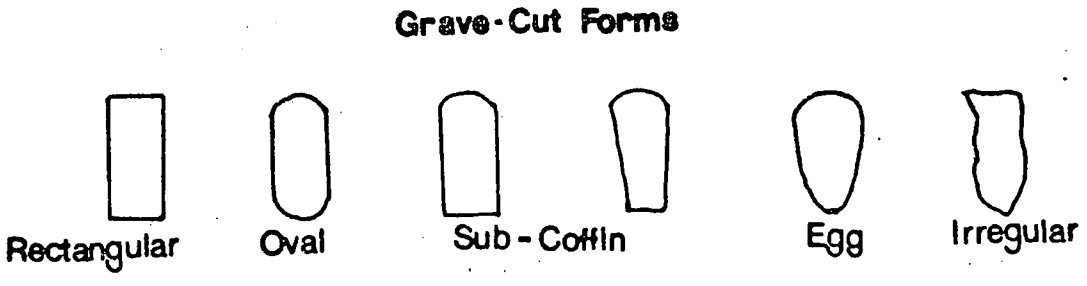
These last two graves are only about twelve feet apart with no other graves intervening. Three of the adult graves, 9, 10 and 12 (all N-S), lie very close to each other, 10 being about five feet north of 12, and about eight feet east of 9. Again, there are no intervening graves. No. 8 is isolated from the other graves which contained flints, but the graves nearest to it, 2, 3 and 7, were dug out by workmen or quarried away, making it impossible to state whether or not it was part of a group of flint lined graves. Unfortunately, none of these graves contain reliably datable objects. They lie amidst very early graves (11A, 21, 25 and 27), but, as will be shown further on, this is not a foolproof indication of their age.

Flint or stone lined graves are fairly common in Wiltshire. They occur intermittently at Roche Court Down I, Petersfinger, and Winterbourne Gunner. Only at Broadchalke and Harnham Hill are they the rule rather than the exception, however. This lining or covering of graves with flints or stone slabs appear frequently in fourth century Gallo-Roman cemeteries. The cimetiere de Premploz (Valais) consists of twenty-nine irregularly orientated graves all of which are stone slab or stone lined. It was Salin's theory that three types of graves were used in late Roman Gaul, burial in a stone lined grave, burial in a stone coffin, or burial in the bare ground, the former being more common in the northeast, and the latter in Germanic influenced cemeteries to the west (Salin, II, 1952, 114-119). These graves show a lack of uniform orientation, but have a fairly strict uniformity within each row or sector. At the above flint-lined cemetery, the N-S orientated graves lie together in the southern sector of the cemetery or do not infringe upon the northern E-W orientated group. This will be gone into more fully in the section dealing with the growth and development of the cemetery. There are two very good reasons why flint linings at Petersfinger may not be related to Frankish traditions. One is the fact that none of the flint lined graves were noticeably early and none contained Frankish grave goods, and the other is that those graves which did contain early Frankish goods were not flint lined.

In Kent, the I.o.W. and Hants., one finds few lined graves. They occur in only a handfull of cemeteries, and there, they occur sporadically. Coffins in small tumuli seem to be more common in Kent, these are rarely found in Wiltshire and none may be assigned to the early Anglo-Saxon period. The following cemeteries had flint or stone inclusive graves, Kent: Bishop~~stone~~bourne (inhumations primary in barrows), Chatham Down I, Cop St., Dover, Osengal (tomb covered by sandstone), and Riseley; Hants: Portsdown Hill I, and Winnall II; I.o.W: Chessel Down (some marl lined or covered graves). There was only one Gloucestershire cemetery with flint-lined graves, Burn Ground. The use of flints seems to be somewhat more common in Wiltshire than in the surrounding areas. Frankish connections may not account for this, and its usage is sparse in West Saxon or Jutish areas. One may either put this practice down as a personal/local custom or to the chalk/flint out of which these graves were cut. If the latter be the case, one would expect more of these graves to contain, as a lining or cover, some of

the chalk or flint that had been removed from them. One may also postulate that some other reason for lining these graves with flints, not detectable through excavation or analysis of the graves, is the correct one. Prevention of subsidence of the grave walls in graves with a deeper overburden of top soil, for example. The average depth of the flint lined graves is somewhat deeper than that for the rest, 21" for adults (17" for unlined), and 14½" for children (7" for unlined).

Grave Shapes



Inset A

There is one aspect of burial upon which very little work has been done, the actual shapes of the grave cuts themselves and how they relate to those interred in them. Unfortunately, this is a particularly difficult topic with which to deal. Although the site report for Petersfinger is, on the whole, a good one, discrepancies between the site plan, the drawings of the individual graves, and their description within the body of the text lead to a certain amount of confusion. Therefore, a completely accurate analysis of these grave forms proved impossible. However, it is evident that several distinct forms of grave were in use at Petersfinger and, whilst it is not possible to date and classify each grave on the site, a fair number could be assessed.

As the overall site plan gave only a rough idea of grave shapes, the initial list was drawn from individual drawings and descriptions in the text. A further list was compiled to include those not covered within the text whose shapes appear to have been clearly ddfined on the plan, such as irregular grave No. 42.

Grave Shapes

No.	Sex	Orientation	Grave Shape
40	female	N-S	rectangular
41	female	N-S	rectangular
50	female	N-S	rectangular
15	child	E-W	rectangular
18	child	E-W	rectangular
19	female	E-W	rectangular
20	male	E-W	rectangular
21	male	E-W	rectangular
24	male	E-W	rectangular
25	female	E-W	rectangular
27	female	E-W	rectangular
9	unknown	N-S	oval
10	female	N-S	oval
11B	male	N-S	oval
16	child	N-S	oval
26	female	N-S	oval
46	child	N-S	oval
52	child	N-S	oval
53	child	N-S	oval
54	child	N-S	oval
29	female	E-W	oval
36	child	E-W	oval
12C	unknown	N-S	coffin
60	male	N-S	coffin
8	female	E-W	coffin
17B	male	E-W	coffin
45	male	E-W	coffin
6	male	N-S	irregular
37	female	N-S	irregular
42	male	N-S	irregular
48	female	N-S	irregular
38	male	E-W	egg-shaped
47	male	E-W	egg-shaped

Rectangular: The childrens' graves are undatable. Female grave No. 25 is, perhaps, one of the earliest on the site whilst No. 19 is late (post 550). All three of the N-S female graves are post mid-sixth century as well. Male grave No. 20 dates from the later sixth century, but the rest of the male graves are very early, No.21 for example, is dated to the late fifth century (see p. 89). All of these graves (with the exception of two children and one male) contained an abundance of grave goods in a moderately wealthy cemetery. No. 21 and 25 are not only rich but also early, conversely, Nos. 19 and 20 are as well equipped and late. This type of grave cut seems to have commenced in the earliest phase and to have continued in use throughout the life of the cemetery. Several of the burials, notably 20, 21 and 25,

contained goods of continental origin, primarily Frankish. This shape seems to have been used for the majority of the wealthier male burials.

Oval: For the most part, these graves are not as well equipped as the rectangular ones, the exception being grave 29 (possibly late fifth century). The rest of the graves were either poorly or moderately equipped. So scanty were the grave goods that it was impossible to date the group as a whole. The most noticeable feature of the group is the large percentage of women and children buried in oval graves (as compared with males). In fact, all of the very small children were buried in oval graves with the aforementioned exceptions of Nos. 15 and 18. All of the "oval" children were also orientated N-S. The adults' graves tended to be more straight sided and the childrens' more oval.

Coffin: None of the female graves contained any datable grave goods, in fact, only one female was provided with any grave furnishings at all. Male skeleton 60 may date to the early to mid-sixth century, but the type need not be as early as the rectangular group. All of the individuals buried in sub-rectangular graves were adults, those with pathology reports (12, 26, 60) were middle-aged or older.

Egg-Shaped: Both of the skeletons were male, neither had any grave goods, and the graves lie in close proximity to each other, which, if families dug the graves of their relatives, may indicate some kind of family relationship.

Irregular: Several of these irregularities may have been caused by the flinty nature of the sub-soil, although in one case, No. 48, it would appear that a deliberate attempt was made to lengthen a too-short grave by adding 5" to one side. The "type" spans the life of the cemetery, from No. 48, which may be early (see p. 90) to No. 42 which was classified by Leeds as seventh century.

A tantalizing question raised by the grave shapes is "Who dug them?". Was there a group of grave diggers each working to his own specifications, or did each family dig graves for its members after its own fashion? The evidence points towards the latter. The sizes and the depths of the graves vary enormously, and not always in

accord with the size of the person to be interred. In the aforementioned case of No. 45 (male, W-E), the tall individual fitted into his grave with no room to spare, his head and feet touching the ends of the grave.

E-W graves tend to be somewhat deeper than those orientated N-S, especially in the case of childrens' graves. The N-S graves in this group averages 7.33", whilst the E-W were 14.33" deep. Children in the E-W group tended to have more rectangular shaped graves than those buried N-S wherein the oval grave predominated. Female graves orientated E-W averaged 18" in depth, whilst those placed N-S averaged only 14". The discrepancy amongst the male graves is less great, 14.12" for the E-W group, and 13.77" for the N-S. Most of the grave shapes occurred in both orientations, the rectangular being more common to the E-W group and the oval to the N-S. female and childrens' graves. One could say that if there were a trained group of grave diggers, the shapes and depths might be more consistent, changing with either fashion or direction so that all of the rectangular graves (for example) would prove earlier than the oval ones. This does not appear to be the case, grave 29 is probably a contemporary of grave 21, No. 29 is oval, 21 is rectangular. There is a patch of rectangular graves, and another in which most of the graves are ovoid. In another group, the children are buried in ovoid graves whilst the adults are interred in rectangular ones. Therefore, it seems more feasible that small groups of people dug each other's graves. These may have been family groups or, even, burial societies. There are cases amongst modern primitive peoples, such as the Mesina of Madagascar, in which groups formed burial societies responsible for the interment of members and the up-keep of the graves (Ucko, 268). One finds evidence for the same basic practice amongst some contemporary societies or sub-groups. In the Negro areas of the southern United States, for example, members buy their funerals well in advance from a funeral society, and this society provides what is needed, plots, coffins, flowers, etc., at the time of death. Exactly which type of group controlled burial in pagan Saxon communities must remain an unanswerable question, although the evidence seems to weigh in favour of family groups rather than a professional body of grave-diggers.

Dating Evidence

In an attempt to standardize the methods of dating, the following authors' works were taken as standards in the areas indicated: V. Evison, wearable goods (brooches, buckles, etc.) of early Jutish or Frankish type, and shield bosses; Leeds, reports on the location and affinities of finds (sometimes in conflict with Evison); Swanton, spearheads and related grave goods. In cases where there was only one datable grave good, such as a spearhead, the grave was assigned to an era with some trepidation, as often there was no indication as to its condition at the time of burial. Nineteen equipped graves proved undatable due to the nature of their grave goods (knives, amber beads, some small buckles, pot sherds and nails), twenty-one contained no grave goods at all. Most of the latter were the graves of infants or children. Some of the double graves contained one skeleton with datable goods and one with undatable material or no grave goods at all (Fig.16).

The following graves are considered to be early, 11B (N-S), 21 (Male, E-W)(Fig. 17), 25 (female, E-W), 29 (female, E-W), 48 (female, N-S), and 63AB (females, N-S). 11B is included as it is cut through by a presumably early sixth century grave and must be earlier. There is some conflict over the dating of 21, 29, 48 and 63, and Miss Evison does not include 25 in her list at all. Graves 21, and with some reservations, 25, may be the earliest on the site, both lie in the western half of the cemetery in E-W orientated rectangular graves. Leeds dates 25 as the earliest of the female graves. The small gilt bronze brooch with a semi-circular head found in this grave parallels those found at Chessel Down (I.o.W.), and Harnham Hill (Wilts.) (Fig. 19). Her beads had Frankish affinities. The three small button saucer brooches, also found in grave 25, correspond to some found at Harnham Hill. Leeds suggests that the type may be Frankish in origin, but that the anthropomorphic design has Saxon affinities. Her bronze "D" shaped buckle also has continental affinities (Hungarian). Leeds dates the whole collection as early, but these may be early sixth rather than late fifth century in date. Miss Evison would place 21, 29, 48 and 63AB contemporaneously. No. 21 (Fig. 18) is a very well equipped warrior's grave (see further Winterbourne Gunner), a type H1 spearhead (late fifth - early sixth century), an iron sword in a leather scabbard with a silvered bronze pommel, an amber bead, a cloisonne iron buckle with red glass and bone insets, iron purse

fragments, a bronze ear scoop, an iron battle axe (not a Francisca according to Leeds), an iron disc, and the remains of a ?bucket. Leeds sees the buckle as having Frankish affinities and dates it to the seventh century, Evison believes that the entire assembly is that of a late fifth century Frankish leader. She finds Frankish parallels for the buckle, and dates the axe to no later than 520 A.D. with comparable axes to be found at Haillot. The early dates suggested by the spearhead, the axe, and the bucket would indicate that Miss Evison is most probably correct in her dating. Grave No. 29 (Fig. 19), that of a woman, may also date to the late fifth century. Here, again, Leeds and Evison are at loggerheads. The grave goods include one concave and one convex bronze brooch, a wire pin, a necklace made up of tubular bronze beads, ten glass beads, and a bronze disc, a bronze wire bracelet and finger ring (similar to one found in grave 25), an inlaid bronze and iron belt buckle, an iron ring, a knife, and an iron fragment with cloth adhering to one side (?purse), Leeds states that the buckle was a continental import, probably Belgian, with strong Frankish affinities, and dates it to the late sixth century. Evison dates the entire group to the late fifth. Some minor conflict occurs over the dating of grave 48, a female buried N-S in an oval, irregular grave. Her grave contained a Roman Aesica type fibula, an ivory bangle (an import?), an amber bead, six iron fragments, and a bronze belt slide with in-pressed decoration. It was noted by Leeds that the belt-slide showed signs of long use. He dates it to the early sixth century with parallels to be found in both Anglian and Jutish areas (Barrington, Cambs., Bifrons and Chatham Lines, Kent). (He sees the bangle as being a sixth century import.) Despite his comment that the belt-slide was worn, Evison dates the group to the late fifth century, the belt slide having continental (Frankish) affinities. Grave 63. contained the slightly overlapping remains of two females. The date of this grave is also in dispute. Grave A (bottom-most) contained an iron key, an annular iron buckle (Fig. 19), a "D" shaped iron buckle, a square repousse iron boss, as iron strip (?purse mount), an iron ring, four amber and one shell bead, and a rectangular plated buckle with ring and dot decoration. Skeleton B was interred with three small amber beads, an iron knife, a bifoliate iron buckle, and an iron ring. Leeds gives a span of from the sixth to the seventh centuries for the beads, Evison dates both females to the late fifth century and finds parallels for the rectangular buckle

at Croydon. There are also a few male graves containing early spearheads which can probably be dated to the close of the fifth century of the first decades of the sixth century.

Early Spearheads and Associated Finds

No.	Type	Associated Finds	Dating
3	H1	low carinated boss	late fifth-first half sixth
6	I1	none	late fifth-first half sixth
11A	H2	low carinated boss	late fifth-first half sixth
27	H2	low waisted boss	as above
31	C1	none	pre-550
55	H1	none	late fifth-first half sixth
58	H2	low carinated boss	see 11A
59	H1	none	late fifth-first half sixth
60	H2	bucket, waisted boss knife	early sixth (Evison)
61AB	H2	2 knives	late fifth-first half sixth

All dating taken from Swanton, 1974

Ten graves in all may be tentatively assigned to the early to mid sixth century (roughly 520-550). In most cases, a spearhead, or the combination of a spear and a carinated or waisted boss were the only datable objects (see Table, p. above). The main problem in including these graves is that, although a spearhead may be datable, there is no method for determining how old it was when buried. It is quite possible for an early type (H or C1 for example) to have remained in use over a considerable length of time prior to burial (see West Knoyle I) as they are not particularly perishable and are less apt to be taken out of use because of changes in fashion.

Apart from those graves listed in Table , the following may also belong to the first half of the sixth century.

No.	Sex	Grave Goods	Dating etc.
7	male	C2 spear, sword, low carinated boss	spear-type spans pagan period, sword too mangled for analysis, boss appears to be early type
10	female	2 disc brooches (bz.) with ring and dot decoration, 2 Fe rings, Fe fragment	brooches have parallels at Harnham Hill, Chessel Down, and Faversham (in early contexts), patterning is common and seems to have been introduced in the earliest phase of the cemetery
51	female	buckle, R.B. bangle fragment, 14 amber beads, unpierced coin of Valens	buckle - similar to one from Chessel Down dated by Leeds to pre-550, grave may not be dated with any accuracy

Five skeletons may be dated with some accuracy to the mid to late sixth century, two females and three males.

No.	Sex	Grave Goods	Dating etc.
19	female	pr. gilt saucer brooches, knife, "key ring" with zoomorphic motif, string of 7 amber beads	Leeds dated brooches to post-550 with affinities to those from Kingsey (Bucks.), Emscote (Warwicks.) and Duston (N. Hants.) "Fat" zoomorphic decoration on key ring probably Salin style II (Fig. 19)
20	male	C3 spear, carinated boss with restored rivet, grip, sword with bz. cocked hat pommel, bz. tweezers, bz. buckle with zoomorphic ornamentation, Fe. purse mount (?), olive glass bead (possibly sword bead)	Spear type developed in late sixth century, continued into seventh, boss repaired and may considerably predate burial, buckle dated by Leeds to post 550 because of similarities to decoration found on great square-headed brooches from Herpes. Grave may date to last quarter of sixth century or later. (Fig. 18)
26	male (?)	pot, knife, "D" shaped bone buckle with Fe. tongue, Fe. pin (Fig.40!	Buckle imitates mid sixth century examples made of meershaum found at Kempston, etc. Probably somewhat later than those it is copied from (Leeds, 1953,48)

No.	Sex	Grave Goods	Dating etc.
49B	female	in double grave, roundel decorated with zoomorphic design and glass settings, knife, keys, Fe. tweezers, Fe. plate, amber and glass beads	Leeds suggests that it pre-dates 19's brooches, descendant of Kentish Jewelled brooches - post 550 (Leeds, 1953, 52). "Fat" zoomorphic motif, see 19 (Fig. 19)
49A	male	none	may only be included if contemporaneous with 49B which it is neither displaced by nor displaces

Five skeletons are probably somewhat later than the above, and date into the seventh century, one male (No. 33), one child (female, No. 57), one female (No. 50), and two unsexed adults interred one atop the other in double grave No. 23. No. 23A and B (E-W), were buried with small bronze buckles with oval loops. These are common in poorly furnished seventh century cemeteries (Leeds, 1953, 49), but may also be late sixth. Grave 33 contained a C4 type spearhead, a tinned bronze buckle, and a knife. Leeds states that the buckle has late Frankish affinities, although Evison states that it is early (late fifth century Frankish). The spearhead type is confined to the pagan era of the seventh century. The bronze hair clips[1] found with the little girl in grave 57 (N-S) are similar to those found in the transitional cemeteries of Holywell Row (Suffolk), and Garton Slack (NRY). Five amber and five glass beads, a bronze finger ring, two iron rings with cloth on one side (?purse), an iron pin near her chin (a shroud pin?), and a knife, all of which were undatable. Female No. 50 (N-S), needle case (11 Garton Slack NRY), the only one found on the site. Her grave also contained a festoon or necklace of sixty-eight beads, some quite tiny ones and some bound with bronze wire. These are similar to the beads found with a ?primary barrow burial at Roundway Down, probably dating towards the middle of the seventh century.

As was aforementioned, 28% of the remaining graves contained undatable objects, and 32% no grave goods at all. This means that 60% of the graves proved undatable. Approximately 14% of the cemetery was datable to the earliest phase of its usage, another 13% were dated to the early to mid sixth century. 6.5% dated to the mid to late sixth century, the remaining 65.% belonged to the last stage of the cemetery - the early to early mid seventh century.

The fact that so many graves proved undatable made it difficult to work out the entire scheme of cemetery development. One factor is clear, however, the cemetery does appear to have developed in an organized manner despite the chaotic layout shown by the plan (Fig. 16). The earliest graves lie in three distinct sectors, graves 21, 25 and 29 (E-W) to the southwest, 3, 6 and 11B (N-S) to the north-northwest, and 48, 55, 59 and 63AB to the east. In its next phase, the early to mid sixth century, the "E-W" sector extends to the north-west with the inclusion of graves 7, 8, 11A and 27, 11A being superimposed upon 11B as if to form a new, and never developed E-W running row. These graves form the first N-S running row of E-W graves (marked 1 N-S). Graves 51, 58 and 60 slotted into the eastern (N-S) sector, 58 below 48, 60 below 63, 51 to the south of 60, forming a short N-S orientated E-W row marked BE-W on the plan. Graves 10 and 61 were placed in the north-northwest sector, 10 to the south of 6, and 61 to the southeast of 11A and B. Grave 61 became the nucleus of row AE-W. The mid to late sixth century graves also fit into the existing pattern. Graves 19 and 20 (E-W) were added to the southwestern sector, 20 lying to the south of 27 in the first N-S running E-W orientated row (1N-S). Grave 19 parallels grave 29 which had been cut through at some point by grave 28 (N-S). In the eastern sector, grave 49AB lies to the north of grave 58. Grave 26 breaks the pattern of row 1N-S, and, with grave 16, may actually belong in row AE-W (not shown on plan as it is conjectural). In its final stage, the cemetery extended to the north-northeast and to the far south (the other side of the tank trap).

There are three E-W running rows of (mostly) E-W orientated graves, the exception being grave 28 overlying 29. The earliest may well be the row marked 1E-W. There are two N-S running rows of E-W orientated graves (1 and 2 N-S). Some of these graves (such as 25), are as early as some of those in row 1E-W. The vast majority of the E-W orientated graves lie either in the southwestern sector or in these rows which form the southern and western (as excavated) perimeters of the cemetery. There are two N-S running rows of N-S orientated graves (A & BN-S), and three rows of N-S orientated E-W running graves (A, B and CE-W). These N-S orientated graves lie in the eastern or north-north western sectors, row An-S (plus outlier 63), forming the eastern perimeter. There is a strong possibility that the cemetery began

towards its outskirts and spread towards the middle with more property taken in its later stage of development. There is also a curious void in the northern edge of the cemetery. Petersfinger seems to have developed around this void, and no graves are situated within it except for No. 53 which infringes upon the south side. The maximum dimensions of the void are approximately 50' from east to west, and at least the same from north to south. This would make the area large enough to have contained a barrow, although no signs of one were found. This void is similar to a larger void found at Blackpatch. Although there is no evidence that the void at Petersfinger was fully investigated, the area at Blackpatch was stripped but no structures or burials were found therein. A more complete description of the empty area at Blackpatch and its possible usage is included in the section devoted to this cemetery (see p.35). In only four cases, 11A, 16 (child), 26 and 28, do graves differ in orientation from those in their rows or sectors. Two of these are latter graves that cut through earlier ones that conformed. The abnormal placement of 16 and 26 has already been mentioned.

The problem now emerges as to why both orientations were in use at the same time and why they were, for the most part, mutually exclusive. There is some possibility that the answer lies in the fact that Petersfinger is the cemetery of a mixed population, made up initially of Saxons, Jutes and possibly a few Franks (the warrior in grave 21 for example), each of whom had slightly different burial customs but used the same communal burial ground. The E-W orientation prevails in Wiltshire cemeteries having a high percentage of continental or Kentish influenced grave goods, such as Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, and Winterbourne Gunner. All of these cemeteries also have flint lined graves and are laid out with some degree of organization. In some of the smaller cemeteries and multiple burials in barrows, the N-S orientation is prevalent. These include Broadchalke, Fargo (undatable)(?), King Barrow, and Sherrington (the latter being secondary burials in long barrows), amongst others. Broadchalke, the only predominantly N-S cemetery with a site plan, is a messy cemetery with completely irregular orientation and poorly cut graves. Grave goods are sparse, but for the most part they are early to mid sixth century. Fargo was so poorly recorded that it appears as a note (only) in this report (see p.146). In Kent, Hampshire and the I.o.W. one finds cemeteries with prevalent E-W orientation, such as Portsdown Hill and Winnal (Hants.), Chessel Down (I.o.W.), Broadstairs, Kingston,

and Sibertswold (Kent), and some cemeteries with both N-S and E-W orientations, Droxford (Hants.), Arreton Down (I.o.W.), Chatham Lines, Risely and Stoting (Kent) for example. One also finds this combination amongst Frankish cemeteries. What one does not find in numbers in Wiltshire is S-N burial, this direction is found in the aforementioned counties. A very few of the barrow burials are orientated S-N, but none of the flat graves.

In late Gallo-Roman cemeteries, such as Andresy (Salin, II, 1952, 196), and Premploz (Salin, II, 1952, 185), one finds the same form of mutually exclusive orientation, a sectorfor N-S, and a sector for E-W burial. The large Alamanic cemetery at Wurtenburg is, uniformedly E-W and laid out in extremely regular rows, this seems very much like the lay-out found at Harnham Hill, whilst the other cemeteries are more closely parallelled by Petersfinger.

On the whole, cemeteries in Southern Wiltshire tend to be more neatly laid out than Saxon cemeteries such as Risely, Kent, which, according to Meaney, is an "early (fifth century) Saxon cemetery without Frankish elements". (Meaney, 1964, 134), or Blewburton Hill (Beds.) where there is a considerable degree of overlapping. This neatness is somewhat more characteristic of Frankish cemeteries, as is the "patchiness", but it would be implausible to assume that this was initially a purely Frankish cemetery as some of the earliest grave goods, such as the anthropomorphic button brooches found with grave 25 may have Saxon antecedents and parallels. This would indicate either a mixed population or close trade ties, or raiding parties. The affinity of some of the grave goods to those found at Chessel Down, a presumably Jutish cemetery, is also notable. The following graves each contained objects with parallels to be found at Chessel Down: 10 (two disc brooches), 25 (small semi-circular headed gilt brooch), 41 (buckle), 51 (buckle), and 63A (buckle). On the other hand, the most common forms of early spearheads find antecedents in the Germanic north (Swanton,1974,18). However, these are the most widely spread of all the early spear types. Evison is of the opinion that the groups mentioned as separate entities by Bede were inextricably mixed already. As no other apparent reason, such as age, sex, or wealth, can be found as to why some burials were placed E-W and some N-S, this ethnic admixture seems the most feasible, the settlers from Christianized areas or those under Gallo-Roman influence - those related to the Franks or Alamani - burying E-W, those of Saxon or ?Jutish descent burying E-W

or sometimes N-S as illustrated by some of the cemeteries mentioned. There also seems to be a slight shift in the affinities of the grave goods towards the end of the site's "history". Whereas the earliest goods appear to be Frankish, Saxon, and possibly Jutish, the later goods are a mixture of sixth century Kentish, Saxon, possibly Anglian, and perhaps a few late Frankish imports, such as the buckle found with No. 33. The Anglian goods are particularly scanty, possibly two pots and possibly a needle case, one pot each found in graves 2 and 26, the needle case found with skeleton No. 50. The last half of the cemetery's life corresponds to the rise of Kent as a dominant political and artistic power, this probably accounts for the number of Kentish or Kentish influenced grave goods found in the post-550 groups at Petersfinger. Due to their sparseness it is easier to imagine that the Anglian goods are chance imports, possibly indicating some emerging trade relationship between Wiltshire and the Mercian kingdom to the North, or the emergence of Anglian intervention in the County.

Petersfinger is a fascinating cemetery in many respects. Its plan, which seems to make no sense when first looked at, it actually is quite carefully laid out. It seems to have had fairly strong ties with the Franks and the Jutes throughout its relatively long history. There have also been several apparent mis-interpretations of the site, quite possibly including Leeds' own theories. There is no abrupt change in custom, both orientations starting up at the same time and continuing throughout the life of the site, nor is there any marked separation by class.

This cemetery also differs fairly dramatically from the other contemporary cemeteries lying near to it. Cemeteries such as Harnham Hill, with its neat rows of rather poorly furnished E-W graves, or Broadchalke, wherein the graves are haphazardly arranged and the orientation is erratic. These two cemeteries would appear to represent the extremes of organization of the earlier pagan cemeteries. Petersfinger and Blackpatch both exhibit a "mixed" pattern of E-W and N-S graves, arranged in clusters or rough rows.

E: The Barrow/Cemetery Complex at Roche Court Down

Roche Court Down is the most "complex" of the Barrow/Cemetery complexes. It is composed of two very different flat-grave cemeteries, one undated secondary interment in a barrow (3), one possible cenotaph (barrow 1), possibly of Saxon date as it corresponds almost exactly to the shape and size of the barrow (2) which contained a primary Saxon burial. These barrow burials will be discussed within their groupings.

The site lies on open downland over-looking the River Bourne commands an excellent view of the surrounding area. The barrow group at Winterslow is only two miles to the north-east of the site, and the original place-name of the site seems to have been Estwinterslewe (East Winterslow). The name is interpreted as meaning Winter's mound or Burial place, and, indeed, a secondary barrow burial of Saxon date has been excavated at Winterslow (see p.217)(E.P.N.S. Wilts., p.385). There seems to be fairly strong barrow tradition in the Winterslow area, and one wonders if, perhaps, the two communities were under the same leadership or were settled by "related" communities with shared traditions. But, more importantly, at the time of the excavation, the site lay in two parishes, Winterslow (Wilts.) and Nether Wallop (Hants.). What this indicated is conjectural. If the parishes are pre-cemetery, perhaps the cemetery was shared by a few very small communities in either parish, or, it is possible that the parishes were formed after the cemetery had gone out of use.

During the period when Roche Court Down was in use - probably in the early seventh century - it is, perhaps, most plausible to envision Wiltshire as the Western half of the West Saxon Kingdom. As the site overlooks what would have been "friendly" territory only, it is difficult to imagine what strategic value it had except in local terms (such as cattle raiders, etc.). It lies not one mile from a Roman road leading into Old Sarum, and is only about five miles East-North-East of the centre. It may have provided some sort of "early warning" system to the more densely settled areas around Old Sarum, but this seems unlikely (there is no record of any attacks upon the "capital" by the men of Hampshire, the threat being mostly to the North and the West of the Shire).

The site is situated on the upper Chalk plain, and, again, a lack of easily available water may have proved a problem. As the settlement site itself was not located, and may have been located nearer to a source of water (possibly the Bourne). It is impossible to evaluate how much of a problem this caused. Another interesting feature is the heavy ditching which surround the site as a single ditch on the South and a double ditch on the West. The larger of the Western ditches contained the remains of eighteen inhumations, seventeen males possibly Anglo-Saxons, and one female who may date to the Bronze Age. The dating of the ditches is inconclusive, the finds consisted of a few Romano-British potsherds and even fewer sherds of the Iron Age pot plus one glass bead which was dated by Mr. H. C.Beck as being either La Tene or Saxon (WiAM, Vol. 45, 1930-32, p. 570). Therefore, if the male burials are Saxon, the settlers re-used a convenient (?)Bronze Age ditch series as the partial boundary to their burial precinct.

It is almost certain that the total area of cemetery II was not explored by the excavator, Dr. Stone. The site was unploughed and was first brought to his attention by a rabbit trapper who had noticed human bones in the field. Dr. Stone only seems to have dug in areas where bones had previously been discovered. The graves had left no surface indications and he located them by trenching and ramming rather than by stripping areas. Using this method, he located seventeen burials in thirteen graves, but does not seem to have explored the areas to the South, East and West of the barrows. Therefore, this is best regarded as an incomplete excavation, and any conclusions drawn must be considered in this light. Otherwise, the site report is reasonably good. Grave measurements are noted and careful drawings were made of the various skeletal positions. Unfortunately, the skeletal analysis prepared by Miss M. L. Tildesley is a pathologist's nightmare of charts, "means", and somewhat forced conclusions. In many ways, these conclusions are almost useless as it appears that it had been decided that both groups of skeletons were Saxon before they were actually analysed, upon most inconclusive grave good evidence.

Although even the most exhaustive of skeletal analyses can only hint at racial and population groupings, the pathologist tried her best to prove that these skeletons were all Saxon based upon their "co-efficients of Racial Likeness". Another oversight is that the skeletons were only measured in their graves and the bone measurements were not listed, although Miss Tildesley must have measured some of

them as she was able to give an average height for the males in both cemeteries. It was not possible either to accept the in-situ measurements as being accurate or to re-work the actual statures from the material given. Her analysis of the dental features and the skull sizes and shapes is most complete, but, the report was obviously prepared for other pathologists or anthropologists and would prove very unclear to the layman.

The Cemeteries

For convenience, and because it is impossible to prove that they are actually contemporary, the two flat-grave cemeteries at Roche Court Down were taken as separate entities. There are very few similarities between the two groups, and if the two cemeteries were in use at the same time, they must have been the burial places of two completely different elements within the community.

The Ditch Burials (Fig. 20): One female skeleton (inconvlusively dated to the Bronze Age due to her crouched position), and seventeen male skeletons ranging in age from seventeen years to approximately forty-five years were buried in the inner (larger) of the two western ditches. All were orientated N-S. Each of the males had been covered by a layer of flints. Some had been buried with their hands tied behind their backs, and at least ten had been decapitated prior to burial, their skulls placed as far as 2'6" from their bodies. One may not discount Stone's theory that these skeletons are those of the victims of a battle between (?) the native population and the invading Saxons, or that the "battle-field" cemetery may be slightly earlier or later than the other cemetery at the site. These burials can be no earlier than Romano-British, as R.B. pottery was found in the mould beneath them, and no later than the Civil War as gun flints were found above them. If they are fallen warriors, some of them, at least, appear to have been executed rather than slain in battle.

The bodies were not all interred at the same time as four of the skeletons had been disturbed by later burials (4, 11, 9 and 14), number 4 being separated from the upper skeleton by two to four inches of mould. Therefore the corpse may have decomposed before later burials disturbed them.

As there were no grave goods, these remains cannot be accurately dated (except that they are within the aforementioned limits). Miss

Tildesley believed them to be of Saxon origin on physical evidence, however, her figures are inconclusive although they do indicate a stronger "co-efficient of racial likeness" between the ditch and the cemetery burials than between Roman-British co-efficients and those from the ditch burials.

There is so little known about these burials that it is difficult to postulate any other possibilities for either their origins or the reason for their peculiar mode of burial. The dating limits are fairly conclusively established and they must have been buried shortly after death as there is no evidence that any of the skeletons were dis-articulated prior to burial. This may indicate that they died near to the site. As the burials are not all contemporaneous, it would seem that the dead of several different "skirmishes" were buried (at different periods) in the same place in the same mode. The burial positions differ from those in the other cemetery and range from face-down through doubled up to fully extended. They may be felons who were excluded from the normal burial spot, or they may even be captives of the settlers who, very clumsily, executed them. In one case, five blows were struck before the head was finally severed (skeleton 15).

The Rows: There are four east-west running rows.

Positions and Abnormalities by Rows

	No.	Sex	Position	Abnormalities
R.1	11	male	disturbed by 12	bones gathered up and placed atop later burials
	12	male	extended	undamaged
	13	male	extended	undamaged
	14	male	extended-disturbed	decapitated, wrists bound
	15	male	disturbed	decapitated, wrists bound
R.2	1	male	face down	decapitated or head removed by rabbits
	2	male	disturbed	cut through for insertion of 1
	8	male	face down	decapitated
	9	male	disturbed by 8	feet only
R.3	3	female	crouched	probably pre-dated other burials, may be Bronze Age
	4	male	extended	decapitated, wrists bound
	5	male	extended	decapitated, head buried separately - blocked by flints
	6	male	disturbed by 4	
	7	male	extended	decapitated, head placed near tibia and packed down by flints

	No.	Sex	Position	Abnormalities
R.4	18	youth	akimbo	decapitated, angled over edge of ditch
	16	male	extended	undamaged
	17	male	knees bent under	decapitated
outlier	10	male	legs and arms bent	decapitated

The curious use of flints, which are not in evidence in any form in the other cemetery at Roche Court Down, might indicate, perhaps, that there was a need felt for insuring that the spirits of these slain individuals remained in their graves - possibly the fear of reprisal from slaughtered enemies. This is only one of several possibilities. It may also be that fallen warriors - if this is what these skeletons represent - were buried in a more Archaic manner than "normal" settlers, perhaps being buried facing Valhalla (N-S), but the placement of the flints points towards their being felons of captives rather than warriors of the same stock as the settlers. Because the skeletons were not all buried at the same level, this cemetery does not really have the appearance of a battlefield burial place, such as the one at Old Sarum (not fully reported and quite possibly Romano-British as Roman and native artifacts appeared with the skeletons), in which there was no fixed orientation and the positions were far more erratic, but all fourteen skeletons found at this site showed evidence of having had their hands tied behind their backs (Meaney, 1963, p. 278), indicating that perhaps these skeletons from Roche Court Down were also captives of some sort. It seems best not to hypothesise too much about these skeletons as, again, there is really very little evidence on which to base a conclusion.

Cemetery Two (Fig. 21):

The second flat-grave cemetery at Roche Court Down is most closely related, in type, to Winkelbury Hill, the major difference being that it adjoins two purpose-built Saxon barrows whereas Winkelbury Hill lay near two re-used Bronze Age barrows. If one is correct in assuming that Roche Court Down was only partially dug, the similarities between these two may be even more striking as other burial clusters may lie to the west, east and south of the barrows. Thirteen (no. 12 discounting) graves containing sixteen skeletons were excavated. All were orientated E-W, and were located in a cluster about seventy feet north of barrows 1 and 2 (a good deal further away from the barrows than the inhumations

at Winkelbury Hill). Only two of the graves contained grave goods, knives, rendering this cemetery undatable in terms of grave goods.

Stone seemed to be a bit ambivalent about the dating of the Roche Court Down Sites. He claimed that the knives are of the sixth century, although they are of the ubiquitous type found throughout the Pagan period, but he modified his views thusly:

> "The downland position of the cemetery is suggestive of an early date and there is little to prove that the individuals were not still pagan. Account must be taken, however, of the paucity of grave goods. In this it resembles Winkelbury Hill and Broadchalke rather than Harnham Hill. It is more than probable that these poorly furnished cemeteries were of a later date than Harnham and belonged to small Saxon communities of the 6th and 7th centuries a few decades prior to valley migration ..."
>
> (Stone, WiAM, 45, 1930-32, p. 582)

In view of the fairly conclusive late/transitional evidence for Winkelbury Hill, and the similarities between these two cemeteries, it seems feasible to date them as contemporaries of the transitional period. Therefore, Stone's dating was very nearly correct, however there is no proof of his "valley migration" to date as earlier cemeteries seem to lie in valleys but no settlement sites have been excavated. In both Winkelbury Hill and Roche Court Down, the graves had been neatly cut and fairly strictly orientated E-W. The majority of the burials in both cemeteries were extended. Both contained multiple burials in which the lower skeletal remains had been gathered up and pushed to one side of the grave or scattered throughout the grave fill. Few of the graves in either of the cemeteries contained grave goods, and these were mostly of the simplest forms. A wide contrast between these two cemeteries and the earlier cemeteries near Old Sarum as regards the amounts of grave goods found therein is quite noticeable. Due to the small size of these two cemeteries and their relatively isolated positions, one must agree with Dr. Stone and regard them as containing the remains of small communities which probably lasted for under one hundred years. But, unlike Winkelbury Hill, Roche Court Down lies near one of the "main" routes into Old Sarum from Hampshire, and this factor makes the absence of grave goods and its justification due to isolation somewhat suspect. One is

forced to consider a late/transitional date as being even more plausible a reason as luxury items were, probably, far more accessible to the settlers at Roche Court Down than they were to those at Winkelbury Hill. Both cemeteries display a "formal" linear pattern with rows of graves running north-south, one to the west of the other.

Again, Roche Court Down fulfils most of the criterion set forth by M. Hyslop as regards transitional cemeteries as mentioned in the section on Winkelbury Hill (see **Ap.5**).

The population comprised of eight males, ranging in age from 20 to 50 years (approximately), four females, ranging from a young woman of about 23 to one labelled as "elderly", and four children, a new-born infant, an 8-9 year old boy, an unsexed adolescent of about fourteen, and a male of about fifteen. The seventeenth "burial" consisted of a hole in which was found a half-burnt epiphysis of a femur, a child's knee-cap (it is unclear whether the two belonged to the same individual), and a few broken bones of a sheep or a goat (this is labelled grave 9 on the site plan). This hole may not be contemporary with the rest of the burials as there is evidence for both Bronze Age and Iron Age activity on the site, but the other burials do not infringe upon it.[1] (see further Blackpatch).

The Graves

All twelve of the (actual) graves were cut into the chalk to an average of 31.83". Each is recorded as having had rounded ends, and one is specifically mentioned as having perpendicular sides (grave 1). No traces of wood or flint covers were found, although grave 1 had a ledge running round it as if a cover of some sort had been intended (this is also true of the graves at Winkelbury Hill). Two of the graves were too short for their inhumations (1 and 3), and the skeletons seem to have been shoved in with their heads on their chests. Both of these graves (in row 2), contained the remains of young men (aged 15 and 20 respectively). Otherwise, the graves are quite long enough to contain extended inhumations. They range in length from 3'5" (infant grave 8) to 7'6" (multiple male grave number 10). The range in depth is from 2'3" to 3'3", deeper than the graves found at Winkelbury Hill, most of which averaged under 2'3".

1 If this is, in fact, a cremation burial, it might push the cemetery back to the early to mid sixth century - contemporary with Blackpatch, but, there are too many late features to be considered to happily date this cemetery to an earlier period. The knee cap may be intrusive or it may be that the hole is, indeed, considerably earlier than the rest of the burials, perhaps contemporaneous with the Bronze Age burial in the ditch.

Three of the graves contained more than one burial. In all three cases, the later burials were placed atop the earlier ones. Two middle-aged females shared grave number 7 (numbers 27 and 28). The bones of 28 seem to have been pushed to the foot of the grave, the skull resting upon the right knee of number 27. A disarticulated leg of a Celtic Ox was also found in this grave - again there is no proof of its date. "Foodstuffs" of this nature have also been found in graves at Uncleby, N.R.Y., probably dating to the 7th century (Mortimer-1906). Food or animal bones are found only rarely in Wiltshire graves of the Pagan period. Bulbs were found at Laverstock and animal bones at Roundway Down, but both of these are elaborate barrow burials (one primary, the other secondary). Exactly how or why these ox bones came to lie in this grave can not be determined. If they do represent food offerings or the remains of funeral feasting, they are atypical for both the area and the era. Grave 10 contained the superimposed remains of three adult males, 31, 32 and 33. The bone of the middle skeleton, 32, were still articulated indicating that no great amount of time had elapsed between the two uppermost burials. The lowest, 33, lay "broken and scattered" throughout the grave filling. A youth (unsexed), number 36, was buried atop a large male, number 37 in grave 13. Nearly all of the bones of the earlier skeleton were found along the north side of the grave, apparently placed there with some care.

An interesting feature of these double and triple burials is that in two proven cases, the multiple graves contained only skeletons of the same sex, graves 7 and 10. Stone used the word "youth" for number 36, in grave 13, Miss Tildesley stated that it is an unsexed child. The single multiple burial at Winkelbury Hill was of the same type and also contained the remains of two males.

There are three substantial reasons to believe that these graves were marked in some way. The grave cuts have not been damaged by attempted redigging - they have been carefully opened to receive subsequent burials, all three of the lower skeletons were disturbed, indicating that some time had elapsed (long enough for the flesh to decay) prior to their being re-opened, also, as Stone stated, the graves had left no surface indications, although this may be due to later subsidence. All three of these factors seem to indicate that the exact location, in fact, perhaps even the exact dimensions of the graves was known. Stone quotes the Abbe Cochet as stating "... in

Frankish cemeteries the removal of one body for the interment of another has never been observed ... a body may rest on top or by the side of another, but it never takes its place." As has been noted, this is the case at Winkelbury Hill, Petersfinger and Roche Court Down, whilst at Broadchalke, a possible Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon "cross", a body had been removed for the insertion of another (number 19). As Salic Law forbids both of these practices, Stone puts their appearance down to ignorance in inadvertence on the part of the settlers. Of course it is possible that another code of ethics entirely was responsible for the occurrence of superimposed skeletons. As it is not a particularly common feature, even in the aforementioned cemeteries, is it possible that some specific element within the community was buried thusly, such as related, unmarried members, or perhaps, the spouses of the same individual (first and second wives, etc.)? It is also possible that these multiple graves were simply a matter of convenience, it being easier to re-use an already dug grave than to dig a new one into the chalk. Neither theory is provable as co-sanguinity is only hinted at by the fact that two of the skeletons in grave 10 were markedly brachycephalic.

Orientation and the Rows

The orientation of the graves at Roche Court Down also parallels those at Winkelbury Hill except that the children in the former cemetery were also orientated E-W instead of W-E as were two of the children buried in the latter. Stone took no careful compass bearings to compare with those taken by Pitt-Rivers, but the graves seem to deviate slightly to the south-west, as did those at Winkelbury Hill. Two of the graves, one at the south end of row 2, number 12, and one, an easterly outlier of row 2A (double female grave number 7), are a bit more south-westerly than the others. One, an infant's grave, number 8, slightly to the west of row 2A deviates more to the north than do the others. As at Winkelbury Hill, it is the outlying graves which tend to deviate more than those lying in the rows themselves. This regularity may indicate that the graves were orientated to a fixed point, but probably not towards the rising or the setting sun, unless the vast majority of the population died during the same season of the year. This leads one to ponder what may have marked the barrows, or have been built between the barrows and the flat graves. At Winkelbury Hill, there is some indication that a "scrag" tree,

marking some form of property division (undated), topped one of the barrows, and may have provided a guide line for grave orientation. It is possible that one of the barrows at Roche Court Down was also marked as it, too, lies upon a property boundary. It is also possible that some form of artificial guide post was affixed somewhere to the East or West of the graves, as, on the whole, they are too regular in their orientation for it to have been co-incidental. This may have been the function of the "cenotaph" barrow. As the theory of orientation to the sun would cause greater deviation than is apparent in this cemetery, a fixed point of some variety seems the most logical hypothesis.[2]

Position

Unlike Winkelbury Hill, there is no apparent correlation between body position and age or sex at Roche Court Down.

Positions

Grave No.	Skeleton No.	Sex	Position
10	32	male	disturbed
10	33	male	disturbed
7	28	female	disturbed
1	21	male	head pushed forward - grave too short
3	23	male	as for 1 - both young
10	31	male	completely extended
12	35	male	completely extended
4	24	male	right arm bent, hand on pelvis, ankles crossed - elderly
11	34	male	right hand on pelvis
2	22	female	both hands on pelvis
7	27	female	right hand tucked under illium
5	25	child	fully extended
8	29	child	fully extended
13	36	child	hands crossed over pelvis

All of these positions (save for that of number 27) are common in Wiltshire throughout the pagan period.

A brief mention must be made of the make up of the rows themselves as one of them, Row 1, is of particular interest and hints,

2 If, of course the graves were marked, it would be easy to line up later ones in accord with earlier ones which may have been sited in by eye.

again, of (?) segregation by sex. Row 1 contains five male skeletons only, three in grave 10, and one each in graves 11 and 12. Three of these, skeletons 32, 34 and 35, are youngish men between the ages of 25 and 30, the fourth, number 31, is middle-aged (estimated age 40). The fifth was completely disturbed and no age was given for him. This is a highly unusual feature as in other cemeteries the rows contain at least two elements of the community (males and children, for example) if not the entire spectrum - males, females, children and infants. Two young men, aged 15 and 20 are separated by an elderly woman in row 2. These males are younger than the adult males in either of the other two rows. A male, number 24 (grave 4) and a female, number 26 (grave 6) lie next to each other in row 2A. To the north of them lie the two older children numbers 25 (grave 5) and 36 (grave 13), below 36 lies male 37. The double grave, 7, containing two females, numbers 27 and 28, lies to the north-east of number 6, and the infant's grave, 8, to the west of number 6. This appears to be a small family cluster of perhaps two families, possibly that of number 4 and that of number 37. At Winkelbury Hill it was noted that the only double grave (28) also contained skeletons of the same sex (cf. Winkelbury Hill).

Grave Goods

As has been mentioned, grave goods are extremely scarce at Roche Court Down. Two of the males, number 4 and number 11, were buried with small knives, both point downwards, and in one of the female graves, number 2, skeleton 22, a "very thin and tenuous black deposit (appeared) over the upper part of the body" (ibid., p.579), accompanied by a small piece of matter, possibly leather with fabric impressed upon both sides. Stone suggests that this layer is either a shroud or a vest of some sort. If so, it is a rare occurrence in Wiltshire cemeteries, although three possible shroud pins were found at Winkelbury Hill and fabric remains were found at Harnham Hill. Needless to say, these few grave goods provide no datable evidence and may either indicate poverty or a late date for the settlement. In view of the other evidence for a late/transitional date, it seems most likely that the latter is the true cause for the almost total lack of grave goods rather than the former. The primary barrow burial also contained but a knife and a much corroded piece of iron.

Comparative Skeletal Evidence from Both Cemeteries

There is some evidence that this community led a harder and more violent existence than those at Old Sarum or even Broadchalke. The dental reports for both cemeteries indicate that the food eaten was probably of a coarse and gritty nature. Three of the elder skeletons in cemetery 2, numbers 22, 27 and 28 had lost most of their back teeth due to attrition. Four individuals in the N-S cemetery had suffered from tooth decay whilst none of the teeth in the second cemetery were carious. Two of the skeletons in the family cemetery showed evidence of failed lower third molars (male number 35, and female 26) and one skeleton in cemetery one, number 11, also exhibited this trait except that the third molars had failed on the left side. This is the third cemetery to exhibit this trait, the others being Winkelbury Hill and Broadchalke, therefore, it may have been fairly common within the population.

The male skulls from the ditch group are overwhelmingly mesocephalic, the average index being 76.24, the range being 74.7 (just dolichocephalic) to 78.8 for the nine skulls on which it was possible to take measurements. Whilst the male skulls from cemetery two had a similar average index of 76.34, the range was much broader, from 69.5 (dolichocephalic) to 83.8 (brachycephalic) for the seven measureable skulls. Three of these male skulls were brachycephalic, number 21 (15 year old in grave 1), 31 and 32 (grave 10). Two of these unusually formed skulls were found in multiple grave 10, unfortunately, the lowest male in the grave, number 33, could not be analysed. Brachycephalic skulls are not the norm in Wiltshire where the majority of both the analysed Romano-British and the pagan Anglo-Saxon skulls tend to be mesocephalic or dolichocephalic. One cannot state that this deviation indicates a "new race" of settlers, only that a particularly round-headed "family" settled at Roche Court Down as the burial rites do not differ from those of the long headed people in this cemetery. Two of the females were mesocephalic, numbers 26 and 28, and two were dolichocephalic, numbers 22 and 27, the average index being 74.5. One of the children, number 25 in grave 5 also appears to have been long-headed. It is interesting that none of the females or younger children were brachycephalic. It may indicate (as stated above) that these rounder headed males were of the same family and that they may have failed to reproduce this characteristic. As there is no chronological evidence for the development of the cemetery, it

is impossible to state whether the round-headed adolescent in grave one is of the same generation as the two older males (a "brother"), or whether he may be the son of one of them, if he is related at all.

Four cases of healed broken bones were noted in cemetery II. Number 28, the lower skeleton in grave 7, had suffered a broken nose. The elderly male in grave 13, number 37 showed evidence of a deviated septum. Skeleton 24, the aged male in grave 4, had suffered both a fractured left clavicle and right radius. Skeleton number 2, a youngish male of 25, may have dislocated his back prior to death as there is some evidence that this dis-placement was not caused by the later subsidence of the grave. 31.25% of the cemetery had suffered some injury during life. Three skeletons were too disturbed to be analysed so the percentage might even be higher, but there is clear evidence that this community led a fairly arduous life.

As to the decapitated skeletons, all that may be said of them is that some of their executioners were either very clumsy, very careless or inexperienced. Several of the skulls showed that more than three blows had to be struck before the head was severed. In the case of number 15, five blows were needed.

Miss Tildesley states that both the skeletons in the ditch and those in cemetery 2 are of an Anglo-Saxon type based upon the "co-efficient of racial likeness" which shows a closer correlation between these skeletons and the means for Anglo-Saxons than between the ditch skeletons and the means for the Iron Age. These co-efficients are based upon twenty-one (unlisted) anatomical features, and whilst her figures are fairly conclusive, without a list of these features or any indication of her methods, it is difficult to determine whether or not these conclusions are reliable. The ditch burials tended to be more mesocephalic and about an inch taller than the males in cemetery 2. The average height for the skeletons in the ditch was between 5'7.1" and 5'7.9", the average for the cemetery being between 5'6" and 5'6.7", many of these skeletons were either dolicho- or brachy-cephalic. If Miss Tildesley relied upon the average measurements rather than the ranges and the percentages, her assumptions must be regarded as somewhat suspect. For example, if one had two groups of four males and one's co-efficients were taken from the averages, a group in which three of the four males were under 5'5" (a shortish group), and the fourth member was abnormally tall would yield a very

close average to one in which all of the men were over 5'5", but the range was narrower.

Group 1: 65" + 65" + 63" + 74" = 268" = average height of 67"
Group 2: 65" + 66" + 67" + 69" = 267" = average height of 66.75"

To state that there is a great similarity in heights between these two groups would be a fallacy, as one group is probably made up of shortish individuals with one so tall as to cause a rise in the average (cf. Harnham Hill), the other group is made up of individuals of short to medium stature. Miss Tildesley adjusted the figures by adding in a standard error of - .31 to each group, but without knowing her methodology one would tend to view these correlations as intriguing but inconclusive.

Miss Tildesley makes an interesting observation on the state of preservation of the bones of the two groups. The bones from the ditch were not as heavy or as new as the best preserved from the second cemetery, but this may have been due to soil conditions within the ditch. These bones were not as badly eroded, either, as were the remains of skeleton 3 (in the ditch), the (?) Bronze Age burial.

The skeletons in cemetery 2 varied in condition due to age, local soil conditions and their placement within the multiple graves. The least well preserved were the child in grave number 5, and the bottom-most male in multiple grave number 10. All of the other skeletons in the multiple graves were better preserved than number 33, including the lower skeleton in grave 7 and the lower male skeleton in grave 13. Number 34 is moderately eroded, though to a lesser extent than number 33. The rest of the skeletons are recorded as being "smooth and firm", the best preserved being males numbers 24 and 35. Therefore, the majority of the burials must have been near-contemporaries. Miss Tildesley states that "a century is quite long enough" for the life of the cemetery due partially to the condition of the majority of the skeletons and partially to the continuity of the burial rite. Most probably, her assumptions are correct, although a shorter span of time is equally possible, and a bit more probable. If Roche Court Down is a late/transitional cemetery, and the evidence points that way, it may have only lasted for fifty years or so, between the inception of primary barrow building in the mid-late seventh century (if the barrow is contemporary with the burials and the skeleton's remains were in a similar condition to those in the cemetery) and the beginnings of

churchyard burials. A closer dating is simply not possible, the cemetery could be a bit earlier or later than these dates, but it seems unlikely.

Roche Court Down is not of the same tradition and era as Winterbourne Gunner, for example, in which all of the graves were also orientated E-W and were neatly dug, for several of these graves were also elaborately furnished with very early grave goods, many of which had continental affinities. Nor is it similar to Broadchalke, an early cemetery of an astoundingly different nature to Winterbourne Gunner. Roche Court Down appears to be of the same type as Winkelbury Hill and Leighton Buzzard, Beds., the former of which may well be of a late/transitional date (cf. Winkelbury Hill), and the latter being an archetypal transitional cemetery.

F: Winkelbury Hill

Winkelbury Hill (parish of Berwick St. John) enjoys a unique archaeological location. It lies just 1 mile, 694 yards north of the excavated Romano-British village at Rotherly, and about 400 yards south of the Iron Age hill fort on Winkelbury Hill (also excavated). The hill, itself, is first mentioned by name in a Charter of 955 in which 100 mansiuncular at Ceolcum (Chalke) were granted to the Nuns of Witton by King Eadwig (Finberg, 1967, 91). E.P.N.S. for Wiltshire interprets the name to mean "camp or fortress used in winter" (Winter burge - geat). According to the excavator Lt. Gen. Pitt-Rivers, the name derived from "Wincel-burh" or corner fort (Pitt-Rivers, 1888, 233), Wincel-burh, although its earliest form Þinterburge does not seem correct and "Winter fort" might be more appropriate.[1] The location is far from a source of water and uncomfortably exposed. It occupies the end of a north spur of the Wiltshire downs at an altitude of 851 ft.

> "The spot is one that nothing but dire necessity and the unavoidable conditions of subsistence (and defence) would have induced any people to occupy as a place of residence; coming up from the South the temperature lowers sensibly at all seasons of the year as you rise above the level of the woods, and on the North the position of the camp, exposed to the long reach of the Northwest wind along the valley of Broadchalke makes it possibly one of the coldest bleakest spots in the South of England."
>
> (Pitt-Rivers, 1888, 236)

The top soil is thin (Rendzina) and most suited to pasturage. Below the top soul lies the ubiquitous chalk and flint of the Wiltshire Downs.

The closest excavated possibly Anglo-Saxon cemetery is Broadchalke - about 5.6 miles away to the northeast. Winkelbury Hill is only 2.8 miles south-southwest of the primary and secondary barrow burials at Alvediston, and about 13 miles southwest of Salisbury (see map). It is the most southwestern of the pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries excavated in Wiltshire thus far. It is unusual in that it is one of only two excavated barrow/cemetery complexes in the county, the other being Roche Court Down, far to the northeast, near the Hampshire border.

1 ... paes hlinches ordes to pan ellen stybbe pannen to Pinterburge geate (Op. cit.)

That more of these complexes await discovery seems quite possible as other nineteenth century antiquarians were neither as inquisitive nor as thorough as Pitt-Rivers.

Unlike the Salisbury sites, it is not ripuarian. Nor is it near an early Church site and, it is possible that the site proved too inconvenient for permanent settlement.

The site report itself would prove an excellent archetype for modern excavators. It is clear, concise and informative without being pedantic. It is also very well illustrated. The excavator included several synoptic charts which are easily followed. The anthropological data is of great interest even though the methods used for determining heights have been superseded by more modern, and hopefully, more accurate ones. When mentioned, the skeletal heights have been re-calculated using Trotter and Glesers' formulae (Brothwell, 1963, 102). The only fault lies in the lack of illustration and description of the grave-cuts themselves, although accurate measurements are given for each cut.

The report appears in the second volume of "Excavations in Cranborne Chase" along with the Rotherly material. This was helpful in that it allowed both the author and myself to compare the two sites with ease.

The site, itself, poses a few interesting problems. Firstly, it is extremely poor in grave goods, rendering it impossible to date the cemetery or to plot its development in detail. Secondly, the similarities to Roche Court Down are notable, yet the two cemeteries are nowhere near each other, and Winkelbury Hill differs considerably from the nearby site at Broadchalke.

The orientation varies only slightly off true east-west, the only two variants being two children buried W-E, and an adult male buried almost SE-NW. It is a small, neatly arranged cemetery of thirty-two burials in thirty-one graves: eleven males, thirteen females, six children, two unknown (unsexed) skeletons, plus the two males (one each) in barrows 1 and 2 as secondary interments. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on secondary burials in barrows.

The graves lie in three distinct groups (labelled 1, 2, and 3 on site plan)(Fig. 22), a group of twelve to the north of barrow 2, a group of seven to the east of barrow 2 , and a group of eleven to the north-east of the large barrow 1. There are six barrows within

the environs of the cemetery, only two of which contained secondary Pagan Saxon burials. The two seem to form the focal points of the cemetery.

As to the poverty of the site, if Pitt-Rivers was correct in his opinion that the site lies on very poor ground and that it has little to recommend it, it is possible that here, as at Broadchalke, we are dealing with the remains of a small and possibly short-lived pioneer population, cut off by the steep hills and coombes from the wealthier and perhaps more permanently established settlements around Old Sarum, and probably operating on a subsistence level with little left over for trade or luxury items. Several factors seem to suggest that it may be a very late or transitional cemetery, and, therefore, one might rxpect to find few grave goods. This will be discussed at the conclusion of this section.

Orientation

Twenty-six of the skeletons were orientated E-W (feet listed first), varying in deviation from E28°N to E19°S. Two children, nos. 10 and 11 were buried next to each other in reverse of the cemetery norm (W-E). Three orientations could not be determined. Here again, as at Petersfinger, it is the "middle-aged" children who seem to deviate. Number 11 was about ten years of age, number 10 was too damaged for the age to be determined, but the grave cut was only slightly larger than number 11's, and considerably smaller than number 9's, who was aged about thirteen years. All three of these children were next to each other in the western row of Group 2, perhaps forming a family group with the adults aligned in the eastern row. Number 12, also in the western row, was a large empty grave.

The graves in Group 1 seem to deviate (as a group) more than those in Groups 2 and 3. But, when the average deviation per group was taken, it appeared that whilst the range of deviation was broadest for group 1 (W-E to W28°S head first), the average deviation per group is remarkably similar, W14.2°S Group 1, W14°S for the E-W burials in Group 2, and W13.8°S for Group 3. As the range is greatest for Group 1, it may cause this group to lose, to some extent, the linear patterns expressed in Groups 2 and 3, both of which seem to have been fairly carefully laid out in rows and aligned to a fixed point, in this case, perhaps the eastern edges of barrows I and II. There is both a broader range and a higher average deviation amongst the 13

female graves W8°S to W28°S, an average deviation of W16.53°S. The average deviation of the ten male graves was only W11°S, the range W2°S-W17°S. Interestingly enough, the secondary burial in barrow II, male number 31, also deviated by 13°from true E-W, Whilst a fairly rough "eyed in" attempt at E-W orientation seems to have sufficed in this cemetery, the total lack of a fixed orientation which is found at Broadchalke (or at Rotherly Romano-British cemetery) is absent at Winkelbury Hill. Pitt-Rivers disproved (and disapproved) the theory that these burials were aligned to the rising run, and calculated that twenty-nine of the burials would have had to have taken place between the end of March and the end of September to give the deviation pattern exposed by the cemetery, and this "is not the season most conducive to mortality in this climate" (Pitt-Rivers, 1888, 262). If the rising sun were not the "fixed" point, it may have been the middle of the barrows (or one of the barrows), indicated by a standing marker. The excavator was forced to replace an ancient "Scrag" tree in the centre of one of the barrows (III) as the locals were convinced that it kept their villages free of witches. This "scrag" marked the boundary between the Parishes of Berwick St. John and Donhead St. Andrew. A predecessor of Pitt-Rivers' scrag was recorded by Aelfgyth Abbess of Wilton, A.D.965, and it is apparently, a very ancient boundary marker. (WiAM, 1930-32, 76) Or, as seems the case in groups 2 and 3, the first graves were orientated to a fixed point and the rest possibly lined up with them, indicating, perhaps, the use of some form of (perishable?) grave marker.

Position

Twenty-five of the graves contained extended skeletons, two, numbers 14 (male) and 17 (female) contained skeletons buried upon their left sides with knees slightly bent, two, numbers 11 (child) and 24 (female) were placed upon their right sides with knees slightly bent, and one (male, 19) was fully contracted on his right side, his knees and arms bent at right angles to his body. Two of these skeletons, numbers 14 and 24, are in group 1, one in group 2 (W-E child, 11), and two in group 3 (17 and 19). It must be noted here that some of the childrens' graves contained fragments of bone only, rendering it impossible to determine the position of the skeleton. These contracted skeletons do not lie next to each other, each of the pairs being

separated by a grave containing an extended skeleton. Number 14 is a male showing "British cross characteristics" according to Doctors Beddoes and Garcon who analysed the skeletal material, number 17 is an aged female, 19 a middle-aged male, there is no skeletal report for 24 and the excavators were unsure as to its true position. Ten of the skeletons had their heads turned to the North, eight to the South, and four faced upwards.

An interesting pattern emerges when the extended burials are analysed in detail. Five males, one female, and one unsexed individual were buried in completely extended (supine) positions with their arms down at their sides. Four females and one child were buried with both arms turned inwards, hands clasped over pelvises. Three females and two children (one female, one unsexed) were buried with their left arms turned in (hand on pelvis) and their right arms down at their sides (a position also found at Rotherly). Two males were buried with their left arms extended and their right arm bent, crossing the pelvis, one male had his left arm crossed over at the waist, and his right arm extended. There does seem to be a link between sex/age and burial position in this cemetery, the males tending to be either fully extended or buried with their "spear" arms bent and crossing the pelvis, in a position similar to spear-bearing males in cemeteries where weapons are common - such as Blackpatch. The females tended to be buried either with both hands or the left hand on the pelvis.

In one case (28, 1 and 2) an earlier burial has been completely disturbed by a later one, and the former's remains were found scattered throughout the grave. Both of these skeletons were male, and each had a single grave good - a knife - in a cemetery where grave goods of any sort were noticeably absent.

Shapes

Due to the lack of grave-cut illustrations, there is little that may be said about the cuts themselves. Pitt-Rivers noted that they were upright at the sides and ends and were cut into the chalk, unlike the shallow, irregular graves at Broadchalke in which the chalk was only slightly disturbed. They are somewhat deeper than the graves at Petersfinger, and ranged between 1'8" and 2'11" in depth, the majority being under 2'3". The average depth for the thirty-one graves was just over 2' as compared to 17½" at Petersfinger. They ranged between

3'10" and 6'10" in length and from 1'3" to 2'3" in width. None were lined or packed with flints, nor did any have flint coverings. From the measurements and the site plan, the graves seem to have been narrow and round-ended, although a few, especially in group 3, seem to have more flattened ends. In only two cases are the grave cuts too short to have contained extended skeletons. In both cases, 14 and 19, these are the graves of crouched male burials, number 14 being buried on his left side with knees slightly bent in a grave 5'5" long. His height reworked to 5'8½". Number 19 was the fully contracted skeleton. His grave was only 4'5" long although he was 5'7.3" tall. Again, this is in direct contrast to the cemetery at Broadchalke wherein many of the graves were too short to contain extended corpses. The graves at Rotherly also tended to be too short for their interments. Considering the difficulties of digging into chalk, even with modern shovels, considerable care must have gone into the actual digging of these fairly regular, deepish graves.

The deepest graves are in section 3 (Group 3), wherein the average depth is 2'8.4", the range 1'10" to 2'11". Group 2's average was 2'5.2", range 1'10" to 2'6", Group 1 averaged 2'5.1", range 1'8" to 2'6". It is obvious that the graves at Winkelbury Hill are far more standardized than those normally found in Wiltshire cemeteries.

Grave Goods

The grave goods are extremely scanty, although they are more plentiful than those found at Roche Court Down and about on par with those found at Broadchalke. The absence of weapons, brooches and ornamented artifacts make it impossible to date the cemetery or to establish any possible affinities to other sites. The entire collection of flat grave furnishings consisted of five knives, one each with numbers 8, 14, 24, 26 and 28_2, three beads found in grave 25, an oval loop buckle found in 28_2, an iron pin with number 19, an iron pin or nail with number 22, a bronze pin with a coiled head found in grave 2, and two bronze discs on fibulae with cut-out cruciform patterns (Fig.28) thinly plated with silver on one side and attached to a wooden backing approximately 4½" in diameter found in child's grave number 9. They vaguely resemble pierced swaztica brooches, but the wooden backing is an enigma. It is possible that the discs are rather large ? decorative studs of some sort as the object was surrounded by iron links and pieces of iron (Fig. 28). It was found by the left hip of a 13 year old child (unsexed). Remains of fabric

were found between the discs and the wood and give the object the appearance of perhaps being a purse on a satchel with a chatelaine type attachment at one end. The position of the object would give support to this theory, but, as there are no comparable objects to be found in the area, its real function remains in doubt. What is clear is that the discs were meant to be viewed from one side only, and as there were no back attachments mentioned, it is doubtful that they are actually fibulae. Nor does it appear to be a toy of any sort (see Fig.**28**).

Most of the grave goods were found in Group 1,four of the five knives, the beads and the buckle. Three of the graves with grave goods, numbers 14, 24 and 25_2, lie nearest the periphery of barrow II, 24 to the west of 28, and 14 to the direct north of 25. Two other furnished graves, numbers 25 and 26 lie almost end to end on the outskirts of the group. Grave 22, containing one of the iron pins, lies to the west of the main concentration of graves. The two graves containing grave goods in group 2, 9 (bronze object), and 8 (a knife) also lie end to end separated by less than 10' with no intervening graves. The only grave goods found in group 3, a bronze pin in grave 2 and an iron pin in grave 19, also lie in adjacent graves, both at a slightly more severe angle than the other graves in the group. There is too little evidence for any assessment as to "class" or family connections in terms of grave goods, yet, it is interesting that graves with goods do not appear in isolation, and that Group 1, lying nearest barrow II contained the most grave goods. It is possible that this group was made up of the kin of the barrow II burial, but there is little supportive evidence.

Organization

Two of the groups, numbers 2 and 3, follow a fairly strict linear pattern (somewhat limited by their small size), of two rows running roughly parallel, North-South, one to the East of the other. In group 2, the three graves closest to barrow II, 9, 10, 11, all contained children, one eleven, and one thirteen years old, one not aged, and a large empty grave, number 12. The "rear" row contained two males, (8 and 13) buried side by side, and one female, number 7, buried about 15' to the south of number 8. Group 3 follows the same pattern except that the southern most in each row is slightly out of alignment. The western row (nearest barrow I) contained three adult

females, all buried in extended positions with both hands on the pelvis, numbers 1, 3 and 4, plus male number 2, about 10' south of number 1. The Eastern row appears to contain two pairs of skeletons plus one group of three, a male and a fifteen year old female (5, 6) are in the northernmost pair, the middle pair consists of a male and a seven year old child (15 and 16), the southernmost group of three contains two females, 17, buried on her left side, 18 extended, left arm across pelvis, and a male, 19, buried in a contracted position on his right side. Group 1 presents a more clustered arrangement than the other two. An irregular NE-SW running row seems to form the Eastern limits of the group and includes 4 burials, 2 children (?) numbers 13 and 29 (to the east), and two males, one extended and one turned onto his right side (28 and 14). The western row also appears to contain four graves, number 26, male, 23, female, 20, female, and 21, a child. Three graves, female number 24, male number 27, and an unsexed child, number 25, lie between the two groups and seem to be "related" to the westernmost row, 27 lying directly to the East of 20. and 25 to the (site plan) right of the foot of male grave 26, 24 to the (site plan) left of the foot of 21. Twenty-two, female, is an outlier to the west of grave 21, or, it is possible to see these graves as the westernmost of a slightly arched row of three graves, 22, 21 and 26. There is a tendency to place womens and childrens' graves nearest the barrow in groups 2 and 3, whilst group 1 does not appear to conform to this pattern.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution made by this site is in terms of the physical measurements made of the skeletal remains. A most thorough analysis was conducted upon all burials complete enough and in good enough condition to be measured. This is a tallish group of predominantly Dolichocephalic and mesocephalic individuals with a fairly long life expectancy and a low rate of (visible) infant mortality. The males range in height from 5'4.3" (number 8) to 5'9.8" (number 26), the average height being 5'7.5". This falls within the same range as Broadchalke, and just below the average for Petersfinger (5'8.1"). The cephalic indices ranged from 65.8 (no. 8), hyperdolichocephalic, to 79.0, just brachycephalic, the breakdown being 1 hyperdolichocephalic, 5 dolichocephalic, 1 mesocephalic, 1 brachycephalic, the average being 72.75. Three of the males are described as aged, 2, 13 and 16, two as middle-aged, 5 and 19, one as fully adult, and three as "adult", 14, 22 and 28. Two appear to be youngish

adults with little-worn teeth, 8 and 23. Therefore, the majority of the males lives to middle age, and some beyond. The females are also tallish for the period, having an average height of 5'3.1", the range being from 5'1" (number 1) to 5'5.3" (number 20). It must be noted, however, that number 1 was an aged individual and that some amount of skeletal absorption must have taken place before death, therefore, the average height may be a bit higher. These women were taller than those at Broadchalke, but about 1" shorter than those analysed at Petersfinger. The females tended to be more consistently mesocephalic than the males, with a range of from 73.8 to 79.35. Two were dolichocephalic (17 and 20), three were mesocephalic, 18, 2 and 23, and one was brachycephalic (number 1), the average for the group being 76.8. Two of the females are described as aged, 1 and 17, (both in group 3), two as middle-aged (4 and 7), one as fully adult, number 20, and one as adult, number 18. Again, the majority of the females are middle-aged or older. There were only four analysed childrens' skeletons, the rest being too fragmented for measurements to be taken, they included a 7 year old (number 5 - the youngest analysed child on the site), a 10 year old (no. 11), a 13 year old (no. 9) and a fifteen year old female (no. 15). There were no infants' burials found on the site and the size of the graves containing childrens' burials makes it unlikely that any of these were infants, the smallest being 3'10" x 1'3" x 1'10" (number 29). It is always possible that very young children did not receive the same kind of burial given their elders, perhaps being placed in midden heaps, or wherever was most convenient. There is no evidence for this in the Old Sarum cemeteries, but the same problem arises at Broadchalke and other cemeteries. The other possibility is that the excavator, careful as he was, missed the shallow, scoop graves of the very small children which had not left the long narrow depressions which he had been following. At any rate, on the given evidence, few individuals died in the early years of childhood, and many lived to be middle-aged or older.

The Groups

Heights and Cephalic Indices by Groups

	No.	Sex	Height	Index	Miscellaneous
Gp. 1	20	female	5'3.3"	74.1	
	22	female	unknown	68.3	
	24	female	unknown	73.1	
	26	male	5'9.8"	unknown	tallest male in cemetery
	28_1	male	5'6.4"	73.9	
	28_2	male		72.1	disturbed
	?23	female	5'1.8"	77.6	
				average - 71.85	
Gp. 2	7	female	5'2.7"	78.3	noted as being a possible "mixed" individual in text
	8	male	5'4.3"		shortest male in cemetery - markedly dolichocephalic
	13	male	5'7.6"	73.1	
Gp. 3	1	female	5'1"	79.1	shortest female (aged) - markedly brachycephalic
	2	male	-	72.0	
	3	female	5'5.4"	-	tallest female in cemetery
	5	male	5'9.3"	75.3	noted as robust and athletic - tallest in group
	17	female	-	73.8	
	18	female	-	76.5	
	19	male	5'7.3"	76.8	
				average - 74.7	

The above breakdown would give a lower group cephalic index for the site than the average index for Saxon populations as recorded in Brothwell. The Winkelbury Hill average is 72.0, Brothwell's Saxon average is just over 74.0 (Brothwell, 1963, 90).

Thus the tallest males were evenly distributed between groups 1 and 3, whilst small group 2 contained the shortest male and one of average height. Group 3's females were the tallest, those in group 1 being .53" shorter. The sole female in group 2 was .73" shorter than the cemetery norm.

Group 3 had the highest cephalic index average for males - 74.7, and the lowest for females, 76.5. Group 1's females had slightly rounder heads than group 3's, average index 76.8, the men had the medium index - 71.85. But, on the whole, there are few major physical differences between groups 1 and 3, and group 2 is almost too small to consider as a unit.

Aside from the brief notes made that some of the skulls might be British crosses, there is little reason to believe that Winkelbury Hill is not a predominantly pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery. It differs from the Rotherly Romano-British cemetery in many respects,(both physically and in lay-out). The Winkelbury Hill males are over 4" taller on the average than those at Rotherly, despite the fact that the two communities probably existed under similar economic and climatic conditions, the cephalic index for Rotherly is two points higher than for Winkelbury Hill, yet both sites show a preponderance of elliptic and ovoid headforms. The usual position of a Rotherly skeleton is a full crouch, and the orientations vary from due N-S to E-W, the majority being NE-SW. There is only one full crouch burial at Winkelbury Hill, number 19, and the orientation is consistantly E-W in all but two cases (W-E). Considering that Broadchalke shares many features with Romano-British cemeteries five miles to the south-west of the site, it is interesting that so little Romano-British impact seems to have been made at Winkelbury Hill, only one and one half miles from a Romano-British cemetery.

Dating

The answer to the above question could lie in the date of the cemetery, and, whilst it is impossible, due to the lack of grave goods, to date the site accurately, several arguments may be made for its possible earliness or lateness. At Petersfinger, Harnham Hill and the late sixth to seventh barrow burials, many of the late graves contained grave goods - some quite rich. One-sixth of the Winkelbury Hill burials were in positions other than extended, whilst only one burial, that of a child, at Petersfinger, is crouched, the rest of the late burials were more or less extended. It also seems that secondary burials in barrows may pre-date the primary barrow-building era of the mid seventh century, in some cases (see p.222)there is no good reason to believe that the secondary barrow burials at Winkelbury Hill predate the flat graves as the mode of burial is similar in both cases. The consistency of orientation is also not necessarily an indication of a late date, there is consistency amongst the earliest graves at Winterbourne Gunner and Harnham Hill. Perhaps the graves at Winkelbury Hill were grouped to form a "box" or precinct around the barrows, but it seems far more likely that they were following the tradition of cemeteries further to the north-east and burying E-W in

neatly cut, deepish graves placed around a central tumulus. An equally good if not better case may be made for the cemetery's relatively late inception at a time when Romano-British influence was on the wane, and Christianity was beginning to influence local burial customs. Winkelbury Hill may even be a seventh century transitional cemetery similar to Leighton Buzzard in form and lay-out except that pre-existing barrows have been used rather than ditch enclosed burials, it is also similar to the cemetery at Marina Drive which was also set up around a Bronze Age barrow. Winkelbury Hill complies with eight of the eleven features listed by M. Hyslop as criteria for a (late) transitional cemetery. Of the three remaining, dealing with the prevalence of bead festoons, pendants, and work boxes as grave goods indicating a late date, it must be noted that, with the exception of three beads found in grave 25, none of these goods were found at Winkelbury Hill. The factors which it complies with are as follows: There are no brooches of any sort (A); there is only one small buckle and it is of the plain, oval type (E); there are a few pins which may be clothing fasteners (D); there are no weapons (H), there are no cremations (rare in Wiltshire anyway) (I); the orientation is constant and the graves are arranged in rows (J); two of the burials are secondary in barrows (J); and most of the graves have no furnishings or just a knife (K).[1] On the whole, it seems most sensible to tentatively date this cemetery as transitional, in the realization that it could also be of the early to mid sixth century and contemporaneous with some of the other secondary barrow burials and barrow cemeteries in western and southwest Wiltshire. There is some evidence for aligned E-W orientated cemeteries starting up in the late fifth-early sixth centuries in the Old Sarum area, but none incorporate barrows. Winterbourne Gunner and Harnham Hill are perhaps the most notable, herein several of the burials lacked grave goods or contained a single good of the simplest type. Again, it must be stressed that Winkelbury Hill was a small community cemetery of a group existing on a subsistence level in a remote area under unfavourable conditions similar to those at Broadchalke. Hence, it is difficult, and perhaps a bit foolhardy to compare it with the Old Sarum group as one would not expect the same variety and richness of grave goods to be found at Winkelbury Hill as was found at Petersfinger - and the same absence of grave goods was witnessed at Broadchalke which is definitely not a transitional cemetery. But, taking all of the available criteria

1 For fuller details of Hyslop's criterion see Appendix V

into account, it seems more feasible to consider Winkelbury Hill as transitional rather than early, and probably contemporaneous both in date and type with Roche Court Down.

G: Winterbourne Gunner

This is a very tantalizing cemetery in that the excavator, Mr. J. Musty, was only able to dig a small portion of it due to the owner's disinclination to allow his garden to be stripped, and yet four out of the ten graves contained elaborate grave furnishings of a diversified nature. These four graves may span a period of up to seventy years. Had the entire cemetery been available for excavation, it is possible that the same "filling in" technique which seems to have been in use at Petersfinger was also used here.

The site lies on a slight rise in the valley of the River Bourne, close to both the river and the Church. The Church, itself is surrounded by earthworks and these may represent the site of the Medieval village. The deserted Medieval village of Gomeldon lies to the north of the cemetery. Excavations at this site would indicate that the village was in use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (WiAM notes, 59, 1964). The cemetery site also lies less than a mile from a Roman Road leading into Old Sarum (the Portway), near the place where the road fords the river. The nearest cemeteries to the site are Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, and Salisbury-St. Edmunds. Winterbourne Gunner seems to be in the same mode as these sites (see B.R.), two of which are also ripuarian.

Because of the incompleteness of the excavation and the small size of the cemetery as it is now known, it sheds little additional light upon activities in the Old Sarum area, but two of the graves, numbers 6 and 7, are notably early and contain grave furnishings with strong continental affinities. As the entire area was not available for excavation, it is fortunate that this segment of the cemetery was available as it seems to be an almost atypically wealthy and diverse area with strong similarities to the E-W graves centering around graves 20 and 21 at Petersfinger (see p. 89ff). Because of the poor preservation of the skeletal material, very little analysis could be performed other than dental charts and skull measurements. Therefore, there were no physical traits on which to base any possible family relationship within this small group, but, in two cases, the grave goods are remarkably similar and these graves, 8 and 9, may be those of sisters or relatives of some kind. This will be more fully discussed in the short section of grave goods.

The Cemetery (Fig. 24):

The cemetery consisted of ten graves each containing a single inhumation. All ten had been cut into the chalk to a depth of between 1'4" and 2'. They are shallower than the graves at either Winkelbury Hill or Roche Court Down, and slightly deeper, on the average, than those at Petersfinger. The graves are all orientated E-W, but the grave shapes vary and include four of the shapes found at Petersfinger, rectangular, ovoid/coffin, irregular and sub-rectangular. Three of the graves are rectangular, 5, 6 and 9. One, number 8, is irregular, three are ovoid, 1, 4 and 7, and one sub-rectangular, number 10. Two were not illustrated and had been badly damaged prior to excavation, 2 and 3. All of these forms (where there is more than one example), seem to have been in use throughout the life of the cemetery. One of the rectangular graves, male number 6, is very early, number 5 cannot be dated, and number 9, a female, is post 550. The irregular grave, number 8, is a female burial of the same period as number 9. One of the ovoid/coffin shaped graves, number 7, a child, may be as early as the rectangular grave no. 6, the other two, numbers 1 and 4, both males, probably date towards the middle of the sixth century, although number 1 may be a bit later. The single sub-rectangular grave, number 10 (child), is probably late as well. Therefore, there is no apparent correlation between age, sex and date and the grave shape. However, in two cases, graves of the same form lie next to each other, two of the ovoid grave are neighbouring, and two of the rectangular graves, 5 and 6 lie end-to-end. Three of the graves contained lining flints, number 5, male (lined at left side and foot), warrior grave 6, (two large flints, one at either side of his head) and number 9, female (lined on either side). Two are the rectangular graves which lie end-to-end (5 and 6), but, whereas 5 is sparsely furnished, 6 contained a fair amount of early material including a throwing axe and an inlaid buckle. Grave 9 was almost as elaborate, but the grave goods are of a much different character.

Whilst the orientation at Winterbourne Gunner is markedly E-W, it may be noticed that the graves tended to deviate towards NW-SE or SW-NE, but this deviation is not marked, although graves 1, 2 and 3 seem to deviate a bit more than the others do. Again, this consistency might lead one to believe that the graves were orientated to a fixed point. It would appear that none of the cemeteries so far

encountered were orientated to the (movement of) the sun, as one would expect a wider range of deviation if this were the case (see Winkelbury Hill).

From the section which has been excavated, it would appear that Winterbourne Gunner may have been another linear cemetery and its partial site plan bears some resemblance to that of the E-W orientated graves at Petersfinger. There is one E-W running row of five graves, 2 males, nos. 5 and 6, one child, 7, and two (later) females, 8 and 9. This row seems to have extended both to the east and the west from graves 6 and 7, the easternmost graves being considerably later than the westernmost and middle graves. A broken SE-NW running row containing graves 1, 2, 3 and 4 also seems to extend outwards from grave 6. Two of these graves, 1 and 4, date from around the middle of the sixth century, 2 and 3 both contained no grave goods. A late grave, number 10, had been dug to the south of grave 9 (also late), so that the subsequent site plan is somewhat triangular, but this is most probably co-incidental as so little of the site was actually dug. As the site plan now appears, graves 6 and 7 were the first on the site, and the group spread to the east and the north-west and west, the intervening space appears to have been devoid of graves, but this may well be due to the inaccessibility of the area (to the excavators), as it now contains a pipe trench and a septic tank. Interestingly enough, all of the male graves are to the west of the modern water pipe and all of the female graves to the east, but the site was so incompletely dug that it would be unsubstantiated to state that any segregation by sex is apparent in this cemetery.

Position

Musty states that all of the skeletons were extended, but their state of preservation was so poor that the true positions could only be established in three cases, 4, 6 and 8. Number 4 is completely extended with his ankles touching, 6 is extended with his head turned to the right, and female number 8 had her left hand on her pelvis - as did many of the female burials at Winkelbury Hill. Neither of the two spear bearing males, 1 and 4, seem to have had their "spear arms" bent as is the case in some of the burials at Blackpatch, Petersfinger, etc. Musty noted that this poor preservation of the skeletal material is a common feature in pagan Saxon cemeteries, and, in this case, he attributes it to the wet, low lying position of the cemetery. The

shallowness of many of the graves in the County, most notably Broadchalke and the childrens' graves at Petersfinger and Blackpatch, would also make the remains more vulnerable. Perhaps, as suggested by Mr. Musty, some deliberate effort was made to ensure that the body decayed quickly, but it would seem that a combination of the siting and the difficulties of cutting sufficiently deep graves into the chalk below the thin soil probably determined the rapid disintegration of most of these skeletons. The site at Winterbourne Gunner is damp and may have been wetter still in the sixth century, if Pitt-Rivers is correct about the water table being higher than it is now although the extent of "water-logging" cannot be proven. It is possible that, although a slight rise was chosen for the burials, little of the surrounding land was suitable for either farming or settlement, a feature which is sometimes found in the sitings of these cemeteries.

Location and Placename

Winterbourne Gunner lies near the boundary between the Parishes of Winterbourne Gunner and Idmiston in the Hundred of Alderbury (although it has been left off Bonney's list of cemetery sites on new Parish boundaries, but, then Roche Court Down and Winkelbury Hill also do not appear on that list). Winkelbury Hill, Roche Court Down, Petersfinger, Bassett Down and Harnham Hill also lie on or near Parish boundaries. The first recording of the placename is in D.B., but it might be of Saxon origin.

The Grave Goods

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this cemetery is the range and diversity of the grave goods found therein. Only two of the graves contained nothing at all, numbers 2 and 3, both of which had been badly disturbed by the septic tank prior to excavation. The site report records them both as having been the graves of adult females, although the skeletal report states that number 3 was an adolescent male. The two graves lie adjacent to each other at the north-western end of row 2.

Two of the graves contained markedly early furnishings, number 6 (male) and number 7 (female child), these also lie end-to-end in row 1. The warrior buried in grave 6 had been equipped with a francisca of the type dated by Bohner to between 450 and 525 (Ibid, 95)(Fig. 25), an inlaid buckle of figure eight form dated by Dr. Evison to the second

half of the fifth century (Evison, 1965, 60) and similar to one found in grave 63B at Petersfinger, a pair of bronze strap tags having a sea-horse like decoration which, according to Hawks are of Roman workmanship and date from the fourth to fifth centuries (Arch., 1961, 37), an iron stud, a plain iron buckle plate, also of figure eight form, a pair of undecorated tweezers, and two joining rim sherds of brown, sandy pot. According to the excavator, this grave need be no later than circa 520. It is interesting to note that, aside from the francisca, this grave contained no weapons of the usual "Saxon" type. The axe-bearing male at Blackpatch also possessed none of the more common weapons, unlike grave 21 at Petersfinger in which were also found a sword, a shield, and a spear. The Petersfinger axe is not a true throwing axe, however. Grave 6 at Winterbourne Gunner is nowhere near as wealthy as Petersfinger grave 21, although both contained inlaid buckle and axes which have Frankish affinities and both may date to the late fifth or the very earliest sixth century (see Petersfinger, p.).

The child (probably female) buried in grave 7 may also have died in the early years of the sixth century. Her grave contained a small, tinned, square-headed brooch (pin missing), decorated with ring and dot pattern, an intrusive sherd of cord zoned beaker (this grave lies adjacent to a pit), three glass beads, a tinned bronze perforated spoon, and two broken amber beads (Fig. 25). The brooch has parallels at Bifrons, Kent, and Harnham Hill and Blackpatch (Wilts.), and is said to be an early type (see Blackpatch). The spoon is also similar to one found at Bifrons, and more elaborate versions were also found at Chessel Down (Baldwin-Brown IV, 1915, Plate XCIV). The example found at Bassett Down is of a completely different type - a spoon rather than a strainer. Unlike the Kentish examples, no crystal ball was found with the spoon at Winterbourne Gunner. The brooch was damaged, and if the spoons are normally found with crystal balls then this child's "set" was incomplete, the beads were also broken, therefore, this child's grave may actually be somewhat later than the date which has been assigned to it by the excavator, circa 520. Childrens' graves frequently contain worn or damaged objects which may actually be considerably earlier than the date of the inhumation itself.

Grave 5, male, could not be accurately dated as it contained only a pair of undecorated tweezers of a somewhat different type to those found in grave 6, and a knife. The tweezers are similar to a pair

found in grave 24 at Petersfinger. Grave 4 may have been the next grave added to this small segment of the cemetery. This male was buried with a low conical shield boss with a large stud (Fig. 25), an H2 type spearhead (Swanton, Corpus, 1974, 89), and an oval looped buckle with a square bronze stud on its plate. On the evidence of the spear and the shield boss, this grave may date to pre 550, but it was not possible to pin down a more accurate date. Graves 1, 8 and 9 and 10 may all be near-contemporaries of the mid to late sixth century. Male number 1 was buried with a C3 type spear head, a low conical boss with a smaller stud than number 4's (Fig. 25)(which is really of the carinated variety), a pair of bronze ring and dot decorated tweezers, a purse mount and a knife. The purse mount is similar to the one found in Petersfinger grave 20, the shield boss also bears a strong resemblance to the one found in this grave, although the Petersfinger example had a slightly more pronounced button. Both contained C3 spear heads dating from the mid to late sixth century and into the seventh. Petersfinger grave 20 is, again, more elaborate than grave 4 at Winterbourne Gunner, despite the similarities of their weapons and dates. Grave 20 at Petersfinger contained, amongst other things, a sword and its fittings. There were no swords found at Winterbourne Gunner. Female grave 8 was furnished with a pair of gold plated bz. saucer brooches, each with a central blue cabochon (bead), a bracelet of 42 beads (17 amber and 25 paste), a chatelaine ring with a fragment of a latch lifter, a knife and an iron object. An identical pair of brooches were found in female grave 9, which also contained a bronze clip, an iron knife, an iron belt buckle (Fig. 9), a chatelaine ring and an iron pin. The saucer brooches are of the "Kempston-cross" type, and are imitative of Kentish Jewelled Brooches dating from the second half of the sixth century. There are no close parallels for these brooches within the county, although one saucer brooch from Collingbourne Ducis incorporates the same anthropomorphic design in a basically cruciform pattern, it is a simpler, better designed, less fussy specimen, however. The bronze hair clip is similar to a few which were found at Petersfinger (grave 57), and at Uncleby (N.R.Y.) and Holywell Row (Suffolk). Both grave 8 and grave 9 seem to date from the late sixth or early mid seventh centuries and may well be of the seventh century rather than the sixth. The buckle found in grave 9 may be earlier as it is similar in form to that which was found with grave 6. The two chatelains were very fragmentary, and,

as much as these objects may be said to resemble any others, they seem to be similar to the "latch-lifter" found in grave 49B at Petersfinger. This grave contained a roundel which is also imitative of Kentish jewelled brooches (Leeds, 1953, 52) and is dated by the excavator to post 550 A.D.

Grave 10, that of a young child (probably female), can not be dated with any accuracy as it only contained eleven beads (at the neck), and an irregularly shaped piece of lead. The beads are all of glass or paste, and are somewhat similar to those found in "early" grave 7, except that they do not seem to have been strung together into a necklace as they were in the earlier grave. But, some of these beads also resemble the quoit shaped specimens found in "late" grave number 8. The placement of this grave, to the direct south of number nine (a provably late grave), may indicate that grave 10 is also late.

Anthropological and Historical Evidence

As the skeletons were in poor condition, very little could be gleaned from them. Two of the skeletons, 7 and 10, are those of young children aged about 7 to 8 and 4 to 5 respectively, both may be female on the evidence of the grave furnishings found with them. Number 3 is listed in the site report as an adult female, and in the skeletal report as a male of about 16 years of age. Two of the skeletons, numbers 1 and 4, are those of youngish men between the ages of 20 and 30, three are middle-aged, two females, 8 and 9, and one male, number 6. Number 2 was an aged individual whose sex could not be determined. The average age for the fully adult males (excluding number 3), was only 31.66 years. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of number 7, those graves which contained fairly elaborate grave goods belong to the older individuals, 6, 8 and 9. Two of the younger males were buried with typical male "warrior" grave goods, spears, shields, etc., numbers 1 and 4. The children are both provided for, the elder more elaborately than the younger. This is parallelled at Petersfinger wherein the three most elaborate male graves belonged to individuals who were middle-aged or older, numbers 20, 21 and 60. Unfortunately, the skeletal report from Petersfinger is so incomplete that it was impossible to determine whether it was the younger males who were usually buried with the more common weapons.

Five of the skeletons exhibited marked dental attrition (including the young male in grave 3) of the type in evidence at Roche Court Down

and Petersfinger, indicating that these people had existed on a rough, gritty diet. Although very few of the skulls were complete enough to be measured, those that were gave a wide range of skull types. Number 1, a youngish male of 25 to 30 years of age, was markedly dolichocephalic, having an index of 70.05, whilst the young male in grave 4 was brachycephalic, his index being 81.42. Number 8, the only female skull which could be measured was just dolichocephalic, having an index of 75.15 (worked from Brothwell, 1963, 88).

No femoral measurements were given, therefore it was impossible to work out heights.

In this segment of the cemetery, 40% of the individuals were 35 years old or older, 20% were between the ages of 20 and 30, 10% between 15 and 20, and 20% were under 10 years of age. The remaining 10% were indeterminate. As at the other cemeteries examined, it is clear that a large proportion of the adult pagan Saxon population lived to be middle-aged or older, and that fewer children may have died in the first years of life, contrary to what one expects to find amongst a people living a hard and somewhat primitive existence. According to Brothwell's chart of Adult and Infant/Child mortality in Recent and Early Groups (Brothwell, 1963, 66), the average age at death for pagan Anglo-Saxons is 31 years, or close to the figure recorded for Winterbourne Gunner, and yet, more adult individuals at this site lived beyond that age than died prior to it. Petersfinger, Winkelbury Hill, and Roche Court Down, amongst others, also had a fair proportion of individuals who had lived beyond the average age of mortality, living through the "warrior" stage, perhaps symbolized by the simply equipped young men's graves with their utilitarian grave goods, to reach the next stage of development. In some ways, this changes the stereotyped image one has of a short-lived population succombing to its environment and its propensity for skirmishes by the (average) age of 31, a population in which many (if not most) of the children died before maturity and many of the younger women died in childbirth. These people seem to have been far more vigorous and adaptable than that, some living to be quite old, even by our standards. This would give a wider scope to the community's activities, the older members may have acted as teachers, advisors, full-time farmers, etc., the younger being engaged in the heavier work or in occasional defensive manoeuvres. But, as no tracts exist giving details of what life or social structure was really like in the fifth to seventh centuries in

Wessex village communities, it is impossible to state exactly how these groups were run or which roles were carried out by the various individuals within them. However, they do not seem to have been as limited by an early age at death or an extremely high infant mortality rate (see Blackpatch) as was heretofore imagined.

Mr. Musty is of the opinion that the Battle of Old Sarum, dated by the Chronicle to 552 (a much contested dating), may well have been in the nature of a defensive battle rather than an offensive one. (Musty, 1964, 104). Therefore, the area around Old Sarum had been in Saxon hands for a long time prior to the battle. Whilst the excavator dates at least two of the graves at Winterbourne Gunner to pre 552 (circa 520), he also states that he has not looked for other corroborative early evidence in Wiltshire cemeteries. There is much early material in the County, many graves which may confidently be dated to pre-550 A.D. have been excavated at such cemeteries as Bassett Down, Broadchalke, Collingbourne Ducis, Foxhill, Harnham Hill, Petersfinger, Blackpatch (Pewsey), Purton, and Salisbury. Four of these sites are in the northern half of the County (Foxhill, Bassett Down, Purton and possibly Blackpatch), the rest are in or near Salisbury. If, as Leeds has suggested, these settlers originally came up from Southampton waters circa 495 (Leeds, **1933**), it seems clear that they had reached far beyond Old Sarum by 552. In fact, a mixed population had settled as far to the north as Bassett Down prior to the Chronicle dating for this Battle. The whole problem of invasion and settlement is a complicated one and is discussed elsewhere in this thesis, but, there is very good evidence that a strong-hold around Old Sarum was coming into existence at least as early as the opening decades of the sixth century if not earlier, and colonists were already spreading out to the south-west and the north (if they all "invaded" along the same route - to be discussed) by the date suggested by the Chronicle for what seems to have been a decisive battle.

The graves found at Winterbourne Gunner fit in quite well with the chronology for the entire Old Sarum area. Initially, the grave furnishings had a strong continental (Frankish) affinity, as did the earlier graves at Petersfinger and Harnham Hill, and as the era progressed, the grave goods became more Kentish and Saxon in appearance, and to have parallels in Beds., Berks., Cambs., Hants., Sussex and Kent. Yet, throughout their existences, these pagan cemeteries retained their "sense of order", graves were neatly dug, consistently

orientated (in most cases), and laid out to a rough plan. There are both wealthy and poor graves in every phase of settlement in each of these cemeteries, as there are both continental and locally made grave goods in both early and late graves (graves 20 and 21 at Petersfinger for example) None of these Old Sarum cemeteries seem to have undergone any great amount of "nativization" as may have occurred at Broadchalke. They kept fairly strictly to their own customs. Each community had to overcome the same "structural" problems, i.e. digging down into the hard chalk, and with the exception of Harnham Hill, they came up with similar grave shapes which also repeat themselves throughout the era as did the tradition of lining some graves with flints to form a cist or placing flints at the head.

This consistency is, in itself, remarkable, and seems to indicate a rather conservative approach to death and burial which lasted until the seventh century when this type of burial seems to have been partially superceded by the barrow burial complexes and unfurnished graves of the transitional period. Yet, even these late cemeteries share their linear patterns, neatly cut graves, and fairly rigidly fixed (predominantly E-W) orientations with some of the earlier burial places; the use of flints dies out, as does the burying of weapons with most male flat grave burials, and more space seems to have been left between groups of graves. The Old Sarum cemeteries provide a fascinating study in continuity from the invasion period straight through to the conversion of Wessex (and possibly beyond). Winterbourne Gunner confirms this idea, but due to its small size and the incompleteness of excavation, it adds little new information to the over-all picture.

H: Gazetteer of Small Cemeteries and "Inhumation Burials"

Because of the lack of adequate reports for the following cemeteries, it was thought best to deal with them in detailed gazetteer form. Their chief contribution to the overall picture of Wiltshire in the Pagan Saxon period is in terms of chronology. Several contained datable grave goods and even in cases wherein the reports were so scanty as to render them almost useless for the purposes of this thesis, these grave goods aid in ascertaining a pattern of settlement development.

Single inhumations were not included in this section, as, until there is evidence to the contrary, they are best regarded as chance finds although they may be indicative of possible cemetery sites. It is difficult to determine a workable definition of a cemetery in terms of size. Most of the cemeteries included in this section contained fewer than ten excavated inhumations, but in many cases, the limits of the burial grounds were not reached as, for the most part, they were found accidentally and dug accordingly, at short notice and with little time to spare for detailed planning etc. Published site plans are available for very few of these sites, although it was possible to reconstruct some of them from the site notes given in the texts.

1. Bassett Down, Parish of Lydiard Tregoze, Hundred of Blackgrove

> Skeletons found in 1822 during landscaping operations at Bassett Down House, O.S. SU115779. Two recorded burials found at the summit of the hill, "more skeletons further to the west". Published by the Rev. E. H. Goddard, no site plan, good illustrations of grave goods but no clear evidence as to which burial they were found with. No orientation noted.

This site is located on the scarp foot bench of the lower chalk plain less than four miles SW of Swindon, where pagan Saxon inhumations have also been found. The inhumations were on the estate of Bassett Down House. Because of the nature of the finds, they might be best classified as elaborate chance finds rather than as properly excavated burials. The total number of skeletons is unknown.

Burials: 2 males, lying side by side, possibly in same grave. Orientation and position not noted.

The grave goods are of special interest as, on the whole, they are very early in date and have some Late Roman or Romano-British affinities as well as some Saxon parallels. One must not overlook the possibility that this burial ground may have some connections with a possible Roman occupation site in the area - suggested by the pottery found nearby. There is also a possible villa site less than three miles to the South of the site and a native settlement site in the vicinity of the villa. (O.S. approx. SU 12077).

Grave Goods: Two spearheads, types I1 and C1, two straight-carinated bosses without buttons, two knives, beads, two pairs of gilt bronze saucer brooches (Fig. 26).

Dating: Spearheads, I1, late fifth to early sixth century, type confined to chalk lands of Hampshire and Wiltshire (Swanton, 1974 Corpus, 20), C1, early type associated with late Roman and early Saxon material (Ibid. 8).

Brooches, smaller pair - with central glass cabochon (Fig.) similar to pair found at Kemble and Wheatley, Oxon. (Antiq. J. 1935, Plate 35).
Larger pair - central four-pointed star motif (Fig.). Similar to brooches from Fairford (Gl.) and Harnham Hill. Baldwin-Brown considers star-patterned brooches lacking zoomorphic patterning to be early (Baldwin-Brown III, 1911, 312).

Grave Goods found out of context: Roman bow-brooch, bz. ear-pick, and tinned bz. spoon of a late Romano-British type (Swanton, 1974, 155)(Fig. 26).

The entire Saxon collection may date to the last decades of the fifth century as none of the grave goods need be any later than this date.

An early cemetery so far to the North of the early Old Sarum group raises a very interesting point about the pattern of settlement in northern Wiltshire. The occurrence of early material in this area is corroborated by a few equally early (or slightly later) grave goods which have recently been excavated at Blackpatch and Collingborne Ducis (both somewhat to the south of the site at Bassett Down). As Bassett Down is probably the earliest of the northern sites, it might be thought to represent a remnant of a mercentary population rather than a new invader population, although it seems too late to be such and there is enough diagnostic Saxon material of a later date included with the burials to make this unlikely. The other possibilities are

as follows: either the in-coming population had spread northward from the Southampton region by the end of the fifth century, or, a "two-pronged invasion" was being carried out both along the Thames and up from the south. When one looks at a map of the now excavated cemetery sites in the county, one discovers that there are a very few sites on the clay lowlands surrounding the Thames (on the Wiltshire side). The cemetery or chance find site closest to the river is more than four miles away on a small isolate of the limestone plateau. The clay lowlands seem to have been very unpopular with the incoming settlers, and it is always possible that they abandoned the Thames valley very early in the migration period in search of more easily cultivated areas, and, therefore left scant traces of their occupation of the area. Only a few chance finds would indicate that these people had ever passed through the region. On the other hand, several of the earliest types of grave goods found at Harnham Hill, Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner have also been found at Bassett Down (shield bosses and, possibly, the saucer brooches), and at Blackpatch (anthropomorphic button brooches, spiral decorated brooches, ring and dot decorated small square headed brooches, and a francisca, and the insular spear types). It is possible that the main stream of the incoming populace came in from the south, and then up the valleys of the rivers Avon, Bourne and Kennet into the northern part of the county, rather than down into Wiltshire via the Thames and the forested clay lowlands. This recurrence of early grave goods in the cemeteries of both the northern and the southern halves of the county might indicate that both areas were settled by what was, essentially, the same group of people, including Saxons, Jutes and, perhaps Franks. Were the grave goods found in these more northerly cemeteries of an alien nature to those found in the southern group, or if the mode of burial differed significantly or there were provable cremation burials (a few have been found at Blackpatch, but their date has yet to be conclusively established), the idea of a two-pronged invasion might seem more feasible. But, at present, it would appear that this area was equally accessible via the aforementioned rivers and the Roman Road which runs from Marlborough up to Swindon and on to Verlveio (see Figs. 1,2).

Although the details of the burials are unclear the site provides much information about this northern area which seems to have been occupied at least as early as the Old Sarum region - although settlement may not have been as dense. The possible Welsh element in the parish

placename is also of interest (although its meaning is not clear). Villa sites and native settlements are more concentrated on the clay lowlands than are Saxon settlements, and as this is a natural feature name (gard - garth or hill), it could have been retained by the settlers near Bassett Down who had learned it from the native population.

2. West Chisenbury, Parish of Enford, Hundred of Elstub

> One skeleton excavated by workmen digging a pit in the garden of new houses of War Department land, in July 1928. Several other skeletons found in the vicinity. O.S. SU 136531.

The placename, "burh on the cis or gravel" (O.E.), is first recorded in D.B. (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 328). The site lies in the valley trench overlooking the River Avon about fourteen miles directly north of Old Sarum. The inhumation burials at Netheravon lie about three miles SSE of the site and two skeletons of pagan date were also found about four miles to the north, at Woodbridge, N. Newnton.

Burials: Male, extended W-E (?) in shallow grave 6' long. C2 spear only. Uncounted and unrecorded skeletons, apparently lacking grave goods.

Dating: Spear type spans pagan period (Swanton, 1974, Corpus, 10)

Spear: fairly large specimen, may be one of the later models.

This is one of the very few W-E orientated skeletons in the county, but this description is not borne out by a plan, and is modified by the word "apparently", therefore, the orientation may only be accepted with trepidation as this may be a far more common E- W burial. (WiAM 45, 1932, M. E. Cunnington (Notes section). Whilst indisputably pagan Saxon, this small group of badly reported skeletons can not be dated, nor will the size of the cemetery ever be known. This is a problem one is faced with time and time again when attempting to analyse burials in the County. In some cases, particularly secondary barrow burials, it is even impossible to date the burials as (conclusively) Saxon.

3. Foxhill (Wanborough)

Six to eight skeletons, no site plan, orientation and true skeletal positions unknown. Found by workmen digging trenches in the summer and autumn of 1941, reported to and published by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington in WiAm 49, 1940-42, pp. 542-43.

Location: on the boundary between the parishes of Bishopstone and Wanborough in the Hundred of Ramsbury. Placename: unrecorded prior to 1276 and most of the features near to it also bear names which were recorded post D.B. The site lies on the scarpfoot bench about five miles east of Swindon, and not far from where the Roman Road leading up towards Cricklade is crossed by the Ridgeway. A single secondary barrow burial was discovered nearby, at Hinton Down, Bishopstone, and a single male inhumation was found at Callas Hill, Wanborough, otherwise there is, apparently, little pagan Saxon activity in the area despite the network of Roman Roads (and the Ridgeway) which pass near to the site. Most of the few excavated sites in the area are to the South, East, or Southwest of the burials at Foxhill and do seem to lie along the aforementioned routes.

Burials: Six to eight, all recorded as being male.

Graves: Three yards apart, two feet deep.

Grave Goods: With one of the skeletons: square bz. buckle plate with style 1 decoration (C.F. Blackpatch), small blackware bowl (see Fig.40), large buttoned shield boss, knife, pyrites nodule (C.F. Blackpatch, Broadchalke).

Other finds: Sword blade, fragments of two bosses similar to above, knife blade, H2 spearhead. Meaney records a latish pair of saucer brooches as coming from this site, but no mention is made of them in report (Meaney, 1964, 268).

The pot (see Fig. 46) is only 5½" high and it is believed that it had been wheel-turned as it is quite well made and the fabric is extremely fine and thin. There is so little pottery of this period in Wiltshire, that it was not possible to find parallels to it within the county. In fact, it is a singular bowl with no close correlations anywhere and does not correspond to any of Myre's types. The only known early wheel-turned pottery is Frankish, but the forms are entirely different and tend to be higher and more globular than the Foxhill pot. Perhaps it is continental, but its origin is not known to the writer. The shield bosses are similar to that found in the "Frankish warrior's"

grave at Petersfinger (which contained an H1 spearhead) and to some found at Gilton and Sibertswold, Kent (in Faussett, 1856 ed.), both long-lasting cemeteries.

Dating: Apparently first half of the sixth century at the latest (boss and spear types).

The saucer brooches are neither illustrated nor mentioned by Mrs. Cunnington and it seems unlikely that they were actually found at Foxhill. If they are from this cemetery, then it may have lasted on into the second half of the sixth century with a life-span approximating that of Winterbourne Gunner or Blackpatch.

4. Netheravon

Three skeletons discovered in 1913 by workmen excavating a cellar, one found in 1938 during trench digging for the R.A.F. Reported by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington in WiAm, 43, 4) and WiAm 48, 469-70.

Location: on the lower chalk plain overlooking the River Avon about four miles southeast of Chisenbury, in the Parish of Figheldean (Hundred of Elstub), less than a quarter of a mile from the boundary between the Parishes of Netheravon and Figheldean. The Church at Netheravon is almost directly across the river from the burial place. The placename is first recorded in D.B. and is interpreted to mean "settlement further down the Avon"(E.P.N.S., Wilts., 1939, 331).

Burials: Four

1913A: Male, extended E-W in 2' deep grave.

Grave goods: H1 spearhead, strips of Fe and wood (shield?), bz. pin.

Dating: Spear - late fifth to first half sixth century.

1913B: No information, no grave goods, a few yards away from A, direction not noted.

1913C: No information, no grave goods.

1938D: Young male, extended E-W, possibly coffined as 21 nails lined grave (C. F. Heddington), no other grave goods, grave damaged. Soil build-up is quite deep (4') possibly in barrow (?).

The dating evidence for this site is meagre. The spearhead would suggest a date for A in the first half of the sixth century. Whilst the coffined burial may date to the mid seventh century. It seems quite feasible that there are other unlocated burials in the vicinity, but the site has been built over and severely damaged by the R.A.F. aviation school. It is also possible that this may be another barrow/cemetery complex, but there is no conclusive evidence for this. As the relationships (spatial) between the three burials are unknown, there may even be more than one burial site at Netheravon. But, if all three burials lie near to each other, then there is also the possibility that, in this case, a primary barrow burial may have been added to an already existing flat-grave cemetery sometime towards the end of its existence (cf. Roche Court Down and Winkelbury Hill).

5. Purton (The Fox)

> Twelve or thirteen skeletons found between 1912 and 1925 during quarrying. Notes by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington and the Rev. E. H. Goddard, WiAm 37, 1911-12, 606-608.

Location: on small stretch of the limestone plateau surrounded by the clay lowlands of Northern Wiltshire, about four miles to the north of Swindon, Parish of Purton (Hundred of Chippenham), and the Church at Purton is less than half a mile from the burial site. The placename, interpreted as meaning "pear tree farm", is first mentioned in a grant of the year 794 of 35 mansiae given by Ecgfrith, King of Mercia to Cuthbert, Abbot of Malmesbury at the request of Beorthric, King of the West Saxons. This land had been confiscated by Ecgfrith's father, Offa (Birch I, 1885, 386, "et Athelward archiepiscopo terran. XXXV manentium in loco qui vocat or Aet Piortean".)

The land had been quarried to a depth of 15', and the quarry itself seems to have been in use for "very many years - possibly centuries". Therefore, there is the distinct possibility that much of this cemetery was lost prior to any interest being taken in it.

Burials: Six or seven found between 19)) and 1912, no information in addition, four which were recorded.

1912A: Male, extended, orientation not noted, in grave 12"-18" deep.
Grave goods: seax or short sword with rounded pommel, 2 knives, blue glass bead, 2 pieces of corroded Fe.

1912B: Male, no information, C2 spearhead (undatable).

1912C: Male, extended, ENE-WSW, damaged, 4' from A.

1912D: Young girl, extended N-S in 18" deep grave, no grave goods.

1925E: Male, no information.
Grave goods: Spearhead, H1 knife, bone pin.

1925F: No information.

Sixty-five yards of trenches were dug, running parallel to the edge of the quarry, in 1912, but no other burials were located. Most of the other burials may have lain to the west of the ones found.

The Ashmolean has, in its collection, two scramasaxes (of seventh century date), two knives, and a spear head of the early H2 type. These objects may not be from the exact same site, although they are labelled Purton.

This cemetery may only be tentatively dated. The graves which were found were relatively poor with the exception of number 1. The skeletons, themselves, had been too badly damaged to be examined. If the objects in the Ashmolean do come from this site, the grave goods would indicate that this cemetery had been in use from the first half of the sixth century (the H2 spear head) through to the seventh century (the seax). As has been illustrated by several of the other Wiltshire cemeteries, these sites tend to remain in use over a long period of time, and a life-span of 100 to 125 years is not uncommon.

As the cemetery at Purton may have been a fairly large one, and it is also one of the more northerly sites, it is particularly unfortunate that so little of it was ever properly excavated and recorded.

6. Woodbridge Inn (N. Newnton) SU 133570

Two skeletons found during road widening operations.
Reported in "Notes", WiAm, 1935-37, pp. 265-7.
Excavations overseen by A. D. Passmore.

Location: in the valley trench of the River Avon on the Parish boundary separating N. Newnton and Manningford in the Hundred of Swanborough. The Church at N. Newnton is about half a mile to the NW of the site, and the large cemetery at Blackpatch is about one and a half miles to the NE. The main road going towards Pewsey runs right by the site. The placename is first mentioned in a Charter of King

Alfred dated 892 granting 10 manentes of land at N. Niwetunc free of all common dues to his companion Aethelhelm (Finberg, 1963, 77, also Birch, II, 209 - land boundaries - ... AE elhelmo meo fideti comite ... here ditater dabo id est decim manentium in loco qoi dicitur Norp Nipetune).

Burials: In same grave.

Skeleton A: Male, extended, E-W, aged about 35-50.
Grave goods: E2 spearhead, high-waisted boss

Skeleton B: Child, extended, E-W, aged 10-14,
no grave goods.

Burnt stones were found at the west end of the grave, but the bones showed no evidence of burning. Such stones have also been found at Broadchalke, but, otherwise, they are very uncommon in the County. The boss is closely parallelled to one found in grave 14 at Blackpatch, but it is a fairly common form in the county and examples have also been found at Harnham Hill, etc. It also bears some similarity to the very early boss found at Bassett Down, but it is not quite so angular or pointed. Therefore, it is not possible to conclusively date this burial, although it probably belongs to the sixth century rather than to the seventh because of the boss type.

Several dark patches about six feet long by three feet wide were noted along the bank running towards Pewsey and in an adjoining field, indicating that there may be several other graves in the vicinity.

The skeletal report describes the male as muscular, active, and moderately dolichocephalic (index 72-73). His teeth were in perfect condition but well worn. According to the pathologist, Dr. Cave, the skull is not the "typical Saxon type", being more Neolithic or Ancient British in form. The child was probably mesocephalic, and, again, the teeth were perfect.

These burials are not particularly informative except that their orientations, positions and depths were noted and the overseer made a note that there were probably other graves in the vicinity (undug to date). It is unfortunate that further excavations were not carried out as it would be a great interest to see how this possible cemetery site compares with that at Blackpatch, now undergoing excavation, a very large cemetery containing 93 burials (to date) and located less than one and a half miles away from the site at Woodbridge.

Short Notes on Poorly Excavated or Poorly Recorded Sites

1. Great Bedwyn: 8 or more skeletons, SU 261623. One excavated in 1892 by Brooke, 5 to 7 excavated in 1920. Many found prior to 1892 in a chalk pit N. of the pumping station at Crofton. These may not be Saxon burials as "the field over them is paved with flint weapons." (Brooke, WiAm 1892, Vol. 26, 412.)

Great Bedwyn is situated in the Parish of the same name in the Hundred of Kinwardstone. The placename may be of Welsh origin, as is the stream name, in which case it is interpreted as meaning white birch, or it may come from the O.E. Bedwine(d) - "Wild clementis" (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 332). It is first mentioned in the Will of King Alfred (878-888), leaving his estates at Bedwindan (and other properties) to his eldest son Edward.

> Ic Alfred (W)estseaxena cingc (sic) mid godes gife-
> mid pisse (w)itness ... gecpe e h (w)ic ymbe min
> ... aefter minum daege aerest-ic an Eadpeard minum
> yldan sona paes landes aet ... Bedpindan.
>
> (Birch III, 1885, 176)

Having noted that many skeletons had been turned up during chalk quarrying, Brooke excavated one skeleton, no details noted, no grave goods. In 1922, B. H. Cunnington excavated five or seven skeletons which "radiated from a common centre like spokes from a wheel" (WiAm 41, 1922, 312). This pattern has been noted at such cemeteries as Abingdon, Berks., but, to date, it does not seem to occur in Wiltshire cemeteries of the pagan Saxon era. Mrs. M. E. Cunnington does not include this site in her list of Pagan Saxon sites in Wiltshire (1934). Nor is it included in Goddard's 1914 list. There is very little known Saxon activity in the area, but there is one secondary burial in a long barrow approximately three miles to the SE. Great Bedwyn lies between the River Kennet and the Roman Road leading towards Marlborough. Two Roman villas lie near the site. More black patches were visible on the surface, but these possible graves were never dug. There is a strong possibility that this site is not Saxon as the area surrounding it has a much higher concentration of Roman sites than it does for the later period and there is no evidence for the date of the burials at all.

2. Fargo: SU 110442. Approximately 30 skeletons in an arable field (Fargo Plantation). None properly dug, two only noted. Reported in "Notes" (WiAm 31, 1901, 331), excavated in 1864.

This site has not been conclusively located, but seems to lie near the coordinants listed above. The excavator noted that it lay near the boundary between the parishes of Winterbourne Stoke and Amesbury of the lower chalk plain near a pond barrow in which lay a (doubtful) pagan Saxon burial (Durrington). This area has been occupied since the Paleolithic period and burials of the Bronze Age and the Neolithic were found therein. There is also evidence of a native Romano-British settlement less than a mile SW of the site.

All skeletons orientated N-S. Of the two which were excavated, one lay in a flint cist with flints to cover. The teeth were in good condition, but very worn. In one of the two skulls was found a triangular flint which may have been part of a weapon. There were no other grave goods. The flint might have been considered intrusive except that it was actually embedded in the skull of the skeleton. As the cist form may be either Bronze Age or Saxon, and there is also a possibility that the burials may be Romano-British (listed as such in V.C.H. I, pt. I, 66), and the orientation may also be of any date, there seems little reason to consider these burials as Saxon. The only point in favour of this date is the sites location on a parish boundary and the possible make up of the cist. Neither of these factors may be regarded as conclusive, however. As at Great Bedwyn, these inhumations could date to almost any period (short of cremation eras) up to the conversion to Christianity.

3. St. Edmund's College, Salisbury. O.S. SU 147305. Twenty to thirty skeletons found during the levelling up of the 1313 ramparts in 1771-2, one skeleton found in 1878, probably an outlier.

This site lies in the parish of Salisbury and is located on St. Edmund's Church Street. The street name was first recorded in 1540 (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 22).

The actual location, positions or orientations of none of the 1771-74 skeletons were noted. A large quantity of unillustrated (and now mostly lost) grave goods were found including "pikes, iron helmets, spears, and plates of metal rivetted together" (Meaney, 1963, 275). A boss now in the Salisbury Museum is Saxon. The rest of the grave goods, especially the pikes, the helmets (unless these are actually bosses, a

mistake often made by both eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquarians) and the rivetted plates seem a bit suspect. Swanton records three of the spears from the site, one type H2, and two type H3's, all dating from the late fifth to the mid sixth centuries. The 1878 skeleton buried SE-NW. Grave goods a spearhead, a knife and a chisel. This is the only true tool found in a possibly Saxon context. Spears: all types commonly found in Wiltshire cemeteries, especially those in the Salisbury area (cf. Petersfinger, Harnham Hill and Winterbourne Gunner). There is too little information available to date or determine the nature of these burials. They are apparently all males, judging by the grave goods, and this may be in the nature of another battlefield cemetery. But, without knowing if the skeletons were actually buried in graves or simply laid out haphazardly on the ground (as those at Old Sarum were), it is impossible to state this conclusively.

4. Broughton Gifford. ST 878622 (approx.) opened in 1862 whilst gravel digging. Three skeletons examined by Thurnam.

The site is located on the Biss (Bristol Avon) in the clay lowlands of central western Wiltshire. As in the case of the Bratton burials (see p.), it is in an isolated position, in this instance on a type of soil which seems, for the most part, to have been shunned by the incoming populace. It is in the Parish of Broughton Gifford almost on the boundary between Broughton Gifford and Holt in the Hundred of Bradford. The placename, Brocton, interpreted as meaning Farm by the brook (E.P.N.S. 1939, 119), is first recorded in a grant of the Minster at Bradeford (Bradford) to the nuns of Shaftsbury by King Ethelred in 1001 (Finberg, 1963, 103). Because of the sites close proximity to a Roman station, it may well be that these burials are Roman in date, but even this possibility must be viewed with some doubt.

This site, as dubious in its dating as many others in this section, lies adjacent to a Roman station. The skeletons were extended, but, other than that, nothing is known as to the mode of burial used. Thurnam was of the opinion that the skeletons dated from the "5th to 8th century A.D.", and that the burials may have been Christian, indicating, perhaps, that they were orientated E-W (WiAm, 1934, 153-4). He bases his assumptions on the flimsiest of evidence. The skulls were brachycephalic, a type uncommon to Pagan Anglo-Saxon burials but found occasionally at such sites as Winkelbury Hill and Roche Court

Down. These he compared, with the aid of Mr. Horton Smith, to the skulls from Harnham Hill, which he claimed "are brachycephalic or nearly so" (Arch., 1855, 268), in fact, the few skulls from the later site (nine in number) which Thurnam, himself, had analysed included seven which were dolichocephalic and two which were either meso or brachycephalic. Thurnam also compared the Broughton skulls to that found at Melksham, a burial, orientated N-S, which is excluded from all standard texts. Although the Melksham skeleton is unlocated, Thurnam stated that it lay within a mile of the other burials. Mr. Horton-Smith included this skull, as well as those from Broughton Gifford in his "Table of West Saxon Crania" (WiAm, 1934, 153, 168). In neither of the above cases may the skeletons be assigned to the Pagan Anglo-Saxon period with any confidence, but this case may well illustrate the poor criterion used by nineteenth century antiquarians when assigning a burial to a specific date.

Single Burials

There are eleven isolated burials excavated to date in Wiltshire. Unlike the secondary burials in Long Barrows, they are sprinkled throughout the county. Six are in the southern half, four in the northern, and one, though not precisely located, appears to be in the southern half. Ten of these burials are on the eastern side of the county, the eleventh on the western. None is as far to the west as the bulk of the secondary long barrow burials.

On the whole, these burials are better documented than the secondary barrow burials, and most contained datable grave goods. Their time span encompasses the entire pagan period (late fifth through mid seventh century), and, in some cases, it is possible that they actually lie in unexcavated cemeteries. As in the secondary and primary barrow burials, the overwhelming majority of these burials are male.

It was thought best to use the same methodology put forth for the barrow burials for the purpose of analysing these burials. A rough chronological order has been added to the conclusion of this section.

1. Barrow Hill, Ebbesbourne Wake. Excavated by workmen and reported by Dr. Clay (in the same volume as Broadchalke) in WiAm 43, 1927, p. 101. Single male inhumation with weapons. O.S. SU 993234.

Location on the slope of Barrow Hill on the lower chalk plain overlooking the River Ebble in the Parish of Ebbesbourne Wake, Hundred of Chalk. It is two and a half miles away from the cemetery at Broadchalke and one and a half miles from the Primary Barrow burial at Alvediston. The church at Ebbesbourne is about half a mile to the east. The placename is first mentioned in a charter of 826 in which Ecgbert, King of the West Saxons, granted land at Downton to the Church of St. Peter and Paul at Winchester (Birch I, 1885, 544):

> "Quapropter ego. ECGBERHT. alti throni annuente moderatoris imperio rex Occidentalium Saxonum quandum ruris partem. c. videlicet mansas duobus in locis diremptas. L. et V. videlicet in DUNTUN. et. XL.V. in EBLESBURNAN."

Whilst the hill bears a Barrow placename, and there is a barrow at its summit, the burial on its slopes does not appear to have been covered by a tumulus.

Burial: Male, extended, S-N, 100 yards down slope of Barrow Hill, in cist 1'6" deep, aged about 50, 5'9" tall, some carious teeth.

Grave Goods: Low curved shield boss (Antiq. J. 1963, 41), F2 spearhead (Fig. 27).

Dating: Spearhead - late sixth to ninth, burial may be no earlier than late sixth, probably seventh.

Alvediston, the Primary Barrow burial which lies approximately one and a half miles to the south-east of the site, also dated from the same period, whilst Broadchalke, to the east-north-east may be earlier, and Winkelbury Hill, approximately two miles to the south-west, may be transitional in date.

The orientation is uncommon in Wiltshire. Usually, the head is placed to the south rather than to the north in N-S orientated skeletons. The spearhead type is also rare and occurs in only one other single burial - the chance find at Middle Wallop. The more usually late spearheads are types C3 and C4 in Wiltshire.

The bulk of the tumuli in the parish of Ebbesbourne Wake lie to the south of the site. No evidence of other burials were found in the vicinity of the grave.

Barrow Hill is the westernmost of the (true) single burials, it is also, quite possibly, one of the latest of these burials. The burials to the north and south-west of the site are also late, and it would appear that this area was first settled at some point after the initial stages of invasion and settlement.

2. Callas Hill, Wanborough: excavated by workmen, reported in "Notes", WiAm 44, 1927-29, pp. 91, 244. One male skeleton. O.S. SU 215830.

The most interesting feature of this burial is its location. It is situated on the brow of Callas Hill at the point where the Roman road crosses a more modern one. It lies on the scarp foot bench directly to the south of the clay lowlands in the Parish of Wanborough, Hundred of Thornhill, and is less than half a mile south-east of the

small cemetery at Foxhill. The placename is quite late and is not recorded until 1649 (E.P.N.S., Wilts, 1939, 285).

Because of the abnormal depth of the grave (4'), and the heavy build up of (possibly rain-washed) soil (again, approximately 4') which surrounded the inhumation, it is conceivable that this is actually a barrow burial. No search was made for any evidence of such a structure at the time of location, however.

Burial: Male, extended, orientation not noted, aged approx. 30.

Grave Goods: Knife, fourteen inch long spearhead (type not noted).

Dating: Swanton is of the opinion that the larger spear-heads generally belong to the later pagan period and beyond.

It is unfortunate that this burial could not be accurately dated as it would be of interest to compare it with Foxhill (a mid-sixth century burial place), especially as the above burial at Ebbesbourne Wake appears to have been contemporaneous with the burials which surround it.

Callas Hill is one of the minority of Anglo-Saxon burials which actually lie on a Roman Road, and it is in a section of the county (the north-east) wherein these roads may have been used for primary access instead of or in conjunction with the river systems, for there are no rivers which flow into and through the clay belt in the northern extremes of the county save the Thames, which lies at the northern edge of this belt. The few sites which are located in the northern-most portion of Wiltshire appear to lie along or near the Roman road leading up to Cirencester, and cling to the isolated patches of the limestone plateau, avoiding the clay belt, itself, altogether (see Bassett Down, etc.). Sites are somewhat more numerous on the scarp foot bench directly to the south of the clay lowlands, and the number of chance finds found in that area might indicate that there are several more, unexcavated, cemeteries or burial places on the scarp foot bench.

As in the case of Ebbesbourne Wake, there do not appear to have been any other burials on this site, but the circumstances of its discovery are such that it is doubtful that there was any attempt made to search for further skeletal remains.

3. Great Cheverall: Chance find of one bead, earlier, a sword and some bones (it is unclear whether or not these were human). A large hoard of Roman coins were found about one mile to the south-west of the Saxon finds. The bead is now in the Society's Museum at Devizes, unfortunately, the sword seems to have been lost. O.S. SU 980544

Great Cheverall is probably located on the Malmestone sands to the south-west of Devizes. The V.C.H. for Wiltshire records the finds site as being unlocated, but plots it on the higher chalk plain. Miss Meaney's co-ordinates indicate that it is located as above. If these co-ordinates are accurate, this is the only pagan Saxon finds site situated on the Malmestone and it is isolated in terms of other pagan Saxon burial places. The nearest site is at King Barrow, Boreham, Warminster, to the south-west of Great Cheverall. The placename is of some interest, although it was not recorded until D.B. It may derive from the Middle Welsh "kyfair" meaning co-tillage or co-aration, on the other hand it may stem from the British suffix - "el", or it may even by of Norman origin (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 239). The site is located in the Parish of Cheverall Magna (Hundred of Swanborough), and the Church at Little Cheverall is about three quarters of a mile away. It should be noted that Welsh and British placenames are far more common in the western half of the county than they are to the east, and, from Chronicle evidence, it would appear that this area remained a "native stronghold" long after the eastern portion was being heavily settled by a mixed invader population.

The bead is of black glass with white zig-zag decoration. Apparently the sword and the bones were not directly associated with the bead, but lay nearby. Therefore, it is quite likely that there are at least two burials at Great Cheverall, and these may be the sole excavated items from a larger burial ground.

It is of interest that, apart from secondary barrow burials (especially those in long barrows), skeletons are rarely found in small groups of two or three individuals in this county. They are either found as single burials (with no excavated associated burials), or they lie in proper cemeteries, some of which may have been of a limited size. This point may only be indicative of the incompleteness of these excavations. As has been stated, most of these single burials are in the nature of chance finds and the areas around them were not explored. As in the above case, it is more than possible that there are other burials in the same locations as these single

interments, and this category must be regarded as one of convenience and with some suspicion. In fact, there is only one single burial in the group which may be regarded as just that, the female who was found in a well at Poulton Down. Because of the isolated positions of the burials at Great Cheverall, it seems even more likely that this is actually a small segment of an unexcavated cemetery, although there is no concrete evidence upon which to make this assumption.

4. Marlborough: Chance find by men digging at the top of a hill near a Roman Road. Reported by A. D. Passmore in WiAm 44, 1927-9, p. 244 (note only). Single male burial, O.S. SU 207686

This site lies on the higher chalk plain overlooking the River Kennet. The single inhumation at Mildenhall (No. 5) is almost directly across the river from it, and the single burial at Poulton Down is about one mile to the north-west. All three of these sites are situated on or near the Roman Road which joins the road to Cirencester near Swindon. The Marlborough burial lies on the boundary between the Parishes of Mildenhall and Savernake and is on the border of Savernake Forest (Hundred of Selkley). The placename, Marlborough, is of very uncertain origin, but it is the site of the Roman settlement at Cunetio.

Burial: Male, orientation and position not noted.

Grave Goods: K1 spearhead only.

Dating: Late fifth to early sixth century.

No other skeletal remains were found, but, the existence of the other single inhumations, chance finds, and secondary barrow burials in the vicinity of the above might indicate that there was a certain amount of settlement in the area during the early and middle pagan Saxon periods and beyond. Again, in this case, it is the location of this burial rather than the inhumation itself, which is of chief interest. It is situated near both the River Kennet and a Roman Road, both of which link up with the River Bourne which flows down to the Old Sarum area, either of these two routes would serve as access into the site. The rare spearhead type sees its largest concentration on the chalk downlands south of the Thames, although a few examples have been found in the upper Thames basin (Swanton, Corpus, 1974, 22).

Therefore, either of these routes, the Roman Road which leads down from the Thames to the North, or the river systems which link the site to settlements further to the South, may have been used, and his route must remain in doubt.

5. Mildenhall: Located circa 1827, first reported in "Museum Notes" WiAm Vol. 6, 1860, p. 259, when the brooches were donated to the Society's Museum. The finds, only, are recorded. Probably a single female burial, O.S. SU 210697½

The burial at Mildenhall shares its geographical position with the above, except that it lies on the northern bank of the River Kennet and is only about one mile to the south-east of the burial at Poulton. It is situated in the Parish of Mildenhall (Hundred of Selkley). The placename is first recorded in a Charter of 803-5 in which Alhmund, Bishop of Winchester, exchanged his holdings at Farnham (Hants.) for those belonging to Byrhtelm at Wduton.

> "BYRHTELMO in propriam dedi potestatem in vicissitudinem alterius agelluli in quaternis dirivatum locis. id est. WDUTON. Mildanhald ..."
>
> (Birch I, 1885, 452)

Burial: Probably female, no other information.

Grave Goods: Pair of gilt bz. saucer brooches, two Fe knives, bz. finger ring (lost), 21 amber and paste beads (Fig. 27).

In 1914, another brooch was found, probably from another burial (see **Ap. I**).

Whilst these brooches have been compared with those from Bassett Down by Sir. Henry Dryden in his note for 1912 (WiAm Vol. 37, 1911-12, 610-11), they are, in fact, very dissimilar. The Mildenhall brooches have a cruciform pattern in the centre and a scroll-like design surrounding the central motif. The pair from Bassett Down use a central star motif and the borders are completely different (see Bassett Down). The examples from Mildenhall resemble more strongly some of those found at Kempston, Beds. (a cemetery which may have been long in use by the first half of the sixth century)(Meaney, 1964, 37), as illustrated by Baldwin Brown (Vol. III, photo. facing page 275). The beads are of various interesting shapes and colours, including

cylindrical and barrel shaped specimens, most of which are of marvelled glass. Five of these are of irregularly shaped amber. Two resemble the bead found at Great Cheverall.

There is very little evidence upon which to date this burial. The brooches, simple in design and without animal decoration, may belong to the first half of the sixth century and the burial may be roughly contemporaneous with that at Marlborough (although it may be somewhat later). There is also some slight evidence that there may be other burials nearby.

6. Perham Down: Discovered by workmen. Reported by Frank Stevens in "Notes", WiAm 49, 1940-2, p. 114. Single male inhumation, O.S. SU 246494.

Location on the higher chalk plain overlooking the River Bourne in the Parish of North Tidworth (Hundred of Amesbury). The post D.B. placename is first recorded in 1281. There is one possible secondary barrow burial about two miles to the north-west (on the opposite side of the river), and a cemetery site has recently been discovered and excavated in the adjoining Parish to the north of the site, Collingbourne Ducis. The Church at North Tidworth lies about three quarters of a mile to the West of the finds spot.

Burial: Male, no information, aged 40-45, muscular, dolichocephalic.

Grave Goods: Low curved shield boss (cf. Ebbesbourne), E2 spearhead (undatable)(Fig. 27).

Dating: Boss common to late sixth-seventh, very similar to Ebbesbourne example which may not be any earlier than the late sixth century.

7. Poulton Down: Excavated during excavations carried out on the site by O. Meyrick and Dr. L. Bussell in 1948. Reported by O. Meyrick in WiAm 53, 1949-50, pp. 220-2. Single female "victim", O.S. SU 204715.

This burial is of particular interest on two counts, one is its location, the other the manner in which this woman met her death. The remains were found 23' down in a Roman well in a ploughed field which had Romano-British pottery strewn throughout its eastern half. Fragments of roof tile and flue tile were also found, but trenching

failed to reveal any building foundations. The well was about 5' in diameter and its fill contained a large quantity of Romano-British pottery. The author is of the opinion that the site was that of a farmstead which may have continued to be used into the late sixth century (a Romano-British farmstead).

> "These Saxon relics would not appear to be earlier than the second half of the sixth century and are of particular interest, both from the comparative scarcity of Saxon finds in this central part of the county and as pointing to the occupation of a Romano-British site in Saxon times ...
>
> (Ibid. 221)

Unfortunately, no other Saxon objects seem to have been found in the surrounding field which had been fairly thoroughly investigated and partially excavated. Therefore, the theory put forth by Mr. Meyrick seems rather unsubstantiated.

The body had been thrown down the well and this had probably been the cause of death as there were blood stains on the inside of the skull. The skull rested upon a sarsen stone and another large stone seems to have been thrown in over the body. In any case, it is clear that she was the victim of some violent act. Associated with the remains were two (unillustrated) iron buckles, a knife, three or more beads and a needle similar to the bronze pin found at Mildenhall. The latter may not be directly associated with the body as it was discovered at a later date in the material brought up from the well.

As this is not a true burial and no preparations had been made for interment, the artifacts are of interest as they may illustrate what pagan Anglo-Saxon women normally wore or carried with them. This may be of some use as comparative evidence when discussing grave goods, but only to a very limited extent, as this woman's position in life is not known and wealthier or poorer individuals would probably have more or less elaborate everyday costumes.

Because there are no existing illustrations of the finds and it is unproven whether or not the needle was associated with this skeleton, it is not possible to accurately date this burial, although, as stated, the author is of the opinion that the finds date to the second half of the sixth century. Miss Meaney accepts this as a pagan Saxon "burial" (Meaney, 1964, 272), but, in the opinion of the writer, the evidence for Saxon re-use of the site is so slim, and the dating evidence likewise, that this "victim" has been included with some trepidation.

The site lies on the higher chalk plain overlooking the River Kennet at a height of approximately 600'. It is in the Parish of Mildenhall (Hundred of Selkley), and is only a quarter of a mile from the Roman Road running from Cunetio to Cirencester. The interments at Marlborough and Mildenhall lie about one mile and three miles to the south of the site respectively. Its relationship to the road is similar to that of the other two burials.

One interesting point which emerged from the author's work on the site is substantial proof of the difficulty of obtaining water on the higher chalk plain. Meyrick agrees with Pitt-Rivers that the water table was higher in the Roman period than it is at present. The Roman well on the site may have been over 100' deep. A modern well built in the same area at the same altitude had to be dug to a depth of 230'. As the possible settlement site at Poulton Down is situated less than two miles from the River Kennet, it is possible that this may have been used as a source of water as the well seems to have already silted up quite a bit by the Saxon period. The climb up from the river would have been fairly steep, arduous one, however. The depth to which one would have to dig to obtain a reasonable supply of water (even when the level was higher), may be one of the reasons why so many of the pagan Saxon finds sites lie along rivers or in river valleys. Whilst there are many races and seasonal streams throughout the chalk plain, a permanent supply of water may have proved a problem in this area. Both this factor, and the possibility that these rivers were used as main routes of communication (and access), are just two of the reasons why these rivers are of particular importance to the settlement of the county.

There are at least three other proven pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in the Mildenhall area, and one might be tempted to suggest that Poulton Downs may have been an outlier of a larger community situated at Marlborough or Mildenhall, but the lack of collaborative evidence from the rest of the site must not be overlooked. One would expect to find other saxon artifacts (and possibly, structures as well), if the Romano-British farmstead had actually been re-used. Apparently, the excavators did trial-trench the eastern section of the field, and, whilst Roman and Romano-British material (including coins) were found, no Saxon remains, aside from the skeleton itself, were located, even in the filling of the well. Perhaps further excavation would have

rectified this situation, but, in the light of the above, it seems doubtful that this site did continue in use on any long-term or large scale basis after the Romano-British inhabitants had abandoned it.

8. Shrewton: Excavated circe 1812, witnessed by R. C. Hoare. Noted in WiAm 38, 1914 (Goddard), 321 and Vol. 44 (Cunnington), 169-70. Probably a single female burial - spearhead, see chance finds.

This burial was discovered on the site of the Shrewton windmill in the Parish of Shrewton (Hundred of Dole). The finds site itself is unlocated (SU 0643 - approx.), but would appear to lie on the lower chalk plain overlooking the valley trench of the River Wylye. Shrewton was one of the Winterbourne Manors and was recorded as Wintreburne in D.B. The placename appears as Winterburn Shyreveton ("Sheriff's farm") in 1236 (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 236).

Burial: Probably female, no information.

Grave Goods: Bz. armlet, Fe knife, "drinking cup" (lost), two wheel-shaped bz. ornaments (see Fig. 28).

Mrs. Cunnington is of the opinion that the ornaments are girdle hangers and have affinities to Kentish, Frankish and Swiss hangers (WiAm 44, 170). They would appear to be of a different origin than the anchor shaped chatelaines found more commonly in Wiltshire burials. A more elaborate version of this type of ornament is illustrated in the Catalogue of Merovingian Art in the Nantes Museum (number 340). It is labelled as a grafe - a hook or fastener. If these wheel shaped ornaments are a late development, and they may be as others have been found at Burwell (Cambs.) and Winkelbury Hill (Wilts.), both cemeteries which appear to date from the close of the sixth century at the earliest, then this burial may also date to this era.

A spearhead of the undatable C2 type was found in the Parish, but its exact provenance is unknown. If this were found at the Windmill site, there is the possibility that this burial is not an isolated one. Unfortunately, as neither burial may be accurately located, this must remain unknown.

9. Stanton Fitzwarren: SU 188905, unpublished at time of excavation. In V.C.H. I, pt. I, p. 106, and Goddard - who lists it as Saxon? or possibly modern (WiAm 36, 322). Excavated in 1906.

Burial: Male (?), no other information.

Grave Goods: knife (now lost)

Location: On "Van Diemans Land" to east of village, near boundary between the Parishes of Stanton Fitzwarren and Highworth (Hundred of Highworth). On smallish patch of limestone plateau surrounded by clay lowlands.

Roman tessalated pavements and rough building foundations have been found to the West of the village. Therefore, although the burial has been accepted by both Meaney and V. C. H. as pagan Saxon, Goddard was probably correct in not stressing this date. As this is the most north-eastern of any of the possible pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, it is particularly unfortunate that so little is known about it. However, due to its proximity to a Roman site, it may be classified as doubtful for the period only.

10. Swindon (Evelyn St.) Male burial lying near a mass of over one hundred undated and undocumented skeletons which had been unearthed along Wood st. and Devizes Rd. These may be Roman or Anglo-Saxon or a mixture of the two. There is no datable evidence and assumptions have been made on the parts of Messrs. Hurton-Smith and Passmore on skull type alone. O.S. SU 155835.

Mr. A. D. Passmore reported that a somewhat isolated burial had been found near the Railway Bridge in the town of Swindon.

Burial: Male, no information.

Grave Goods: Knife, C2 spear.

Dating: Undatable.

As has been mentioned, a considerable number of both Anglo-Saxon and Roman remains have been found in the town.

Location: on a small patch of chalk and scarp surrounded by the clay lowlands of northern Wiltshire. It occupies a relatively isolated position, the nearest pagan site being four miles away to the east. The Roman road is about two and a half miles to the east of the site as well. It is in the Parish of Swindon (Hundred of Blackgrove), and

is one of the northernmost of the pagan Saxon burial sites. This particular section of Swindon is labelled "Old Town" on the one inch O.S. map (173), and this may indicate that the original settlement is located here. There are several chapels and churches in close proximity to the burial site. The placename is first recorded in D.B. and means "Swine down" or open land (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 277).

Very little is known about this burial and more's the pity as there is some evidence that there may have been a large Saxon cemetery in the vicinity, and perhaps, a Roman one as well. If this could be proven, one would be tempted to make a limited case for the continual settlement of the town, but this would depend greatly upon the dating evidence which, unfortunately, is completely lacking.

11. Winterslow Hut: discovered circa 1870. Reported by Mrs. Cunnington in WiAm 46, 1932-4, pp. 157 and 170. Mrs. Cunnington was of the opinion that this burial may be an outlier of the cemetery at Roche Court Down, but it lies about a mile from this site and the manner of burial is very different from that found in the cemetery. Single Male burial, O.S. SU 234348.

Location: in one of the main valley trenches of Winterslow Parish (Hundred of Alderbury). The placename derives from (Winters) hlaew - winter's mound (see Roche Court Down), and a very large barrow in which a secondary pagan Saxon inhumation was found is situated just to the north-west of the finds site. This area, near the Hants. border, has a fairly high concentration of Saxon burials including both primary and secondary barrow burials. As this burial appears to be situated near a secondary barrow burial, there is a possibility that these two are part of a barrow/flat grave complex such as that found near by at Roche Court Down. No other burials have come to light to date, however.

The more western of the Roman Roads which link up the Old Sarum area is less than one mile to the west of the burial site.

Burial: Young Male, no information, aged approx. 20.

Grave Goods: Broken sword scabbard, unpublished circular fibula (possibly a disc brooch).

Although the material from the Roche Court Down cemetery may be of the transitional period, and the remains from the secondary barrow may be of the mid-sixth century, these do not provide adequate parallels

by which to date the Winterslow burial. Swords may be of any date during the pagan period in Wiltshire. Their typology and chronology depends primarily on the fitments found with them, and these are lacking in the case of this burial. These weapons are not as rare as might be imagined in Wiltshire and examples have been found at Petersfinger (one of very early date, one much later), Winterbourne Gunner, Blackpatch, Coombe Bissett, and Ford, to name but a few. But, in most of the above mentioned cases, these weapons have been accompanied by fairly elaborate grave goods and other weapons. It is always possible, however, given the circumstances of its discovery, that other grave goods were found which were not reported or were sold, as in the case of some of the cabochons from Roundway Down II.

12. Witherington: Found on the lynchets below the earthworks (?chance find). Reported by H. Sumner in 1917 (pp. 86-87), and by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington in WiAm Vol. 46, 1932-4, p. 170. Single male burial.

The finds site lies in relative isolation on the lower chalk plain overlooking the valley trench of the river Avon about four miles to the south-east of Salisbury. It is situated in the Parish of Alderbury in the well-documented Hundred of Downton. The placename, Witherington, from the O.E. Widetone (possibly "farm by the Withies") is first recorded in D.B. The Parish itself, and the town-name of the Hundred are recorded in the seventh century Chartre of Cenwahl quoted elsewhere in this thesis. It seems strange that there are so few burials recorded to the south-east of Salisbury/Old Sarum, as the Avon appears to have been one of the major routes into the county from the South. Perhaps this is a problem relating to the geography of the county. Whilst there are a number of burial sites in the main river valleys to the north of Old Sarum, there are very few to the south, south-west or south-east. Those which do occur follow the same pattern as those to the north and lie primarily in a string following streams and rivers of the chalk plains. The clay and eocene sand beds remain almost completely devoid of sites. This particular site lies on the border between what would have been useful and useless soils. Given that these clay beds occupy almost two thirds of the land area in the most south-eastern corner of the county, and that the higher water table may have made these river valleys somewhat marshy anyway, it seems possible that the land in this area did not suit itself to

concentrated settlement during the pagan Saxon period. From the charter data, it would appear that a portion of this area was also heavily forested, giving even less impetus for settlement.

Burial: Male, extended, N-S (?), flat stones covered grave.

Grave Goods: Two-edged sword with simple chased pommel, H2 spearhead, carinated boss with four silver rivets (cf. Petersfinger).

Dating: Spearhead - late fifth-first half sixth century, burial probably no later than mid-sixth. No parallels available for pommel.

These single male "warrior" type burials are a somewhat puzzling group. Where there is no evidence that other burials may lie near them, one wonders how and why they came to be buried away from other settlers. They do not seem to be casual skirmish burials, although their utilitarian grave goods might suggest this, as the majority are situated in fairly close proximity to larger burial places, and, it might seem more likely that they would have been taken to these communal burial grounds and buried accordingly. As few of these burials are of any notable wealth, it may be tentatively stated that they do not appear to be the fore-runners of the Primary Barrow burials, some of which do lie in isolation. But, there is always this possibility. One theory which comes to mind is that they were "foreigners" to the community, outsiders without families who were, for some reason excluded from the normal burial place, but, this seems somewhat unlikely. On the other hand, they may simply be men and women who died "en route", and were buried as convenience dictated. But, as has been stated, in several instances, these single burials may actually be the only excavated evidence of small cemeteries, and this, of course, offers the most reasonable solution although it does not completely solve the problem.

Again, it is more than possible that other sites may be located in the south-eastern corner of the county. There is a tumulus about twenty yards away from this burial and it is said that burials have been found around it - but no artifacts have been unearthed, and they cannot be dated. If they are of the pagan Saxon period then here again we are dealing with the sole proof of yet another pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery site.

ROUGH CHRONOLOGY AND CONCLUSIONS

LATE FIFTH TO MID SIXTH CENTURIES

Witherington	H2 spearhead and carinated boss
Marlborough	K1 spearhead - possibly late fifth century
Mildenhall	Brooches - probably sixth century

PROBABLY SIXTH CENTURY - UNSPECIFIED

Great Cheverall	
Swindon	C2 spearhead - type spans pagan period

MID SIXTH CENTURY TO LATE SIXTH CENTURY

Poulton Down	Dated by excavator, no contradictory evidence
Callas Hill	"Very large spearhead - usually late", may be seventh century

LATE SIXTH CENTURY TO SEVENTH (PROBABLY MID)

Shrewton	Winkelbury Hill type girdle-hangers
Perham Down	Low curved shield boss
Ebbesbourne Wake	Low curved shield boss (similar to above)
	F2 spearhead - late sixth onwards

UNDATABLE

Winterslow

As may be seen from the above list, these single burials span the entire pagan period. As the majority of them appear to be of the mid sixth century or later, it seems unlikely that they represent casual burials of slain warriors, etc., especially as in several cases, there is evidence that these burials may be chance finds from unexcavated and unexplored cemeteries. In the following cases, there may be cemeteries nearby if not in exact conjunction with the finds spot: Marlborough, Mildenhall, Shrewton, Swindon, Winterslow, and Witherington.

On the whole, these burials are somewhat wealthier than those found as intrusive inhumations in barrows, and are more in keeping with average burials in cemeteries. In only one case, Witherington, are the grave goods of note as being of exceptional quality, but they would be equally at home if found in a cemetery such as Petersfinger or

Winterbourne Gunner - two of the Old Sarum group. Ebbesbourne Wake is the sole burial (with noted position and orientation) in which the orientation differs from the norms in the county (S-N rather than N-S), but so few of the orientations are known for this group that it was impossible to determine what the norm was for them. When noted, the position most common was fully extended or, perhaps, supine. Again, this is in keeping with what is known about burials in flat-grave cemeteries. In fact, as has been stated above, there is very little to single these burials, as a group, out from more conventional burials in communal burial places, aside from the isolated positions of the minority.

Finally, it must be stressed that the circumstances and conditions under which the majority of these burials were found did not lend themselves to the discovery of further pagan remains on these sites. Most of them were located by workmen who could not be expected to search the area or to keep careful notes about the skeletons found. Therefore, in all but one case, the "murder victim" found at Poulton Down, those burials which were included in this section were so because there is no definite proof that they actually lie in cemeteries rather than in isolation.

CHAPTER 4

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY BARROW BURIALS

Primary and Secondary Barrow Burials

Fortunately for the Archaeologist, the Victoria County History (Vol. I, Pt. I) for Wiltshire gives a most complete list of the sizes and forms of the barrows in the County (diameters in paces, height in feet). This is all the more important in that most of the nineteenth century reports, and many of the twentieth century ones, give descriptions of the barrows rather than their actual measurements, and "large", "huge", and "very small" are, strictly speaking, relative terms.

The pagan Saxon settlers re-used bowl barrows, bell barrows, twin-bell barrows, disc barrows, saucer barrows, and long barrows. The majority of the secondary burials are in simple ditched or unditched bowl barrows, the most common form of barrow in the county. There are twenty-one such barrows containing intrusive Saxon material although not all of them actually contain skeletal material. Of the sixteen bowl barrows that have been measured, the range in size is from ten paces to forty-five paces in diameter, and from one foot to eleven feet in height. Their average diameter is twenty-one and one-third paces, the average height, just over four feet.

There are five re-used bell barrows, and two re-used twin-bell barrows. These tended to be larger on the average than the bowl barrows, although the largest of the bell barrows (Everleigh) was about ten paces smaller than the largest bowl barrow (Yatesbury). The bell barrows ranged in diameter from twenty-one paces to thirty-four and two thirds paces, the average size being just over twenty-eight paces (28.3). They range from seven feet to twelve feet in height, giving an average height of almost ten feet (9.83').

Only two of the re-used barrows were saucer barrows, one of which may contain a primary rather than a secondary burial (Rodmead Down, Maiden Bailey). This burial is discussed more fully in the section dealing with primary burials. Both of the saucer barrows contained rather exceptional burials. Berwick St. John No. 4 (Winkelbury Hill) "housed" a coffined male skeleton, Rodmead, a very well equipped male who had been burial with a bronze vessel, a shield, a buckle, 2-3 spearheads, 2 knives, and a sword. These are both low, wide barrows having an average diameter of thirty-two and one half feet, and a height of only one foot.

The disc barrows, Grafton No. 3 and (?) Winterbourne Stoke No. 51, are also low, wide barrows, having an average width of forty-two feet and a height of two feet.

As the re-used long barrows, Warminster, Ell, Kill and Tilshead, are not comparable with either the shape o the size of primary Saxon barrows, their average size and height has not been computed. They are all in the mid-southwestern portion of the county, the furthest west being King barrow near Warminster.

The Saxons built only a few forms of barrows. Again, the bowl shape (ditched or unditched) is the most common, accounting for ten of the primary burials; Alvediston, the unlocated barrow at Bower Chalke, probably in Dorset, Codford St. Peters No. 3 (Ashton Valley 1b), Coombe Bissett (Cenotaph), Ford, King's Play Down (Heddington), West Knoyle b, Roche Court Down, Roundway No. 7, and the empty, ?Saxon barrow at Winterslow very close to the Roche Court Down group. Rodmead Down is mentioned above

The largest of the primary Saxon bowl barrow is located on Roundway Hill, diameter thirteen paces, the smallest is King's Play Down (Heddington), with a diameter of only eight paces (Fig.). The height range (when given), was from six inches to eighteen inches, the mean being one foot. This indicates that the Bronze Age barrows were, on the whole, twelve paces larger than the Saxon barrows and just over three feet higher, the Saxon barrows being roughly 42% of the size of the Bronze Age ones (Fig. 29).

Many reasons may be conjectured as to why these Saxon barrows are so much smaller than the Bronze Age ones. Possibly the size of the work force available was smaller. These primary barrows were built (with the exception of the undated barrows at Heddington and Ashton very late in the pagan period (mid to late seventh century) by what was becoming an increasingly mixed community of pagans and converts. If these primary burials are pagan, this theory (of a shrunken work force) just might fit. Birinus began the conversion of Wessex in the 630's, Malmesbury, the first monastery, was founded circa 650. Perhaps the very latest of the primary burials (indicated by the inclusion of well-developed, high conical shield bosses amongst the grave goods), Ford, West Knoyle 1, and Coombe Bissett, fall outside of the above dates. Another possibility is that these very low, unobtrusite mounds developed from the Kentish hummocks so carefully drawn and excavated by Faussett et al. These are low, small mou ds of earth built up over individual

graves giving an appearance similar to that of modern cemeteries except that the mounds are circular and a bit higher. Perhaps, because of the very low height and inconspicuous size of the primary barrows in Wiltshire (especially noticeable when they are compared with the Bronze Age Barrows in the county), these Anglo-Saxon barrows should not be called barrows at all. Exceptionally large, carefully created hummocks would be far more accurate. Encircled graves, or graves in low mounds, are a feature of transitional period cemeteries.

Primary Barrow Construction (Alphebetical Order)(Fig. 30)

Alvediston is a low, ditched bowl barrow with a neatly cut cist in the centre. The barrow itself, has a flinty top soil fill, but the cist itself was filled with compact soil "free of flint and chalk". The cist contained a male skeleton, extended, with the head to the south. Aside from the ditch, it is very like the barrow at Roche Court Down.

There is no construction report for the barrow at Codford St. Peters (Ashton Valley 1b). The excavator, William Cunnington, states only that it was small and a mere eighteen inches high. The burial itself is quite exceptional, however. A cist or "room" had been excavated to a depth of eleven feet into the chalk and carefully squared off to house a ?coffinned skeleton of uncertain sex.

Coombe Bissett (Possible cenotaph) also lacks a construction report. It, too, contained a large, three and one half foot deep cist which contained a large, three and one half foot deep cist which contained quite an amazing group of grave goods. It is, almost, a small scale, boatless Sutton Hoo. It was excavated in 1803 by Cunnington. That the excavation was carefully carried out is attested to by Sir Richard Hoare, who said, "not the slightest marks of any interment could be traced, though the earth was completely examined."

The Ford barrow is of particular interest. It is also one of the few whose structure has been carefully analysed. It is, to quote the author "in a sense a Saxon version of a disc barrow". It had a slight ditch which was almost completely surrounded by a chalk bank broken by a causeway. The excavator feels that this causeway was used for memorial visits to the site. It would also make it easier to carry the body across the ditch. The low mound, itself, was built of a rich brown soil, the ditch material having been used for the external bank. The cist, itself, was also filled with soil.

Ford and the secondary barrow burial at Winkelbury Hill (barrow II), are the only two relevant barrows in the county that have causeways. As this is one of the few structural remnants of religious/ritual ceremony that one finds in the actual construction of barrows, it must be considered to be a very important feature, although its precise function remains a mystery.

Heddington is very similar to Ashton Valley 1b in construction. It is a small, low mound into which a very deep cist has been cut to accommodate a coffined (possibly) male skeleton (in this case extended, head to the west). The cist had been re-filled with clean lumps of chalk rather than with clean soil or mixed top-soils. It is, as previously mentioned, the smallest of the bowl barrows in this group, yet, an exceptionally large, six foot seven inch deep cist had been cut into it. This might be used as evidence that these barrows were, in some ways, "glorified" hummocks, their size being partially made necessary by the large amount of material that had been removed whilst digging the cist. As anyone who has tried to returf a trench has discovered, there is inevitably, a large amount of turf left over no matter how carefully the area is recovered.

Very little was noted about the construction of West Knoyle 1, except that it, too, was low, small, and contained the remains of a "robust"male, buried in an extended position with his shield, spear, and knife in a large cist.

Roche Court Down, and its nine foot away twin, Winterslow ?23 (barrows 2 and 1 respectively in Clay's report), are both small, ditchless bowl barrows. Number two's centre was occupied by "a very large cist, 8'6" long and 5'6" wide and cut into the chalk to a depth of 2', the total depth from the surface to the base being 3'6". The cist had carefully squared corners and a neat, clean base. The male interment was covered by a thin layer or turf overlaid by chalk rubble, and finally by flint nodules. The neighbouring barrow (1) was totally unproductive in terms of burials, although it is of some interest (see Burial Rites) as it may have held a marker of some type.

Roundway Hill (Goddard No. 7) was two and one half feet high when first excavated (and only one and one half feet high at the time of the V.C.H. survey.) It, also, had a large cist cut into its centre to a depth of four and one half feet. It is probable that all of these barrows were a bit higher when first constructed, but ploughing and erosion (etc.) have whittled them down somewhat. Even taking this into consideration, the Saxon barrows were still considerably lower than the Bronze Age barrows of similar forms.

The Saxons may also have built saucer barrows on a similar scale as the Bronze Age ones. The ?primary barrow at Rodmead Down, Maiden Bailey, has a diameter of thirty-four feet and a height of one foot, in keeping with the proportions of other saucer barrows in Wiltshire. There seems to be some doubt as to whether or not this is a primary burial. Mrs. Cunnington and Ms. Meaney list it as a primary burial, the V.C.H. notes it as possibly intrusive. Its occupant was a male skeleton, laid supine with its head to the N.E. accompanied by a bucket, a tall, conical shield boss, a bz. buckle, a sword, a scramasax, a knife, and two spearheads. According to Hoare, an adjoining barrow, opened at the same time, was empty. This is one of the wealthiest barrow burials in the county, the other two being Coombe Bissett and the (possibly) secondary burial on Roundway Down. It was opened by Cunnington in 1807, and the excavator refused to commit himself as to its being either a primary or a secondary burial. He does say that it and the adjoining barrow were both covered with thorn bushes, and that the barrow at W. Knoyle Farm (West Knoyle 1b) had an Umbo "the same shape as Rodmead".

Unfortunately, many of the above barrows, both Secondary and primary, were so carelessly dug that they may be only classified (as to both shape and contents) with caution. The favourite method amongst nineteenth century Antiquarians in Wiltshire seems to have been to "head for the cist in the centre", i.e. to sink a trench through the centre of the barrows and to ignore (to their experienced eyes) the less "profitable" edges, the ditches, etc. As most of the primary burials do, in fact lie in the centre of the barrows (as do primary burials in prehistoric barrows), this method might be reliable but only in terms of the cist chamber. The barrows are so low, and the cists are so deep, that one can even say that they were probably dug down (at least in part) past natural. There are some burials, such as Heddington and Ashton Valley 1b, that are so unusual as to cause some doubt about whether or not they are Saxon. The grave goods are inconclusive. V.C.H. lists Ashton Valley as ?R.B. or later, perhaps Saxon. It also classifies it as ?"Primary", although a cist eleven feet deep could very well have displaced any earlier material. They are farmore certain as concerns Heddington, "primary, and Saxon".

There are also one or two "secondary" burials that may actually be primary ones, such as Roundway Hill, a spectacularly rich, coffined, female burial listed by Mrs. Cunnington as primary, and by Ms. Meaney and the V.C.H. as secondary due to the presence of burnt bone and

Bronze Age pot which were found in the fill on the South side of the barrow. Here again, the interment was placed in a seven foot deep cist, possibly disturbing Bronze Age material. The most interesting features of this burial, however, are the deposits of dog, cat, horse and boar bones found in the corners of the cist. This is a mid-seventh century coffined burial orientated E-W with cross pendants similar to the ones found at Desborough (Northants.). Therefore, it may even be a Christian burial. If it is, then it may be one of the earliest Christian burials in the county. But, what of the carefully deposited animal bones? They are too "clean" and too deeply placed to be the result of any kind of "ritual feasting". The deposits may have some connection with the status of this obviously wealthy, important member of the community. They may have been "food supplies" similar to the bulbs found at Ford except that the Ford material had been placed in a bowl near the skeleton. On the other hand, they may be of magical/ ritual importance, the horse being a sign of wealth, the boar being sacred to Frey, etc. This is another of the rare clues given as to the burial rites of the pagan Saxons, but its meaning is not clear.

Cists

One feature that all of the primary burials in barrows have in common (where excavation data is available), is that they all contain abnormally large, deep, carefully dug cists. These range in depth from two feet (Alvediston and Roche Court Down) to eleven feet (Ashton Valley), the average depth being four feet seven inches. The widths range from three and one half feet (Alvediston) to five and one half feet (Roche Court Down), the average being four feet, three inches. The shortest grave is Alvediston (seven feet), the longest, Roche Court Down (eight and one half feet). Their average length is just under eight feet (7.8'). It is interesting, though quite understandable, that the largest cist (save for depth), Roche Court Down, contained the tallest skeleton (6'), whilst the smallest, Alvediston, held the shortest (5'8"). One of the skeletons was covered with flint lumps (Heddington), a feature sometimes found in flat-grave cemeteries such as Harnham Hill. The rest of the coffined and uncoffined skeletons were either covered by chalk rubble, nodules, or dirty top soil (Roche Court Down, Ashton Valley, etc.), or by clean soil (Ford, and Alvediston).

Most of the cemetery cists are no deeper than two feet in the chalk (the depth was then made up by top soil), and no more than 6'10" long.

Some are as shallow as 8" (CF. Blackpatch) and in the case of one cemetery (Harnham Hill) the corpses were placed atop the natural and cists created above.

All of these burials were male with the exception of the unsexed burial at Ashton Valley I and the ?secondary burial at Roundway Down (female). Most, save for Heddington, Roche Court Down (near a very poor cemetery), and Ashton Valley, were warriors who had been buried with their military gear.

The Placement of Barrows in Relation to Other Pagan Burial Places and Bronze Age Barrows

At least four of the primary barrows lie near barrows containing secondary Saxon burials, Ashton Valley 1B, Coombe Bissett (scattered remains only), W. Knoyle 1, and Roundway Down. Two are very close to possible Saxon barrows, Roche Court Down and Rodmead Down. The former is also surrounded by two small cemeteries. Heddington, Ford and Alvediston all are near un-reused or unexcavated Bronze Age Barrows. The Ford barrow may also lie adjacent to other pagan Anglo-Saxon burials but the remains are very slight. In the case of Roche Court Down and Rodmead Down, there is a sure possibility that the adjoining barrows had been prepared for subsequent burials, but that none had followed. However the construction of the Roche Court Down barrow leads one to believe that its function was different. Perhaps those in whose honour they had been built "converted" before their deaths. It may also be thought that the fashion for burying in barrows, which flourished for only a very short time in its final barrow-building stage (possibly late sixth to late seventh century) had died out. On the whole, the majority being mid to late seventy century, these primary burials are some twenty-five years later than some secondary ones. There are exceptions, and these will be dealt with in a chapter on Primary and Secondary barrow burials.

In the case of West Knoyle, Coombe Bissett, Ashton Valley 1B, and Roundway Down, it does not seem too far-fetched to conjecture that these primary barrows had been specially built to lie close to secondary barrow burials - the remains of their ancestors. These, plus the burial at Roche Court Down (and, possibly that at Rodmead as well), seem to form small, nucleated family cemeteries, some consisting entirely of barrows, others of barrows and flat-grave cemeteries. One fact is quite obvious, however, these barrows are not isolated phenomena. They never occur in isolation, and a fair percentage are located in the midst of previously used burial places.

A. Primary Barrow Burials

Perhaps the most interesting of all the pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in England are those which are contained in purpose built barrows. These tumuli are, as noted in Fig. 29, far smaller than Bronze Age mounds and those found in E. Anglia. These barrow-burials have a certain "Sutton-Hoo" mystique about them, for they are not a common form of burial, and, on the whole, the burials tend to be richer than those found in flat-graves. The case is not so clear-cut in Wiltshire. Some of the barrow burials are quite wealthy, some contain little indeed, and a few contain nothing but undatable coffin fittings.

The (possibly) secondary barrow burial at Roundway Down (II) has been included in this section rather than that on secondary barrow burials as it is more characteristic of a primary rather than an intrusive burial, and, also because it is not, conclusively, classified as secondary.

The burials are overwhelmingly those of extended adult males. In fact, with the exceptions of the unsexed skeleton at Ashton Valley) and the female burial at Roundway (which, as aforementioned may be secondary), the burials were all male. This does make sense in terms of a warrior/headman/land-owner society in which a group might be dominated by a strong male leader, but, considering that a woman might be wealthy in her own right and could inherit both property and objects of value, it does seem a bit unusual that, apparently, none of these barrows were built to honour a wealthy, powerful woman. At any rate, burial in purpose-built barrows would appear to have been a male prerogative in Wiltshire. Indeed, the majority of the Saxon burials in Bronze Age barrows (when they could be accurately sexed) also appear to have been male.

It is also obvious that, in at least four cases, Coombe Bissett, Ford, Rodmead Down and, to a lesser extent, W. Knoyle, these males were also quite well-off, or elaborate grave goods had been gathered to be placed in their tombs. In instances in which the grave furnishings could be dated, it immediately became apparent that, as a group, these burials are quite late. Most of them date to the second half of the seventh-century, and one may even date to the eighth. The grave goods are typical of that era, and include scramasaxes, large, late spear types, sugar-loaf shield bosses, garnet inlaid buckles with three rivets, and link pins. None of these burials contain obvious

insignia of rank such as sceptres or helmets, one, only, the female grave at Roundway, contained the remains of a horse, an animal sacred to Wodin and rarely found in Pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, which may have ritual rather than social significance.

These barrow burials are special graves designed for local chieftains, some of whom may have been very wealthy and a few of whom may have been Christians. This may be borne out by the distribution of these barrows. There is never more than one to a parish, and in only two cases are there more than one per Hundred, and those are in the Large Hundreds of Alderbury (Ford and Roche Court Down) and Mere (Rodmead Down and W. Knoyle). In each case, one of the pair is a wealthy burial (Ford and Rodmead) and the other is far less well-equipped (Roche Court and W. Knoyle). Also, these burials are at a distance from each other within the Hundred. Four of these barrows are situated on parish boundaries, Ford, Roche Court Down, Coombe Bissett and Roundway Down I.

Including Roundway Down II, the wealthy female burial which may be intrusive, there are ten primary barrow burials in Wiltshire. There are none north of the River Kennet, nor are there any to the north of Wansdyke or in the extreme North Western sector of the county. The majority of these barrows lie adjacent to other barrows, both primary and secondary, or to cemeteries. Only four are situated in isolated positions or amongst Bronze Age or unexcavated barrows. These burials have been analysed in an extended gazetteer format and were arranged alphabetically. Some general conclusions appear at the end of this section. Bower Chalke unlocated - excluded as there is a strong possibility that it is actually in Dorset.

1. Alvediston IC, ST 967252. Excavated by R. C. C. Clay. Reported by Clay in WiAM 43, 1925-27, pages 435-39.

Alvediston IC has the advantage of having been both accurately excavated and well recorded. There are no illustrations of the grave goods, but the shield boss is included in Evison's article in Ant. J. 1963 and the spear is in Swanton's Corpus (1974).

The barrow is situated amongst a group of Bronze Age barrows on Middle Down in the Parish of Alvediston, very near the boundary between this parish and Swallowcliffe (Hundred of Chalke). Whilst there are several Bronze Age barrows of considerable size in the parish, those on Middle Down are quite small and unusually low

(9 paces x 1' and 11 paces x 6"). They lie on arable land and there are indications that these barrows have been both ploughed over and riddled by rabbits, therefore they may have stood a bit higher originally. Three of the four barrows are ditched. In fact, there is very little surface evidence that barrow IC is Saxon whilst I and IA are Bronze Age (see barrow shapes etc., p. 166). (Were it not for the fact that the Saxon burial is extended in a large cist and that there was no intrusive Bronze Age material, one might even suggest that this is an exceptionally neat secondary burial rather than a primary one.) There is also very little evidence for the dating of the other two low mounds. Ignoring the fact that Romano-British pottery occurred at a deeper level within the ditch than did Bronze Age pot, Clay assumed that barrow IA was Bronze Age because of A: the pottery, and B: the fact that the skeleton may have been crouched, barrow 1 had been rifled prior to excavation, but Clay declared it Bronze Age because the cist was quite small and the occupant, a male about 5'7" tall, would also have had to be flexed in order to fit into it. Both of his arguments seem weak, but in the absence of datable grave goods these two barrows must be set aside. They do differ somewhat from other, better documented primary burials, in the county. They lack one element which is common to the Saxon primary burials, a large, well-cut cist. The fourth barrow, IB, was not ditched and contained a cremation.

Middle Down occupies the higher chalk plain over-looking the valley trench of the River Ebble. It is diagonally across the river valley from the seventh century burial at Ebbesbourne, to the south-east, and the cemetery at Winkelbury Hill is about three miles to the south-west. The placename is first recorded in 1165 and is interpreted as meaning Aetgeats's farm (E.P.N.S., 1939, 199). The Church at Alvediston is about ½ mile to the south-east of the barrow group.

The burial was that of a male aged 25 to 30 years who lay with his head to the South (N-S) in a neatly cut ovoid shaped cist which was orientated due north-south and measured 3½' x 7' x 2' deep, one of the shallowest of these cists. Whilst the barrow had been built of ordinary flinty top soil, the cist fill consisted of very clear and compact soil (see Ford). The skeleton itself was covered by five or six heavy flints which had crushed the skull. The remains were extended, the right arm down to the side and the left hand resting on the pelvis. A position more common to female burials at Winkelbury. The feet were touching.

Whilst the grave goods were not abundant, they were sufficient to date the skeleton. The shield boss is of the tall, straight, conical variety (Ant. J., 1963, 77)(Fig. 32), and the spearhead is a late type, E3 (Swanton's Corpus, 1974, 14). Also found with the burial were a broken iron knife and a fragment of a shale bracelet. Clay was of the opinion that both the bracelet and the knife had been deliberately broken prior to burial. The spear head had also been broken off from the shaft which lay parallel to it. The excavator believed that these had been ritually "killed" (broken prior to burial so that the artefacts might accompany the dead on his last journey, or to prevent anyone from stealing them). This is quite an interesting point, especially when one considers the many imperfect grave goods which have been found in the county (see Burial rites, p.240ff). At any rate, both the grave goods themselves, and perhaps the fact that they may have been deliberately broken would indicate that even at a date in the mid seventh century, earlier rituals and practices were still being used, but, the length of the cist may have necessitated the breakage of the spears. The single burial at Ebbesbourne must be a near contemporary of the barrow burial at Alvediston and there is good reason to believe that the cemetery at Winkelbury Hill is of the transitional period. In fact, to date, this southwestern corner of the county seems to contain only late material.

The skull was dolichocephalic, having an index of 73.4. The teeth were abnormally large, and the chin square. It seems to have been pierced by a sharp instrument prior to death. The supreorbital ridges were well developed, and the nose narrow. The individual stood about 5'8" tall, about 1" shorter than the male buried at Ebbesbourne and shorter than the tallest individuals at Winkelbury Hill, although he was taller than the average for that site. The musculature does not seem to have been as well-developed as that of the older male at Ebbesbourne.

This burial shares many of the characteristics of primary Anglo-Saxon burials in barrows. It is a male burial in a well-cut cist, who lay in an extended position and had been equipped with his weapons. It differs in that the orientation was due N-S rather than NE-SW or E-W as was more common, and that the barrow, itself, was ditched. It may be unfair to generalize about a group this small, however.

2. Ashton Valley 1, Codford St. Peters

This is one of the three coffined burials which are classified as "primary Saxon". It was excavated by W. Cunnington prior to 1812 and was poorly published by Cunnington and by Goddard in WiAm. 38, 1914, page 229, and is listed by Goddard as barrow IB. The barrow lies in the valley trench of the River Wylye (O.S. ST 979426) in the Parish of Codford, Hundred of Heytesbury and is one of the most southern of the primary barrow sites. Number 6, in the same group of barrows, contained a secondary Saxon burial with a fir wood bucket. There are no cemetery sites nearby, but, the long barrow burials at Knook and Sherrington are less than two miles to the West and South-West respectively. The place name is first recorded in 1242 and is interpreted to mean Ashtree Farm (E.P.N.S., 1939, 164). The closest Church is at Chitterne, more than one mile to the north-east.

Very little was recorded about this burial. It lay in an extended position, but its sex and orientation were not noted. Surrounding the skeleton were bits of wood and nails. These lay at the bottom of a carefully dug out 11' deep trench (or room as Cunnington called it), which had well-cut corners. There were no other grave goods. This massive chalk-cut tomb is the deepest in the County and perhaps one of the deepest in the country, and brings to mind the hlaws of the sagas, dwelling places for the dead. But, it differs from them in its total lack of grave goods. If it is, in truth, a primary Saxon burial, and both Meaney and Goddard are in doubt about it (it may be Roman as two sherds of Roman pot were found deep in the fill), then it is an exceptional grave and proves that the pagan Saxons could cut through great depths in the chalk with an extraordinary degree of competence. Considering the irregularity of many of the shallower graves, this seems unlikely, and, although all the cists in the primary barrows are well-cut, none even approach the depth of the cist at Ashton Valley, the second deepest being the (possibly secondary) female grave at Roundway Down which was seven feet deep. As neither of the two coffined burials (without grave goods), Heddington and Ashton Valley, may be dated, the date at which this method was introduced into the county must remain in doubt, although a late date may be indicated as none of the early burials in the county are coffined, and in Kent, where they are more in evidence, coffin burials seem to belong, in the main to the seventh century (Chartham Down, Gilton, Bishopsbourne, etc.). In earlier

Kentish cemeteries (or cemeteries which did not last into the seventh century), such as Bifrons, the inhumations are in chalk cut cists. But, as this is not a flat grave burial, it might be unreliable to date it by flat-grave criteria.

3. Coombe Bissett (Salisbury Race Course), O.S. SU 104281

Two barrows were excavated by W. Cunnington in 1803, both reported to be of very small size, but there were no measurements taken. The larger of the two contained the scattered remains of two secondary (possibly Saxon) interments, and the smaller one of the wealthiest deposits in the county (Fig. 31). This barrow contained no traces of an inhumation, although it was fairly carefully dug. The 3½' depth of the cist would rule out the possibility that the inhumation had been ploughed out, as does the very fine condition of the grave goods. This barrow is ~~probably~~ possibly a cenotaph and its very late date might place it as a near contemporary of Sutton Hoo. Therefore, perhaps the same theories which apply to the great ship burial are applicable in the case of Coombe Bissett. The individual for whom the barrow was built may have converted prior to his death and choose to be buried elsewhere, or it may be a memorial to a warrior whose remains were not available for burial.[1]

The three barrows at the Race Course lie along a Roman road leading out of Old Sarum and on the boundary between the parishes of Netherhampton and Coombe Bissett in the Hundred of Cawdon. Like the cemetery at Harnham Hill, about one mile away to the east, they are situated in the valley trench of the River Nadder. The placename is first recorded in D.B., and contains the element "comb-valley" later coupled with the name of the holder of the manor, Manassu Bizet who was granted the land by Henry II (E.P.N.S. Wilts., 1939, 221).

The cenotaph probably belongs to the "princely" grouping as typed by Miss Dickinson. The grave goods are luxurious and the weapons are those of someone of considerable rank, a sword, a low conical boss, etc.

All in all, the grave contained the sword, 3 spears, a small oval-looped buckle with a rectangular plate and a row of three rivets, two iron buckles (lost), six slip-knot rings (five silver and one gold),

1 Or could it be that some grave goods, especially those indicative of wealth, status, "deserved" burial despite the fact that there was no body to accompany them.

a gilt bronze skillet almost identical to one found at Rodmead Down, two glass cone beakers (Fig. 32), one glass cup, two knives, and two garnet and shell set sword knots of pyramidal form (Fig. 31). The sword is of the short, two edged variety (approximately 29" long), the pyramids exhibit hemispherical cells with a square cell at the apex, the pommel and sword guards are not illustrated. Two of the spear heads have been classified as types E2 and C2. The bulk of the C2 variety belong to the seventh century, although some have been found in very early contexts, the E2 type is also more common to the seventh century although a few have been found with sixth century shield bosses (Swanton's Corpus, 1974, 10, 13). The low conical shield boss is similar to one found with the single burial at Perham Down (Wilts.) which is dated to the seventh century (Ant. J., 1963
One of the more conclusive pieces of datable evidence is the skillet. As was mentioned above, it is similar to a bronze vessel found at Rodmead Down, a burial which contained a tall conical boss and other grave goods datable to the second half of the seventh century (or later). The rectangular buckle plate with the three rivets is similar to the double tongued piece found at Ford, except that in the case of the Salisbury buckle, the rivets have been covered by garnets, and the buckle only has one tongue. The little glass cup has an almost exact parallel in one found at Kingston, Kent, a site most noted for its large, late, garnet-set brooch. The little knotted rings also seem to be Kentish in origin and are prevalent at Chartham Lines and Kingston. The cone beakers do not seem to have any good parallels in England. They are designed to stand in a holder. Swanton classifies them as Harden type 'e's (Swanton's Corpus, 1974, 177).

The grave goods clearly indicate a date in the seventh century and possibly in the second-half of the century rather than the first. The affinities of some of the grave goods seem to be more Kentish than West Saxon, which is reasonable in that a wealthy individual (and this man seems to have been one), would probably wish to purchase the best available artefacts and in this epoch, they were being manufactured in Kent. However Baldwin-Brown is of the opinion that the skillet resembles late Celtic work, and may be a native form (Baldwin-Brown, 1915, Vol. 4, 471). The glass vessels may be continental. In all aspects, this is a grave group of great interest, as it indicates that a chieftain living in what may have been a relatively undeveloped section of the Saxon kingdom could accumulate luxury items, and import what could not be obtained locally.

Again, it must be noted that, like Ashton Valley and some of the other primary burials, the barrow did not lie in isolation, but lay near another barrow which probably contained Saxon remains. Therefore it may be seen as part of a burial complex, in this case, of two or more barrow burials (see p.171).

4. Ford/Laverstock

By alphabetical coincidence, the next primary barrow burial, that at Ford, provides an excellent foil to the cenotaph at Coombe Bissett. It is a true burial which is as elaborate and is very similar to the above in terms of grave goods.

The barrow lay near a large Bronze Age barrow (No. 1) which contained a primary inhumation only. Found near the barrow were a fragment of a sword blade which may have been encased in a fleece lining, and a bronze strip with rivet hiles which resembles a scabbard binding. These may indicate that there were other burials at the site, or that the Bronze Age barrow may have contained a secondary inhumation.

Barrow 2 was a ditched bowl barrow which was less than 2' high and 25' in diameter. In a cist 8' x 4' x 3' lay the extended skeleton of a male between the ages of 40 and 50 who lay NE-SW. Buried with him were two spears, both late type C (long, narrowish blades)(Swanton's Corpus, 1974, 10-11), a convex sugar-loaf shield boss of Evison's type "F" (similar to one found at Leighton Buzzard, Beds., (Ant. J. 1963,

three undecorated iron shield studs, a seax about 18" to 20" long with silver bindings terminating in a style 2 animal mount at the tip, a bronze cocked-hat pommel set with a garnet cabochon and silver filigree in a simple line and ring and dot pattern and a style 2 animal, an oval-looped double tongued buckle with three rivets concealed by garnets set in filigreed gold collars, a double sided bone comb with ring and dot decoration, and a bronze hanging bowl of the cooking-pot shape which had originally been suspended by three simple, twisted rings which were attached to the snake-like clasps of the bowl (Fig. 33). Within the bowl were two types of vegetable matter, "one type resembling onions, the other plums" (Ant. J., 1969, 109) which were probably a variety of crab apple, and an iron hook strip. Twenty-eight sherds of pot were also found, resembling the sprinkle of pot found at Harnham Hill.

Aside from the vast quantity of grave goods, two features single this late barrow burial out from the rest. As previously mentioned in Chapter this barrow had a causewayed ditch, a very rare feature in Wiltshire barrow burials (although some of the nineteenth century antiquarians may not have spent too much time on the ditches), and the grave goods included food. Both of these may be of ritual significance. The pottery may indicate that visits were made to the site after the burial according to the excavator, Mr. Musty (Ant. J., 49, 1969, 113).

The datable grave goods, the spears, the scabbard, the seax, and the umbo, all point to a date in the second half of the seventh century, probably after the conversion of Wiltshire in 634. Miss Evison believes that the buckles with three rivets may also be late as they are found with the large conical shield bosses (Ant. J., 1963, 62). The bowl, however, is somewhat similar in form to the chance find from Wilton (see p.286) an artefact which may not be conclusively dated. But the Ford example is of a much simpler type, and as the
the two may eventually be used for comparison. There is an excellent parallel for the Ford bowl in one found at Lowbury Berks., a grave which also contained a sugar loaf shield boss (Ant. J., 1963, 83)(Primary barrow).

> "Thus if we date the barrow, as we must by the latest of the objects associated with the grave, then a late seventh century date must be accorded to it. During this period, Wessex was being converted to Christianity and the interesting possibility arises that the Ford burial may have been made after the introduction of Christianity and in continuation of lingering pagan tradition."
>
> (Ibid. 113)

The burials at Coombe Bissett (cenotaph), Rodmead Down, Ford and Foundway II are all indicative of a wealthy, powerful local aristocracy who could command barrows to be built for them, but, if as Musty has suggested, they are post-conversion, they also show how basically conservative this element was. They may have lived as (superficial) Christians, but at death, reverted to earlier precepts. It is clear, considering both the documentary and the excavation evidence, that the

custom of placing grave goods with the dead lingered on well into the Christian period.[1]

The barrow is situated near the boundary between the parishes of Laverstock and Winterbourne in the Hundred of Alderbury. It lies in the valley trench of the River Bourne, about 400 yards south-east of the river itself. The Church at Dauntsey is about three quarters of a mile to the west. Ford is first recorded as Winterburne Ford in 1189 (E.P.N.S., Wilts., 1939, 382) and Laverstock is first recorded in D.B. The cemetery at Winterbourne Gunner is less than 1½ miles to the north-east. The Roman road leading to Old Sarum is less than 200 yards to the south. Both the road and the river would prove excellent links between the site and Old Sarum to the West and Hampshire to the East.

The site was excavated by Mr. J. Musty, and published in Ant. J., Vol. 49, Pt. 1, 1969, pages 98-117.

5. Kings Play Down, Heddington. O.S. SU 009659

This is another coffined burial in which were found no grave goods. It was excavated by the Cunningtons in 1907. The very small barrow contained the remains of a supine male skeleton orientated E-W in a very large cist some 6'7" deep filled with clean lumps of chalk. Thirty-six nails and fragments of wood were found on the floor of the cist surrounding the burial, as at Ashton Valley I. The fill was clean and there was no intrusive pottery.

The barrow is situated amongst a group of tumuli, none of which contained Saxon remains (although not all of them have been opened). There is an extensive Roman or Romano-British settlement in the Parish wherein were found a coin-hoard and several house foundations. Therefore one may not completely rule out the possibility that this burial, like the one at Ashton Valley, may actually be Roman, although to date, Roman barrow burials are rare and they take on a somewhat different form. In favour of this actually being a pagan or transitional period burial is the small size of the barrow, its low height, and the deep cist in which the skeleton lay, all of which are characteristic of more provably Saxon barrow burials. But, the only definite Anglo-Saxon

1 These swords, scabbards, and spears had more than just monetary value, they were part and parcel of the pagan warrior, they indicated his wealth, his status, and perhaps even his valour, and could not be disposed of lightly. The burial of such goods in cenotaphs might possibly offer some proof of this. Evidently, in some cases wherein the individual selected to be buried elsewhere, the grave goods were buried in the intended burial place just as if they were accompanying a burial.

coffined burial in the county, the female buried on Roundway Down (see p.190) exhibited a very different type of coffin from either Heddington or Ashton Valley. It had been held together by strong iron clamps and hoops rather than nails, and the burial included a fair number of grave goods. According to Beddoe, the pathologist, the skull ofthe Heddington Burial is "typically" Saxon.

The lack of definitive grave goods at Heddington and the fact that its nearest parallel, Ashton Valley I, also contained no grave goods may make one sceptical about assigning either of these burials to the pagan Saxon period or Tradition, however, it is always possible, given the conservativeness of this society, that these burials are those of Christians buried in a somewhat pagan fashion, coffined and without grave goods but in barrows. At Leighton Buzzard, Beds., a transitional cemetery, neither of the two ditched burials contained grave goods, and it may be that some converts were buried in a fashion which shows the mixture of the two traditions (Beds. Archaeologist, I, 1956, 122-32). Others, such as Roundway Down, which may also be Christian, were buried in a slightly more "pagan" mode.

This burial lies on the scarp of the lower chalk plain in the Parish of Heddington (Hundred of Calne). The placename is taken from a Royalist victory at the site during the Civil War. It is the most northern of the primary barrow burials, and lies about three quarters of a mile north-north-west of the burials on Roundway Down. This more northerly group of burials tends to lie on the scarp of the chalk plains, whilst those to the south and south-east lie in river valleys. Given that there is no clear evidence that one group is any earlier than the other, it is difficult to determine to which area the custom of building barrows first came or if it emerged in both places as part of a common culture. However, one of the latest of the group (possibly the latest) Rodmead, is also the furthest to the west, indicating, perhaps, that the custom may have been in use in that area at a slightly later date, but, as aforementioned, there is so little difference in date between any of the clearly datable barrow burials that they seem to be "all of a piece". A further analysis of the dating appears at the conclusion of this section.

6. West Knoyle I. ST 863337

This very low mound was excavated by W. Cunnington in 1807. It is situated quite near another barrow which contained traces of a cremation. The site report is not very informative. A large (unmeasured) cist had been dug in the Saxon barrow in which lay an extended male skeleton. The orientation was not noted.

The grave furnishings included a knife, a sugar loaf shield boss of the tall straight conical variety similar to one found at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (Fig. 32) and, oddly enough, an early H1 type spear head which is completely out of context with the tall conical boss. This spear would appear to be an heirloom and, in that respect, differs considerably (and fundamentally) from the inclusion of large, contemporary spear types (C3's etc.) which usually accompany these shield bosses in these burials. The spear is an abraded object with a broken ferrule and was clearly out of use when it was buried, whereas the shield is an up-to-date seventh century model. The idea that a spear was a valued object indicative of one's status as a free man and was generally buried with its owner must be somewhat reassessed in this instance because the little spear obviously did not belong to the warrior buried at W. Knoyle but to some earlier individual. It had been retained even after it had become worn and useless to finally rest with the seventh century boss. This is indicative of the dangers inherent in trying to date burials with only one datable grave good, even something as personal as a spear, as this is clearly a seventh century burial, but, if the spear alone had been found, it might have been assigned a date in the first half of the sixth century.

West Knoyle I is peculiar in that it is neither a coffin-burial without grave goods, nor is it a sumptuous burial such as Ford or Rodmead Down. The individual was buried with much the same types of grave goods as seventh century males who had been buried in flat graves such as graves 7 (C2 spear) or 33 (C4 spear) at Petersfinger. Therefore, his "rank" is only indicated by the method of burial adopted and by the exceptionally large, deep cist. Late flat graves are usually no deeper than earlier ones (12" for grave 33 at Petersfinger for example), whereas cist burials are never shallower than 2' (in the county). The West Knoyle burial is by no means the poorest of the uncoffined primary barrow burials, but, Roche Court Down, the poorest, lies adjacent to a cemetery of a possibly transitional date and may be nearer to the tradition of the ditched burials at Leighton Buzzard than to the primary barrow burials of Wiltshire.

From the burial at West Knoyle, it may be surmised that not all local chieftains (if this is the type of person for whom barrows were built) shared the same sort of wealth or prestige as found at Ford, for example. Another element must be taken into consideration, however, and that is the location of this barrow. Rodmead Down is to the north-west of the site, but, otherwise, it is the burial closest to the boundary between Wiltshire and Somerset, wherein those burials found tend, at present, to date to the late sixth or seventh centuries. It lies in a section of the County where there are very few burials and those tend to be poor and late. The barrow is situated on the high summits of the Chalk plain, and it is always possible that luxury items were more difficult to obtain, and the settlements, themselves, were poorer in general than those located near Old Sarum (such as Ford, etc.) or in the Devizes area (the Roundway Group). There is also no easy river access to the area (see Rodmead). But, although W. Knoyle lies in relative isolation, the custom seems to have reached the area roughly contemporaneously with the barrow burial at Ford and other burials to the east, the shield boss being of a type commonly found with the three rivet buckles such as found at Coombe Bissett and Ford. Therefore, although there was no such buckle at W. Knoyle, this burial cannot differ too much in date.

The site lies on the high chalk summits in the Parish of W. Knoyle, Hundred of Mere. The placename, from the O.E. cnugel (knuckle) first appears in a Charter of King Eadred to the thegn Aelheah of 20 mansae of land at (aet) Cnugel in 948 ... aet cnugel. ut habeat ac possideat quandum vivat ... (sic) (Birch III, 16 (Charter 870). West Knoyle II (or East Knoyle) a secondary barrow burial has not been accurately located but may lie less than one eighth of a mile to the east of the primary barrow. Other tumuli surround the primary barrow, but none have been excavated. The church at W. Knoyle is about half a mile south-west of the site.

7. Roche Court Down - Barrow II

This very small barrow, 27' in diameter and 6" high, was built up of scraped-up soil and contained a large, shallow cist 8' x 5'6" x 2' in which lay, slightly turned onto his right side, the remains of a 6' tall young male orientated ESE-WNW.

The burial is of interest on several counts. Almost adjacent to it was another barrow of identical size and somewhat similar construction

which may have been a cenotaph of a very simple type. A hole 23" deep and 16" in diameter was found in the centre. It had been filled in with earthy chalk and covered over with flints. Two tiny fragments of charcoal only were found in the hole. Surrounding it was an internal ditch 12'6" in diameter and 9" deep. Its shape and scraped-up construction might indicate that it was built at the same time as the barrow which contained the skeleton. To the north of the two barrows was a small, and probably, late cemetery in which were found very few grave goods. The barrow burial, itself, contained but a knife and a small iron object, possibly a buckle or a brooch. On the left side of the burial lay the articulated remains of a sheep's leg, the disarticulated leg bones of an ox were found with disturbed burial 28 in the cemetery proper. As has been mentioned, food remains are quite rare in pagan Saxon burials in Wiltshire, and only seem to occur in 7th century burials. These may indicate ritual feasting at the funeral or even food supplied for the dead, but food remains do seem out of place in transitional burials. Perhaps these are symbolic offerings, reminders of rituals no longer fully practised by the community, but, if this were the case, one might expect to find earlier occurrences of this rite.

The orientation of the cist is the same as those few adult burials in the cemetery which deviated off true E-W, and the grave cut itself is shallower than some of the graves in the cemetery, a few of which were up to 3' deep. It is also one of the shallowest of all the cists in primary barrows.

The lack of warrior-type grave goods, and the somewhat simpler method of interment, in a shallow cist in an unditched, very low mound, plus the orientation of the skeleton, would lead one to believe that this barrow is contemporary with the burials in the cemetery and renders this the only true known primary barrow and flat-grave cemetery complex in Wiltshire. The complex at Winkelbury Hill contained secondary barrow burials only.

This barrow burial may only be dated within the somewhat vague context of the cemetery itself which appears to be transitional in date. But, it adds yet another dimension to the uses of purpose-built barrows in the late pagan period. In this case, the barrow separates the (possible) village leader from the community, but does not isolate him, and the barrow burial mirrors the mode used in the flat-grave interments. As grave goods were not greatly in evidence in

the cemetery, nor were they lavishly bestowed upon the barrow burial. The cenotaph (if this is what the other barrow represents) is also of interest because it suggests that even during the life of the cemetery, the custom of burying in barrows may have been out of use. It may also indicate that more than one barrow may have been built at a time, one of which was never used. But, there is another possibility, and that is that this barrow, like the one which held the "scrag tree" at Winkelbury Hill, was intended to serve some function other than as a memorial. It may have been put up to hold a stake or a marker of some sort, either to mark a boundary (not unlikely considering that the cemetery lies on a parish boundary and also on the boundary between two counties), or a post serving some ritual function, the internal ditch encircling it might suggest such a possibility. The flint covering of this hole makes this possibility somewhat doubtful as does the lack of any traces of wood or stone. However, it is always possible that whatever it was which stood there had been removed in the post-pagan period, perhaps when burying in churchyards became the normal mode, and the hole had been filled in with chalk, flints (and possibly two sherds of Saxon pot), and earth. The hole is quite large enough to have contained such a stake, and, although there is no proof of its existence, comparative evidence from Winkelbury Hill (which also lies on a parish boundary) would make it unfeasible to rule out the possibility altogether (see cemetery report for location, etc.).

8. Rodmead Down, Maiden Bradley, excavated by W. Cunnington and R. C. Hoare in 1807

This burial is poorly recorded, the size of the barrow (at time of excavation) and the dimensions of the cist are unknown. The skeleton was that of an extended male orientated NE-SW. Found with the skeleton were the following grave furnishings: a tall curved conical shield boss, a skillet similar to that found at Coombe Bissett (Baldwin-Brown IV, 1915, 471), a bronze buckle with three rivets (similar to the one found at Ford)(Fig. 31), two silver-plated shield rivets, an iron sword approximately 30" long, two knives, two spear heads (lost), and some bronze strips which may be shield or scabbard bindings, and a small, bent silver strap end. The entire ensemble probably dates to the second half of the seventh century and may even be later.

Rodmead Down, O.S. ST 819369, is the furthest to the west of the primary barrow burials, but, unlike W. Knoyle, it does not lie isolated on the high chalk summits but is located in the valley of the river Wylye which in turn joins the Nadder and the Avon and links the site to those around Old Sarum. Therefore it is not difficult to reconcile the appearance of these grave goods, so like those at Coombe Bissett and Ford being found on a site about 25 miles to the west of the Old Sarum group.

The barrow burial at Rodmead, whilst adding little additional information, is interesting in that it shows how far these grave goods could spread into the West of the County, and the wealth which could be amassed by an individual living a good distance from any area of intensive settlement, such as Sarum or Marlborough.

The barrow lies in a group of eight barrows scattered over a distance of three quarters of a mile north to south (WiAM, 1914, 283). Two of these contained Bronze Age cremations, two were empty, one was ploughed out and two unopened. The Rodmead barrow is recorded as being a large one, but, as aforementioned, no measurements were taken. It would be most unusual to find a primary Saxon burial in a bowl barrow with a diameter of more than about 12 paces, perhaps, like the Bronze Age barrows at Middle Down, the surrounding barrows are of a very small size for their epoch.

The site is situated in the Parish of Maiden Bradley in the Hundred of Mere. The placename, Maiden Bradley, is first recorded in D.B. and is an interesting name in that it is interpreted to mean "wide clearing or wood" (Bradele-lega)(which seems a rather contradictory situation and may refer to a clearing in the forest of Selwood) which indicates that the area was forested prior to Anglo-Saxon settlement. Rodmead Farm (Redemede) is not recorded until 1422 and means reed-meadow (E.P.N.S., 1939, 173). The primary barrow at W. Knoyle also lies in the Hundred of Mere, and, as with the two burials in the Hundred of Alderbury (Ford and Roche Court Down), one burial is far poorer than the other. The sites are approximately three miles apart, W. Knoyle to the south-east of Rodmead. There are no other excavated or charted pagan Saxon sites in the area. There is some evidence of (unclassified) pre-historic activity on Rodmead Down, and a "supposed Roman road" may pass within one mile to the west of the village (WiAM, 1914, 284).

In accordance with several of the datable primary barrow burials, Rodmead Down must be assigned a date in the second half of the seventh century or in the post-conversion period. Miss Evison makes an

interesting point about such burials as Rodmead, Ebbesbourne Wake, W. Knoyle, and Alvediston: "It seems quite clear that these men were distinct from the ordinary class of high social standing, and it may be that the odd orientation is an expression of their firm adherence to paganism. Conclusions can hardly be drawn on a social plane, however, since contemporary Christian men of equal standing, no doubt lie unrecognizably in findless graves of W-E (E-W) orientation"(Evison, 61).

There are several arguable points in this statement. Firstly, it is always possible that the coffined burials without grave goods are Christian. If they are, then their status has been marked by the barrows which had been built for them. Secondly, some over-emphasis is placed on orientation as a guide to conversion. At Hartlepool (Durham), for example, seventh and eighth century Nuns seem to have been buried orientated N-S (Meaney, 1963, 84), whilst some of the earliest, (and probably pagan) graves in Wiltshire, such as those found at Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner, are orientated E-W. In truth, several of these barrow burials, Heddington, Ashton ValleyI, Roche Court, and the Roundway barrows may actually be transitional in date, even though the orientation is somewhat erratic. Grave goods, or the lack of them also seem poor criteria for conversion, as evidenced by such burials as Roundway Down II, which may be a Christian coffined burial but which contained elaborate and unusual grave goods, as compared to earlier E-W flat graves in which grave goods are scanty. One of the unsolvable problems is that there is no method for dating unfurnished graves. However, it seems unlikely, given some of the wealthy late burials which have been found in the County (and elsewhere), that men of rank ceased to be buried with grave goods (or elaborate apparel) because they had (perhaps somewhat superficially) converted to Christianity. In theory, these individuals had been brought up in a pagan society by pagan parents. They may have converted during their lives, but with fear of death or the coming of after-life, plus the fact that funeral practices, as a rule do not change completely in a short period of time in a moderately static society (Ucko), there is a strong possibility that pagan elements were retained in very early Christian burials such as some of these mid to late seventh century primary barrow burials. It no longer seems feasible to draw distinctions as clearly as those mentioned by Miss Evison. An E-W burial may be early, a N-S one transitional, or Christian, an early burial may contain little or nothing whilst a

transitional one may be elaborate, and a Christian may be buried in a mode which strongly suggests a fusion of the two traditions. This is a complex problem and, unfortunately, it is no longer possible to distinguish Christian and Pagan burials with the dogmatic certainty enjoyed by cemetery and barrow excavators in the past.

9. Roundway Down I, O.S. SU 019643

A complex of ten bowl barrows stretches over Roundway Down, two of which contained Saxon burials, two very well equipped Wessex Culture burials, three of which had been rifled prior to excavation (two contained large cists, Nos. 2 and 3), and the remaining three traces of drinking cups, burnt bones, etc. W. Cunnington and R. C. Hoare opened barrow number 7 (Goddards list) in 1805. This barrow was 2½' high at the time of excavation but no diameter was taken, nor was the cist measured. A skeleton of unknown sex (probably male) was found lying in an extended position and orientated E-W. The grave contained 30 ivory hemispherical pieces (possibly draughtsmen or playing pieces) and a great quantity of wood. As there were no other traces of coffin fittings found, it may be that this is another example of the wooden biers of platforms which were found in a few of the graves at Blackpatch. The barrow was re-opened by Thurnam in 1855 with no additional finds.

Counters, usually of stone or pottery, have been found in graves at Sarre (Kent)(50 pieces), Taplow (Bucks.)(30 pieces), and Cold Eaton (Gl.)(28 pieces). Baldwin-Brown believed that they were used in some game of chance. Some of the Sarre examples were decorated with incised circles which may indicate the value of the piece (Baldwin-Brown IV, 413). The Taplow burial dates from the mid seventh century, and some of the burials at Sarre may be dated on sceatta evidence to the reign of Penda of Mercia (626-54). Therefore, whilst it is not possible to accurately date the Roundway burial using the playing pieces alone, this type of artifact would appear to date to the mid to late seventh century, especially when found in the context of a primary barrow burial. If this is the case, then this burial may be dated to the same general era as the more conclusively datable primary barrow burials. But, in the absence of more substantial collaborative evidence, it may only be dated to this period tentatively.

Roundway Down No. 7 lies on the scarp foot bench on the boundary between the parishes of Roundway and Bishop's Cannings in the Hundred of Cannings. This boundary is also incorporated into the boundary of the Hundreds of Calne and Cannings. The primary barrow burial at Kings Play Down is less than one mile to the north of the site and the very wealthy female burial lies in the same barrow complex. The placename is first recorded in 1149 as Rindweran from the O.E. rymed-weg or cleared road. There is no Roman Road recorded as running by this site, the nearest being the one which forms the northern boundary of the neighbouring parish of Heddington, and this may refer to an early medieval road or track, or, possibly, even a Saxon one.

10. Roundway Down II (Goddard No. I)

Barrow I on Roundway Down is extraordinarily wealthy and equally as problematical. As mentioned in a previous chapter, there is some doubt as to whether it is a primary or a secondary inhumation but it has been included in this section rather than that on secondary burials because it has more in common with the tradition of such burials as Ford and Rodmead than it does with the generally simpler secondary burials. It also seems rather late in date for a secondary burial, although, as a group, they are not well-dated. The method of burial, in a coffin in a 7' deep cist again recalls primary rather than secondary barrow interments, although, again these are also undatable.

This small, low mound was "opened" by E. F. Colston in 1840. At the bottom of a very deep cist filled with mould lay an extended female buried with her head to the west (mis-recorded in Meaney as N-S). Surrounding her were the remains of a clamp fastened coffin with encircling hoops. At her feet were fragments of a bucket or situla. At her neck a necklace made of gold bound garnets, two circular, two ovoid, and the central triangular. These had beaded borders (Fig. 33). Between the garnet pendants were barrel shaped wrapped gold beads. The ovoid pentants are somewhat similar to those found at Chatham Lines grave 14 (Kent), Sibertswold, and Kingston (Kent), although the Kentish variety seem to be cabochons rather than rounded stones. The gold wire beads are also found on a garnet and gold pendant necklace from Bassinton Moor, Derbyshire dated by Baldwin-Brown to the first half of the seventh century, and at Desborough, N.Hants, a cruciform pendant is suspended from a necklet made up of the same type of bead

and dated to the mid seventh century (Baldwin-Brown IV, 1915, 425)(Fig. 33). Baldwin-Brown regards the type of garnet settings found at Roundway as being more Romano-British than Saxon in style and suggests that they were made by a surviving Romano-British craftsman or that they may be antiques (Ibid., 425). This seems unlikely considering the excellent condition in which they were found and the fact that the set seems to be complete, and the stylistic similarities between the Kentish and the Roundway examples.

On her chest was an extraordinary set of gold and paste link pins. The pins (Fig. 33), themselves, are round-headed and decorated with beading similar to that found on the pendants. They are linked by a gold chain with horse-head terminals set with small garnets. In centre was a circular paste roundel with a double-cruciform pattern set into it. Whilst the horse-head terminals are most assuredly debased Saxon work, the central pendant seems to be "an imitation by a Teutonic craftsman of a distinctly Celtic technique and only a tentative imitation for the incisions are too shallow to have really held a differently coloured enamel paste" (Baldwin-Brown IV, 429). The interlacing on the back of the roundel would date the piece to the seventh century on sceatta evidence. Baldwin-Brown stresses the point that there is no way of determining how much Celtic craftsmen influenced later Saxon art (Ibid., 427), but, it must be remembered that Malmesbury had been founded as a Celtic monastery by an Irish monk sometime around 650, and it is always possible that Celtic (or Celtic influenced) craftsmen were employed at such a monastery and would have been familiar with the motives and techniques used on the roundel.

Whilst Baldwin-Brown was of the opinion that this is a primary Christian burial (because of the roundel), other remains found in the grave cast some doubt upon this assumption. In each corner of the grave were found carefully placed animal bones, a dog, a cat, a boar, and a horse, and these may hark back to pagan ritual (RAI Salisbury, 1899, 112). It is intriguing to find the remains of a horse, the only one found in Wiltshire, in the grave of a woman, unlike the Vendel boat and horse burials which were all found with male skeletons. It is also of interest that horse heads form the terminals of the pin set although this may be coincidental. The dog and the cat were, most probably, domestic pets and suggest that these were known to the Saxons by the seventh century if not earlier. The boar, the companion of Frey (Gublinbusti), would also seem more appropriate in a male

burial grave such as Benty Grange, wherein a statuette of this animal tops the helmet. However Frey was an agrarian God, a God of prosperity and peace (Bunch, 191, 13), and perhaps he was sacred to both sexes. In any case, the discovery of such remains with a coffined E-W burial and the small roundel is perhaps, another indication of how incompletely Christianity had been assimilated by the settlers of the second half of the seventh century (see Burial Rites).

Another aspect which must be discussed is whether a single artifact necessarily proves the religious affiliation of its owner. It must be stressed that the pattern on the roundel is a deliberate one, not merely the result of a disc being divided into quarters as is commonly found on Kentish disc and composite brooches. The small, neat cross is set into a larger one formed by the "Sutton Hoo" like stepped cells placed at the corners of the piece, but, whilst it may be regarded as a genuine cross-like object, it is not in the same category as the gold cross pendant found at Desborough, N. Hants. It should be remembered that the cross may have been owned by someone who regarded it as a pretty trinket with no significance, or by a "superficial" Christian who still needed the reassurances of older forms of talismans, animal bones and buckets, at death. It is probably foolhardy to some extent, to regard burials such as this one as truly those of Christian converts, despite the slight evidence that they may have been. Perhaps it would be more realistic to date purely Christian burial practices (and true conversion) to the period when burials were first relegated to Church graveyards, and to regard all of these primary barrow burials, even those which date to the end of the seventh century, such as Rodmead, as transitional. Clearly, other, earlier, rituals and customs have been incorporated into several of these burials.

A Note of the Grave Goods:

Another interesting aspect of the pin set, not mentioned by Baldwin-Brown, is that it appears that one of the terminals on the chain had been replaced at some point, probably with a somewhat simpler, cruder piece which does not match the fineness of the others and lacks the characteristic coiled finials. This gives the pin set a "conglomerate" look and emphasizes the composite nature of the set; the Celtic-type cross and pins matched with a late Saxon horse head terminal set, one of which must post-date the completion of the piece and may suggest that it had been in existence for a while before it

had been buried (and, perhaps the cross pendant replaced something else).

Also accompanying the burial was a coin of Crispus. According to the record of the site published in P.A.I. (Salisbury), 1849, other relics and similar cabochons were also found, but these were not obtained by the excavators and were subsequently sold at Bath.

If the barrow burial at Roundway Down (II) is, in truth, a primary interment, it is perhaps the most fascinating and atypical of the group. It is a female, coffined burial, and contains both pagan and Christian artefacts, including the remains of the horse. It may be used as excellent evidence for the confused state of religious practices in the County in the last half of the seventh century and shows the merging of different rites and rituals at times of communal stress, such as death.

The grave goods, in their present state, are not plentiful, but they are valuable pieces of intricate gold work. Obviously, this woman was one of the local elite. Yet, although it would appear that a woman of sufficient rank could be buried in a (possibly purpose-built) barrow, it is unusual that the Roundway Down burial is the only female barrow burial found in the county to date.

In a barrow on Oakley Down, Wimborne St. Giles, Dorset, lay the secondary interment of a wealthy female, orientated NE-SW. She wore an elaborate bead necklace, two rings, and a brooch. Also found were some chatelaine fittings (Meaney, 1964,81). This simpler barrow burial is one of the few female burials of its type outside of Kent, and it lies far to the south of the Roundway Burial.

Conclusions:

As aforementioned, the datable primary barrow burials at Alvediston, Coombe Bissett, Ford, W. Knoyle, and Roundway Down (Barrow I), all point to a date in the mid to late seventh century or early eighth as the period of barrow building in the county. Two others, Roche Court Down and Roundway barrow 8 may be added to this list, perhaps on evidence which is too slight and circumstantial. The male graves were characterized by high conical shield bosses, large, long spears, and buckles with three rivets, the female by elaborate gold and garnet pieces exhibiting late animal motives and interlacing. Aside from Roche Court Down which may be part of a transitional

cemetery complex, the poorest graves were those in which coffin fittings were found, although these also tended to be the deepest.

There is no fixed orientation, three were E-W, Kings Play Down and the two at Roundway, two N-S, Alvediston and possibly Ashton Valley I, two NW-SE, Ford and Rodmead, one ESE-WNW, Roche Court Down, one was a cenotaph, Coombe Bissett, and one was unknown, W. Knoyle. The skeletons were all extended or supine with the exception of Roche Court Down. Six lay near other Saxon barrows or cemeteries, Ashton Valley I, W. Knoyle I, Roche Court Down, Coombe Bissett, and the two Roundway burials. Another may have lain near other pagan remains, Ford. Only Alvediston, Kings Play Down (less than a mile from the Roundway burials), and Rodmead Down were isolated from other burial places (or these sites are yet to be found). Five lay in or near the valley trenches or major rivers, Coombe Bissett (Avon), Ford and Roche Court Down (Bourne), and Rodmead and Ashton Valley I (Wylye). Two lay on the high summits of the chalk plain, Alvediston and W. Knoyle, and three on the scarp of the chalk bench, Kings Play Down and Roundway 1 and 7. The following were situated on Parish boundaries: Ford, Roche Court Down, Roundway 7, and Coombe Bissett (40% of the Primary barrows). The barrows stretch from the Hampshire border (Roche Court Down) almost to the border of Somerset (Rodmead Down), and from the far south-western corner (Alvediston) to the north of Devizes (Kings Play down). Only three lie near each other, the Roundway burials, Heddington. The remaining are sprinkled across the southern half of the county. The custom does not appear to have spread into Northern Wiltshire, nor are there any known primary barrow burials in Gloucestershire. A few inhumations in barrows have been found in Berkshire, and one cremation burial in a purpose built barrow has been excavated in Oxfordshire. This barrow is considerably larger than the Wiltshire barrows, 50' in diameter (Asthall, Oxon.). There are no recorded primary barrow burials in Somerset, Dorset or Hampshire, either, although each of the three contain a number of secondary barrow burials, some of which are quite rich. Only one site is recorded for the I.o.W., Bowcombe Down, and this site contained eleven very small hummocks. In Sussex, however, there are no fewer than nine such excavated barrows, one of which is a cremation, and of course, hummock burials and primary barrows are plentiful in Kent, although most lie in cemetery groups such as Beakesbourne (late 6th), Bishopstone (coffined), Breach Down (through to the 8th century, partly Christian),

Chartham Lines (probably 6th century), Sibertswold (through to the seventh century).

The derivation of the rite is clouded and indeterminate. These very small mounds do not appear to be a direct part of the tradition which built such large barrows as Sutton Hoo or even the low widespread mound at Benty Grange. Nor may these mounds by indiscriminately incorporated into the Kentish hummock tradition. The Kentish hummocks tend to occur in cemetery groups and they are even smaller than the primary barrows found in Wiltshire. The Scandinavian method of barrow/boat burials, such as those found at Vendel, a group of large mounds situated in close proximity to one another, also does not appear to be the prototype for the Wiltshire burials (Stolpe, 1927) in terms of design, size, construction, or the elaborateness of the burials. Nor does there appear to be a strong continental parallel, although the Franks did re-use barrows (Salin, 1952). The distribution of such burials (in England) rules out the possibility that this custom was adopted from the ruling classes living to the east, in Hampshire. There is some evidence for barrow building (in cemeteries) by the South Saxons and in areas well to the north and north-west of Wiltshire, such as Derbyshire, etc. (the Peaks), but, as stated above, the southern concentration misses out the other areas held by the West Saxons. The Bedfordshire example quoted often in this thesis, Leighton Buzzard, is a cemetery which contained two burials surrounded by ditches but not mounded over, and therefore, even these do not reflect the Wiltshire pattern of primary barrow burial.

Whilst Wiltshire may not be the homeland for the tradition of primary barrow burial, the Men of Wiltshire seem to have selected a rather unique interpretation of the form. This may have come about through a merging of several different traditions, many of which have been mentioned above, but, it may not be stated too often that they did not inherit this form from other West Saxons, nor do these mounds appear to be direct descendants of the Kentish mode. It would be foolhardy to regard this particular form of barrow building and usage as an indepent development by the Men of Wiltshire, but, as there are to date no exact parallels in the immediate area, it may be feasible to suggest that these burials find their closest parallels (and perhaps their antecedants) in the Anglian barrow burials of Derbyshire (Mercia), Staffordshire, and Suffolk (East Anglia), wherein barrows are also small and isolated. These are the only (known) areas outside Wiltshire

in which such low mounds were in use or where they are not incorporated into cemeteries. This might mean that the Wiltshire barrows may be the final resting places of Anglian or Anglian controlled overlords or aristocrats. If this were so, they may be the sole evidence for mid to late seventh century Anglian influence in the Kingdom of Wessex.

There are several complicated problems involved in defending such a bald statement as the above. Most of these are geographical in nature. Why are there few if any primary barrow burials of the type found in Wiltshire located between the Derbyshire group and the Wiltshire group if Mercian influence prevailed over the entire area? Also, why are there no primary barrow burials to the north of Wansdyke? The simplest solution would be that these are yet to be excavated, but, if there are none, neither question may be answered with any great conviction. The answer may be as straightforward as the idea that more trouble may have been expected from the inhabitants to the South of Wansdyke, an area which would appear to have been more densely populated. But, as to why there is such a wide gap between barrow groups, no such simple solutions present themselves.

Another factor which is difficult to explain is why there are no similar burials in other sections of the West Saxon Kingdom, but, again, this may be due to lack of excavation. However, the problem is complicated by the fact that barrow burials may be assigned to the incorrect classification (primary instead of secondary or vice versa) for a number of reasons including poor excavation techniques and inadequate recording. In some cases, such as Roundway Down, deep cists may have destroyed any primary evidence or, as at Winkelbury Hill, cists themselves may be cleaned out and re-used, leaving only the size of the barrow to indicate that the burial is not a Primary one.

One might theorize at length as to the solutions to all these problems, but, for all intents and purposes, the true answer remains beyond our grasp.

In defence of the Anglian theory are the facts that both groups contain both coffined and uncoffined skeletons and both wealthy and rather poor (or very poor) burials. There are also similarities in the grave goods found in these two groups. A barrow at Cold Eaton (Db.) contained 28 bone counters or gaming pieces similar to 30 found at Roundway Down I, but the Cold Eaton burial was by cremation (Meaney, 1963, 74). A bronze bowl of the seventh century was found with a primary inhumation at Garralt's Piece (Db.) (Meaney,

1964, 122) which might indicate that indirect or direct trade with the continent also reached this part of the country. Therefore, whilst the Anglian group does not offer exact parallels to the Wiltshire group, the former being poorer (in most cases) and not as numerous (to date), there are enough comparable factors, including the seventh (mid to late) century dates for both, to indicate some fairly close connection between the two.

The date range is too narrow for it to be determined which group began to build barrows first, and this connection still does not solve the problem of where the idea originally came from, but barrow building is an intriguing phenomenon in its own right and one which probably deserves further investigation. One interesting point in favour of the link between the two groups is the fact that the Chronicle date at which Cenwahl of Wessex was expelled by Penda, 644, is a date roughly accurate for the earliest primary barrow burials in Wiltshire (roughly 650-).

The "Anglian Solution" is an attractive one in that it may offer solutions to a few of the outstanding problems concerning the placement of these barrows, such as why they are usually situated at a distance from other burial places. Roche Court Down may be eliminated from this group because it may actually reflect the same tradition as Leighton Buzzard (see page 112). The others may have been placed away from community burial places because A: that was the norm (though not the rule) to the North, or B: those interred in these barrows were not integral members of the West Saxon land-owning classes and, as a group apart, chose to be buried away from the, by then, "native population" who may not have wished to share their burial grounds with outsiders in any case.

In short, there are at least three possible solutions (and probably several others) to the problem of from where and how the Men of Wiltshire adopted the use of purpose built barrows for the burials of specific people. It may have been an independent development stemming from the use of Bronze Age barrows for such a purpose, a refinement of an already (fairly) common occurrence. Or, the tradition of building a small mound over a grave in a cemetery, as practised in Sussex and Kent, may have been adopted and altered to a pattern of small, low isolated mounds which is seen in Wiltshire. Or, a third possibility is that these mounds are more Anglian in nature and reflect a somewhat alien culture who, in their homeland, were burying their local

chieftains in barrows of this type and who imported the custom into the Wiltshire area some time in the mid seventh century. The correct solution might also include any combination of the above.

Another solution presents itself. Some of the grave goods found in the Wiltshire barrows, particularly the garnet work and the glass vessels, do have strong affinities to objects found in seventh century Kentish burials, others, such as the shallow skillets and the little roundel seem to be more localized forms, and may have been produced by Celtic-influenced artisans living in the County (possibly at Malmesbury).

In any case, these ten primary burials are, perhaps, the most intriguing burials in Wiltshire, as, aside from the wide assortment of grave goods they have supplied, they throw a bit of light on trade, social structure, burial rites (causeways, animal bones, food offerings, and memorial visits), and the slow rate at which Christian burial practices and customs were entirely accepted and assimilated into the seventh century religious structure of these transitional communities. It may also indicate the "trickling down" process of conversion, the aristocratic members (under the influence of their King), converting first - followed by the ordinary citizen. However, if the burials at Winkelbury Hill and Roche Court Down are also transitional in date, the above need not be the absolute case, and this assumption would depend heavily upon the actuality of the idea that those interred in these primary barrows were converts to Christianity and may indeed be regarded as transitional burials.

Secondary Burial in Barrows of All Types

Although there are no fewer than twenty-two secondary pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in round barrows and eight cases of the re-use of long barrows in Wiltshire, most of these sites are so poorly recorded that, as a unit, they add little information to the general picture of the development of barrow burial in the county. Therefore, an entire phase of barrow re-use may only be roughly documented. Some of these burials appear to pre-date those in purpose-built barrows, others may be approximately contemporaneous. Only one of these burials, Swallowcliffe (unpublished to date), is as wealthy as the wealthier primary barrow burials such as Ford or Rodmead Down, and several of the secondary burials contained only one grave good each or nothing at all. Unlike the primary barrow burials, six of the secondary burials were found to the north of the river Kennett, and their geographical spread is far greater than that expressed by the primary burials (Fig. 35). As the reports are, on the whole, quite poor, an alphabetical Gazetteer form has been adopted for their analysis, and a rough chronology follows at the conclusion of this section.

1. Ablington, Figheldene, chance find

A rabbit burrowing at "barrow clump" unearthed a (Swanton) type H1 spearhead dating to the late fifth or the first half of the sixth century (Swanton, Corpus, 1974, 51). No other traces of burial were found although it would appear that the site was never properly investigated. The finds site lies in the valley trench of the River Avon near the boundary between the parishes of Figheldene and Milston in the Hundred of Amesbury. The placename, Albaldinton (Ealdbeard's farm), is first recorded in Domesday Book, although the name seems Saxon in origin. Whilst the area is not particularly dense in pagan burials, the small cemetery at Netheravon lies less than one mile to the north-east of the site, and the secondary burial at Silk Hill less than one mile to the east-north-east. If this spearhead is indicative of a secondary barrow burial, then it may be one of the earliest in the county, although it has been stressed often in this thesis that a single object does not conclusively date a burial.

2. Amesbury (twin bell barrow): Excavated by Stukeley prior to 1740 and recorded in Hoare, Vol. I, page 169

The only evidence that this may be a secondary Saxon inhumation is the shallowness of the grave, 14" deep, and the position of the skeleton, extended. The orientation, recorded as S-N, is an extremely rare one for a pagan Anglo-Saxon burial in Wiltshire. More commonly these are orientated N-S. The skeleton was that of a badly decayed adult male. No grave goods. Stukeley noted that the remains were "exceedingly rotten" and this may indicate that the burial is of an earlier date, although some Saxon remains are also in extremely poor condition (and the burial was quite shallow).

Amesbury is the only one of two possibly secondary burials in a twin bell barrow. The barrow lies just into the parish of Amesbury, about three eighths of a mile from the boundaries of the parishes of Durrington and Winterbourne Stoke, both parishes in which secondary burials have been found. It occupies a position on the lower chalk plain in the Hundred of Amesbury. The placename is first recorded in the Will of King Alfred as part of the lands granted to his younger son: "tham gingran nimum suna tha land aet ... Ambres-byrig" (Birch II, 1885, 177).

Other sites nearby include Durrington to the north west, and the barrows at Winterbourne Stoke to the west of the site. The area about the Amesbury barrow is sprinkled with tumuli, those opened have invariably contained Bronze Age or undatable remains (some rifled prior to excavation). This particular barrow, recorded as number 44 on Goddard's list (WiAm, 1913-14, 168), is part of a row of thirteen barrows running east to west. Goddard does not classify this burial as Saxon, and, indeed, there is only the vaguest suggestion that it is. This burial may only be included as "very doubtful" as there is no conclusive evidence for its dating.

3. Ashton Valley II, Codford St. Peters, opened and recorded by Wm. Cunnington prior to 1812

This is a shallow male burial orientated SW-NE (head direction not known, most probably NE-SW), in a bowl barrow to the extreme west of a group of seven (Goddard No. 6). Barrow number 1B in the same group contained the primary inhumation in an 11' deep cist discussed on p.176. Grave good, a sword wrapped in cloth and a fir wood bucket in an

advanced state of decay. Dating: these artefacts are found in all stages of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials from the late fifth century example found at Petersfinger through to the primary barrow burials of the mid to late seventh century. The excavators also recorded finding a boss, but there is no additional information concerning what might have been the only datable object in the collection. The cloth may have been used as a substitute as there was no scabbard, but only one other possible example of an object being wrapped has been excavated in the county, a bowl which accompanied grave 64 at Harnham Hill. In the case of the latter, the excavator suggested that the cloth adhering to the bowl was actually the remains of a linen shroud (see p.72). His case is unproven, however. Below the burial lay the remains of the primary cremation.

This barrow is located on the parish boundary separating Codford St. Peters and Chitterne in the Hundred of Heytesbury. It lies in the valley trench of the river Wylye (about two to two and a half miles from the river itself), and a small stream runs down to the river from Chitterne and passes very close to the barrow itself. It is one of the more south-western of the pagan Anglo-Saxon secondary burial sites, only two others, W. Knoyle and Winkelbury Hill lie to the south-west of it.

4. Boscombe Down: ploughed out, probably one male skeleton, excavated by R. S. Newell for the Air Ministry prior to its destruction in 1930 (WiAM, 45, 430)

The barrow at Boscombe Down was a large, disturbed bowl barrow which had been rifled prior to excavation. Grave goods with secondary burial. The primary burial had suffered some dislodgement. Half a pair of iron scissors, a bronze ring, and a split-socketted spearhead, a Roman coin and the remains of some flue tiles (which suggest that there may have been a villa in the area). Dating: the bronze belt-hook is decorated with three multi-concentric ring and dot motifs separated by diamond shapes. The piece has no close parallels. It is finer, smaller, and more rectilinear than most pagan Saxon clasps or hooks and eyes, being only about 2" long and less than 1" wide. The shears resemble sheep shears. Scissors are found in both Roman and Saxon burials, and, as there may be a villa nearby, it was not possible to assign them to either period with any certainty. The spearhead, however, is definitely of Saxon date and belongs to Swanton's type E2 category. This is a long-lasting form which has

been found in both early and late contexts. Therefore, it was not possible to date this burial although it is Saxon.

It lies on the boundary between the parishes of Amesbury and Idmiston in the Hundred of Amesbury. It is situated on the lower chalk plain and is listed as part of the Amesbury group (No. 85) by Goddard (WiAm, 1913-14, 170). The barrows occupying the area immediately surrounding it have not been excavated, but they (and this barrow) have now been destroyed.

5. Broad Town, Clyffe Pypard: chance find. Found whilst removing the top of a barrow circa 1834

The report of the objects found at Broad Town differs somewhat from source to source. Goddard and Baldwin-Brown list beads and an arrowhead only, Dr. Meaney and the Devizes Museum catalogue add a glass vessel rim to the collection. These reports also differ as to how they categorize the burials themselves. All the sources other than Goddard list the burials as indisputable pagan Saxon whilst Goddard hedges his decision and lists them as ?Saxon, ?secondary.

The skeletons were found when the top of a barrow was removed in 1834 (WiAm, 1913-14, 213) but, to the writer's knowledge, these were not published until 1860 (WiAm, 1860, 256) when the collection, including a fragment simply labelled "glass" was presented to the Society's museum. Goddard was doubtful that there actually was a barrow at the site. All in all, nothing definite is known about the burials found at Broad Town, including just how many skeletons were found. The writer is in doubt as to how to classify these burials. The beads of amber and glass, and the vessel rim could be of Roman date as easily as they could be pagan Anglo-Saxon. The arrowhead is unlike any listed in Swanton, and, indeed, it is omitted from his Corpus. It is a very small object, less than 4" long, with a stout, abraded ferrule, a true arrowhead in type rather than a spearhead. It is closest in form to Swanton's A1 or A2 category, but is markedly different even from these. It is shorter, broader and has more closely set barbs. If it does belong to this group, it may be amongst the earliest Anglo-Saxon weapons in Wiltshire, as Swanton believes that this form went out of use by the end of the fifth century. The type is confined to southern England, but the Broad Town example may only be assigned to this category with some reservations. The bead is of plain green glass, and the amber bead is a very worn specimen (D.A., 1934, 239).

From the grave goods, it might be conjectured that there were both male and female burials found at Broad Town, but the evidence is too slight to be conclusive as beads may also accompany a male skeleton. There is a strong possibility that these burials may be Roman rather than pagan Anglo-Saxon.

The site is located on the scarp foot bench near the boundary between the parishes of Clyffe Pypard and Broad Town in the Hundred of Kingsbridge. The nearest pagan Anglo-Saxon burial site is about four miles away to the north-east. Broad Town is first recorded in the twelfth century, but Clyffe Pypard, "aet Clyffe" is first recorded in a charter of 983 in which Ethelred granted the thegn Aethelwine 10 mansae (Finberg, 1964, 100). The name simply means "slope" (E.P.N.S., 1939, 266).

6. Durrington: pond barrow, chance find in 1865. Published by M. E. Cunnington in WiAm, 1932-4, 156, 163

Burial sexed and dated by the small skull found therein. It is omitted from Goddard's list, V.C.H. lists it as possibly Saxon (V.C.H., I, I, 1957, 66), and Dr. Meaney and Mrs. Cunnington as Saxon, but there is absolutely no concrete evidence upon which to make this assumption. The entire parish of Durrington is liberally sprinkled with Bronze Age barrows containing both inhumations and cremations, as well as earthworks (Durrington Walls, C.U.C.H., I,II). As the mode of the burial found in the pond barrow was not noted, it seems peculiar that this burial should be singled out as pagan Anglo-Saxon rather than assigned to the Bronze Age especially as it is located in an area of intense Bronze Age activity and very meagre Saxon evidence. Mr. Horton-Smith, who examined the skull, stated that it was similar to ones found in the pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Burwell (Cambs.) and that these specimens were all equally well preserved. Considering the different effects that soil acidity etc. may have upon skeletal remains, this criteria must be deemed inconclusive.

The barrow is located on the lower chalk plain in the Parish of Durrington, Hundred of Amesbury. The placename, Derintone, is first found in D.B. and is interpreted as meaning "Deora's Farm" (E.P.N.S., 1939, 365). A possible Anglo-Saxon cemetery site, Fargo, is less than two miles east-south-east of the barrow. As in the case of the burials

at Clyffe Pypard, there is only weak circumstantial evidence for including this site in a gazetteer of pagan Anglo-Saxon Burials. It is the only case of a pond barrow being re-used, there is no mention made of a primary burial, and, due to the amount of Bronze Age material found in the area, this burial, too, may be of the Bronze Age rather than the pagan Anglo-Saxon period.

7. Everley: bell barrow excavated by Thurnam in 1853, reported by Thurnam in WiAm 1860, 332

Location: As is the case with so many of these secondary barrow burials, the dating evidence for the tallish male skeleton found 1' below the summit of the high bell barrow at Everley is inconclusive. But, the site report is far more accurate than those which normally were published for this type of burial. Middle aged, male skeleton, extended orientated N-S and appeared to be elderly. The skull was ovoid and (probably) dolichocephalic, and the femur measured 19½" giving an approximate height of 5'9½" for this individual. This is in line with the tallest males found at Winkelbury Hill, but somewhat shorter than the tallest males found at Harnham Hill.

The grave contained no artefacts, but a few sherds of coarse Roman pot were found "close by". On this evidence, Thurnam suggested that the burial was of Anglo-Saxon date, no burials of any sort were found in barrows 3 and 4, the latter of which is a small mound between bell barrows 1 and 2. Romano-British pottery has also been found in the immediate vicinity of the site.

The position, location, and orientation of the skeleton would also seem appropriate for a secondary pagan Anglo-Saxon burial. Still, as has been previously mentioned, none of these factors need be deemed exclusive to this era. However, when taken into consideration as a unit, they constitute a fair case for the inclusion of this skeleton in a corpus of this type.

This group of four barrows, two of which contained Wessex culture cremations, is situated on the higher chalk plain in the parish of Everleigh (or Everley) near the boundary of the Parish of Pewsey and less than 1½ miles from the pagan cemetery at Blackpatch (to the west). The placename is one of the earliest recorded in the county, and is first found in a Grant of Privileges given by King Ine of Wessex to the Church (at Winchester?) in May of 704. At that time, the name took the form "Eburleagh" (Birch, I, 1885, 108). The name is interpreted as meaning "wildboar clearing or wood" (E.P.N.S., 1939, 329).

8. East Grafton: disc barrow, excavated in 1910 by Crawford and Peake, most completely published in V.C.H. Wilts. I,I,73, 176, 218. Also some evidence of a secondary inhumation without grave goods in bowl barrow No. (V.C.H.)4 - unpublished.

Location: in East Grafton No. 3, only example in which a disc barrow has been re-used. The burial: apparently male. position and orientation not noted. Grave goods: type G2 spearhead, a type which comes into existence in the late sixth century, and a simple bronze buckle (Swanton Corpus, 1974, 18). Beneath it lay the remains of another skeleton, and, lower down, the original Bronze Age cremation. The middle burial could not be dated. This burial may be one of the latest in this category, but, as the dating for the majority of the secondary is so inconclusive, this may only be stated in view of those few which may be accurately dated.

The secondary burial in bowl barrow No. 4, neighbouring No. 3, lacked grave goods and there is no accurate site report for it. The primary burial in this barrow was also by cremation. If the burial in barrow 4 also belongs to the pagan period, these two may represent all that was excavated of a small secondary barrow burial complex, as there are at least two other instances in which more than one barrow in the same group contained intrusive pagan Anglo-Saxon material, Winterbourne Stoke and Yatesbury. Unfortunately, in all three of these, conclusive evidence is lacking.

A Roman ditch and Vallum touch upon barrow No. 3. In it were found pre-Roman coins and a fragment of a bronze brooch.

The site is located on the scarp foot bench of the higher chalk plain in the parish of East Grafton almost upon the boundary between it and the Parish of Shalborne in the Hundred of Kinwardstone and less than half a mile to the east of the Roman road which runs from Winchester up to Swindon and Marlborough. No known burial sites lie in close proximity to the East Grafton group, the closest being the possible site at Great Bedwyn four miles to the north-north-west. The placename is first recorded in D.B. and East and West Grafton are delineated in 1198. The name is interpreted as meaning "Farm by the Groves". (E.P.N.S. 1939, 347) Evidence for pagan Anglo-Saxon settlement is fairly sparse in this region, in fact, even the aforementioned cemetery site may not belong to this era. Again, it may be that a permanent source of water was lacking or the area may have been heavily forested as these two barrows both lie on the edge of Great Botley Copse.

9. East Kennet: unlocated, excavated circe 1643, in Stukeley, page 45, and V.C.H. Wilts. I, I, 173, 243 (Meaney, 1964, 269)

East Kennet 7A is perhaps the most meagrely reported of all the secondary barrow burials included herein. Bowl barrow, Parish of Kennet (Hundred of Selkley). The placename is derived from the site's location on the River Kennet and is first mentioned as "aet Cyneton" in a grant by King Aethelstan to Wulfswyth (ancilla Christi) of land at Uferan tun (Overton) on the river Cynete or Kennet in 939.

> "Qua propter ego. Aethstanus ... Bryttanniae cungulus aliquam partem terre juris me perpetuuli donatione ... dedite Christi ancilla. Th (W) ufsth(w)yth eatinus ... juxta dirivatiuis fluentium successibus. aet Cynetun.
>
> (Birch, II, 1885, 447)

V.C.H. lists this burial as either primary or secondary. As the barrow itself is unlocated, it was not possible to compare its size to other Bronze Age or Anglo-Saxon barrows. Male, orientation and position not noted, in a cist made up of two eleven foot long stones. Grave goods: a sword and a knife (forms and materials not noted). This cist had been covered over by another large stone (V.C.H. I, I, 1957, 173). The cist construction (as described) differs somewhat from the common types of pagan Anglo-Saxon cists which are, on the whole, either lined with smaller stones set end to end or are neatly cut into the chalk natural (and thus are not cists at all) with no additional stone lining. None of the primary barrow burials were covered by massive stones, nor are there any examples of this in flat-grave cemeteries. The few other cases in which this has been noted are dubiously dated secondary inhumations. Sarsen stones have been found in other barrows in the parish, all of which would appear to be of Bronze Age date and one of which (Ic) contained a Wessex culture burial. As it is also unknown whether or not the weapons are of iron, they do not assist in assigning this burial to any particular era.

Because of the paucity of the evidence, no conclusions could be reached concerning this burial. The atypical grave construction may hint that this is actually a Bronze Age burial rather than a Saxon one, but, it is always possible that an earlier cist had been emptied and re-used, a phenomenon with a few possible parallels in the county.

10. Hinton Down, Bishopstone: Bowl barrow excavated by Greenwell circa 1890. Recorded in Arch. 1890, 58

The burial at Hinton Down is far better recorded than most of the others in this section. Male, extended, orientated N-S 3' to the west of the centre of a medium sized bowl barrow. The skeleton lay at a depth of about 2' but it is unclear in what form of grave the body lay. Grave goods: type E3 spearhead. Dating: a late, long-lasting spear form which developed in the sixth century and continued to be used beyond the end of the pagan period (Swanton, Corpus, 1974, 14). The primary burial was a Bronze Age cremation.

Hinton Down is one of the more northerly of the secondary barrow sites, and is situated on the higher chalk plain less than one mile from the Roman road to Cirencester. The cemetery at Foxhill is about five miles west-north-west of the finds spot, but there have been no pagan Anglo-Saxon remains found to the east or to the direct south of the barrow and it occupies a fairly isolated position. Hinton Down is in the Parish of Bishopstone close by the parish boundary of Wanborough in the Hundred of Ramsbury. Both Hinton and Bishopstone are unrecorded until the twelfth century, the latter was part of the estates of the Bishops of Salisbury, and the former seems to mean "farm of the monastic community" and belonged to the monastery at Winchester (E.P.N.S., 1939, 286-7).

11. West Knoyle II (East Knoyle): small bowl barrow, not accurately located, see primary barrow burial page . Excavated by Hoare and Wm. Cunnington circa 1802. Possibly Goddard No. 1, in WiAm, 1913-14, 275

This is yet another unclassifiable barrow burial which has only been included herein because it appears in Dr. Meaney's Gazetteer. Its chief importance lies in its close proximity to a primary barrow burial, West Knoyle I. The report is extremely poor. Burial, large male, position and orientation unknown. No grave goods. Below it lay the original cist in which were found jet and amber beads. Aside from the fact that the burial lay near the surface of the barrow, as is customary of secondary burials, there is no other evidence that the burial is of pagan Anglo-Saxon date. The only pagan material found on the site came from the aforementioned primary barrow burial.

the other four burials in barrows of this group were of the Bronze Age, a fifth barrow contained nothing at all.[1]

12. Lake Field: chance finds found circa 1760

South Wilsford, like the parish of Durrington, has a heavy concentration of barrows of all forms, and both Bronze Age cremations and inhumations. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that only one barrow in the Lake Group, V.C.H. No. 50B, contained any definite signs of re-use. A male warrior burial, orientation and position unknown. Grave goods: a C4 spearhead and what is described as a helmet but is, in truth, a sugar-loaf shield boss, probably of the straight cone variety.

The paucity of evidence from this site is particularly unfortunate in that Lake Field may be one of the latest of the pagan Anglo-Saxon secondary burials. It may be as late as the mid-seventh century. It is also a wealthy burial for its category.

This group of twenty-three bowl and bell barrows is enclosed by two ditches (see Roche Court Down, p. 99)(WiAm, 1913-14, 347). They

1 The fact that only a few burials in re-used barrows which are parts of large clusters of Bronze Age barrows are found (in each group), is a particularly interesting point, although its interpretation is uncertain. If these re-used barrows are a stage in the development of primary barrow building, and burial within them was intended to signify rank, wealth or possession of the surrounding land, why then are the grave goods so meagre in all but a very few cases? The time span which emerges from these secondary burials would encompass the late fifth, sixth, and first half of the seventh century, or approximately 150 years, long enough for these tumuli to form the nucleii of a cemetery or for other members of the family or persons of the same rank within a (local) community to have occupied other nearlying Bronze Age barrows. Yet, for the most part, these secondary barrow burials lie in (relative) isolation. The possibilities are that A: other burials found have been mis-classified; B: some of these burials are not pagan Anglo-Saxon (very likely); C: when land changed hands, the new owners were buried elsewhere, in their own "honourable" clumps; D: these secondary barrow burials represent the rites of a particular class or rank of individual occupying a position which was not necessarily inheritable (or always in use), and the supply exceeded the demand to such an extent that each person had his own area; E: the burials were intended to be the centres for other burials (of all types), but custom or customary burial places had changed in the interim and these areas were not re-used. Any or all of these possibilities have some merit, none are provable however. What is clear is that in the majority of the examples known the individuals buried in re-used barrows were not as wealthy as some of those who were later buried in purpose-built barrows, although the possibility that they are all of the same status, and that permanent settlement and a drastic improvement in the economy and the trade contacts available accounts for the differences in wealth between the two groups.

are located in the Parish of Wilsford-cum-Lake (Hundred of Underditch). This area has a fairly high concentration of secondary barrow burials and flat-grave burials. The large long barrow at Normanton (not conclusively pagan Anglo-Saxon) is in the same Parish and lies to the north of barrow 50B. The surrounding Parishes of Winterbourne Stoke and Amesbury also contain intrusive barrow burials, whilst Durrington, to the north, may possess a largish cemetery and an additional barrow burial. All of these sites lie on the lower chalk plain between the valleys of the Rivers Avon and Till. Lake Field is the most southerly of the group. The placename is first recorded in 1289 and derives from the Old English Lacuor, streamlet. These streams and streamlets must have been of singular importance to settlements on the chalk plains as they would have partially alleviated the problems of water supply. The thin, easily worked soils of the area may have also attracted settlers - as would this particular region's location between two major waterways which may have provided excellent lines of communication. Surprisingly, apart from Fargo, a doubtful site, no large cemeteries have yet been located or excavated on this large, peninsular-like land mass whose southern tip converges upon the river valleys which surround Salisbury, perhaps (and it seems very likely), they are yet to be found.

13. Ogbourne St. Andrews: large bowl barrow in a churchyard. Excavated by H. Cunnington in 1885, published in WiAm, 1885, 345-6.

There are several problems involved in including this very unusual burial in this section. All of its features single it out from the rest of the intrusive burials discussed herein. It is a coffined burial which lay at a depth of 5' in the centre of a large barrow which, like that at Taplow, lay in the corner (northeastern) of a churchyard. Probably male skeleton, extended ENE-WSW. Surrounding the coffin was a large quantity of ash (probably ashwood). Above the burial were about twenty medieval interments (from the churchyard cemetery), below it a Bronze Age cremation and a wood-lined cist, also covered in wood ashes. The firwood coffin was held together with iron clamps, as was the coffin at Roundway Down II.

This burial is very deep for a secondary inhumation. The ashes may be of great interest and importance, but only if they are contemporary with the secondary burial, and not, as it might appear, disturbed

Bronze Age material, a solution which seems much more plausible considering that the same material was found in the wood-lined cist at the bottom of the barrow. It may be suggested that this burial lay in the remains of a secondary pre-historic burial of a type similar to the bottom-most, or that the ashes are the remains of a fire which originally had been lit at the top of the barrow, the subsequent overburden being the product of material added in conjunction with either the coffined burial or the medieval ones. In either case, it is difficult to reconcile the ashes in terms of material placed around the coffined burial at the time of interment.

Coffins are rather uncommon in Wiltshire, and are more typical of the late/transitional period than any other. However, the coffin found at Ogbourne St. Andrews differs from those found at Heddington, Winkelbury Hill, and Roundway I, and to a lesser extent, from that found at Roundway II. The former were nailed together or their construction is not known, the latter bound with clamps and iron hoops, cf. Heddington, Roundway I and II. All almost due E-W. All but the Winkelbury Hill example may be in purpose-built barrows.

Not included as conclusively Saxon in Goddard, V.C.H., M. Cunnington, it was thought to be Saxon because of the primary burial which was found below it (WiAm, 1932-4, 165). There is the possibility that it is a medieval burial as were those above it, even though these were not coffined. Dating: no conclusion may be reached, but, if it does belong to the pagan era, and it is unusual in both its location and its mode, there is a possibility that it belongs to the later phases rather than to the earlier ones.

The site is located in the valley trench of the River Kennet, and a small stream runs just a few feet away from it. The river, itself, is just to the west of the site. The single inhumation at Marlborough Mildenhall and Poulton Down are 3, 4 and one and a half miles respectively to the east or southeast of Ogbourne. The barrow is situated in the Parish of Ogbourne St. Andrews (Hundred of Selkley). The placename is first recorded as Oceburnan (Oc(c)'s stream) in the Will of Aethelwold (aldorman) bequeathing land at Wilig or Wileg to the Church at Winchester in 946 along with some personal bequests. This particular parcel was left to his brother: "... minum brether Eadrice thaet land aet Oceburnan, aet Aecslesdune etc." (Birch, II, 1885, 583).

14. Silk Hill, Brigmerston (Milston): Bowl barrow (Goddard No. 7), excavated by Wm. Cunnington circa 1812. Further excavations on bell barrow No. 3 carried out in 1941

Male inhumation was found in "the largest most conspicuous barrow on the Hill (WiAm, 1932-4, 162) in the Silk Hill group. Five of these barrows were opened by Hoare and Cunnington in the early nineteenth century. Nothing was noted about this particular burial except that it lay "nearer the surface" than did the primary Bronze Age cremation. Found with this skeleton was a lancehead or spearhead which does not appear in Swanton's Corpus and which could not be accurately classified.

Three skeletons were excavated in bell barrow No. 3 in 1941. All three lacked grave goods and one is said to have been in a sitting position. As they are undatable, and V.C.H. suggests that they are of the early Iron Age or any date through to the post-Roman period, they have been excluded as a separate site. Barrow number 3 lies slightly to the west of number 7. They are situated at the eastern end of a small tributary of the River Avon on the lower chalk plain in the Parish of Milston (Hundred of Amesbury). Brigmerston is first recorded in D.B. as Britmarestun and derives from the Old English personal name Beorhtmaer or Britmaer. The hill, itself, is not named until 1773 (E.P.N.S., 1939, 369). As in the cases of some of the other Parishes mentioned, there are many Bronze Age barrows and a few neolithic long barrows in the Parish of Milston, yet these two are the only ones which are said to contain secondary inhumations. The small cemetery at Netheravon is about 4 miles away to the north-west, and the secondary burial at Ablington is directly to the west of the Silk Hill group. There are no primary barrow burials in the area, nor have any large cemeteries been located. Information is so poor for these two Silk Hill barrows that, as in other cases, they have been included herein only because reference works consulted suggest that they may be pagan Saxon in date.

15. The secondary barrow burial at Swallowcliffe Down, Antsy, is the wealthiest in its category. Unfortunately, this burial has not been completely published, and a note in WiAm, 1968 (p. 115) is the sole existing report. This barrow is either Goddard's No. 3 or V.C.H. I, I, No. 4 and is located at ST 96712340 (O.S.). The barrow lies on the patish boundary which separates Swallowcliffe from Antsy (Hundred of

Dunworth). The placename, Swallowcliffe is first recorded in a Charter of 940 granting Garulf, Thegn to King Edmund, nine mansae in Swealewanclif. (Birch II, 1880, No. 756.) The name may derive from a stream name or may be interpreted to mean "swallow cliff or slope" (E.P.N.S. 1939, 192).

The burial, a disturbed male skeleton lying east-west in a re-used cist. Grave goods: a double-tongued buckle with three rivets similar to the one found at Ford, a bronze bound wooden case with parallels at Desborough, Northants., a double sided bone comb, a bronze needle and case (see Yatesbury), p.**220**). a silver gilt spoon, a small iron bound bucket, two plain Harden type 6 glass vessels, several other small ornaments of silvered bronze and gold foil, and a spearhead which was found above the skeleton in the turf moulding (Swanton, 1974,161). Some other objects may belong to the primary Wessex burial, 2 brooches, an incense burner and a diadem.

Mode of burial: the skeleton lay on a wooden and iron bedstead or bier of a type never before encountered in the county. Shudy Camps (Cambs.) produced three such bed burials, Lethbridge, its excavator, considered Shudy Camps to be a late burial place and suggested that it might even be partially Christian (Ca ASQ., V, 1936). Lethbridge's suggestion, and the fact that the closest parallels for such bed burials lie to the North of the Thames, may aid in both dating the burial to the mid to late seventh century and may add to the features having a Northern origin which may be seen in Wiltshire burials of the mid to late seventh century. Aside from the bedstead element, this burial is unique in being a late, extremely wealthy and conclusively secondary one. It is as rich as the wealthiest primary barrow burials and contains many of the same types of grave goods. As in the case of Roundway Down II, which may also be secondary, there is some cause to suggest that secondary barrow burials of this date be considered in the same category (class) as primary barrow burials. It may be that suitable small barrows were re-used for convenience and those in Antsy are quite small (less than twelve paces in diameter and under 18" high, a size approximating that of the primary barrows).

The date of this burial fits in well with the dates of other barrow and flat-grave burials near by such as Alvediston and Winkelbury Hill, all of which would appear to belong to the seventh century. As has been previously mentioned, settlement as indicated by burials may have been very late in reaching the extreme southwest, an area described by Pitt-Rivers as bleak and unaccommodating (see p.**113**).

16A & B. Winkelbury Hill: Excavated by Pitt-Rivers in the 1880's, published in "Excavations in Cranborne Chase ..." Vol. II.
Barrow 4 (1): disturbed burial coffin fittings only.
Barrow 2: one or possibly two secondary interments.
For location see cemetery report page

The two re-used barrows at Winkelbury Hill form part of a Barrow/flat grave complex which may date, for reasons stated in the section dealing with the flat grave burials (p.**112**), to the transitional period.

Barrow 1A is a low, ditched and causewayed saucer barrow 31' in diameter. It is one of the few saucer barrows to be re-used by the pagan Anglo-Saxons. At a depth of 3'6" a large E-W orientated cist was found. It measured 8'6" in length by 6'10" in width. At each corner of the chalk-cut cist was a small 10" deep stake hole. These suggest that some light structure may have been built over the cist. In the grave were found coffin clasps of a type similar to those found at Ogbourne St. Andrews. The burial itself had been completely disturbed. Pitt-Rivers was unclear as to whether the cist itself had been re-used, but dated the barrow itself to the "ancient British period" from pot and artifacts scattered throughout the tumulus. Re-use of graves is not altogether unknown in Wiltshire, a skeleton at Broadchalke, for example (No. 19), lay in an earlier grave cutting which had been cleaned out for re-use. If this is the case, then the curious post-holes may also date to the original interment rather than to the Saxon one. As no traces of wood were found (either from the stakes themselves or from the structure they may have supported), it is possible that this cist had been cleared out before the secondary burial was interred. The coffin, itself, also left no organic traces, but then there is some doubt as to whether or not there actually was a coffin accompanying this burial. If, however, the post-holes are contemporaneous with the secondary burial, they are the only evidence for a possible grave structure in the county and must be regarded as of singular importance. No grave goods accompanied this burial and this is another reason for regarding these posts as earlier than the Saxon period. As in the case of Sutton Hoo (B.M. guide), these wooden structures would appear to serve the purpose of housing the possessions of the dead, as there were none in evidence at Winkelbury Hill there would appear to be no need for such a construction. But the grave had been completely disturbed at the time of excavation and there may have been grave goods originally. The cemetery is singularly poor, and an elaborate barrow burial would seem out of keeping in light of "community

traditions". As has been noted at Roche Court Down, secondary or primary interments in barrow/flat grave complexes do not appear to be significantly wealthier than the burials which surround them.

Barrow 2B is a fair-sized bowl barrow 15 paces in diameter, though only 2' high at the time it was recorded by V.C.H, 5'6" x 2'3" x 2'8" cist with a flint-lined bottom at centre. Two skeletons, one scattered throughout the fill, the other a male, supine, head to the west (E-W). Grave goods: iron knife. As in the previous example, it might appear that the cist itself had been re-used, although in this case it would seem that it had not been completely cleaned out first.

One of the most interesting features of these two barrows is, as in the case of the primary barrow burial at Roche Court Down, the individuals buried in the barrows at Winkelbury Hill do not appear to be (as aforementioned) more lavishly supplied with grave goods than those buried in flat graves, although as mentioned, the first burial had been rifled. The orientations, E-W in barrow 2 and presumably E-W in barrow 1 as well, are also consistent with the orientation of the flat grave burials. Therefore, the sole feature which singles out these burials (unless the skeleton in barrow 1 actually lay in a coffin) is the mode in which these individuals were buried. This is one of the factors which suggests that the entire complex may be of transitional date. If so, these burials are very late in the sequence of secondary interments and may date to the mid seventh century.

These two barrow burials and the primary burial at Roche Court Down seem to belong to a slightly different tradition or ethos than the elaborate primary barrow burials which may date to the same period. The former seem more "truly transitional" in character than the latter. Even the orientation of the skeletons is more in keeping with the transitional period than are the erratic orientations of the primary burials, although as has been pointed out, this is somewhat poor and inconclusive evidence upon which to base the possible dating of these burials. Apparently, these individuals, of some special rank in the community, chose to be buried with its other members rather than in some more-or-less isolated locale as is the case with the majority of the primary barrow burials, some of which lie near other barrow burials but only one of which, Roche Court Down, lies near a provably Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the same period.

17, 18 & 19. Winterbourne Stoke: Excavated by Cunnington, 1809, best published in WiAm, 1932-4, 368-9 and V.C.H. Vol. I, I

Barrow I (No. 61 in the West Congyar Group): one skeleton in a re-used cist

Barrow II (No. 66 in the same group) burnt bones and a few beads

Barrow III (V.C.H. No. 4), five undated skeletons

Only one of these barrows, No. 61 in the West Congyar Group is fairly conclusively of Saxon date. No information except that it lay in a chalk cut cist above the scattered remains of the primary Bronze Age cremation. Unlike the burials in re-used cists at Broadchalke and Winkelbury 1, the cist was not cleaned out before the secondary burial was interred. This burial had been disturbed. Grave goods: a knife. This is the more north-easterly of the two secondary burials in barrows in the Congyar Group. It is a high barrow for the group, the majority being low bowl or disc barrows. Winterbourne Stoke is one of the cases in which several barrows were re-used in the pagan period, notably Broad Town and Idmiston. Larger barrows seem to have been selected for the purpose even though, presumably, smaller barrows would have been more easily adapted. It is interesting to note that in the primary barrow building phase, small barrows only were constructed.

The beads in barrow 66, a ploughed out bowl barrow, were found in conjunction with a possible cremation which lay in another part of the barrow. The bead has been classified as Saxon and is of blue vitreous paste with a white spiral decoration and is said to be similar to that found at Winkelbury Hill. Because of its location within the barrow, it may be best to consider it a chance find rather than as evidence of secondary burial. No bones were found, but the excavator felt that the grave had been rifled prior to excavation. It is obvious, from distribution maps, that the area around Winterbourne Stoke was fairly densely populated in the pagan Anglo-Saxon era, a situation which could indicate either that the barrow was re-used or that the bead is a casual find dropped, perhaps, by a mourner on his way to barrow 61. In any case, the evidence is too slight to regard this bead as the sole surviving relic of a pagan Anglo-Saxon inhumation for it is even unclear whether it was actually in the cist or in amongst the debris left by the riflers.

The third barrow is a high, large ditched bell barrow which contained an impressive cremation of the Wessex Culture which had been enclosed in a bronze bound wooden box (V.C.H. I, I, 212). Above the cremation five skeletons, no information, no grave goods. Burials could be any date subsequent to primary burial. Another barrow in the parish, Goddard No. 10 in the Winterbourne Stoke Down group, also contained multiple burials, including children, which lay above the original inhumations and date to the Bronze Age. Hoare regarded this as a family burial group spanning more than a single generation. Barrow No. 3 may also be an example of this rather than of re-use of the barrow by pagan Anglo-Saxons. Multiple burials in round barrows are found only very infrequently, they are far more common to re-used long barrows than they are to round barrows of any type. If the re-use of round barrows is indicative of a desire to single out certain individuals, using them for multiple inhumations would have defeated this purpose. If the above be the case, it would seem highly unlikely that these five skeletons do date to the pagan era.

All three of these barrows lie on the lower chalk plain between the valleys of the Rivers Till and Avon in the Parish of Winterbourne Stoke (Hundred of Dole). The doubtful cemetery at Fargo lies to the north of them, Everleigh and Normanton to the south. Barrows No. 2 and 3 are situated not far from the boundary between the parishes of Winterbourne Stoke and Durrington, the first barrow lies to the west of the others. The Parish/Town name, Winterbourne Stoke, is derived from Wintreburnestock as it is first recorded in D.B. and is taken from the original name for the River Till-Winterburne (burnan). (E.P.N.S. 1939, 237, 10).

20. Winterslow Hut, Idmiston No. 23. Excavated in 1814 by Hutchins, published in Hoare, 1837, 208-11 and standard texts.

Idmiston 23 is a large bell barrow some 12' in height at the time of the V.C.H. recording, although it may have been as much as 20' when excavated. A male skeleton, orientation and position not noted. Grave goods: a pointed carinated boss, a type C2 spearhead, an oval looped buckle, and an ornamented bronze-hooped bucket. V.C.H. suggests that this burial may be primary (V.C.H. 1957, 210), but this seems most unlikely both because of the large size of the barrow, its form, and the fact that the excavator did not prove this by digging

it to natural. The form of the cist is not recorded, but the burial also seems quite shallow for a primary inhumation although 2' deep cists are known for this group (Roche Court Down and Alvediston).

The buckle is of a type common to such cemeteries as Blackpatch and Petersfinger. The shield is quite low and small with a pronounced tip as seen on the early boss from Bassett Down. The pail-shaped bucket is constructed with three encircling hoops and two staffs, it is of a simple form and was in good condition when found but no notes were made as to the type of wood used. It is closest in type to the bucket found in grave 21 at Petersfinger, except that the latter has parallel sides. This object is now lost, the remaining grave goods are lodged in Salisbury Museum.

Given the meagre dating evidence for this burial, it may be assigned a date in the first half of the sixth century on the grounds of the boss form alone. Buckets "may be broadly dated to the sixth century" (or later)(Leeds, 1953, 47) and the belt buckle is missing the plate needed to adequately date it. The speartype is a long lasting one which may span the entire pagan period. If the above dating is correct, Winterslow may be one of the earlier pagan Anglo-Saxon secondary burials.

According to V.C.H., sherds of what may be Saxon pottery were found in a small cist in neighbouring barrow No. 22. V.C.H. also suggests that this may be a primary barrow, but, like 23, it seems to be on too grand a scale.

Barrows 22 and 23 are part of a large group of tumuli in the Parish of Idmiston, these two lie "close to the Winterslow boundary" (WiAm 1913-14, 268). The placename, Idemestone, is first recorded in a Charter of King Eddred granting property to the thegn Wilfric in 948.

> "Qua propter Ego Eddredus Rex Anglorum ... rector
> cuidan meo fideli ministro vocitato nomine
> Wlfrico ded quinque mansae ... aet Idmemestone."
>
> (Birch, 1885, Vol.III, 867)

These two barrows lie just to the west of Roche Court Down and to their immediate east-south-east is the single burial at Winterslow (p.**160**). They are situated on the higher chalk plain on a "V" between the east-west running Roman road leading to Old Sarum and beyond and the NE-SW running Roman road which also leads into Old Sarum; this particular area exhibits one of the densest cluster of

pagan Anglo-Saxon material in the country, material which may range in date from the early to mid sixth century (Idmiston) to the transitional period (Roche Court Down). All forms of burial are encountered in this area, from earlier secondary barrow burials to late primary and flat grave inhumations. In some respects, it may typify an over-simplified chronology for the county, from early single burials and burial in large Bronze Age barrows to late primary and flat grave burials. But this type of Chronology does not hold true for the county in general, as hasbeen noted, secondary barrow burials may also be contemporary with late/transitional cemeteries. The barrow burial in Idmiston 23 is a wealthy one for its type and comes closer to the wealth found in some of the simpler primary barrows, such as West Knoyle I, but, it is a far simpler burial than any of the more elaborate primary barrow burials such as Ford or Rodmead. It shares another similarity with the Primary group in that the individual was interred with his weapons as is uncommon to the majority of the secondary barrow burials. But its dating and the size of the barrow both make it unlikely that V.C.H. is correct in assigning it to the Primary group.

21 & 22. Yatesbury No. 1 (Goddard 5A or B) and No. 2 (Goddard 4)
Excavated in the first half of the eighteenth century (No. 1) and in 1833 (No. 2)

Barrow 1 excavated by Mr. Bray, published in general texts only, barrow 2 witnessed by Dean Merewether, published in P.A.I. Salisbury, 1849, 96-7

These two barrows have not been specifically located within their group. The four digit O.S. code available for them would place barrow 1 slightly to the north-east of barrow 2.

An inhumation in a large stone-lined cist ("stone coffin"), orientation and position not noted, covered by a massive stone slab was found in the first barrow. Another barrow nearby contained a similar burial, in this instance accompanied by a gold ring (sold), a very large lump of brass, and some iron spearheads. All of these objects are no longer available for study. If these two burials may be said to contain secondary pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, it seems possible that, as at Winkelbury Hill, the original cists had been re-used. As has been noted, large slabs do not normally cover pagan Anglo-Saxon inhumations of any type.

There was no evidence of a primary burial, but, given the date when these burials were excavated it is possible that no search was

made after the cists were found. However, there is always the possibility that these are primary burials which may not date to the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. The only evidence to the contrary lies in the meagre descriptions of the grave goods found in the second barrow, gold rings have been found at Harnham Hill and, if the spearheads were of iron, this would rule out the idea that the burial may belong to the Bronze Age. As these barrows could not be specifically located, no measurements were available for them. Therefore, it is unknown if their sizes are more in keeping with Bronze Age or Anglo-Saxon barrows. Goddard describes one of these barrows as low and ploughed out, but was unable to specify which (WiAm, 1913-14, 376). He also states that many other burials, apparently in flat graves (undated) are to be found between Yatesbury and Avebury and one of these was also covered with large sarsen stones. In any case, these burials may be pagan Anglo-Saxon, and they may even be primary, which would extend the practise well into northern Wiltshire, but the data available is too sketchy for any conclusions to be reached and it must be borne in mind that the burials may also be primary Bronze Age interments.

A third barrow in the group was lowered in 1833. This is barrow 4 in the barrow field group noted by Goddard. A cylindrical metal box about 3" long was found during the lowering operations. Below this, at a depth of about 3', lay two extended skeletons. Grave goods: three terra cotta beads and a sharp knife (metal not noted, presumably iron). Although the burials and the box did not lie at the same level, the barrow did not appear to be disturbed. This was a very high bowl barrow (some 20' in height at the time of lowering), which has since been reduced to a height of 5', this may give some indication of the disparity between the original size of barrows containing Saxon material and their size when recorded by Goddard or V.C.H. Its diameter is 45 paces, making it the largest of the re-used barrows. At a depth of 8' (below the burials?), a stratum of burnt material (charcoal or straw and bones) was found, giving evidence that such levels do exist in these large barrows, (cf. Ogbourne St. Andrews.) Below this burnt level lay the original cremation. The neighbouring barrow which had been lowered at the same time produced Bronze Age cremation material only.

The little work box presents a problem in that it was found without a context, but was actually within the barrow and could not be a casual find dropped by a visitor to the site. It is possible that it had been dislodged at some point, but it seems more likely that a

less tidy, unnoticed burial originally accompanied it. It is an item not commonly found in Wiltshire. A needle case of a slightly different type was found in grave 50 at Petersfinger and one was found at Swallowcliffe, otherwise none of these small cases have been found in the county. Other examples have been found at Chatham Lines (Kent), Kempston (Beds.) and at Burwell (Cambs.), a bronze box, smaller than that found at Yatesbury may be assigned to the seventh century, but the skeletons, themselves, may not be as conclusively dated. If they are contemporaneous with the work box (which lay at a higher level within the barrow), they may be amongst the latest of the secondary burials. They probably belong to the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, but their place in a chronology may not be ascertained.

The Yatesbury barrows are situated on the scarp foot bench of the lower chalk plain to the north of the Roman road which joins Wansdyke to the West, a small tributary of the Kennet flows to the east of the site. No other pagan Anglo-Saxon burials (excavated to date) lie within a reasonable distance of Yatesbury. They are in the Parish of Cherhill (Hundred of Calne) almost on the boundary between the parishes of Cherhill and Avebury. This boundary later formed part of the boundary between the Hundreds of Selkley and Calne. The placename is first recorded as Eterberi in D.B. and the first element derives from the O.E. feminine name Geatflead-Geatsburh (E.P.N.S., 1939, 264).

ROUGH CHRONOLOGY AND CONCLUSIONS

Late fifth-mid sixth century	Ablington	early spear type, chance find
Sixth century-unspecified	Ashton Valley II	bucket
Mid to Late sixth century	none recorded	
Late sixth to mid seventh	E. Grafton	G2 spear
	Hinton Down	E3 spear
	Lake Field	probable sugar loaf boss
	Ogbourne St. Andrews	coffin, but may not be pagan Anglo-Saxon
	Winkelbury Hill	coffin, in conjunction with possible transitional cemetery
	Swallowcliffe	three-rivet buckle etc.
Undatable, no grave goods	Durrington	
	Everley	
	Amesbury	
	Yatesbury I	
Undatable, grave goods	Boscombe Down	E2 spear, plain buckle
	Broad Town	possible not pagan Anglo-Saxon
	E. Kennet	unlocated
	W. Knoyle II	beads, near 7th c. primary
	Winterbourne Stoke	all three barrows
	Winterslow Hut	C2 spearhead
	Yatesbury IA	grave goods lost

As may be seen above, the earliest possible date for the inception of the practise of re-using barrows in the late fifth to mid sixth century is based upon the weak evidence from Ablington. The rite appears to carry on in use to the mid seventh century, but these later burials are, for the most part, nowhere near as elaborate as some of the primary barrow burials which date to the same period. The bulk of the datable primary burials are later than the bulk of the secondary, as, in the main, they date to the mid to late seventh century. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the secondary barrow burials either completely lacked grave goods or contained undatable objects. As has been mentioned in several instances in this thesis, there is little proof that many of these burials are, in truth, of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. Many have only been included because they appear in standard texts either as pagan Anglo-Saxon burials or as possible pagan Anglo-Saxon burials. If one were to include only those burials which are more provably of pagan Anglo-Saxon date the list would shrink to thirteen, Ablington, Ashton Valley II, E. Grafton, Hinton Down, Lake Field, Winkelbury Hill I and II, Yatesbury II, Boscombe Down, W. Knoyle II, Winterslow, in addition, Yatesbury Ia and Silk Hill may also be of this era. The remaining eight had best be regarded as undatable, and perhaps they should be eliminated from the corpus and from subsequent distribution maps. Were there an unalterable mode for pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, if they were always buried E-W with their hands on their abdomens, for example, perhaps burials could be dated by such nebulous features as orientation and position. But as evidenced by both the flat grave and the barrow burials, this is simply not the case. As has been previously mentioned in the chapter on Primary barrow burials, factors such as orientation and even the shape of graves vary enormously on the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. There is even little consistancy between burial grounds being used at the same time. Harnham Hill, for example, is made up almost exclusively of E-W extended burials, whilst Petersfinger alternates between E-W and N-S orientations and includes several crouched skeletons. Therefore, it is foolhardy to assign a burial with no supportive grave good evidence to any specific date in the era or even, perhaps to the pagan Anglo-Saxon epoch in general. As has been noted in the section on Broadchalke (see p.65A), there is even no great difference between some Romano-British inhumations and some dating fairly conclusively to the later period.

Even the condition of the remains may not be used as conclusive evidence. A shallow burial in a barrow may decay at a faster rate than one which is better protected, such as primary burials. Some Bronze Age and Iron Age remains may be in better condition than the later burials depending upon the mode of burial and the local soil conditions. Certainly skull shape is a most inconclusive criterion for dating a burial with any certainty, yet the burial at Durrington was dated in just such a fashion, even though the surrounding burials were overwhelmingly Bronze Age and no other (primary) material was found in the barrow. The vogue would seem to be to date anything which may not be conclusively dated to a specific period as possibly Saxon and then to include it in corpora and maps dealing with this material. This renders the material difficult to deal with as so much of it is unproven and yet it may not be completely discarded.

One interesting point which came to light when dealing with these burials is the large proportion of these sites which lie on or near parish boundaries. These have been incorporated into the chapter on geography and the placement of burial sites. In all nine secondary barrow burials lie near boundaries and three lie on parish boundaries, or roughly half the total number of sites. As Mr. Bonney makes a fair case for the location of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials on or near parish boundaries rather than at the centre of land units, and possibly at a distance from the settlements, this large proportion of secondary interments which are situated to the extremes of parishes adds validity to his theory. It also may explain why some of these barrows were chosen, rather than others in parishes with large numbers of Bronze Age barrows, some of which were finer and bigger than those re-used. It may be that these were chosen because they were located in positions traditionally used for burial.

As in other forms of burial, the vast majority of the located sites are situated on the chalk plains or in river valleys. Seven of the sites lie in river valleys, five on the lower chalk plain, four on the higher summits, two on the higher chalk plain and two on the scarp. None lie on the clay lowlands or on the clay and eocene sands or on the purbeck and portland plateaux to the north-west of the county. These secondary burials have a slightly higher tendency to cluster than do the primary barrow burials only one of which is associated with another possible primary barrow burial (the Roundway group). The following secondary barrow burials lie next to or near

other secondary burials: Winkelbury Hill, Winterslow Hut, Yatesbury, Winterbourne Stoke (2), Amesbury, Lake Field (long barrow), and Silk Hill. None are very closely connected to the Roman road system except, perhaps, Winterslow Hut which lies between two roads, and the majority seem to be more closely linked to the rivers and the river valleys, particularly those lying near the Salisbury Avon. In common with the majority of burials of all types, most of the secondary barrow burials lie in the southern half of the county, only three lying to the north of the River Kennet.

Secondary Burials in Long Barrows

There are nine known re-used long barrows in the county. They are all located between O.S. ST 897and SU 114 and O.S. 391-513, forming a cluster to the north west in the southern half of the county. Two of them contained one burial only, Ell and Normanton, two contained two burials each, Kill Barrow and Tilshed, King Barrow contained three burials, Bowl Barrow and Knook four each, and Sherrington may contain as many as eight secondary burials. The reports for most of these sites are extremely poor. These large barrows tempted many of the nineteenth century antiquarians who opened them but failed to accurately record their contents. As a group, they proved undatable as with the possible exceptions of Sherrington and Tilshead, the majority contained no datable grave goods. Surely the most noticeable feature of these long barrow burials is their extremely limited distribution in a county where neolithic long barrows are plentiful and fairly widespread. No notes have been made as to their construction as the Saxon burials are, for the most part, too shallow to have caused any alteration to the forms of the barrows themselves. The same method used for the secondary in round barrows has been put into operation here, the sites being analysed in alphabetical order.

1. Bowl Barrow: excavated by Wm. Cunnington in 1801, published in Hoare, 1812, 87-8, and WiAm, 1889, 104-20

The site lies on the higher chalk plain in the Parish and Hundred of Heytesbury. The name is interpreted as meaning bodel's burh (barrow) (Bodelusburge) and is first mentioned in the bounds of a 968 charter of Edgar confirming estates granted to the Nuns of Wilton (Finberg, 1963, 96). Bowl barrow is in an area of fairly dense barrow re-use and building. Knook and Sherrington are nearby as are the primary and secondary round barrow inhumations at Ashton Valley, but the site is not near any cemetery or church sites.

Four burials were found in the barrow buried SW-NE(?) at the east end (broad end), A: grave goods, bronze buckle, pair tweezers. B and C orientated N-S towards the centre, no grave goods, and D (orientation unknown) near the summit, no grave goods.

At least fourteen other burials were found at ground level. They lay in disorder surrounded and over-laid by sarsens and are probably earlier than the Saxon burials in the barrow itself. It is possible that they are contemporaneous with the primary burials (unexcavated) in the barrow, but, because of the lack of dating evidence, they may not be assigned to any particular period.

2. Bratton Camp: ST 900516. Three skeletons only found in a long barrow at Bratton Camp. Excavated by Wm. Cunnington prior to 1812, in Hoare, I, 1812, pages 55-6

There is very little information available concerning these three burials. Their position, near to the surface at the eastern end of a long barrow, is similar to the location of such burials in the long barrow at Sherrington, but this seems hardly enough evidence upon which to assign a date. "Bones, antlers, urns and iron objects" were found in the seventeenth century but no report exists to verify their position in the barrow. On the floor of the barrow, which was re-opened by Thurnam in 1866, was found the primary cremation burial.

The site lies on the scarp of the higher chalk plain in a relatively isolated position. It is situated in the Parish of Bratton close to the boundary of Westbury. The placename is first recorded in 1177, and is interpreted as meaning "newly cultivated land" from the Old English "braec" - ton, an interesting meaning when one considers how little settlement there appears to be in the mid and north-western sections of the county and the Saxon propensity for re-using already tilled land on the easily worked rendzina soils of the lower chalk plain (Ogilvie, 1928, 76).

Within the Parish, much early Iron Age, Roman and Romano-British material has been found including two Roman burials and some evidence of a Villa or building of some type. This lies near to the barrow (V.C.H. I, I, 1957, 146). Three unexcavated enclosures of varying sizes are also known. Quern stones, pottery and coins of the Roman period were found in a field to the north of Bratton Camp. Therefore, these skeletons may be of any date up to the pagan Anglo-Saxon era (WiAm, 38, 209), but they may not be included with any confidence in a corpus of provably pagan Anglo-Saxon sites.

3. Ell Barrow: excavated by Thurnam circa 1869, published in Arch., 1869, 196, and in standard texts

This side-ditched barrow is located in the valley trench of the River Till on the boundary between the parishes of Chaldon and N. Wilsford in the Hundred of Swanborough. The placename is not recorded until 1348. It is situated in an area of considerable pagan activity, although no sites are very nearby. The surrounding parishes of N. Newnton, Up Avon, Tilshead and Orchestron all contain excavated pagan Anglo-Saxon remains.

The single skeleton extended 1' to 2' below the surface. Orientation not noted, no grave goods. A long sword cleft ran across his skull. Both Dr. Meaney and V.C.H. list this burial as pagan Anglo-Saxon on what seems to be a total lack of evidence (both of these works seem to be somewhat careless in the way they classify inconclusively datable remains). In the case of four of these long barrows, there is no evidence as to their dates. There is nothing essentially Saxon about the above burial and it has been included for the same reason the majority of the secondary round barrow burials (p.222).

4. Kill Barrow: chance finds circa 1958. Reported in V.C.H. I, I, pages 114, 145

Kill barrow is one of the Tilshead group of barrows which also includes Tilshead Lodge, another long barrow containing intrusive Saxon burials. Kill barrow is the smallest of the group, having an over-all length of 170'. It is situated on the upper chalk plain right near the boundary between the parishes of Chitterne and Tilshead in the Hundred of Dole. The placename is not recorded until 1461. The two unsexed skeletons were found in extended positions, their placement and orientations not noted. There were no grave goods. There is practically no information available for these burials, and again, their inclusion in this thesis rests upon the fact that they are included as pagan Anglo-Saxon in Dr. Meaney's corpus (Meaney, 1964, 269).

5. King Barrow: excavated by Wm. Cunnington, 1800, published in Hoare, 1812, 72-3 and V.C.H. I, I, 118, 145

King is the largest of the three long barrows near Warminster, and the most westerly of all the long barrows which may contain secondary Saxon material. It is situated on the scarp foot bench over-looking the River Wylye on the Warminster/Bishopstow parish boundary in the Hundred of Warminster. It also lies about three quarters of a mile from a Church where legend has it St. Aldhelm preached (at Bishopstow) and there is a Church in Bishopstow dedicated to St. Aldhelm (E.P.N.S., 1939, 151). The placename may have been given by the excavators as Hoare is the first to record it.

Three skeletons, extended, orientated SW-NE(?). They lay close to the top of the barrow. One of these was interred with a sword (single edge). A cremation in an urn also lay near these burials although the sequence is not clear. Battlebury Camp lies less than one mile away. Herein were found Roman coins, Romano-British burials, three seaxes and skeletons. The skeletons found in King Barrow may be Saxon, as indicated by the iron sword, but they may not be dated with any certainty because of the comparatively common Roman remains which have been found in the area.

6. Knook: excavated by Wm. Cunnington in 1801. Published in Hoare, 1812, page 83 and in V.C.H. I, I, 80, 141

This barrow lies close by two Romano-British settlement sites. It is situated on the boundary between the parishes of Knook and Heytesbury in the Hundred of Heytesbury, and on the high chalk plain overlooking the River Wylye. It is not too distant from Bowl barrow and the burials at Ashton Valley. (Unfortunately, all three of these barrows now lie on the Army's shooting range.) The placename seems to be Celtic in origin, deriving from the Welsh "cnwc" - hillock (E.P.N.S. 1939, 171). Four beheaded skeletons orientated S-N(?) buried at the centre and near the top of the barrow. No grave goods, bodies appear to have been somewhat carelessly deposited. Beheaded skeletons have also been found at Roche Court Down and Old Sarum, but, in each case, several had had their hands tied behind their backs at the time of burial. There is no datable evidence for these burials and their orientation is not one which is common to pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in the county. Considering the wealth of Iron Age and Romano-British material in the Parish, no case may be made for their actually being of pagan Anglo-Saxon date.

7. Normanton, S. Wilsford: Excavated by Wm. Cunnington circa 1812. Published in Hoare, I, 1812, page 206 and V.C.H. I, I, 123, 145

Normanton is the most easterly of the long barrow burials and very little is known about it. It may not be of pagan Anglo-Saxon date as the area has been somewhat densely settled since the neolithic period, and the intrusive burial seems to have been placed directly over the primary one in the centre of the barrow. It is situated on the lower chalk plain in the parish of Wilsford-cum-Lake (S. Wilsford), Hundred of Underditch. The name formation is probably late and is first recorded in the twelfth or thirteenth century (E.P.N.S. 1939, 372). The barrow, itself, is relatively isolated, although another intrusive burial was found in a round barrow in the Lake group (page **209**). The area surrounding it is crowded with tumuli of all types. The only information available concerning the burial itself is that it lay at a depth of 18" at the broad (east) end of the barrow. It is listed as doubtful by both Dr. Meaney and the compilers of V.C.H.

8. Sherrington: Excavated circa 1804 by Wm. Cunnington, published in Hoare, 1812, 100-1 and in standard texts

Sherrington is a small cemetery incorporated into a long barrow. The larger end of the barrow (WNW) may have been enlarged to encompass the four burials found therein. This is the only possible case of the structure of a long barrow being altered to accommodate later burials. The barrow lies in the valley trench of the River Wylye in the Parish of Sherrington (Hundred of Branch). The placename, meaning "mud farm" (sceur tune) is first mentioned in the Charter of 968 which also records bowl barrow. The barrow occupies a unique position equidistant between two churches, those at Codford St. Peters and Codford St. Mary's, each about half a mile from the site.

The eight skeletons were distributed as follows: four, orientated N-S, at the western end, one, orientated E-W accompanied by a spear-head, at the centre, to the east another male orientated E-W accompanied by a two-edged sword boss, knife, bucket and piece of silver, and at the eastern end, a child and an adult, both orientated E-W, one of which was accompanied by a knife and a piece of lead (Fig. 36).

The two spearheads were of types H2 and E2, the first dating to the late fifth to mid sixth century, the second found in both early

and late contexts. Cunnington also reported that the most elaborate of the burials was also accompanied by a bronze stirrup, the only horse trapping found in a Wiltshire burial. The shield boss is of the relatively early carinated and buttoned type such as the one found in grave 21 at Petersfinger. A date in the sixth century is as close as one may come in dating these skeletons, the more elaborate may date to the first half of the sixth century. This is the sole long barrow which contained a skeleton buried with a fair amount of grave goods.

Three of these skeletons were males, five could not be sexed, although one was that of a child, another rare occurrence in a barrow burial. Also of interest is the use of the same two orientations as were found at Petersfinger, E-W and N-S. The two orientations are limited to separate sections of the barrow, the four N-S burials lie at the WNW end, the four E-W burials run down the spine of the barrow towards the ESE end. The rare occurrence of a child's burial renders it somewhat doubtful that these barrows were used exclusively for adult male burials, although the majority of those few which could and were sexed were of this type. But, it must be stressed that Sherrington is actually a small cemetery rather than a somewhat isolated, or casual secondary barrow burial and the rules applying to it may differ somewhat from those at work in the secondary barrow burials.

9. Tilshead Lodge: First excavated by Cunnington in 1812, re-opened circa 1860 by Thurnam. Published in Hoare, 1812, 92 and standard texts.

Tilshead Lodge is one of a group of six long barrows in the parish of Tilshead (Hundred of Dole), Kill Barrow (p.227) is also included in this group. The barrow lies in the valley trench of the River Till about half to three quarters of a mile south of a Church. The placename is first recorded in D.B. and is interpreted as meaning Theowulf's hide of land (E.P.N.S., 1939, 236-7).

Skeleton A: E-W (head direction not stated) at the eastern end of the barrow. The grave was very shallow and no grave goods accompanied the burial. B: male, E-W, extended, found circa 1860, lay at the centre of the long barrow. Grave goods, shield boss, four rivets, and the bindings of a bronze bound bowl or bucket. The shield boss, now apparently lost, was not illustrated, and buckets and bowls seem

to span the pagan period in Wiltshire although Leeds dates the type to the sixth century (Leeds, 1953, 47). Therefore, this wealthier than usual burial could not be accurately dated. Because of the piece-meal excavations carried out on the site, it is always possible that Tilshead, like Sherrington, was actually a small cemetery site, now represented by these two burials only. If so, it is interesting to note that in both cases, the wealthier skeleton(s) lay to the centre of the barrow whilst the poorer lay to the extremes.

Conclusions:

There are few generalizations which may be made concerning long barrow burials. The majority lie in the valley trenches of the Wylye and the Till (five of the eight), and within a narrowly confined area of the county. This particular area possessed few secondary burials in round barrows and only one primary barrow burial. Most of these long barrows lie in areas where Bronze Age barrows proliferate, and it is surprising that, apparently, so few of these were re-used.

Two of the long barrows have early Old English names, Bowl and Sherrington, Knook may be Celtic in origin, but the rest are not recorded until D.B. at the earliest. With the exception of two burials at Sherrington (out of eight), one at Bowl (out of three), one at King and one (out of two) at Tilshead (approximately 20% of the total number of burials), few of the burials were furnished with even the simplest grave goods. The dominant orientations are E-W and N-S, but a few reports mention other orientations (such as W-E) without specifying to which direction the head lay. W-E and S-N orientated burials are very uncommon in the county, whilst E-W and N-S are the standard orientations.

Most of these burials were very shallow, and lay at the centre and broader ends of the barrows. None of them is recorded as being crouched. Four were headless. In the cases of four of these barrows, Ell, Kill, Normanton and Knook, the evidence as to date is non-existent. Several lie near Romano-British or Roman settlement sites, and many lay near or on parish boundaries or ancient estate boundaries.

What strikes one immediately is the relative poverty of the secondary burials in long barrows, taken as a group, they are the poorest of the pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, yet they occupy the most impressive resting places. Some of this "poverty" may be put down to

poor excavation and poorer recording. Whilst the area which contains the majority of these burials is at some distance from the main centres of occupation, more remote burials, such as those at Roundway, are far more elaborate. There is no obvious reason as to why this small group of burials is so surprisingly poor. As in the case of Sherrington, it may be that the wealthier burials lay towards the centre of the barrows surrounded by poorer ones, and that it is due to co-incidence and digging techniques that only the poorer burials were found. However, many of the skeletons discovered at the centre of the majority of these barrows were also poor. Because of the paucity of grave goods, it is not possible to date these burials as a group. There is some vague evidence for a date in the sixth century but it cannot be adequately substantiated. Therefore, as in the case of the secondary round barrow burials, they represent somewhat of a chronological blank.

CHAPTER 5

BURIAL RITES

Burial Rites

> "As to funeral rites, the earliest age is called the Age of Burning; because all the dead were consumed by fire, and over their ashes were raised standing stones. But after Frey was buried under a mound at Upsal (Old Uppsala), many chiefs raised mounds as commonly as stones, to the memory of their relatives.
>
> The Age of Mounds began properly in Denmark after Dan Mikillati (the Magnificent) had raised for himself a burial mound, and ordered that he should be buried in it on his death with his royal ornaments and armour, his horse and saddle - furniture and other valuable goods; and many of his descendants followed his example. But the burning of the dead continued, long after that time, to be the custom of the Swedes and Northmen."
>
> (Sturluson, 1961 ed. 4)

The study of burial rites in the pagan Anglo-Saxon period is a somewhat neglected area for several good reasons. Firstly, written evidence is poor, and is mostly made up of ecclesiastical tracts, many of which condemn specific practises such as infanticide (see Blackpatch). These tracts must be considered to be biased to some degree, perhaps overemphasizing isolated occurrences or viewing them from within a Christian context and possibly mis-interpreting them.

> "... we have added that each faithful Christian must take example of Catholic men, and if anything has remained of the rites of the pagan, it is to be plucked out, despised, cast away. For God made man fair in beauty and comliness, but the pagans have, by diabolical promptings added most hideous scars as Prudentius says, 'He painted also the earth with unclean spots, for he clearly does injury to the Lord who defiles and disfigures his creation'."
>
> the Reports of the Legates to Pope Hadrian
> (E.H.D. I, 770)

The attitude expressed by the above quote may be considered typical of its epoch. The over-riding consideration, on the part of the Church, would appear to be the stamping-out of pagan practises rather than the recording of the same. The Church tracts are also the products (naturally) of the post-conversion period. There is

evidence that burial rites had already altered somewhat by the seventh century, and some of the older traditions were already being laid aside such as N-S burials and the inclusion of large quantities of grave goods in flat grave burials (compare Blackpatch to Winkelbury Hill, for example).

Naturally, there is no first hand account of a pagan Anglo-Saxon burial although pagan burials are recorded in the later Norse Sagas. Beowulf deals with a hero's burial, full of elaborate ritual, rather than the interments of ordinary folk. Some of the burials encountered within the scope of this thesis may have been on an elaborate scale, such as the primary barrow burials at Ford and Rodmead Down, both wealthy burials of "important" individuals, the majority of the burials, however, are of a much simpler nature, flat-grave burials in small cemeteries. One might be tempted to use the Sagas as sources of information but, they post date these burials to a considerable extent, and are, of course, inter-woven with legend rather than pure fact.

> "A saga was not the fixed and immutable record of known facts. It was an individual's version and interpretation of facts, and could undergo shortening, lengthening, interpolation of new material, deliberate change, accidental manipulation, misunderstanding, and invention ... but great sagas are most properly to be regarded as creative literature, not history."
>
> (Jones, 1972, 125)

Therefore, it was thought best not to rely upon them heavily, although the Norse may well share the same motives and basic Pantheon with the people of the "Anglo-Saxon invasions". (Also, it is not known just how much the two religions had in common.)

The second problem is one of interpretation. Within our own cultural contexts, we may reach the conclusion that (for example) "food stuffs are symbolic of feasting because they remind us of modern situations such as wakes, and negate the possibilities that these provisions are for the trip to the soul's final resting place, that the animal or plant, itself, may have a specific meaning (see Roundway Down II), that an animal may have been sacrificed to accompany its master, or any number of other possibilities, the correct one being beyond our grasp because we cannot ask the people concerned. This is the major difference between extracting ritual data from living populations as opposed to those no longer in existence. Coupled with

the above problem of a lack of primary sources, this renders the interpretation of any of the peculiarities encountered in pagan Anglo-Saxon burials extremely difficult. Bearing these two factors in mind, the data which appears in this section has been investigated as objectively as possible. When an excavator has theorized as to the possible reasons for an abnormality, such as the occurrence of broken objects, his theories have been included within this section, but speculation as to actual causes has been used sparingly, because, as must be stated yet again, there is no fool-proof evidence. A further problem has, to a lesser extent, inhibited interpretation. This is attempting to determine what has ritual connotations as distinguished from custom or, even accidental occurrences. Customs may hark back to rituals no longer observed (or even understood) by the performers. Flowers placed on the grave at a modern funeral may derive from the practise of supplying or pacifying the dead, whereas they have now become tokens of respect or love. On the other hand, artefacts may be broken accidentally or for convenience, and skeletons which appear to be ajar may also be the products of slippage, animal actions, etc.

Perhaps this is taking a somewhat over-cautious attitude towards the subject, but one is particularly anxious to avoid reaching unsubstantiated conclusions. Several features have been selected for discussion because they are not normal occurrences and <u>may</u> have some ritual significance. Before analysing these, one must decide what the norm is for the area. In the pagan Anglo-Saxon period in Wiltshire, the norm would appear to be burial in a shallow, chalk-cut grave orientated E-W or N-S (or slightly off these directions) in a supine or extended position with the arms either straight down at the sides or one or both hands on the pelvis, with grave goods ranging from extremely simple objects to elaborate displays depending, perhaps, upon what was considered suitable for the individual, in a cemetery, or barrow, and, in some cases, within a family group. This, then, would provide the standard with which to compare any abnormalities. Very few examples of ritual are apparent in the county as a whole. Burial seems to have been fairly consistent throughout the pagan period and on into the transitional. The factors which may be of some significance have been divided into two categories, unusual grave goods and unusual (or less common) burial practises themselves.

Unusual Grave Goods or Items found in graves:

A. Foodstuffs: partial remains of animals and vegetable material probably in the nature of food offerings

There is no evidence for ritual feasting (in the true sense of the word) in the county. No animal bones litter the burial sites nor are there any external signs of burning, even in the barrow burials, although the methodology used in the excavations of some of these barrows may have precluded the possibility of such traces being noticed.

Incomplete animal skeletons have only been found at one site, Roche Court Down. A leg bone of a small Roman or pre-Roman sheep was found to the left of the large male skeleton buried in barrow 2, and the dis-articulated leg bones of a small Celtic ox were found mixed in with the disturbed bones of female skeleton 28 in grave 7 in cemetery II (WiAm, 1927, 578-80).

This very unusual occurrence is only found in an atypical barrow/flat grave cemetery. This complex may be of a transitional date, and therefore, food-offerings would seem singularly out of place, especially as most of the graves lack even the simplest of grave goods. But, as this cemetery is, most probably, of a late date, and there is no (excavated) evidence for the inclusion of meat or other provisions (if this is what these bones represent) in earlier burials, one is forced to consider this custom or rite as only coming into existence in the late pagan/transitional period and <u>not</u> within the corpus of rites imported with the original group of settlers. Where this trait was imported from must remain an unsolved puzzle. It occurs so infrequently (the only other possible case occurring less than five miles away), that it might almost be regarded as a local idiosyncracy. In the case of the remains in barrow 2, these bones may represent the wealth of the individual at a point in time when the inclusion of elaborate grave goods (except in isolated primary barrow burials) was going out of use.

The only other possible example of possible foodstuffs being placed in a grave occurs at the very wealthy, late primary barrow burial at Ford. In a bronze bowl found between the knees of the male skeleton were two types of vegetable matter, one of which may have been two onion bulbs (or Narcissus), the other being, most probably, four small crab apples (Antiq. J. 1969, 109). The excavator believes that these may be foodstuffs (Ibid, 110). But this may only be

conjectured if these plants are as stated. As they were contained in a bowl, this well may be the case. On the other hand, they might even represent crops grown by the individual (or on his estates), or they may even be something as intangible as fertility objects, apples seem to have some special significance. Again, the late date of the Ford burial makes the occurrence of foodstuffs seem even more peculiar and hints that the custom is either an imported or an extremely insular one, being confined to the Hundred of Alderbury to the east and north-east of Old Sarum.

B. Food Vessels (excluding buckets): Skillets and Bronze Bowls

These have been categorized as "food vessels" because they resemble cooking utensils in their forms, but none of the examples listed below show any signs of having been used for such purposes. The bowls are of the hanging variety, and the skillets resemble, to some extent those found in graves of the Roman period.

There are two examples of skillets being found in graves. One comes from the mid seventh century cenotaph at Coombe Bissett, the other from the somewhat later, well equipped primary barrow burial at Rodmead Down. Both objects are very similar in appearance, being about ten inches long, the Rodmead example having a turned-back handle. They have the appearance of frying pans with rounded bottoms. Although the poor condition of both specimens may have made analysis impossible, neither showed any traces of burning. The state of advanced decay exhibited by the Coombe Bissett specimen would rule out the possibility of picking up any traces of carbonized material. The Rodmead Down skillet is almost complete (although extremely fragile), and again, there is no evidence that it was ever used for cooking or any other enterprise which might have marred its surface (such as the preparation of cosmetics or herbal preparations). Whilst these skillets do bear some resemblance to Roman examples, Baldwin-Brown was of the opinion that in form and detail they owed more to late Celtic craftsmanship (Baldwin-Brown IV, 1915, 471). In a grave pit at Aylesford, Kent, a late Celtic urnfield, was found a vessel of a similar type but shallower and with a more elongated handle (Arch., 1890, Pt. II, 318). This type of vessel may have been derived from forms such as that found at Aylesford and even the Wiltshire examples may be of Celtic rather than Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship.

One of the most interesting features of this type of vessel is

its scarcity in pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in general. The two best documented examples come from Wiltshire, an area which appears to have included a fair number of Celts and Romano-Britains within its pagan Saxon population. By the date of the burial at Rodmead Down, the furthest west of the primary barrow burials, the monastery at Malmesbury had already been established, a Celtic foundation which may have employed Celtic craftsmen.

Whilst in a Roman conext, these skillets or casseroles may be seen as serving dishes to be carried into the next worl, and this may be the idea behind the Wiltshire examples, one must take note of the extreme scarcity of both serving dishes and actual foodstuffs within the county. The provision of foodstuffs or cooking equipment with the dead does not appear to have been a common practise. Therefore, the inclusion of food-cooking utensils would seem out of character in a group which does not appear to have been inclined to "feed" the dead. It may be that these vessels are status symbols, perhaps obtained from local Celtic or Roman-British headsmen (perhaps as tribute) and not included "symbolically" within the funeral rites. They were expensive and valuable objects, and, as with swords, they were considered proper grave goods for men of high rank. What other significance might these vessels have? They may be religious vessels of some sort, although their scarcity makes this somewhat unlikely, but the most reasonable solution lies in their being status/trade items indicative of their owners' relationship with the native population, rendering them as without true ritual significance, and placing them, perhaps, more in the category of other elaborate grave goods such as the gold jewels found at Roundway Down II.

Bronze hanging bowls, such as the two found in Wiltshire, may also be luxury items rather than religious objects. The Wilton bowl, the more elaborate of the two, was an isolated find (see p. 285). The Ford example, however, would appear to have served some possibly ritual function as it contained the vegetable material found with this burial. Again, its selection for such a function may have been due to its being a luxury item rather than its having any significance in itself. Although the Ford pot is shaped like a cook-pot, the fact that its base is decorated and uncharred would rule out its being used for any such purpose. As there is no evidence to the contrary, these objects may also be regarded as status symbols rather than ritual bowls of some sort, although it may be that they were used as

lamp holders of some sort at festivals or during rites. But, it would seem more reasonable to exclude them from a list of objects having ritual significance.

C. Complete Animal Skeletons

There is one isolated case in which entire animal skeletons were founded including two which may have been pets (a dog and a cat), the possibly primary barrow burial at Roundway Down (II). In the original report, which appeared in P.A.I., Salisbury, 1849, it is stated that: "The bones of 4 animals were also found in the corners, said to be of a dog and cat, a horse and a boar" (P.A.I., 1849, 112). This grave, that of a mid to late seventh century coffined female, also included amongst its grave goods, an enamelled pendant with a cross motif at its centre. Therefore the grave would appear to contain a rather confused (and confusing) collection of grave goods.

The exact lay-out of the animals is, as aforementioned, unclear. They may have been articulated and each assigned to a separate corner, or they may have been jumbled up. What is clear, however, is that at least three of the four animals found were probably not reared for consumption, and probably cannot be considered to be food offerings. What were they? Were they sacrificed to accompany this woman to her after-life? this is not altogether feasible as she may have been a Christian convert and, more importantly, there are no other cases of pets being dispatched with their masters (in Wiltshire). Or, the animals may, in some way be connected with the woman's heathen past. Three of these animals are companions of the Gods and Goddesses of the Anglo-Saxon pantheon. The horse, Sleipnir, was the steed of Woden, the boar, Gullinbusti, a companion of Frey, and two cats pull Freya's chariot (Munch, 1913, Intro.). The dog, however, may have been a pet as this animal does not appear to have any close connections with a specific God or Goddess.

Therefore, we have two possible logical explanations as to what these animal remains represent. Firstly, they may be pets. Two criteria argue against this assumption: a) boars are not normally kept as pets, and b) one might expect to find more examples of animal sacrifice, especially in barrow burials, if animals were "expected" to accompany their owners. The second possibility is that the animals themselves are symbols of Gods or were sacrificed to the appropriate Gods.

But, it must be stressed, again, that the barrow burial at Roundway Down II is unique in many ways. One wonders whether the very rare inclusion of complete animals might have something to do with the sex or status of the individual interred, for this is the only proven female burial in a purpose-built or altered barrow in the county. It is a late, elaborate burial as well. Perhaps she was an individual of specific rank, and the animals had a meaning within this context. But, as with all occurrences of this type, there can be no "correct" answer, only a series of more-or-less viable solutions.

In all, the inclusion of these animals in a mortuary context is the clearest cut case of objects or remains which most probably have religious or ritual significance. As has been mentioned in the section dealing with this burial (p.**192**), Roundway Down II also provides one of the best examples of a blending of the pagan and Christian traditions, and it is all the more unfortunate that no conclusions may be reached as to the meanings of the various objects found in the grave.

Broken Weapons:

In this particular category, it is important to differentiate between items which were old and worn (or broken) when consigned to the grave, objects which broke, possibly due to erosion, soil pressure or ploughing, subsequent to their being buried, and artefacts which appear to have been deliberately broken at the time of burial. In some cases, this is extremely difficult to determine. The first category may be singled out by the character (and dating) of other objects found in the grave - a good example would be the incomplete aesica brooch found in grave 58 at Petersfinger (Leeds, 1953, 46), a Roman "pick-up" found with several latish Saxon objects. The worn brooches found in childrens' graves (such as No. 7 at Winterbourne Gunner) also fall into this category. These may be heirlooms or out-moded pieces which were included amongst more contemporary pieces, possibly for sentimental reasons (see childrens' burials, p.**253**). The second group is more difficult to pick out. Sometimes the general condition of the object, or the freshness of the breaks as opposed to the condition of the rest of the artefact, may indicate that the piece was broken after burial rather than before or at the time of burial. However, it must be stated that, whilst it is possible that there are more purposely broken items in Wiltshire graves, the two mentioned may actually belong to either of the other two categories.

There appear to be only two cases of purposely broken objects in Wiltshire, a spear which had been snapped off its shaft in the grave at Alvediston (see p. 175), and the angled spearhead found as a surface find at Blackpatch. The two items may be of very different dates, the late E3 type at Alvediston dates from the late sixth century onwards (the grave itself appears to be of the mid or later seventh century), and the H2 type from Blackpatch which may be as early as the end of the fifth century, although, as it was without context, it cannot be accurately dated. As may be obvious, the killing of weapons, if this is what is indicated by deliberate breakage, was a very rare custom. This is parallelled on a human level, as aside from the "warrior" cemetery at Roche Court Down and the burials at Old Sarum, there are few (apparently) deliberately mutilated corpses in the county. Apparently, this group may not have been particularly frightened of the possessions of the dead, nor did they take much action to ensure that objects were not stolen from the graves. As none of the wealthy primary barrow burials (in fact very few graves of any sort other than those used for subsequent burial) appear to have been re-opened or rifled in the Saxon period, it would seem that grave-robbing was not a prevalent practice amongst the pagan Anglo-Saxons, either because such objects were taboo or because the dead, and their possessions were respected to a degree which would prohibit such actions.

The Alvediston spear had, apparently, been broken off its staff, and the latter placed beside it, at the time of burial. However, from the poor illustration given for this burial, it would appear that the object, if complete, would not have fitted into the grave. Therefore, the breakage may have been for convenience rather than an attempt to "kill" the actual object, although this possibility may not be completely ruled out. As to the Blackpatch spear, it is a chance find and lacks a proper context. It does give the appearance of having been deliberately bent, as the sides seem to have been nicked to allow it to be angled more easily. The neck of the blade is also incomplete, but, perhaps, all of this damage is due to ploughing as the top soil is extremely thin at this site and some of the graves very shallow. The object, itself, is very thin and finely made and would probably nick and bend rather easily.

It is clear, then, that in neither case, deliberate mutilation need be the only possible cause for the damages sustained by these artefacts. "Killing" articles, either because they were taboo or to

allow them to accompany the soul on its journey, or, more practically, to prevent the object from being stolen (thus upsetting the dead), does not seem to have been a practise indulged in by the pagan Anglo-Saxons to any great degree. Certain things may be derived from this: A: that complete (live) objects could be carried away by the dead if needed; B: that there was little fear of the property of the dead and no need to deliberately render it harmless; and C: grave-robbing was not a common practice and steps were not normally taken to insure against it. What seems to have been of more importance was the actual equipping of warriors for supernatural battle. Even an old spear was probably considered preferable to no spear at all, as in the case of West Knoyle I (see p.183). In a culture in which battles of any sort were an important element of existence, and whose chief Gods were those of war (Woden and Thor, etc.), weapons are probably of singular importance, and breaking them (even for "protection") rendering them useless in battle, would be out of character, indeed counter-productive, to what was desired for and by the dead warrior - to be accepted to Valhalla as a fighting-man fit to serve the Gods in the final struggle.

Pot Sherds:

The sprinkling of worn pot sherds occasionally found in pagan Anglo-Saxon graves and cemeteries has caused many nineteenth century antiquarians to quote Shakespeare's reference to the suicide of Ophelia in "Hamlet". J. Akerman attributes "suicide" as the cause for the scatter at Harnham Hill.

> "... her death was doubtful;
> And ... for charitable prayers,
> shards, flints and pebbles
> should be thrown on her."

Akerman noted that all of the sherds found at Harnham Hill were well worn "as if they had been fragments long before they were used in the manner described". (Arch. 1855, 265.)

At the primary barrow burial at Ford, the excavator, Mr. J. Musty, noted that pottery had been dropped into the ditch subsequent to the burial. He feels that these sherds "denote memorial visits to the site" even possibly to deposit flowers on the grave in line with later Christian practises (Antiq. J., 1964, 113). This is an interesting idea. Ford is a very low, disc-like barrow, and one of

the very few with a causeway (see p.179). This causeway may have been left to facilitate visits to the grave site. However, it seems unreasonable (in the writer's opinion) to offer pot sherds at the tomb of a rich and probably powerful individual unless these sherds are symbolic, perhaps of entire pots of food or domestic vessels or tokens representing more luxurious items. This is a very late grave and it is always possible that memorial tokens were going out of use, perhaps under the scrutiny of the emerging clergy, and that more innocuous objects were substituted for them.

What is not noted, in the case of the Harnham Hill examples, is what types of pottery were found. Also unmentioned (and assumed unfound), were any traces of previous occupation. At Blackpatch, sherds of Iron Age pot have been found around and even within graves, but the site is riddled with Iron Age pits indicating fairly dense earlier occupation, and it would appear that the pot scatter was co-incidental and is due to the turning up of the top soil whilst digging graves. If this is also the case at Harnham Hill, then very little significance may be allotted to the potsherds. However, in the case of Ford, the sherds would appear to have been included in the primary silting of the ditch, and may actually have been dropped there by mourners. The pot found was typical of local Saxon grass tempered wares, but it was noted that they do not serve to date the construction of the barrow as this type is also common to the Medieval period and many sherds were also found near the top of the ditch silt. (Ibid. 111). However, one sherd of pot was found near to the top of the grave itself. Whether or not this has any meaning or its inclusion is co-incidental must remain conjectural.

Pyrites:

In much the same category are the lumps of pyrites prevalent in graves at Broadchalke, Blackpatch and Foxhill. These lumps were found in graves containing all ages and both sexes of individuals, in rich graves and in very poor ones. It may be that these lumps were actually strike-a-lights. On the other hand, it has been suggested in the chapter on Blackpatch (p. 49), that these nodules may be talismen of some form or even "gold substitutes", pyrites being the correct name for fool's gold. It is difficult to imagine what ritual purpose might be served by these lumps. They may symbolize something like fire or the Sun, or they may just be pretty objects. It is in

dealing with such inconclusive materials as potsherds and pyrite lumps that the true difficulty involved in formulating an opinion as to whether or not the occurrence of an item is of any importance, other than as a fairly rare type which occurs sporadically but is just another grave good. It is all very well to postulate that potsherds are indicative of suicides or memorial visits and that pyrites symbolize fire or the Sun, but none of these hypothese may be regarded as even approaching what might be regarded as fact. They are guesses made within a framework of what is or isn't known about their owners. For example, in the case of the possible significance of pyrites, a race which did not worship the sun, but did consider it a life-giving force, are not all that likely to include it as a tribute to the Sun (although it might have been included because of the Sun's meaning). Whilst a group which, at some point in its history had used cremation (possibly as a form of purification), and regarded heat as one of the prime sources of life (Munch, 1926, I) might be inclined to include something resembling or involved in the making of fire within a grave, either as a purification symbol, or as a mark of veneration for the powers of heat and fire. One may not negate the possibility that the mineral, which seems to have been readily available, is co-incidental in these burials, but the placement of the nodules, in amongst the other grave goods and near to the body, would cast quite a bit of doubt upon this assumption.

Abnormal Burial Practises (excluding orientation and position which will be dealt with separately within each section on individual burial places):

In addition to objects which may be of interest because of their possible ritual significance, there is another category of "abnormalities" which may hint at some of the rites of burial, these concern actual burial practises which, themselves, differ significantly from what was the normal method of burial as laid out in the introduction to this section. Some occurrences, such as burial in a double grave or the clustering of graves would appear to be of sociological rather than religious importance. These indicate the tightly knit family structure adhered to by the Anglo-Saxons and emphasized by such works as "The Laws of Ine. However, features such as causeways (one in the county), biers (3), coffins, and voids left in the centre of cemeteries, markers, and the use of flints to line

graves (possibly a custom rather than a ritual), may be of some importance to the actual rites of death and burial.

Causeways:

The sole instance in which a causeway has been left over the ditch of a primary barrow has already been mentioned - Ford (see p.179). This ditch is both shallow (less than 2' at maximum) and narrow (only 2'-3' wide), therefore the causeway was for convenience rather than a necessity, although it may have made it easier to carry the body over the ditch and into the grave. The few additional primary barrows which have ditches, Alvediston, and the internally ditched Roche Court Down I, lack causeways, and, it can be inferred that even the practise of creating a ditch around a barrow was exceedingly rare. Ford is one of the more elaborate barrow burials in Wiltshire and one of the possibilities brought to mind is that the causeway had been left to allow mourners to bring forth the luxurious grave goods found in this grave and place them at the centre of the cist. Later, perhaps, it was used by mourners paying visits to the site. Alvediston, with its simpler grave goods, may not have required such preparations. This type of reasoning does not account for the ditchless burial at Rodmead Down which is almost as wealthy as the Ford burial. A ditch may have been used (in the case of Ford) to determine the limits of a burial precinct. This link might be used either to allow the living access to the dead or vice versa.

Burials encircled by incomplete ditches are a feature found at Leighton Buzzard (Beds.). This cemetery may be contemporaneous with the Ford burial, and again, it would appear that causeways may be a late, imported and very infrequently used feature of primary barrow burials, or, again, the Ford example may only illustrate a local peculiarity.

Markers:

Amongst the more interesting features found (very occasionally) in pagan Anglo-Saxon burial complexes are post holes which may indicate that the cemetery was marked in some fashion. In the two known cases, these post-holes are situated at the summits of barrows. The only indisputable case of this may be Winkelbury Hill barrow II. A "scrag" tree, apparently of ancient origin was removed by Pitt-Rivers

during the excavations (see p.116). The locals demanded that it be replaced as they believed that it protected them against witches. The second example, of a more dubious nature, may be the filled up hole found atop barrow I at Roche Court Down, this post hole was surrounded by a ditch. The hole is quite large enough to have contained some kind of marker, although no traces of one were found.

However, these markers may actually have delineated property boundaries rather than cemeteries. Roche Court Down lies on the boundary between Hampshire and Wiltshire and on a parish boundary (see p. 98). The Winkelbury Hill marker sits on a boundary which dates at least as far back as the ninth century and separated ecclesiastical holdings (see p.116). The boundary may, of course, be far more ancient. These two examples both come from barrow/flat grave complexes, both of which may be transitional in date. From the available evidence, it would appear that flat grave cemeteries lacked this type of marker (although excavations techniques used may have missed them), even when the cemetery lay on a property division. This makes the co-use of these markers as both cemetery and property division insignia somewhat more probable.

Graves themselves do not appear to have been marked in such an obvious fashion, although it is evident that their limits must have been visible, or demarcated, or remembered. This is especially apparent in double graves, of both sorts. In the case of Winkelbury Hill grave 28, for example, a double male one-atop-the-other burial, the bottom-most skeleton had already decomposed before the latter skeleton had been interred. There is no evidence that the sides of the grave were, in any way, disturbed or damaged when the tomb was re-opened; this would exclude the idea that the original grave had been forgotten and a new one accidentally dug on top of it. The most logical conclusion which may be reached would be that the graves were not filled flat, but were slightly humped over, and resembled new-made graves in modern cemeteries. As the body disintegrated, the fill would subside, either leaving depressions (also noticeable as seen at Woodbridge), or leaving a flat surface (far less noticeable). Within the limited time spans of most of these cemeteries, the grave edges may have remained visible (see p.), allowing them to be (occasionally) opened and re-used. On the other hand, these graves may have been marked with perishable materials such as wood, which have left but scant traces on the

barrows which have either been destroyed (Petersfinger) or ploughed out (Blackpatch). Because it is rather unclear just how much time was devoted to these voids, these hypotheses must stand as such. These voids really exist and they most probably did fulfill some function related to burial practises (either as ritual areas or as large gaps between groups), but exactly what their function was will probably never be known unless a new cemetery displaying this characteristic is found and the void is treated as an integral part of the cemetery rather than as an area to be gotten out of the way as quickly as possible because it contains few if any inhumations. That such a gap may also be in evidence at Harnham Hill (for which there is no site plan) may be inferred from the difficulty Mr. Akerman had in locating the last four interments. Therefore, there is some indication that some areas of this cemetery were not as densely populated as others. At two other cemeteries, Winkelbury Hill and Roche Court Down, both barrow/flat grave complexes, there are considerable gaps left between the barrow burials and the flat graves, and in the case of the former, gaps were also left between groups of burials. (Roche Court Down may not have been fully excavated, see p. 99.) The plan of Winkelbury Hill might lead one to believe that these gaps served the purpose of separating family groups rather than having a religious function, although this possibility may not be entirely eliminated. It is also possible that each family unit had its own "ritual area", as may be evidenced by the large gaps which occur between groups of burials at Blackpatch, etc. But, the plan of Petersfinger does not really allow for this.

The remaining peculiarities are those which occur, but rarely, in individual graves. Graves with flint linings are found in several cemeteries including Winterbourne Gunner, Harnham Hill and Petersfinger and are occasionally found in primary barrow burials as well. This topic has been discussed within the appropriate chapters. However, it should be noted, herein, that individuals of both sexes and all ages were buried in flint-lined graves, and the majority of these graves are orientated E-W and contain extended inhumations. Several of these graves are quite wealthy, such as grave 8 at Petersfinger or grave 6 at Winterbourne Gunner, others are poor, such as grave 12 at Petersfinger and the majority of the graves at Harnham Hill. The custom also seems to have spanned the pagan period, from early burials at Harnham Hill, etc. to late primary barrow burials, such

as Alvediston. Therefore, it was not possible to select specific factors which determined whether or not a grave could be expected to be lined (fully or partially) with flints.

In the case of two cemeteries, Woodbridge (N. Newnton) and Broadchalke, these flints take on a rather different significance, for in each case, many of the flints found had been burned. These stones do not appear to have been used in the rite of partial cremation (as they were in the Huntingdonshire cemetery, Woodstone (Meaney, 1964, 107), as none of the graves which contained them contained calcined bones. However, it is always possible that the fires had been extinguished before the body had been consumed. The lack of traces of burning or wood ashes would also point towards the idea that the flints were not burned during this particular rite.

Faussett mentioned that several of the graves at Kingston Down (Kent) contained coffins which appeared to have been "passed through the fire" (Faussett, 1856, 37), as were the majority of the coffins found at Beakesbourne (I) (Kent) (Ibid, 147-59), and there are several other examples of singed coffins in Kent. It would appear that in both the Kentish and the Wiltshire examples, fire was being used symbolically rather than as an agent of partial cremation. It may be that fire was used for purification, or even as a means of "passing" the corpse out of the land of the living and into its afterlife. In all likelihood, this rite may stem from the earlier use of cremation as a major method of burial, a "residual" rite which replaced the earlier. But, as the stones, themselves, are charred rather than the body, it might seem more appropriate to believe that they were used for purification purposes, and, in Wiltshire, only by a very small percentage of the population. Neither of these two cemeteries may be dated with any accuracy although the Kentish examples probably date to the seventh century (Meaney, 1964, 108, 125).

Again, one of the more notable points about the use of burnt flints is its rarity. Fairly prevalent in Kent, it is only found at two cemeteries in Wiltshire, neither of which appear to have strong Kentish connections, either as to lay out or grave goods. It is also a ritual which, like primary barrow building, has no excavated (or noted) parallels in Hampshire or Dorset and may have been introduced (on a very limited scale) in Wiltshire either by way of Kent or by persons having a similar background or close ties with this area. The Wiltshire examples are too meagre and undatable for any conclusions

to be reached concerning the derivation of the custom or why it was used so sparingly (and only in two widely separated burial places).

Bedsteads, biers and coffins are only found rarely in Wiltshire, the first at Swallowcliff Down only, the second at Blackpatch only, and coffins at Ashton Valley I, Kings Play Down, Roundway I and II (primary barrow burials), Netheravon (a fragment of a cemetery), Winkelbury Hill, and Ogbourne St. Andrew (secondary barrow burials). Of the primary barrow burials in coffins (which may not be pagan Anglo-Saxon), two are very simple burials in deep cists (Heddington and Ashton ValleyI), the third, Roundway I, a moderately equipped burial, and the fourth, Roundway II, a fairly lavish burial. The last three are all E-W burials and the suggestion has been made that the female (Roundway II) may be a Christian convert (see p. **191**). The burial at Winkelbury Hill (which contained coffin fittings but no wood, etc.) may be part of a transitional cemetery and Netheravon is not datable. The secondary barrow burial at Ogbourne St. Andrew lies within a churchyard which may have some significance, although this burial is also undatable. The majority of the datable coffins would appear to date from the very late pagan period (transitional), and the custom may not have been initiated much before 650 A.D. It may also have Christian connotations although this is not provable, and again, it would appear that the custom is an imported one, possibly from Jutish (Christian) Kent, as it is not found in <u>any</u> of the early flat-grave burials.

The bier burials found at Blackpatch are, on the whole, undatable (see p. **48**). The cemetery itself as now dug, would appear to have gone out of use by the early seventh century, and it may be inferred that this is the terminus post quem for these burials. A further discussion of these biers appears on pages **213 ff** . The bed-bier found at Swallowcliffe Down (WiAm, 1968, 115), may date to the mid seventh century (as may some of the coffined burials), as the grave contained a three rivetted buckle with a rectangular plate. These bed furnishings are extremely rare. Other examples have been found at Shudy Camps (Cambs.), a cemetery which may date to the transitional period (as is in keeping with the buckle plate found at Swallowcliffe). (Lethbridge, ~~A.S~~ C.A.S.Q., Pub. New Series V, 1936.)

In the earlier phases of burial, perhaps flint linings were used instead of coffins or biers, as there is good evidence for the very early use of this method, especially at Petersfinger and Harnham Hill, but even in the transitional period, coffins, etc. remain a rare occurrence, the majority of the burials still being placed directly into graves.

Shrouds:

Apart from a few unproven cases of their use at Harnham Hill (see p. 72), shrouds are also absent from Wiltshire burials of all types. However, as they are far more fragile than coffins or biers, their existence on a wider scale may not be categorically denied. Fabric, on the whole, has not survived to any great extent in the county. A few scraps from the backs of brooches and the sword wrappings at Ashton Valley II being the only notable examples. It would appear that most corpses were consigned to their graves in ordinary clothing held together by buckles & brooches, rather than being interred in winding sheets. The evidence from Harnham Hill is inconclusive, as Akerman based his assumptions on the occurrence of reversed brooches. (Arch., 1855, 477) He also states that cloth was found adhering to the wooden bowl by the head of skeleton 64. This grave may be one of the latest on the site as it contained a possible C4 spear head. It is possible that the material found on the bowl was actually part of a wrapping for the object (as in the case of Ashton Valley II), and does not represent the remains of a shroud.

Mutilation:

Actions taken to prevent the dead from harming the living, such as decapitation or piling large quantities of rocks over the dead are another category of abnormalities which are curiously lacking in Wiltshire. Aside from the fallen warrior (if that is what this is) cemetery at Roche Court Down, and the possibly Romano-British burials found at Old Sarum, wherein the majority of the skeletons had been decapitated and had had their wrists bound, no mutilated corpses have been found in any of the "normal" Wiltshire cemeteries. The few cases in which skeletons were found to be out of alignment or disturbed all seem to be the result of injury subsequent to burial. Also lacking are face-down burials, again with the exception of a very few cases

found at Roche Court Down and one possible case at Blackpatch. The absence of any clear-cut instances of deliberate mutilation (in cemeteries) may be indicative of a rather relaxed approach to death and to the dead, the populous being disinclined to take precautions against haunting by malicious spirits. This might suggest that they were not particularly afraid of the dead or of any retribution which might be brought upon them by the deceased person. However, in the case of the "murder victim" found down the well at Poulton Down (p.156), heavy stones had been thrown down upon the corpse, perhaps to hide it from view or to keep the spirit in its place. It is important to differentiate between stones thrown into a grave to keep the spirit from walking (as may be the case at Poulton Down), and those used to seal up cists (as at Harnham Hill), which later collapsed onto the burial causing it damage. It is exceedingly difficult to differentiate between the two in some cases. It is also possible that these flint caps served the same purpose as stones which were thrown down onto the skeleton. In the case of the Harnham Hill graves, it would appear that this type of capping may have been required to protect the bodies as they lay not in chalk-cut cists but directly on the surface of the chalk, however. On the other hand, the skull of the male skeleton buried in the purpose-built barrow at Alvediston (WiAm, 1927, 437), had been crushed by some large flints which lay directly atop the skeleton. This is also the burial which may contain the "murdered" spear, and, therefore, these flints may have been placed over the skeleton to seal the soul in rather than to fill up the cist as this burial is abnormal on both counts. There is no proof that this was the intention of those who buried this man, however. In summation, it would appear that the Poulton Down burial is the sole example of a deliberate attempt being made to weigh down a spirit and this is an exceptional case in that the individual had met a particularly nasty and violent end.

Seed Offerings:

Two childrens' graves at Blackpatch, Nos. 33 and 35, exhibit a very unusual feature. Seeds were found in grave 35, a deepish burial which contained a bronze toilette set, bronze fittings and four beads, and grain (possibly of the same type as that found in grave 35) in grave 33. Grain may have been included as a symbol of fertility or as a propitious gift to a fertility God or Goddess such as Frigg.

As these are the only two graves in which seeds were found, there may be other factors involved as to why they were singled out. Neither of these burials is particularly wealthy although each contained grave goods. Both are isolated from other childrens' graves and, if one may assume that children were normally buried with their parents and siblings, it might not be too far-fetched to speculate that these two may have been only children whose parents required some additional reassurance that they would be replaced.

Dr. Meaney is of the opinion that burnt grain (and this is not), was used as a precautionary measure to keep the spirits of the dead away from the land of the living (Meaney, 1964, 20). However, the idea of offering unburnt grain to a fertility deity, in an attempt to ensure that a couple were granted more off-spring, may be of equal validity.

It has also been noted by Meaney that childrens' graves sometimes differ from those of adults (Ibid.). In Wiltshire, childrens' burials, in general, do not differ significantly from those of adults except on the following lines: they are never found in purpose-built barrows, and are only rarely found in re-used barrows (see Sherrington, p. 229), a slightly higher percentage of the childrens' burials are in a crouched position, although both male and female adults are also found in this position, they may possess particular grave goods, such as the iron collars found at Blackpatch, and, on the whole, they tend to be somewhat poorer than adults in terms of grave goods and their furnishings are more likely to be worn and broken, but there are exceptions to this, such as grave 57 at Petersfinger, they may lie near other childrens' burials, as they do in one section (at least) at Blackpatch (see **fig.7**), and their graves tend to be shallower than those of adults - a feature which may only relate directly to their size. As to orientation, in only one case, Winkelbury Hill, were two of the children buried in the reverse of the cemetery's norm (W-E as opposed to E-W). One of the more interesting of these (rather minor) differences is, as aforementioned, the occurrence of a large number of broken or out-moded artefacts found in childrens' graves. Very few of these seem to be in the nature of toys, although two children at Blackpatch possessed a tiny knife and a very small type H1 spear-head respectively. Whether these damaged objects indicate that children were of a low status within the community, or the fact that young children had probably amassed fewer personal ornaments than

adults, or that the worn pieces consigned were "family" objects of sentimental or symbolic value can not be determined. It is, more probably, a combination of the last two factors as tracts such as the Laws of Ine place a fairly high value on the lives and well-being of children. But, for any possible rule for childrens' burials in Wiltshire, there are enough exceptions to indicate that, on the whole, children were not singled out for any alternative form of burial, be this burial in an unusual position, a different orientation, or consignment to a specific part of the burial area. In the main, they were buried with their (projected) families in much the same fashion as the adults except in instances noted above. Occasionally, as at Harnham Hill, children are buried in the same grave as an adult, or, as at Petersfinger, two children may share a grave (No. 61), in fact child/adult burials are the most common form of multiple inhumation followed by adult/adult, and lastly child/child. This may relate back to the strong sense of family inherent within the culture of the pagan Anglo-Saxons, or these double burials may have been for convenience.

Conclusions:

Whilst it has been stated several times in this section that any assumptions made as to the actual burial rites of the "ordinary" pagan Anglo-Saxon communities must be seen as conjectural, certain elements do come to light in the course of analysing these burials in detail. Firstly, in flat-grave cemeteries, there is rarely any difference in the methods used for the burial of the majority of the males, females or children within that particular cemetery. Most appear to have been buried in their wearing apparel in shallowish chalk-cut graves orientated to suit the norms of the individual cemeteries (the exception being Broadchalke in which there does not appear to have been a norm). Some were buried with elaborate grave goods and others with very little or nothing, a situation which may indicate the relative status of the individuals. In the case of at least three of the cemeteries Blackpatch, Winkelbury Hill, and Petersfinger, there is some evidence that people were buried in family plots and some form of boundary - empty spaces in most cases - separated group from group. Members of the same group could differ significantly both as to the quantity and the date span of the grave

goods, indicating that wealthy and poor people could be members of the same unit and that this unit or family burial plot remained in use for more than a single generation.

Tombs may have been marked in some fashion, as indicated by the very rare occurrence of graves cutting into each other and the strong evidence that graves could be re-opened without causing damage to the actual grave cut. Cemeteries, themselves, may have been marked, although the only two (possible) examples are both late barrow/flat grave complexes which lie upon important property boundaries.

Graves were rarely cut any deeper than needed, with the exception of the very deep cists found in some of the primary barrow burials. Occasionally, they were partially or completely lined with flints. In two cemeteries, burnt flints, which most certainly have ritual significance, were found.

Food offerings and feasting seem to have played a very minor role in funerary rites, despite literary evidence to the contrary. Evidence of provisions being left for the dead (if that is what these be) has only been found in three late graves, and it would appear that this rite was not part and parcel of the rituals practised by the (original) in-coming invaders, although it must be stressed, yet again, that the methods used in excavating some of these sites (especially those dug in the 19th century) may have failed to uncover (or note) any remains of funeral feasts or food offerings of a less obvious type than those mentioned herein.

Coffins, biers, beds, and shrouds also seem to be relatively late imports, datable coffins only being found in primary barrow burials and in a barrow in a transitional cemetery. It may be that some time in the late sixth or seventh century (more probably in the seventh), there occurred a slight change in burial rites, including the introduction of barrow building and the formation of barrow/flat-grave complexes, a lessening of the amount of grave goods (and the quality) found in flat-graves, and the intermittent use of burial forms which may have Christian connotations, such as coffins and shrouds.

It has also been noted that the rite of cremation (either complete or partial) does not play a part in the development of Wiltshire cemeteries (see Blackpatch). The use of fire as a purifying or symbolic feature occurs only sporadically and never seems to have become an essential ritual. Nor do the dead suffer mutilation or lie beneath heaps of stones, and there are no face-down burials in "normal" cemeteries.

All of these factors might indicate that the living believed that they had little reason to fear the dead. They rarely placated the dead with food and often buried them with nothing except an old knife. There is some evidence (very slight in my opinion) for memorial visits, Ford being perhaps the most substantial case as a causeway had been left- possible to serve this purpose. The significance of the (broken) potsherds found at Ford and Harnham Hill may not be determined, although at least one excavator was of the opinion that they were dropped by mourners.

The overwhelming impression given by these cemeteries is one of great conservatism and continuity. There would appear to be no great amount of shifting as to burial places (cemeteries), the large Old Sarum cemeteries and Blackpatch all existed continuously over a relatively long span of time; Blackpatch, perhaps, being a bit shorter-lived than the others, although this excavation is still in progress and the site may prove to remain in use into the seventh century. Aside from the examples mentioned above, the burial rites, themselves, seem to have remained fairly static throughout the pagan period. There is no concrete evidence for an abrupt change in preferred orientation, position or lay-out, new graves being incorporated into original cemetery schemes. There is a change in the origins and affinities of the majority of the grave goods (see appropriate cemetery reports), which become more West Saxon in character as the era progressed. However, although the (normal) grave goods become increasingly West Saxon, this change is not reflected by the actual cemeteries, and there is some evidence that burial rites and practises themselves were being derived from sources other than the West Saxon traditions, namely from Jutish Kent and Anglian Mercia (see p.**266**). These include such late features as the building of barrows, burial in coffins, and the possible use of the shroud.

Herein, we have some evidence for a family orientated, rather static society. It was not a particularly wealthy one, although some members were capable of affording luxury items. The social structure allowed people of (apparently) different rank or status to be buried in the same mode and in the same burial ground. Wealthy individuals buried with Frankish objects, such as the warrior burial at Petersfinger (21), lay surrounded by poorer graves some of which contained "West Saxon grave goods".

As has been noted, the seventh century brought changes, and it would appear that the rather egalitarian aspect of the flat-grave cemeteries was supplanted, to some extent, by the use of purpose built barrows which may have been used to separate important tribal or community leaders from "ordinary" folk, the large cemeteries still receiving the bulk of the burials. Why this shift evolved is, to some extent, an unsolvable problem. It may be that as time passed, the gap between ordinary people and the aristocracy grew larger, the latter becoming wealthier and more eclectic in their trade and cultural connections. As the Kingdom of Wessex solidified, these local chieftains may have acquired more authority, their allegiance to the royal courts may have brought them into contact with a far wider range of people having somewhat different ideas as to what was the appropriate form of burial for persons of high standing.

In the future, it is hoped that more notice will be taken (by the excavators of these cemeteries) of such features as the voids found in at least two of the Wiltshire cemeteries, and attempts will be made to unearth and carefully record any evidence of grave and cemetery markers, coffin fittings, traces of burning, and shrouds. Until this type of careful excavation comes into general use, any theories put forth as to the burial rites of the pagan Anglo-Saxons must be regarded as hypothetical at best. In the absence of first hand accounts, archaeology must be relied upon to fill in the gaps in our knowledge concerning what took place at a "typical" pagan Anglo-Saxon funeral. Exactly how the mourners reacted to or treated the dead will, perhaps, always remain a mystery as the material available is unsuited to "deep philosophical study". But, the more information which can be added to what is now known about these practises, the stronger the likelihood of reaching the correct conclusions, eliminating the large amount of guess-work inherent in any study of this type.

CONCLUSION

The archaeologist who is concerned with theoretical subjects must tread warily, and the bulk of the material contained within this thesis is of such a nature. Unlike the scientist who is able to repeat and check up on the results of his experiments, the excavator has but one opportunity to excavate a site and anyone who analyses the material found therein, in the absence of comparable data or texts, cannot verify his conclusions. Pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, by their very nature, preclude the possibility of fool-proof interpretation. The concrete evidence may be analysed and classified and assumptions only may be drawn as to the actual rites of burial and the light which they may throw on the cultural and sociological climate of the settlements. However, as has been stressed in the Introduction and elsewhere in this paper, this type of investigation need not prove futile if one keeps in mind that the true meaning of any given phenomena may remain permanently elusive.

Despite the above, it is evident that there is much to be learned from a study of this type. One contribution was a revised chronology for the sites based upon recent research and including newly excavated burials. This chronology provides a framework for the settlement of Wiltshire and certain conclusions may be drawn pertaining to this. If Dr. Evison's re-assessment of the A.S.C. dating (see p. 2) is an acceptable one, and the archaeological evidences point towards its validity, one may also accept that the Salisbury Avon provided the major route of entrance into the County in the earliest phases of settlement as this area shows the highest concentration of late fifth century material. By the late fifth century, settlements (as evidenced by cemeteries) had been founded flanking the river confluence near Old Sarum. These include Petersfinger (to the east), Harnham Hill, and the Salisbury area itself. Up river in the chalk lands of the Vale of Pewsey, another concentration of settlements was coming into existence at about the same date, those lying near Blackpatch and possible Woodbridge. A third area was emerging along the River Kennet, possibly centered around Marlborough, at a slightly later date. Concurrently, the Winterslow group came into existence. The sixth century provides a date for several of the isolated burials and the secondary barrow burials (most of which are located in the Salisbury Plain), as well as

for the bulk of the datable flat-grave burials in cemeteries. The seventh century, the era of the transitional cemeteries and the primary barrow burials, was also the period in which the Wylye valley to the west of Broad Chalke may have been settled.

The northwest quadrant of the County appears to have been sparsely inhabited by Anglo-Saxons throughout the Pagan period, and, indeed, with the exception of Cricklade, throughout the Anglo-Saxon period as evidenced by the scarcity of Domesday settlements in the area. Despite this fact (or, perhaps, because of it) the first Monastery in the County, Malmesbury, was founded to the west of Selwood forest.

The rivers and their valleys, particularly those which join up at Salisbury, provided the major routes of migration. However, the Thames would appear, at present, to have played but a minor role in the settlement of Wiltshire. Although the northern banks of this river and its northern tributaries possess a fair number of relatively early burial sites (such as Fairford, Gl.), the Wiltshire side provides no cemeteries or burials of an early date, and indeed, very little material of the later Pagan Anglo-Saxon period. There is no simple reason as to why this pattern is not mirrored on the southern side of the river. It may be that future excavations will, in time, rectify this peculiar situation, but, at present, perhaps the most acceptable solution would be that the main stream of settlers came up from the south (which Bede states was Jutish held territory), settling, at first, in the river valleys which flank Old Sarum and up river in the Vale of Pewsey. The heavy clays and forests of northern Wiltshire may have made farming difficult and this section may have been given a wide berth. There is also the distinct possibility borne out by the A.S.C. and geological factors, that the northwest may have been, at least partially, controlled by the Romano-British population until well into the eighth century and not readily available for settlement. The type of land chosen for settlement had to be picked with an eye towards easily worked soils (Rendzinas) and a constant water supply. The only other area of the county which lacks burial sites, the extreme southeast, is primarily made up of lower green sands and again, may not have been suitable for light ploughing. The few sites located in the clay belt cling to small patches of the limestone plateau (Fig. 3) surrounded by less desirable soils.

Cemeteries

As to the cemeteries themselves, very few generalizations may be made as each has its own unique features. The majority of these sites lie in or near river valleys and the majority of the burials contained in them are orientated E-W. N-S burials also prevail, although they are far less numerous (see Fig. 37). Almost every variation of these two orientations may be found, although too much emphasis may be placed upon minor variations due to soil conditions, etc. Most of the skeletons lay in an extended or supine position. There is a slightly higher proportion of crouched childrens' burials than there is adult and of these, the majority are female. Rarely, if ever, is a skeleton found lying in any other position except at Roche Court Down I, a very unusual and inconclusively dated site. The graves themselves were usually cut into the chalk to an average depth of about 18". However, at Harnham Hill (and to a lesser extent at Broadchalke) the bodies were lain to rest on the surface of the chalk and covered over by a capping of flints (Harnham Hill only). Flints were also used to line graves or as head or foot stones. They are particularly abundant at Petersfinger and Winterbourne Gunner although they have not been found at Blackpatch. The practise seems to have died out, to a large extent, in the later pagan period as evidenced by the two projected seventh century cemeteries, Roche Court Down II and Winkelbury Hill, wherein none of the flat-graves were lined.

Childrens' graves usually conform to the normal orientation(s) of their cemeteries with the notable exception of Winkelbury Hill in which two childrens' graves lie in the reverse of the cemetery norm (W-E instead of E-W).

Grave Goods

Grave goods vary enormously in quantity, but the range in types is not particularly great. When accompanied by artefacts, males were usually buried with a spear and/or a knife or buckle. Slightly more elaborate male flat-graves might alsoinclude a shield. The wealthier burials might contain a sword or an axe, buckets and, perhaps purse and scabbard fittings in addition to the more traditional weapons and grave goods. The female burials follow suit. The simplest grave goods (apart from a knife only) are usually a brooch or two, the more elaborate may contain two or three brooches, beads, buckles and knives,

and perhaps, a key-ring or chatelaine. Festoons of beads do not appear to have been common, nor are large cruciform brooches, "Anglian-type" girdle hangers or earrings. Rings of the solid band variety are found at only one site, Harnham Hill, but silver spiral rings are fairly common. The brooch types favoured, aside from simple small long brooches, are invariably of the disc and saucer varieties. Small anthropomorphic button brooches seem almost an endemic type and have been found at Blackpatch, Harnham Hill, and Petersfinger. Childrens' graves are often less well-equipped than those of surrounding adults, although exceptions are not uncommon and wealthier childrens' graves have been excavated at Blackpatch, Harnham Hill, Petersfinger, and Winterbourne Gunner. However, childrens' graves are more likely to contain damaged or out-moded objects than are those of adults. Iron collars have been found in childrens' graves at Blackpatch, but these would seem to be the only artefacts which are exclusive to childrens' burials.

The two projected seventh century cemeteries, Roche Court Down II and Winkelbury Hill, both barrow/flat-grave complexes, present a somewhat different pattern which may indicate some slight shift in actual burial practises. In both, the orientation is markedly E-W and there is both a marked absence of crouched burials and of grave goods, aside from the simplest knives and buckles or pins. This poverty is even reflected by the graves of those individuals who were buried in the purpose-built or re-used barrows.

Organisation

The barrow/flat-grave complexes express a row organization as compared to the more clustered patterns found at Petersfinger and Blackpatch. But, in both the earlier and the later phases, cemeteries may have been organized by rows as illustrated by what is known of Harnham Hill. It is also quite possible that cemeteries (in general) were laid out in family plots. Whilst gaps or voids between groups of burials are most noticeable at Blackpatch, they are also in evidence at the two flat-grave/barrow complexes and even at the somewhat erratic cemetery at Broadchalke. At Blackpatch, it may be noted that each group of burials was not of wealth or size, but each contained a moderately to very wealthy male grave within its ranks. This may be an indication of a patrilinear family cluster organization. What may be said of each of the cemeteries is that no matter how disorganized

it may appear at first, each does express some type of formal or informal organization and laying out.

There is also relatively strong evidence for the marking or turfing over of individual graves best illustrated by the fact that very few graves cut across or through each other and that re-used graves (containing more than one burial of the same period) do not show signs of re-cutting or disturbance. The lack of visible remains for such markers need not rule out the possibility that they once existed. They may have been organic (wood) and failed to survive, or the graves may have been built-up only to subside with the years leaving, at best, a negative impression, as at Blackpatch and Woodbridge. Two cemeteries, Winkelbury Hill and Roche Court Down II provide some evidence of having been marked, probably by a pole or a tree, and, perhaps the rest were also marked when they were in use.

Many of the burial grounds in the County were probably in use over a (relatively) long period of time. There appears to have been little or no shifting of burial sites until the latest Pagan period. Space may have been allotted within a burial precinct when it was first established as there is evidence that at least two cemeteries, Blackpatch and Petersfinger, grew inwards rather than exclusively outwards. The transitional cemeteries, if this is the category to which they belong, are "new" to the seventh century, but neither lies completely isolated from other burial sites. Roche Court Down, however, lies closer to sites which span the Pagan period than does Winkelbury Hill which is situated near other seventh century sites, such as Swallowcliffe, only (to date). a few cemeteries are situated in relative isolation (at present), such as Purton, Bassett Down, and Swindon, but this may only reflect a lack of excavation in these areas. The centres at Salisbury, Marlborough, and the Vale of Pewsey may each contain more than one projected cemetery within a small radius. This is most pronounced in the Old Sarum area.

Dr. Evison's theory that there is a gap between the earlier and later burial places, quoted on page iv , has proved to be at least in part, incorrect. She has failed to include the large Old Sarum cemeteries which had been excavated prior to 1965 in her summary although she made excellent use of early material from these sites. There is good reason to believe that these two sites, and, in addition, Winterbourne Gunner (a small fragment of what may have

been a large cemetery) and Blackpatch (now being excavated) follow, to some extent, the pattern shown by the Kentish and other cemeteries and were in use over a considerable length of time. It may also be noted that three of Evison's late sites are Primary barrow burials (which as a group make a very late entrance in Wiltshire) and the fourth, Purton, a small, badly excavated cemetery which contained an early spear type (H2)(Swanton Corpus, 1974, 74) may also span the pagan period. What may be said in defence of Evison's suggestion is that the percentage of mid to late sixth century burials in the county is considerably lower than that for either earlier or later burials, but there does not seem to be any appreciable gap. This is complicated by the fact that many burials contained no datable grave goods (or no grave goods at all) and there is always the possibility that these graves may provide the equalizing numbers. Also included in the mid to late sixth century group may be some of the datable secondary barrow burials (a very poorly documentated group) and some of the single inhumations, a few of which may represent the last vestiges of cemeteries. What does seem clear is that, to date, no cemeteries solely representing the mid to late sixth century have been excavated whilst the majority appear to span the pagan period or to have come into existence in the transitional period (cf. Roche Court Down and Winkelbury Hill). The gap in time between the last phases of the early burial places and the transitional cemeteries would appear to be very slight, if there is any provable gap at all. The primary barrow burials are a case unto themselves and represent a very small number of burials, some of which are very elaborate, in which the actual mode of burial has been altered. The group would appear (when datable) to belong to the very end of the pagan period - the end of the chronology. But, the gap between these burials and the early sites mentioned by Evison may be quite effectively filled in.

Barrow Burials

One major conclusion must remain elusive as concerns burials in re-used barrows and that is what element of society was chosen or chose to be buried in this manner. These burials may not be fitted into a pattern except to state that the majority of those interred (when data was available) proved to be males. The orientations, when noted, varied but were usually E-W or N-S. The positions, however, appear to have been almost inevitably extended or supine. Therefore,

the actual mode of burial does not differ significantly between flat-grave and re-used barrow burials.

Very few of the secondary burials were even moderately well equipped, one, Winterslow (Idmiston) was as elaborate as the simpler Primary barrow burials and only one compared favourably with the more elaborate primary barrow burials - Swallowcliffe. Therefore, if grave goods may be considered as implying relative wealth, these people may not have been particularly well-off. Considering the wealth of some of the primary barrow burials, it might be considered that barrow burial, in general, was a sign of elevated rank, however this hypothesis rests upon three unproven factors: a) that secondary burials in barrows may be the forerunners of primary barrow burials; b) that the two forms of burial stem from the same traditions and are indicative of the same status, and c) that people of wealth or holding high social positions were, necessarily, buried with the appropriate grave furnishings. In any case, it is doubtful that a solution will present itself, but, as the vast majority of the Wiltshire burials are in flat graves this mode of burial (in a Bronze Age Barrow) must have some significance and the idea that it was reserved for local chieftains or land owners is an attractive one.

Several types of Bronze Age Barrows were re-used, but the majority are bell or bowl barrows. Long barrows were also used, but only in a specific sector of the county (see map 35). Some of the long barrows were probably small cemeteries (perhaps containing one family) rather than individual resting places. Sherrington, with its eight burials, is probably the best example of this. Occasionally (as at Winkelbury Hill), the original cist was cleaned out and re-used, but most of these burials lie fairly close to the surface and lack grave cuts completely. Unfortunately, the records for many of these sites are so poor that the exact method and mode of burial could not be determined.

Most of the secondary burial sites are located on the chalk plains, although a few lie in River valleys, whereas the majority of the cemeteries lie situated in or near river valleys. The significance of this differentiation is lessened somewhat by the fact that four of the cemeteries are in the Salisbury confluence, a well documented and researched area, whereas it is doubtful that the chalk plains have been fully investigated for flat-grave burial places which may be less obvious than the barrows which dot these plains. Several of the

secondary barrow burials lie on Parish boundaries, and if these boundaries are as ancient at Mr. Bonney suggests, these barrows may have been chosen because they lay in positions which were traditionally used for burial.

Primary Barrow Burials

The ten primary barrow burials are, on the whole, better documented that the secondary burials. Nine of these burials are those of adult males and the tenth that of an adult female who may actually be a secondary interment. The barrows themselves are small, low bowl types, a very few of which were ditched. Each contained a large and in some cases extremely deep, well cut grave. The orientations varied, but, as is the case of the secondary and cemetery burials, the position was almost uniformally extended or supine. Three of the burials were coffined, Ashton Valley I, and the two Roundway burials, one, Coombe Bissett, would appear to be a cenotaph.

There are no known primary barrow burials to the north of Wansdyke, but their geological "spread" is a bit broader than that of the majority of the secondary barrow burials. These primary barrows lie in river valleys, on the scarp of the lower chalk plains and on the lower and higher chalks of the Salisbury Plain. The burials rarely occur in completely isolated positions, although there are only two examples of one lying in close proximity to another, Roche Court Down (one burial, one possible cenotaph or marker barrow and a cemetery) and Roundway Down (one primary and one primary or secondary burial). Ashton Valley I and West Knoyle I and Coombe Bissett are all situated near secondary burials which may be pagan Anglo-Saxon in date. Ford may lie near a disturbed burial of the same period. To date, only the late, moderately wealthy burial at Rodmead Down would appear to stand completely on its own.

Datable primary barrow burials would appear to be the products of the mid to late seventh century, placing the majority of them in a post conversion context. However, in some cases, such as Ashton Valley and Heddington, no concrete date could be assigned to the burials as definitive grave goods were absent. The grave goods found in the wealthier burials in this group differ in character from those found in comparatively late single burials such as Ebbesbourne and Perham Down. As has been noted, the two projected late cemeteries are very poor in grave furnishings. The Ebbesbourne

and Perham burials contained typical "warrior's grave goods" as did the primary burial at West Knoyle. But, certain categories of grave furnishings would appear to be specifically characteristic of primary barrow burials. These include skillets, hanging bowls, buckles with three rivets, some of which are garnet set, gold-wire beads, elaborately dressed swords, and glass vessels. These are all luxury items, some of which may have been imported, perhaps from Kent, whilst others, such as the skillets, may be indigenous and of Celtic workmanship. In either case, they point towards a wealthy aristocracy with, perhaps, widespread trade connections, which appear to have been in force in the mid to late seventh century but not beforehand.

Arguments for the derivation of this rite have been put forth in the chapter on Primary Barrow Burials. However, the incontravertible solution to the question of where this practise originated must remain elusive. As has been stated elsewhere, it is far simpler to eliminate possibilities than to create a satisfactory case for any particular argument.

There are several important distinctions which may be made between the Wiltshire Group and the hummock burials of Kent and Sussex. Firstly, whilst both groups are comprised of small mounds, the Wiltshire group tends to be lower and far wider in diameter. Secondly the Kentish hummocks are usually grouped together in cemeteries, some of which contain a large number of burials, whereas the Wiltshire group occurs in relatively isolated burials, and when they do lie near other burials (as at Ashton Valley or Roche Court Down), these are inevitably flat grave or secondary barrow inhumations. The Kentish burials may be of individuals of any age and both sexes and they often contained fire-singed coffins (Faussett, 1856), whilst the Wiltshire burials which are provably primary in a barrow are overwhelmingly those of adult males, only two of which are buried in coffins.

There are also several important differences which might steer one away from the theory of the evolution of primary barrow burials out of the custom of re-using Bronze Age barrows. Re-used barrows often contain more than one burial (especially true in the case of re-used long barrows). The secondary graves are often poor and shallow and there is rarely a proper grave cut. Women's and childrens' skeletons are occasionally found, another feature which is absent in primary burials. There was no attempt to imitate the sizes or the forms of re-used Bronze Age barrows on the part of the Anglo-Saxons,

although this might be put down to the copying, on a small scale, of the simplest type of barrow (bowl) only by a smaller work force than that which had been available to earlier barrow builders. A transitional stage between the two forms is difficult to discern due to the poor recording of the majority of the secondary burials. The latest of the secondary burials, Swallowcliffe, compares favourably with the primary burials, but, there does not seem to have been a gradual refinement in barrow burial practises, stages in which tombs become deeper and better defined, for example, which may have culminated in the construction of purpose-built tumuli. One may not eliminate the possibility that there is a link between the two forms of burial, the one being the outcome of the other, but in general, there are so few conclusive similarities between the bulk of the two forms of burial that this may not be proven and, indeed, based upon the available evidence, it would seem unlikely. It is not even clear whether the same class or groups of people were buried in primary and secondary barrows despite the fact that the grave goods in the latter group are generally scantier than those in the former. The fact that the classification of a particular barrow burial may be vague or incorrect also makes forming a chronology which might link the two forms of burial difficult to establish.

At present, it would appear that the Wiltshire burials have more in common with the seventh century primary barrow burials of Derbyshire and Staffs., etc., than with any other group of burials. Both groups are made up of small, low, relatively isolated bowl barrows, most of which contain the remains of extended, uncoffined, male skeletons, some of which were wealthier than others (cf. Primary Barrows, p.**172**). Grave goods found in both groups also provide parallels such as the gaming pieces found in the cremation at Cold Eaton, the burial at Taplow (Bucks.) and at Roundway Down I (see p.**189**). In all, although there are major differences to be found between the two groups, the most important of which is the use of cremation which is only found in the Anglian group, the similarities between these two groups must not be overlooked. It has been suggested in the conclusion of the chapter dealing with these burials (p.**195**) that the use of this particular form of burial may be the only evidence of the Mercian (Anglian) overlordship of Wiltshire which is verified by both the A.S.C. and the Charter references. Whether these burials were of true Mercians or West Saxon appointees mimicking the northern tradition is impossible to determine.

An amalgam of any of these theories might provide a satisfactory answer to the derivation of the rite in the County, but none would solve the ultimate question of where the process originated. This is, most probably, a thesis topic in itself. What does seem clear is that the rite did not accompany the pioneers when they first came to settle in England. The dating of the vast majority of the Primary burials in England may be placed fairly conclusively in the mid to late seventh century, although some may be a bit earlier or later, leaving a gap of about two hundred years between the invasion and the commencement of barrow building on either an elaborate scale, such as Sutton Hoo (or Vendel in Sweden) or on a lesser scale (West Knoyle, etc.). It is tempting to suggest that a radical change in burial rites heralds the arrival of a new group of settlers having a profound influence over the earlier peoples and coming from the barrow building lands of Sweden or Denmark, for example. But, all that may be suggested by the inclusion of grave goods having Scandanavian affinities at Sutton Hoo or Kentish affinities at Ford (?) is that trade and diplomatic relations between these areas were being established in the later pagan period. As this topic falls outside the limits of this work - which has attempted to deal with the Wiltshire examples of the form only - one does not feel justified in offering any possible solutions based upon material from the above group only. The possibility of an independent evolution of this form in England or a renewal of older practises as the economy and organization of the area improved, may not be ignored either. However, only a total re-assessment of both the English and the Continental material may be relied upon to offer possible solutions to the question of where the rite originated and why it makes such a late entrance as a burial form in pagan Anglo-Saxon England.

Single Burials

Single burials present another type of problem. Whilst several would appear to be remnants of cemeteries and one is, doubtlessly, the victim of violence (Poulton Down), others, such as the seventh century burial at Ebbesbourne and the earlier burial at Witherington do not appear to have been accompanied by other burials, although this possibility may not be ruled out. The majority of these skeletons are male and some, such as the two mentioned, were buried with grave goods comparable to those found in cemetery burials of the same eras.

The site reports for these burials are, on the whole, quite poor and (as in the case of Great Cheverall) artefacts only were found in a few cases.

These graves are spread thinly throughout the County with the usual exception of the Northwest quadrant. Several lie in or near river valleys and this is another possible reason for considering that they may represent un-dug or destroyed cemeteries. The three northern burials lie near Roman roads, however. It has been surmised that such burials belong to emigrants who died whilst on route to new communities and, if this is true, some case may be made for the use of these roads if they were in good enough condition, as routes of access into areas not capable of being reached by the rivers and river valleys. One factor which may weaken the acceptance of these burials as those of wayfarers is that the majority of them conform to the norms of cemeteries, they are neat, the grave cuts adequately dug, and grave goods were provided. It may be that this type of burial was afforded to anyone, whether he died in his home settlement or in the "wilderness". One may not assume that an isolated burial need be any sloppier than the norm, for this does not appear to be the case. Other suggestions would include the possibility that the later burials were those of avowed pagans living in a transitional world, or, as in the case of those buried in primary barrows, these people were, in some way, outsiders. Given the apparent family (probably patrilinear and extended) organization of several of these cemeteries, it may be that there was no space provided for outsiders. Both of these suggestions seem rather far-fetched and may not point towards a reasonable solution. One possibility which might be eliminated, although it is, initially, an attractive one, is the idea that these are the burials of criminals or outcasts. Several of these burials were fairly well equipped, two were located in prominent positions (on hill tops), no attempts have been made in any of these burials (save the extraordinary case of Poulton Down) to mutilate either the possessions or the bodies of the dead, nor are they buried with their hands tied, their heads cut off, weighted down with flints or on their faces. But then, it may be that distance was considered to afford enough protection in a society which does not appear to have mutilated the corpses of its own people.

It is doubtful, in any case (as in the case of the primary barrow burials) that there need be any one solution to this question, or that

the correct deductions may be made from the archaeological evidence. Whilst one may assume from the later that several of these "isolated" burials may actually represent cemeteries because of other features or artefacts noted at the sites, one may not assume the opposite because these are absent in some cases. Broadchalke, for example, was discovered by chance, as was Harnham Hill and others, as it would appear that there were no external indications of the burials below. Perhaps, with the exception of Poulton Down, "isolated burial" is a misnomer, and the category, itself, should be regarded as a spurious one.

Burial Rites

Conclusions which may be reached concerning the religious beliefs of the pagan Anglo-Saxons of Wiltshire are few and, for the most part, hypothetical. Because no settlement sites of the era have been excavated to date, it is not even possible to discern whether burial sites were located near villages or at a distance or if each community possessed its own grave yards or several shared one place equidistant between them. The latter may seem more feasible in the light of the fact that several burial sites lie on or near parish boundaries, some of which may be quite ancient (see p. 27).

From the general neatness of the burials themselves, it may be assumed that the dead were respected and that last rites were performed with some care in the majority of the cases. The grave cuts themselves are, in general, quite irregular and shallow as might be expected of graves dug into the chalk. This irregularity may also indicate that there were no professional grave diggers and that the tools used by families digging graves for their deceased members were primitive. The family unit, so important to Anglo-Saxon settlers, is, most probably also the unit used in the organization of cemeteries and gaps may have been left for the purposes of expansion, burial rites or delineation of groups.

Of the burial rite itself, we know even less. Rituals which would have left permanent traces, such as feasting are, on the whole, absent. Fire was used in only a very small percentage of the burials and then as a symbolic or purifying agent only. Cremations which are definitive of this period do not exist in the County to date. Less tangible evidence, such as the dirges which were sung, the amount of time which elapsed between death and burial, and the actual procedure for

escorting the corpse to the grave are beyond the scope of archaeology. Sagas record all three activities in a slightly different context, and, therefore, one may surmise that similar practises were followed by the pagan Anglo-Saxons, although there is no proof. Post burial rituals, such as memorial visits, are hinted at, especially at Ford and Harnham Hill but, again, the evidence is slight and open to debate.

What may be deduced, however, is that, in general, the mode of burial for men, women and children, would appear to be similar, although, as stated elsewhere, there are proportionately more crouched unfurnished, or poorly furnished childrens' graves than there are adult burials of these forms. Children may also be buried next to other children in small clumps within possible family groups. This is especially noticeable at Blackpatch and Winkelbury Hill.

The pagan Anglo-Saxons of Wiltshire may have had a fairly relaxed attitude towards their dead and their possessions, as has been noted elsewhere, mutilation, either of the body or of its grave goods, cannot be proven in a single case within the "normal" cemeteries or barrow burials. The undatable beheaded skeletons found at the site of the Battle of Old Sarum may indicate that enemies were beheaded, although it may not be known whether beheading was the cause of death or was carried out afterwards. It may not be stated categorically that these skeletons date to the Battle in any case. The north-south orientated cemetery at Roch Court Down I presents an additional problem because it lies close by a barrow/flat grave complex and, whilst the north-south cemetery was made up exclusively of males, Roche Court Down II contained normal east-west burials of both sexes and all ages. The arguments concerning the possible identity of the north-south burials are put forth on page **100**. It may be thought that they were captives of the other community, or something of this nature, but the entire situation is fairly inexplicable. As in the case of Old Sarum, there is no proof that the north-south skeletons actually belong to the pagan Anglo-Saxon period as none of the skeletons were found with grave goods of even the simplest type. Dating them by analogy with the Old Sarum skeletons, which themselves may have been dated for "convenience" to the A.S.C. date would be a pointless exercise.

Flints, stones, and other materials which may be used to "seal in a soul" do not appear to have been used for such purposes by this group. A very few secondary barrow burials of a dubious nature and date were covered by heavy sarsen stones **(see Ap.III)** and the primary barrow burial at Alvediston lay beneath a pile of flints, a

situation which may have been brought about for convenience sake because of the considerable depth of the chalk-cut cist. But, flat graves in which flints are in evidence appear to use them as liners to produce, in effect, mock-cists. Harnham Hill is an exception to this rule. At this cemetery, wherein the corpses were placed upon the surface of the ground, the flints appear to have been used to delineate burial spaces and perhaps to make up depth below the top-soil. In fact, none of the obvious precautionary measures one might expect to find amongst a people who feared death and the dead appear to be in operation amongst the pagan Anglo-Saxons. Amulets, either prepared especially for the use of the dead or for every day use, such as boar's tusks and cowrie shells are also lacking, although the pyrites nodules found in graves at, for example, Blackpatch and Broadchalke, may be tokens of this nature. It has also been suggested that these nodules served as strike-a-lights, therefore their religious uses must remain in question. Artefacts having any obvious religious purpose of meaning are extremely rare and may be found most often in the late primary barrow burials such as Roundway Down II (animal bones) and possibly Ford (bulbs). But, as in the case of the pyrites nodules, other objects found more commonly may have some significance which is not immediately apparent.

Whilst there is no uniform orientation in evidence throughout the County, each burial place, save Broadchalke, would appear to have had its norm or norms, usually E-W or E-W and N-S (see Fig. 37). Accompanying these were the norms for positions, as stated elsewhere, generally extended or supine with a few crouched burials. In some cases, such as Harnham Hill and Roche Court Down II, the orientation (E-W) is so uniform as to suggest that these graves may have been laid out to a fixed reference point. If the theory that these graves were orientated to the rising or setting sun, as put forth by Wells and Green (Norfolk Arch. II, 1973, 435-42) were correct in all cases, then most of the denizens at Roche Court Down II (etc.) must have died at the same time of the year (probably close to the equinoxes), a situation which does not appear to be particularly acceptable. Lt. Gen. Pitt-Rivers applied the same technique (orientation to the Sun) at Winkelbury Hill and discovered that the variations were, on the whole, too slight to point conclusively towards orientation to the Sun and that the range of dates obtained using this method did not

comply to periods of peak mortality (Pitt-Rivers, II, 1888, It is possible that points were fixed at the initial phases of the cemeteries, and, once the first graves had been dug with reference to these points, additional graves may have been dug more or less parallel to the originals. Slight variations would then be due to incorrect lining up giving the type of pattern seen at the above cemeteries. This may account for the E-W and E-W variant graves, the North-South orientation which always appears to be more "pagan" is more difficult to account for. In truth, it would appear that the two orientations were in use concurrently, as may be best illustrated by Petersfinger.

Dr. Evison is of the opinion that the N-S orientation was the usual position for "Gallo-Roman graves in northern Gaul in the fourth century before the change to E-W and it became the usual in NW Germany and the Lower Rhine" (Evison, 1965, 11). It was also used extensively in the Namur region (Op Cit).

Although the dual usage of E-W and N-S orientations is inevitably found in cemeteries evidencing, especially in their earliest phases, continental (primary Frankish) furnishings, such as Petersfinger and Blackpatch, Harnham Hill and the fragmentary cemetery at Winterbourne Gunner, which are both purely E-W orientated cemeteries, have also yielded objects of the same nature. S-N burials, common to Scandinavia and occasionally found in the Namur region, are so rare in Wiltshire as to have only one indisputable example, the single burial at Ebbesbourne Wake. Therefore, it may be that both the N-S orientation and its use in conjunction with E-W orientation is a continental import, probably from the areas mentioned above. As is illustrated by Petersfinger, this dual usage would appear to continue in use until fairly late in the pagan period. It is interesting to note that whilst there are purely E-W orientated cemeteries, both of early and late date (the primary phase at Harnham Hill as compared to Winkelbury Hill for example), aside from the poorly documented sites at Fargo and Roche Court Down I, there are no purely N-S orientated cemeteries in the county to date. The early introduction of Christianity into Northern Gaul in the late fourth century may account for the introduction of a purely E-W orientation (Evison, 10), and its usage in conjunction with what might appear to be a more pagan orientation brings up some interesting problems, such as to what extent had the incoming settlers been introduced to and affected

by Christianity. If some of them were, nominally, Christian, why was it that they were buried amongst supposed non-Christians?

Religious affinities add yet another dimension to the complexities involved in a study such as this. If, and there is some evidence to support this theory, there were a contingent of Franks (or people who had come into close contact with them) in the advance party, there is every likelihood that these people had been exposed to some form of Christianity in their contact with the Gallo-Roman population. By the end of the fifth century, the Franks, themselves, were already being converted to Christianity, as is evidenced by Clovis' marriage to the Christian convert, Clotilda circa 490 (Lasko, 1971, 33). Therefore, whilst the incoming Franks may have maintained their pagan traditions, there is a strong possibility that they had already witnessed Gallo-Roman Christian burial practices at some point in their own history and these in turn may have influenced their own methods of burial. The neatly laid out, consistently orientated cemeteries of Gallo-Roman or Merovingian date, such as Holzgerlingen (Wurtenberg)(Salin, II, 1952, 184), or, to a lesser extent, the slightly later cemetery at Villey St. Etienne (Ibid., 188), are mirrored to some degree at, for example, Harnham Hill and Winterbourne Gunner. The incoming Franks may not have been completely pagan, and this sort of organization may represent their own "transitional" period, which was swallowed up by the pagan traditions of the incoming Angles and Saxons. The "Jutes", on the other hand, also seem to have had early and strong connections with both the Merovingian kingdom and with the settlers of Wiltshire. The Merovingian connection seems to have become stronger as the pagan period progressed culminating in the marriage (and subsequent conversion under the auspices of Augustine) of Ethelbert, King of Kent, to the Christian Frankish princess, Bertha (Bede, 1956, 69). If both of these groups had been exposed to or had been in contact with continental Christians prior to the migration period, there is a small degree of fallacy involved in regarding them as completely pagan, but the amount of influence this exposure had upon them is an indeterminate factor.

On the other hand, it is always possible (indeed, probable) that whilst these people had adopted some North Gaulish customs, they did not convert to any great extent. Thus, these groups may have gone on burying in whichever direction they were accustomed to, based primarily

upon where they had originated from. But, they may not have regarded an E-W orientation as being a sign of the "new faith" but merely as the prevalent orientation of their somewhat Christianized homelands. Sharing the land with others who adhered to N-S burial, but who may have professed the same faith, the E-W buryers may not have objected to mixing the dead of the two groups as the two orientations may have been more a matter of custom rather than ritual.

Therefore it is also possible that the neatness of these cemeteries is a carry over from the fourth century row graves found in cemeteries of the Laeti and Foederati, a Germanic custom found on the "frontier areas of the empire stretching from Britain, western France, Belgium to the west, the Danube and the Black Sea in the south and east" (Lasko, 1971, 197). Many of these row grave cemeteries contain artefacts reflecting the beginnings of Frankish (style) art (Ibid.). In either case, the impetus for the early Wiltshire cemeteries (most notably Harnham Hill) would appear to be connected in some way with the Franks and their allies.

The transition from pagan beliefs to Christian ones appears to have been a drawn out process. Although the technical date for the conversion of Wessex is circa 634, as based upon references in the A.S.C. and Bede, lapses, even amongst the Royal family (see p. 27) occurred shortly thereafter. The rich Primary barrow burials of the mid to late seventh century (and possibly the early eighth) do not appear to be of a particularly Christian character, with the possible exception of the barrow burial at Roche Court Down II. If these burials owe their inception to the intrusion of Anglian overlords within the Kingdom of Wessex (see p.195) in the mid seventh century, it may be of some importance to note that Christianity did not reach the Mercians until some twenty years after it had been (at least nominally) accepted by the West Saxons. Bede records the conversion of this group as taking place circa 656, after the death of Penda who had "expelled" Cenwahl from his (Cenwahl's) kingdom in 644 (Bede, 1956, 179). This gap, small though it may seem, would have pushed the transitional period amongst the Mercians behind that of the West Saxons by at least twenty years, and one may well imagine that the older rites may still have been in use amongst people of Mercian (or Anglian) descent after they had partially gone out of use amongst the West Saxons.

One or two factors important to a study such as this are not documented nor may deductions be made concerning them. The first pertains to how long a time had to elapse before the common people accepted Christianity as their everyday faith and, related to this, whether nobles who had converted because their Lords had done so genuinely adhered to Christian beliefs and practises or merely accepted the new faith as a matter of fashion, reverting to older tenents during times of stress or to mark rites of passage. In theory, it might be expected that it took at least three generations to produce a true Christian: a) the convert himself; b) his child, brought up in an atmosphere which still contained many pagan elements but wherein the leanings were decidedly Christian; and c) the grandchild, reared by a parent who had been brought up as a Christian and may have been more inclined to discard older rites. This span might encompass as much as sixty to seventy-five years during which (especially in its earliest phase), one might expect burials rites to still be somewhat mixed. As a hypothetical solution, the above is an attractive one, its validity, however, must remain in doubt.

It may be that there is some degree of conglomeration of burial rites in the County throughout the pagan period, initially represented by the dual usage of E-W and N-S orientation and later, the introduction of what may be an Anglian rite, Primary Barrow burial, contrasted by the late transitional cemeteries. Burial places themselves, such as Petersfinger, Harnham Hill, Winterbourne Gunner, Purton, and Blackpatch would appear to have been in use almost continuously which may point to a conservative and community orientated mode of burial as there is no clear evidence of a marked change in flat grave burial rites between the end of the fifth century and the opening decades of the seventh, wherein the majority of even the wealthiest graves lie in flat-grave cemeteries. By the mid seventh century, the two new methods of burial, in a purpose built barrow and in a barrow/flat grave complex) came into existence.

The physical remains of these people do provide some information as to the physiognomies of the majority of the settlers. Most were dolich or mesocephalic. The height range was not too different from that of modern men and women (see Fig. 41). Some of the male skeletons gave evidence of strong, well-defined musculature, whilst others, such as No. 2 at Broadchalke, were probably slight and weak. The number of skeletons with pre-mortem fractures is surprisingly

low, nor is there a particularly large proportion bearing signs of Arthritis or related diseases. However, as pathology reports in any detail were practically lacking for the nineteenth century reports (with the notable exception of Winkelbury Hill) and scanty for the later ones, these figures may not be relied upon to give a true picture of the state of health enjoyed by these individuals. The dental reports are, on the whole, somewhat more complete. The amount of general attrition suggests that their diet was coarse and consisted of such food stuffs as poorly ground grains, but the overall lack of carious teeth suggests that sweets or food stuffs of a very acidic nature were not in abundance. There is some tendency towards a lack of development of one or more third molars (wisdom teeth), a condition most in evidence at Broadchalke and Winkelbury Hill and possibly at Roche Court Down as well.

One curious feature noted at many of the cemeteries is the apparent scarcity of childrens' burials (see Fig. 38). This may be accounted for in a number of ways. It may be due to poor or incomplete excavation, childrens' graves being shallower and less easily noticed than those of adults. Or, it is possible that the shallow graves often allotted to children did not survive as well as deeper adult graves. But, bearing in mind that there may be adequate mechanical reasons for the lack of what would be a more appropriate number of children (given the number of adults), cemeteries such as Blackpatch (incompletely dug) or Petersfinger which have been accurately excavated also fall prey to this phenomenon. It may not be ruled out that artificial means of birth and population control were in use. This may have been brought about through infanticide, as there is some literary evidence for this, or religious and social taboos may have limited the number of children per family. It is also possible that the infant mortality rate was lower than what might be expected and that many children grew up to form the second and third generations in these cemeteries. The number of aged individuals is also higher than might be expected (see Fig. 39) which may indicate that these people were, on the whole, fairly healthy and adequately provided for.

Conclusion

Despite the multitude of excavated sites in the County, the absence of reliable literary sources and the uneven quality of the excavations and their subsequent reports still leave many questions unanswered. The sociological and religious precepts of a pagan Anglo-Saxon community leave but scant traces from which inferences may only be drawn with extreme care. For, although the Havamal Edda states that a man's deeds and good name never die, they are far more perishable than his sword or spear.

"Cattle die
and kinsmen die
And so one dies oneself
One thing I know
that never dies,
The fame of a dead man's deeds."

(Hallberg, 1962, 72)

Despite the above, the study proved worthwhile in that it incorporated material excavated subsequent to Dr. Meaney's Gazetteer and attempted to analyse some features of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials which hitherto had been overlooked in most works dealing with this subject. A new relative chronology has been developed which alters the picture of the settlement of Wiltshire to some extent and verifies Dr. Evison's theory about the accuracy of the dates given in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (see p. 2). On these counts, the thesis vindicated its purpose, even though so much valuable work has already been done on the Wiltshire material, and in spite of the fact that many of the points made herein must be regarded as hypothetical.

If nothing else, the burials of the pagan Anglo-Saxons serve to humanize these people about whom we still know relatively little and whose A.S.C. record is a gruesome one. The burials provide another perspective, that of closely knit communities which may have been led by a local chieftain, inhabited by ordinary people whose true history and life style must be gleaned and piece-mealed together from their physical remains and the objects which were chosen to accompany them into their afterlives.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Chance Finds

The number of unprovenanced and/or poorly recorded isolated finds in Wiltshire is considerable. These range in type from spearheads and knives to the Wilton bowl and in date from the late fifth to the seventh centuries. As most completely lacked contexts, the amount of information they could be expected to contribute was limited. However, a few illuminate some very interesting side-lights of the settlement patterns in the County, such as the possible re-use of native sites (Barbury) or fill in the time gap between the end of Roman occupation and the coming of the Saxons.

This appendix does not include all of the chance finds found in Wiltshire, but concerns itself, mainly, with those which may be regarded as more or less conclusively of the pagan Anglo-Saxon era. Several other artefacts are listed in V.C.H., Cunnington (1934) and Goddard (1913) as possibly being of this period, but so little is known about them and their dating is so inconclusive that it was thought better to omit them.

Spearheads

Spearheads, found as isolated objects, may be regarded as one of the least useful categories of chance finds in terms of the dates to which they may be assigned. Several of the most common types found in the County, such as Swanton types C2 and E2, cannot be specifically dated. In addition, such weapons may have remained in use for a considerable length of time whilst their types may merely suggest the earliest possible date for them (cf. West Knoyle 1). The dates at which they were discarded may prove to be somewhat later. The following is a list of spearheads found out-of-context and any additional information which was available concerning their locations and possible date.

Site	O.S.	Context	Dating
Amesbury	SU.177400	in barrow 85	C2 - undatable, further information see p.200
Bishopstone (North)	unlocated		untyped
Bishopstone (South)	unlocated		large spearhead - probably late but untyped
Bulford	unlocated		2 spears, one C1 dated to pre-550, other spear is lost
Mere (Charnage)	ST.844340	in ploughed field	E2 - undatable
Shrewton	unlocated		E2 - split-socket, undatable
Steeple Langford	unlocated		E2 - undatable
Woodford	unlocated	found in 1863	C2 - undatable

All above information taken from Swanton, Corpus, 1974

Knives

As in the case of spearheads, it is impossible to date a knife which has been found out of context (to date).

One example only: Elston, Orchestron, accompanied by unrecorded skeletons exhibited in 1856 (WiAm, 1857, note only, 267)

Axes

Three axe heads unearthed at Downton in 1931. Two are probably late Saxon or early Medieval, one may be late pagan Anglo-Saxon: "Frankish War Axe" type II with "T" shaped head. Type spans seventh to ninth century. Downton axe may be compared with one from Brentford (ninth century) and differs from other axes found in the county accompanied by early grave goods (WiAm, 1931, 589-90).

Pottery

Temple Down, Preshute: SU.135727, discovered in 1895 (see Fig. 40), fine slip applied to outside surfaces(Fig. 40).

Many Roman pots have been found in the neighbourhood of Temple Down (1886-1892), and the parish exhibits a high concentration of

Roman material including burials, utensils and coins (WiAm, 1913, 311). It would appear likely that the pot in question is also Roman as it differs from other Anglo-Saxon pots in the County, none of which are of this particular fabric and none of which have been slipped. Also other pots assigned to the pagan Anglo-Saxon period have been found with burials.

Closest parallel: plain globular urn (unslipped) from Northfleet, Kent (Myres, 1969, facing p. 160). Lower neck than Temple Down pot but otherwise similar. Could not be dated as Northfleet contains both early and late cremation and inhumation pottery (Meaney, 1963, 130-31). Pots not identical and collaborative evidence is weak.

Preshute has produced no other material of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period to date, and, despite the fact that the vessel has been accepted as pagan Anglo-Saxon by Meaney (1963, 276), the Museum at Devizes (D. M. Cat. 1934) and V.C.H. (I,I,97) it should be noted that there is no legitimate reason for assigning it to this period.

Brooches

Brooches offer a greater spectrum for comparative analysis as certain types, such as the small anthropomorphic button brooches, are quite common in the County and are usually found with other datable grave goods.

Alderbury/Downton: unprovenanced, three brooches, unfinished bone comb (WiAm, 1934, 171), unclear whether all three were found in the same location.

Found were a plain button brooch lacking usual anthropomorphic decoration, a ring and dot decorated disc brooch with irregular patterning, and a saucer brooch. The first two are not datable, the third resembles some with central cruciform motifs found at Kempston (Baldwin-Brown III, Plate 47) and may be roughly dated to the sixth century. A few similar specimens have been found at Blackpatch (etc. see p. 42ff) in fairly early contexts and the Alderbury may be pre-550. No skeletal remains accompanied the objects but, if they were found together, they would form a fairly typical grave good collection with parallels at Petersfinger, Blackpatch, etc.

Mildanhall: ST.210700 (approx.) in ploughed land north of village (see p.154). Brooch badly damaged, pin missing (see Fig. 27). Cunnington suggested that it may have been a stray from the single burial, but more probably, it represents another burial close by the first (JiAm 40, 358, 46, 173, 393) now in Passmore collection.

Dating: The brooch is $\frac{5}{8}$" larger in diameter than the pair previously found at Mildanhall which probably date to the first half of the sixth century and approaches the size of the wide, flat saucer brooch found at Ashendon (Bucks. $3\frac{1}{4}$" in diameter). The Ashendon brooch may date to the late sixth century (Baldwin-Brown III, 1915, 315). Motives used on the two brooches differ considerably, however. Ashendon: debased anthropomorphic, Mildanhall: uncluttered, well-carved with central tre-foil motif - a type not found elsewhere in the County. It is possible that despite its abnormal size, the Mildanhall brooch may be early and contemporaneous with others found near-by.

Comb, Coffin fittings and Knife: Easton Clump, ST.211591

Broad knife with surviving wooden handle (see Fig. 27), abraded double sided bone comb, coffin fittings and nails.

No mention is made of any skeletal remains although it would appear likely that this is another "single" burial. Both V.C.H. (1957, I, I) and the D. M. Cat. (1934) give a possible date span for the group as Roman to Saxon. There is a native settlement site not far from the finds site and Roman material has also been found in the Parish (V.C.H. 1957, I, I, 95). To date, the only coffined burials in the County have come from either primary or secondary barrow burials and the possibility of a barrow on the site is also not mentioned. Therefore, there is a strong possibility that these objects are pre-Saxon.

The following objects were covered in fuller detail because there was more information available for them and they are of somewhat greater archaeological interest: swords from Barbury and Knap Hill, and the Wilton Bowl.

Barbury Castle: SU.150763, weapons found prior to 1934, skeletons unearthed 1939-45. Weapons in WiAm 1934, 174, skeletons recorded in V.C.H., I, I, 1957, 94

"In this year Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Beranburh (Barbury Castle - A.D. 566."

(A.S.C. (Laud), 1955, 17)

Barbury Castle lies on the boundary between the parishes of Ogbourne St. Andrews and Wroughton. It and Old Sarum are amongst the earliest sites in Wiltshire denoted by the A.S.C. Whilst there is no excavation report concerning Mr. Brentall's activities on the site, some time between 1914 and 1934, several of the objects found were annotated and are now in the Museum at Marlborough College. The earthwork, itself, may date to the E.I.A. (V.C.H., I, I, 1957, 94). Finds: a single edged sword (scramasax) or large knife of the sixth-seventh century (Meaney, 1964, 265), fragments of other scramasaxes and knives, and two type E2 spearheads (a long lasting type)(Swanton, Corpus, 1974, 31). Human remains were unearthed from the ramparts between 1939 and 1945, but no account was made of them. Apparently they were unaccompanied by grave goods and their spatial relationships to the objects previously found is not known.

Single-edged swords or large knives are more common to the seventh century Wiltshire burials such as Ford and Rodmead Down (both primary barrow burials, than they are to sixth century burials. In fact, to date, none have been found in association with sixth century burials of any sort.

The spears and knife fragments do not clarify the dating. A date in the seventh century is well out of line with both the old and the new dating of entries in the A.S.C. A sixth century date for these weapons may not be ruled out on the grounds that other weapons of a similar nature have not yet appeared in an earlier datable context.

However, according to Baldwin-Brown and others, it would be difficult to find examples of the type which date to the mid-sixth century (Baldwin-Brown, III, 1915, 227). In any case, it is difficult to justify the material found with the A.S.C. dates without forcing the somewhat meagre evidence. There is always the possibility that the site had been re-used at some point after the date of the

battle. The site lies in a strategic position on a ridgeway and it is possible that it had been incorporated into the Saxon defence system. Therefore, as is suggested by the dating, these weapons may not be connected with the battle, but with some activity which took place fifty or more years afterwards.

Knap Hill: SU.121637, one sword, no other pagan Anglo-Saxon remains

The site lies on the scarp of the higher chalk plain in the parish of Alton Priors which also contains a Saxon Church (V.C.H., I, I, 1957, 26-7).

The sword is of very similar proportions to those found at Blackpatch (to the northwest of the site), being 35" long (including a 5½" long tang) and 2½" wide at its broadest. No sword fittings were found with this object which lay 18" below the turf in a section of the site which seems to have suffered some catastrophe.

How this weapon came to be at the site is a matter for some speculation. It is possible that it is a battle trophy, but this might indicate that the site itself may have still been in Romano-British control into the sixth century. Alton lies in central eastern Wiltshire between Barbury and Old Sarum and, if these battles took place in the closing years of the fifth century, it might seem unlikely that Alton was still being defended by Romano-Britons at this date, although settlement may have still been so sparse and disorganized that native strongholds still existed even amidst Anglo-Saxon settlement areas. At some point, the site was razed, perhaps giving evidence of whatever attack the sword may be attributed to, but there are no other weapons from the site, nor are there any records of skeletons having been found. The sword may have been a Romano-British "pick-up" acquired prior to the site being razed. The valuable gilt, silver, or bronze fittings may have been stripped away and used for other purposes as the blade itself is damaged. But, although the blade is nicked at the tip, it is still in good condition and such weapons were probably considered too valuable (by both groups) to be discarded because they were slightly damaged (cf. Blackpatch). One other solution is hinted at by the depth at which the sword was found: this may actually be the sole vestige of a burial, 18" being a very common depth at which to find pagan Anglo-Saxon skeletons. As the site was never properly excavated by Mrs. Cunnington (WiAm, 1911, 54), the skeleton, if there ever was one, may have been missed or completely destroyed.

Dating: Because the fitments are absent, this weapon may only be tentatively dated by analogy, a system which may be as inaccurate and subject to vagaries as attempting to establish a chronology for isolated small finds. The double edge sword is larger and proportionately thinner than seventh century swords or single edged scramasaxes. It is similar in proportion to the swords found in graves 20 and 21 at Petersfinger, resembling the earlier of the two, that from grave 21 more closely than that from grave 20. Grave 21 contained grave goods dating to the first half of the sixth century. Both of the Petersfinger examples have long narrow tangs and heart-shaped points. The sword from grave 20 has a slightly narrower tang and more pronounced shoulders than the sword from grave 21. Therefore, the excavator, Mrs. Cunnington, was probably correct in assigning the sword to the sixth century and the weapon may even be categorized as pre 550.

Bowls

Wilton: SU.098311 (approx.)(V.C.H., I, I, 1957, 123), metal alloy hanging bowl found in a drainage ditch in 1860, now in Salisbury Museum.

The town of Wilton lies in the river valley of the Wylye just to the west of Salisbury (parish of Wilton, Hundred of Kinwardstone). The earliest recording of the placename "Vuiltun" appears in a document relating to the Council of Kingston confirmed by Aethelwulf:

> "et optimates ejus in Villa regalis qui appelator Vuiltun his testibus consentientbus et subscibentibus quorum nomina ..."
>
> (Birch, I, 218) - 838 A.D.

The form Wiltune is recorded in 933 in a grant by King Ethelstan to St. Mary's convent Wilton of land at Newnton, Wilts. (Birch, II, 398). The river name, from which the town name derives, is recorded far earlier as Wileo or Uuilog in a grant of Cenwahl to Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury in 688 ... "manente in loco ubi ... Aven et Wileo" (Birch, I, 105). It would appear, both from the Charter and the nearby archaeological evidence (Harnham Hill, etc.) that there is a strong case for the early settlement of the Wilton area. It occupies a strategic location at the confluence of the rivers Avon and Wylye. By the ninth century, it was considered important enough to have been

declared a Royal Vill. At this time, it had already become an important administrative centre. As a royal holding, it possessed a moneyer and a Benedictine convent which held (as aforementioned) much property both near Wilton and further to the north at Newnton. In 871, King Alfred fought the Danes at Wiltune (and lost)(A.S.C., (Parker), 1955, 72) and the men of the Wylye are recorded in the Chronicle by 802 (see p. 8). Although information regarding the settlement in its earliest phases is almost totally lacking, it may be almost assumed that the area may have been included in the "heavily settled" area around Old Sarum and this, in addition to its location, may have been responsible for its selection as a Royal Vill in the ninth century.

One of the more extraordinary chance finds of the Anglo-Saxon period, a complete metal alloy bowl, was found in a drainage ditch in the town of Wilton in 1860. The Wilton bowl stands 4½" high and has a diameter of 10¾" (WiAm, 1913, 335). It is a relatively straight forward example of its type and lacks the enamelling often found on the escrutcheons of such bowls and the applied figures found on such specimens as the Lullingston Bowl.

The four suspension rings are supported by snake-like clamps rivetted onto escrutcheons with pierced tulip-like openwork forming a central cross-like motif. The rim is slight and somewhat everted over a carination which separated the body from the neck. The circular depression at the base of the bowl is undecorated.

The escutcheons, themselves, resemble to some extent, the girdle hangers found at Shrewton and Winkelbury Hill, whilst the slightness of the rim and the snake-head attachments are mirrored, on a simpler scale, by the bowl found with the primary barrow burial at Ford (Fig.33). In other respects, the two bowls (the only complete examples found in the County) differ markedly. The Ford bowl is of a cooking-pot form and is suspended by three snake-like attachments. It is also considerably smaller than the Wilton example, being just 3¼" high and 7" in diameter. It is made of bronze rather than a metal alloy. The base of this bowl is decorated with two concentric circles. The bowl found in a grave at Oliver's Battery, Hants. (Winchester Museums) in 1913 is considerably larger than the Wilton bowl (5" deep x 1' high) and sports enamelled escrutcheons.

The Wilton bowl has never been conclusively dated, and there is much debate concerning both its date and its function. The dates

offered range over 200 years. Baldwin-Brown dated the object to the last quarter of the sixth century, or roughly fifty years earlier than the Ford example which had a clear mid-seventh century context (Baldwin-Brown, IV, 1915, 474 and index to plate CXVIII). The first authority to offer his opinion on the bowl, Romilly-Allen, ascribed it to the late Celtic or early Saxon period "because it illustrates very clearly the hooks and zoomorphic terminations ..." (Arch., LVI, 40). Reginald Smith, reviewing Allen's statements concerning the bowl in 1903, agreed as to the dating, but believed the bowl may have been a native Christian article (Arch., J. XIV, 174). The discovery of the somewhat similar bowl at Oliver's Battery (mentioned above) on this occasion accompanied by a scramasax and C2 spearhead (Swanton, Corpus, 1974, 71)(Ant. J., 1913, 1-13) inclined both W. J. Andrew and R. A. Smith to date the Hampshire bowl between 500 and 634 (conversion), "and in view of its general character I prefer to date it about 550" (Ibid, 5). The above authors also offer some interesting ideas as to the usage of these objects. They noted that most of the examples found with burials lay at the breasts of the skeletons (not in the case of Ford), that they seem to be the chief treasures in these graves (Ibid, 8), that they are almost invariably well-made, and are solid enough to have held either water or lamp oil but that the enamelling or decoration at their bases (neither of the Wiltshire examples is heavily decorated at the base) precluded their use over fire (Ibid, 10). But, despite Romilly-Allen's idea that their occurrence in graves would indicate everyday rather than ecclesiastical usage, the later authors were of the opinion that such bowls were, indeed, church plate and held holy water. The 1903 article is extremely confusing and seems to contradict itself on several points. Having stated at one point that the Oliver's Battery bowl is pre 550 A.D., the authors concluded with the statement that "The Winchester type may even belong to the sixth century (though more probably to the seventh)" (Ibid, 12), but that the tradition itself may be pagan. The scramasax found with the Oliver's Battery bowl might indicate a seventh rather than a sixth century date for it, but there is no proof that the two objects need be contemporary.

Both Leeds (1933, 152) and Kendrick (1938, 51) agreed that the Wilton bowl might be as early as the first half of the fifth century or the late fourth because the open work called to mind late Roman designs. Stone, writing in 1934, dated the bowl to the fifth

century. The latest authority to voice an opinion on the object, M. D. Langley (1975, 22) assigns the Wilton Bowl to his openwork category 1B and states "A date range from the fifth to the late sixth or early seventh centuries may, therefore, be suggested for this group." (Ibid, 17), and suggests that the Tummel Bridge specimen "a negative of the Wilton pattern" (Ibid, 16), may date to the fifth century.

Therefore, whilst each of the above arguments has its merits and faults, the Wilton bowl cannot be specifically dated. To quote Mr. Langley "the dating of these bowls has by no means been firmly established, partly through a lack of datable associations. It is also quite possible that the bowls had a long life before they were buried or discarded and in some instances the escrutcheons have been found pierced, evidently for hanging as pendants" (Ibid, 15). Is it also possible that the objects found at Shrewton and Winkelbury Hill are also discarded bowl fitments re-used, in the case of Winkelbury Hill, as purse mountings and in the case of Shrewton as chatelaines, as all three objects do bear some similarity to each other being simple openwork circles of the same general proportions (see Fig. 28).

APPENDIX II

Comparative Wealth by Orientation

	No Furnishings	One Object	Mod. Equipped	Mod. Wealthy	Wealthy
E-W	43.2%	26.2%	7.7%	16.5%	6.3%
N-S	53.34%	15.06%	13.6%	15.06%	3.72%

E-W - 206

N-S - 72

With the exception of 10 NE-SW graves which were well equipped, the remaining graves which deviated in orientation were moderately to markedly poor. But, perhaps it is unwise to break these orientations down too finely, as in some cases, the degree of variation is so slight as to indicate that the original intention may have been to conform to either of the two norms. Soil conditions may have made this impossible, or there may be some degree of sloppiness in alignment. In fact, very few of the graves labelled N-S or E-W do not deviate to some degree.

APPENDIX III

Sites Which May Be Eliminated From A Pagan Anglo-Saxon Corpus

Site	Type	Reasons for Possible Exclusion
Great Bedwyn*	Cemetery	No grave goods, peculiar radiating pattern, not included in either M. Cunnington (WiAm, 46) or Rev. Goddard's (WiAm, lists of sites
Fargo*	Cemetery	No other exclusively N-S orientated cemeteries in the county, flint arrowhead found in grave
Broughton Gifford*	Cemetery	Classified by skull type and orientation only, no other material of the period recorded in the area to date
Great Cheverall*	Single Burial	Bead "dated" only, undated sword, large quantity of Roman material in the vicinity
Swindon	Cemetery/Single Burial	No site report, classified on skull types only
Stanton Fitzwarren	Single Burial	Knife only
Ashton Valley I	Primary Burial	No grave goods, very well cut, deep cist. Roman pot found deep in fill.
Heddington	Primary Burial	No grave goods, extensive Roman and Romano-British settlement in area
Ablington	Secondary Burial	Spearhead only, no trace of burial
Amesbury*	Secondary Burial	Orientation not common, no grave goods
Broad Town	Secondary Burial	Grave goods inconclusive, arrowhead of very unusual type, Roman inhumations in the Parish

Site	Type	Reasons for Possible Exclusion
Durrington*	Secondary Burial	Classified on skull type alone, in a type of barrow (pond) rarely if ever used for secondary burial, in an area of intensive Bronze Age activity
Everley	Secondary Burial	No grave goods, Roman pot-sherds found near by, but position and orientation, plus other factors may indicate that this burial is of the Pagan Saxon period
E. Kennet*	Secondary Burial	Atypical stone-covered cist, metal of sword and knife not noted
W. Knoyle II*	Secondary Burial	Classified by proximity to a Primary Burial and shallow-ness of burial only
Ogbourne St. Andrews	Secondary Burial	Coffined burial in Med. cemetery, no grave goods, may actually be contemporary with other Med. burials
Silk Hill	Secondary Burial	Skeletal positions unusual for period, no grave goods
Winterbourne Stoke 66	Secondary Burial	Bead only, may be a chance find
Winterbourne Stoke 3*	Secondary Burial	Five burials - multiple burials arerare in re-used round barrows, no grave goods
Yatesbury I	Secondary Burial	Unusual cist form - stone covered, no grave goods
Bratton Camp	Re-used Long Barrow	Although iron objects were found, there is no clear record that these accompanied the burials which are thought to be Pagan Saxon
Ell Barrow*	Re-used Long Barrow	No grave goods, no clear record
Kill Barrow"	Re-used Long Barrow	See above, no information
King Barrow	Re-used Long Barrow	Sword, unusual orientation, Roman material in vicinity
Knook	Re-used Long Barrow	No grave goods, skeletons were beheaded and carelessly buried, rare orientation - S-N
Normanton*	Re-used Long Barrow	No grave goods, surrounded by many Bronze Age burials

* Sites which probably are not of the Pagan Anglo-Saxon period, all others are doubtful

APPENDIX IV

Relative Chronology of Burial Sites in Wiltshire

The sites have been allocated the earliest possible dates as indicated by their grave goods. Cemeteries have been listed under their possible inception dates. When the name is followed by an asterisk, the site may have been in use throughout the pagan period. Burial sites listed with a (d) following the name may not be of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 42).

Abbreviations

C	Cemetery
Si	Single Burial
SB	Secondary Barrow Burial
SLB	Secondary Burial in a Long Barrow
PB	Primary Barrow Burial
C.F.	Chance Find

Date Range	Type	Site	Comments
Late fifth-early sixth Century	C	Bassett Down	probable
	C	Blackpatch*	probable
	C	Harnham Hill*	probable
	C	Petersfinger*	probable
	C	Purton	doubtful
	C	Winterbourne Gunner	probable
	Si	Marlborough	doubtful
Late fifth-mid sixth Century	C	Foxhill	doubtful
	C	Netheravon	doubtful
	C	Salisbury	doubtful
	Si	Mildanhall	probable
	Si	Witherington	probable
	Sb	Ablington	doubtful
	SB	Winterslow	probable
	SLB	Sherrington	probable
	C.F.	Chilboton	doubtful
	C.F.	Bulford	doubtful
	C.F.	Mildanhall	probable
	C.F.	Upper Upham	doubtful
Later sixth-seventh Century	Si	Ebbesbourne	probable
	Si	Perham Down	probable
	Si	Shrewton	may be later
	SB	E. Grafton	probable
	SB	Hinton Down	doubtful
	C.F.	Allington	doubtful
	C.F.	Barbury	doubtful

Date Range	Type	Site	Comments
Mid to Late seventh Century	SB	Lakefield	probable
	SB	Ogbourne St. Andrew	doubtful
	SB	Swallowcliffe Down	probable
	SB	Yatesbury II	doubtful
	PB	Alvediston	probable
	PB	Ashton Valley I	doubtful
	PB	Coombe Bissett	probable (cenotaph)
	PB	Ford	probable
	PB	Heddington	doubtful
	PB	Roundway Down I	probable
	PB?	Roundway Down II	probable
	C.F.	Charnage Mere	doubtful
	C.F.	Wallop Down	doubtful
	C.F.	Woodford	doubtful
	C.F.	Woodyates	doubtful
Transitional	C	Roche Court Down II	probable
	C	Winkelbury Hill	probable
	SB	Winkelbury Hill	probable
	PB	Roche Court Down	probable
Sixth Century - unspecified	C	Swindon	doubtful
	C	West Chisenbury	probable
	Si	Poulton Down	probable
	SLB	Warminster	doubtful
	C.F.	Stourton	doubtful
Undatable	C	Boughton Gifford (d)	doubtful
	C	Fargo (d)	
	C	Great Bedwyn (d)	
	C	Woodbridge	
	C	Broadchalke	
	Si	Callas Hill	
	Si	Great Cheverall	
	Si	Stanton Fitzwarren (d)	
	SB	Amesbury (d)	
	SB	Ashton Valley II	
	SB	Boscombe Down	
	SB	Broad Town (d)	
	SB	Durrington (d)	
	SB	Everley (d)	
	SB	East Kennet (d)	
	SB	West Knoyle II (d)	
	SB	Silk Hill	
	SB	Winterbourne Stoke I-III (d)	
	SB	Yatesbury I (d)	
	SLB	Bowl (d)	
	SLB	Bratton (d)	
	SLB	Ell (d)	
	SLB	Kill (d)	
	SLB	Knook (d)	
	SLB	Normanton (d)	
	SLB	Tilshead	
	C.F.-Si	Easton Hill (d)	
	C.F.	Knap Hill	
	C.F.	Temple Down (d)	

d - doubtful

APPENDIX V

Hyslop's Criteria for Transitional Cemeteries and Burials

A. Brooches are either entirely absent, or few in number. The cruciform and square-headed brooches, which are such a common feature of fifth and sixth century graves, appear to have gone out of fashion. Apart from a few exceptions, most of which are almost certainly survivals, the only brooches are the diminutive annular brooches, occurring principally in the north, and the rich composite brooches, unfortunately rare outside Kent. Neither of these types occur before the seventh century.

B. The great necklaces of amber and glass beads are generally replaced by festoons of a few beads strung together with silver wire rings. The silver wire rings are a new feature, beads of silver or gold make their appearance, and amethyst beads are relatively common in all areas.

C. Pendants of all sorts are a common feature.

D. Clothes may be fastened with linked pins, in gold or silver, sometimes with garnet settings.

E. Buckles were mainly small, usually with plain, oval loops.

F. Thread boxes, in bronze or silver appear in female graves. Also small wooden chests, with bronze or iron fittings.

G. Weapons are relatively rare. Amongst those that do occur the large scramasax plays a more important part than hitherto. Shield bosses are usually tall, and the sugar loaf variety develops.

H. Cremation graves are altogether absent. Amongst the pottery occurring in inhumation graves, globular forms with tall necks, and squat, wide-mouthed vessels are most common.

I. Orientation is markedly consistent within the cemetery, and the graves often appear to have been arranged in regular groups or rows.

J. One or more graves may be contained in a barrow, as a primary or secondary burial. Where no traces of such a mound are visible from the surface, their former existence is often suggested in the site-name or by the ring ditches surrounding the grave.

K. The proportion of the graves containing no furniture, or only a knife, is high. (15)

B. Ordnance Survey: Features of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Burials

One of the best summings up of the more general facts and features of pagan burials and cemeteries in general, is incorporated into the Ordnance Survey map of Dark Age Britain's accompanying text. Below is a brief list of some of the more germaine ideas in its section on burials, and how burial grounds were affected by local geographical and social conditions.

1. The pattern of settlement of the Anglo-Saxons was strongly governed by the occurrence of good land, that was easily farmed.
   a) The survival of a high percentage of cemeteries on marginal ground as compared with cemeteries on fertile soil, is due to the constant re-use of good soil. This constant churning up has destroyed many of these cemeteries.

2. That the re-use of Bronze Age barrows for secondary interments was a common practise, as was the interment of bodies in specially built barrows.

3. The time-span of pagan burials in England is about 300 years.

4. Some burials found with grave goods are those of Christians. This custom took a very long time to die out.

5. Only between 5% and 10% of all the (probable) cemeteries have been excavated and most of these cemeteries have been abnormally small.

6. "Within the inhumation cemeteries, the graves often occur in distinct groups, separately orientated, and containing persons of all ages, both sexes, and all conditions of life. These must be family groups. There is not much variation in the details of the graves, but there are occasional abnormalities, such as the burial of a bed with a body. It seems that individual graves were sometimes marked by low mounds, or by wooden posts or boards." (16)

7. Cremation is not necessarily an older form than inhumation. The earliest burials of Saxons known in England, those of the foederati, were inhumation interments.

8. Burials with grave goods amongst Christians continued into the eighth century, and there is a consistent lag between conversion and the institution of purely Christian burial rites.

9. The normal practice was the establishment of new grave yards for Christian converts, but, occasionally, an old site remained in use well into the Christian period. (17)

Although it is extremely brief, this summary is an excellent one, easy to refer to and full of relevant information.

APPENDIX VI

Heights

Racial background is only one element in determining the stature of an individual. Far more important to maximum body growth are such factors as diet, living conditions, and susceptibility to disease. If one over-simplifies the racial components of the Pagan Saxon communities in Wiltshire and assumes that they are, as their name implies, purely Saxon, the amount of divergence between the height of a skeleton buried in a sixth-seventh century cemetery and that of a primary skeleton buried in a seventh century barrow, is quite marked, and is probably due, in a large part, to the superior standard of living that had been enjoyed by the barrow "dweller" which gave him, on the average, a two inch "advantage" over less well-to-do settlers.

It is unfortunate that the situation is, in no way, as clear-cut as the above would imply. According to General Pitt-Rivers' data (Pitt-Rivers, Vol. II, 68, 88), the occupants of the Romano-British cemetery at Rotherley (south-western Wilts.) had a male height range of from 5'2.7" to 5'6". When these heights were re-determined (using Brothwell's tables) to bring them into uniformity with the other heights that had been worked-out, the range was from 5'2.25" to 5'5.75". The average height of the male skeletons buried at Rotherley was approximately 5'4.75". When this was compared with the skeletal material from the Saxon cemetery at Winkelbury Hill (Ibid.)(also recalculated) which is only one mile and six hundred yards away from the Rotherley site, one finds a difference of close to five inches between the average heights for each group, five feet, nine inches at Winkelbury as compared with five feet four inches at Rotherley. Such a large difference between two communities, neither of which was prosperous and both of whom were living under the same geographical and geological conditions, cannot be co-incidental. To assume that this considerable difference remains a constant factor throughout the county would be foolhardy, as it is based upon a very small sample of people living under specific conditions. One could probably speculate, however, that the Anglo-Saxon settlers were, in general, somewhat taller than the native population.

These shorter people, who buried their dead in crouched positions on the bare ground, may have had a marked effect on the in-coming population, both genetically and culturally. When one looks at the pagan cemetery at Broadchalke, one discovers that the average height of a male living in this community was only 5'6" (approx.), or about 1½" taller than the Rotherley group, whilst the women were very short, the average height being 4'11". The range for Broadchalke males was 5'5" to 5'9", and it is apparent that at least one skeleton, No. 15 (5'9") is probably not of native stock from the other anthropological data given in the site report. Number 13 is described by the author as having a "Romano-British" type skull. There are also two skeletons, Nos. 2 and 10, which are described as being very short and slight of build.

There is also a curious admixture of burial rites. Some of the skeletons were buried in a crouched position on their sides (an "un-Saxon fashion in this particular county), the rest were buried in the more normal extended or supine position.

Roche Court Down, a cemetery which may be transitional in date, to the extreme east of Salisbury, also included the interments of a "short" community. The male skeletons had an average height of just over 5'6", the females were only 4'10½". These people were all buried in the normal extended position. But, it must be noted that this was a very poor cemetery and probably represents the community burial ground of a rather poverty-stricken or a very late group. Three knives and one buckle were the only grave goods found amongst thirty-eight interments. Therefore, it is just possible that their reduced stature was due to poor living conditions and an inadequate diet rather than to inter-breeding. It is interesting to note here that the young male buried in the (primary) barrow at Roche Court Down was about 6' tall and well-built.

The so-called Jutish/Saxon cemeteries of the Salisbury area show a somewhat different height pattern. Unfortunately, the femoral lengths were completely lacking for Winterbourne Gunner, and very sketchy for both Petersfinger and Harnham Hill, the former being due to poor preservation of the skeletal material, the latter to the excavator's inconsistency in noting the measurements although he did measure a few skeletons in situ.

At Petersfinger (Leeds, 1953), 5'8½" was the mean height of the six male skeletons measured, the range being from 5'7" to 5'11" with

four out of the six being under 5'9". The two women were both about 5'4⅞", but this sample is rather meaningless because of its small size. This would mean that the males were approximately 3¾" taller than the Rotherley group, and 1⅔" taller than the Broadchalke and Roche Court Down groups. The small, incompletely dug cemetery at W. Chisenbury also gives an average height of 5'8". It is the most northerly cemetery for which there is any statistical material. No figures are given for either Purton or Bassett Down. It is another undatable cemetery, and appears to have no Jutish connections, but it does fit in in terms of its height range.

The denizens of Harnham Hill were, by far, the tallest settlers in the Salisbury area, 5'10½" being the average height for males (range 5'8.55" to 6'4"), 5'6" was the average for females. It would be interesting, at some point, to compare these figures with the skeletal material from Jutish cemeteries in Kent and the I.o.W., but it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Harnham Hill commences in the very early pagan Saxon period, and continues in use until sometime in the seventh century. There is no site plan, and it was impossible to determine whether all of the largest people lay together in a possible family group or were scattered throughout the site. Nor could one establish whether the taller people were buried with the earlier or the latter grave goods. As there were no illustrations by which to verify the dating, even the well-endowed burials in this rather poor cemetery cannot be dated with complete accuracy. If the tallest skeletons represent the latest burials, this growth spurt could be due to a more established community which was better able to supply itself with its basic needs.

On the whole, however, the markedly uniform increase in the skeletal heights amongst this "Jutish/Saxon" cemetery group would lead one to believe that these people were a) less interbred with the native population, b) were of a slightly different racial stock that tended towards "tallness", or c) enjoyed a higher standard of living than other contemporary communities. Quite possibly, it is some combination of the above. For, whilst Harnham Hill was not a particularly wealthy cemetery, some of the graves contained quite lavish goods, many with Frankish or Jutish affinities.

Only four of the Primary burials in barrows had skeletal reports, Ford, Alvediston, Heddington (King's Play Down), and Roche Court Down. Two more, West Knoyle I and Roundway, gave general descriptions,

"robust" and "fairly tall" respectively. The average height for skeletons (all male in this case) in Primary barrows was just over 5'10" (larger than all the groups save Harnham Hill). The range is much smaller, however, being 5'8" (Alvediston) to 6' (Roche Court Down). No measurements were taken of the lone female at Roundway Down II. (There were only three skeletons at Harnham Hill which were over 5'10", but two were so tall (6'4") as to bring the average way up).

One primary skeleton (Alvediston) fits into the Petersfinger-West Chisenbury group. One (Heddington) coincides with the Winkelbury norm, and two (Ford and Roche Court Down), fall outside the norm for Harnham Hill.

The skeletal data for secondary burials in barrows is very poor. Only one, Winkelbury Hill No. 31 has a height given at 5'8½", or slightly below the cemetery norm. Some of the others are merely described, i.e.: Ell Barrow "large"; Everleigh, "Tall"; East Knoyle, "large"; and Sherrington, "stout". Obviously, the size of the skeletons, in each case, impressed the excavators enough to comment upon the large size of the interred, yet no measurements were taken. Thus, one can only state that they were good-sized males, but they cannot be fitted into any of the categories. Also, heavy or robust bones do not always indicate a tall stature, nor do the head-to-foot measurements taken in situ give a precise indication of height.

Single burials also completely lack skeletal reports except in the case of a male seventh century burial found at barrow hill, Ebbesbourne Wake, who was 5'9".

To summarize the above, the range of average heights in those cemeteries where femoral lengths were taken is from 5'6⅓" (Roche Court Down) to 5'10" (Harnham Hill). The largest individual in the group being a 6'4" tall male buried at Harnham, the smallest being a "young man" buried at Roche Court Down who was only 5'1" (as given in the text). The Primary interments in barrows tended to be marginally taller than those in cemeteries.

What then, are the assumptions one can make from the above data? From the somewhat meagre evidence supplied by the Rotherley skeletons, it is clear that the endemic Romano-British population was, on the whole, shorter and slighter than the Saxons. That they intermarried at some point with the Saxon settlement at Broadchalke (only about 5½ miles away), is also very possible. As has already been stated, the

Salisbury Jutish/Saxon group, especially the Harnham Hill people, tended to be taller than those in out lying communities, with the possible exception of the group at Winkelbury Hill.

It is evident that the myth of the huge, strapping Anglo-Saxon warrior does not hold true in Wiltshire. Only three skeletons out of the entire group were over six feet tall, Eight were between 5'10" and 6', the rest were all under 5'10", and many were under 5'8". The women ranged from very small (4'10") to tall (5'7" at Harnham Hill), but there were too few female measurements available for any sort of conclusion to be reached as to what their cultural affiliations were.

Regression equations for estimation of maximum, living stature (cm.) of American Whites, Negroes and Mongoloids, in order of preference according to standard errors of esimate.

(Data by Trotter & Gleser, 1952, 1958)

MALES

White

1.31 (Fem Fib) 63.05
1.26 (Feb Tib) 67.09
2.60 Fib 75.50
2.32 Fem 65.55
2.42 Tib 81.93
1.82 (Hum Rad) 67.97
1.78 (Hum Ulna) 66.98
2.89 Hum 78.10
3.79 Rad 79.42
3.76 Ulna 75.55

Negro

1.20 (Fem Fib) 67.77
1.15 (Fem Tib) 71.75
2.10 Fem 72.22
2.19 Tib 85.36
2.34 Fib 80.07
1.66 (Hum Rad) 73.08
1.65 (Hum Ulna) 70.67
2.88 Hum 75.48
3.32 Rad 85.43
3.20 Ulna 82.77

Mongoloid

1.22 (Fem Fib) 70.24
1.22 (Fem Tib) 70.37
2.40 Fib 80.56
2.39 Tib 81.45
2.15 Fem 72.57
1.68 (Hum Ulna) 71.18
1.67 (Hum Rad) 74.83
2.68 Hum 83.19
3.54 Rad 82.00
5.48 Ulna 77.45

FEMALES

White

0.68 Hum 1.17 Fem
1.15 Tib 50.12
1.39 (Fem Tib) 53.20
2.93 Fib 59.61
2.90 Tib 61.53
1.35 Hum 1.96 Tib 52.77
2.47 Fem 54.10
4.74 Rad 54.93
4.27 Ulna 57.76
3.36 Hum 57.97

Negro

0.44 Hum - 0.20 Rad 1.46 Fem
0.86 Tib 56.33
1.53 Fem 0.96 Tib 58.54
2.28 Fem 59.76
1.08 Hum 1.79 Tib 62.80
2.45 Tib 72.65
2.49 Fib 70.90
3.08 Hum 64.67
3.31 Ulna 75.38
2.75 Rad 94.51

Height Data

Worked from Brothwell's list in "Digging Up Bones", copy included

Broadchalke - data taken from site report, no measurements given.

19 burials
Average for males - 66.5"
Individual heights
65", 66", 66.5" and 69"
One female - 60"

Harnham Hill - data worked out from fem. measurements given in text

63 burials
Average height for males - 70.5" approx.
Individual heights
76.4" (21.5" fem), 68.5" (19.0"), 76.5" (21.5"),
69.5" (19.5")
Unsexed - prob. male from grave goods 68.5" (18.0"),
67" (no meas.)
One female - 67" (sexed from grave goods)

Petersfinger - data taken from text

71 burials
Average for males - 68.458"
Individual heights
69.25", 71", 67.5", 68", 67", 68"
Average for females 66.66"
Individual heights
64.5", 65", - 64.5 only given

Roche Court Down - as taken in situ - data re-worked from data given in text - text data only given here

17 burials

Average for males - 64.25" - reworks to slightly over 66"

Individual heights

61", 64", 65", 67"

Average for females - 58.5"

Individual heights - 57", 60" - only given

Unfortunately, only a small number of the burials in each of these cemeteries had any measurements given for them. The sample is very small and should be viewed with this in mind.

There is little chance that any but the bones from Petersfinger are still available for measurements. The others represent fairly old excavations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOOKS

Akerman	Remains of Pagan Saxondom, London, 1855.
A.S.C.	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London, 1955.
Baldwin-Brown	The Arts in Early England-Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period, Vols. III & IV London, 1915.
B.M.Cat.	British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, London, 1923.
Cunnington	An Introduction to the Archaeology of Wiltshire, 4th ed., Devizes, 1949.
D.B.	Domesday Book
D.M.Cat.	Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Wiltshire Natural History and Archaeological Society, Part II, 2nd ed., Devizes, 1934.
E.H.D.	English Historical Documents, Vol. I, London, 1955.
E.P.N.S.(Wilts.)	The Place-names of Wiltshire, English Place-names Society, Vol. XVI, Cambridge, 1939.
Finberg	The Early Charters of Wessex, Leicester, 1964.
Leeds-deShortt	An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger near Salisbury, Wiltshire, Salisbury, 1953.
Pitt-Rivers	Excavations in Cranborne Chase, Vol.II, London, 1888.
Swanton	The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Royal Archaeological Intstitute, Leeds, 1973.
Swanton (Corpus)	A Corpus of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Spear-Types, British Archaeological Reports, Vol. 7, Oxford, 1974.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History for Wiltshire

PERIODICALS

Ant.	Antiquity
Antiq.J.	The Antiquaries Journal
Arch.	Archaeologia
Arch.J.	The Archaeological Journal

ABBREVIATIONS - Con'd.

PERIODICALS

Beds. Arch.J.	The Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal
Ca.AS.Q.Pub.	Cambridge Antiquarian Society Quarto Publications
Med.Arch.	Medieval Archaeology
Norfolk Arch.	Norfolk Archaeology
P.A.I.	Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute
P.S.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of London
WiAM	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine

COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS

Beds.	Bedfordshire
Berks.	Berkshire
Db.	Derbyshire
Gl.	Gloucestershire
Hants.	Hampshire
I.o.W.	Isle of Wight
Lincs.	Lincolnshire
Wilts,	Wiltshire
Yorks.	Yorkshire

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

C.D.	Chronicle Date (standard)
O.S.	Ordnance Survey

KEY to SITE PLANS

▣	MALE
⊕	FEMALE
▽	CHILD
▼	INFANT
◇	UNKNOWN

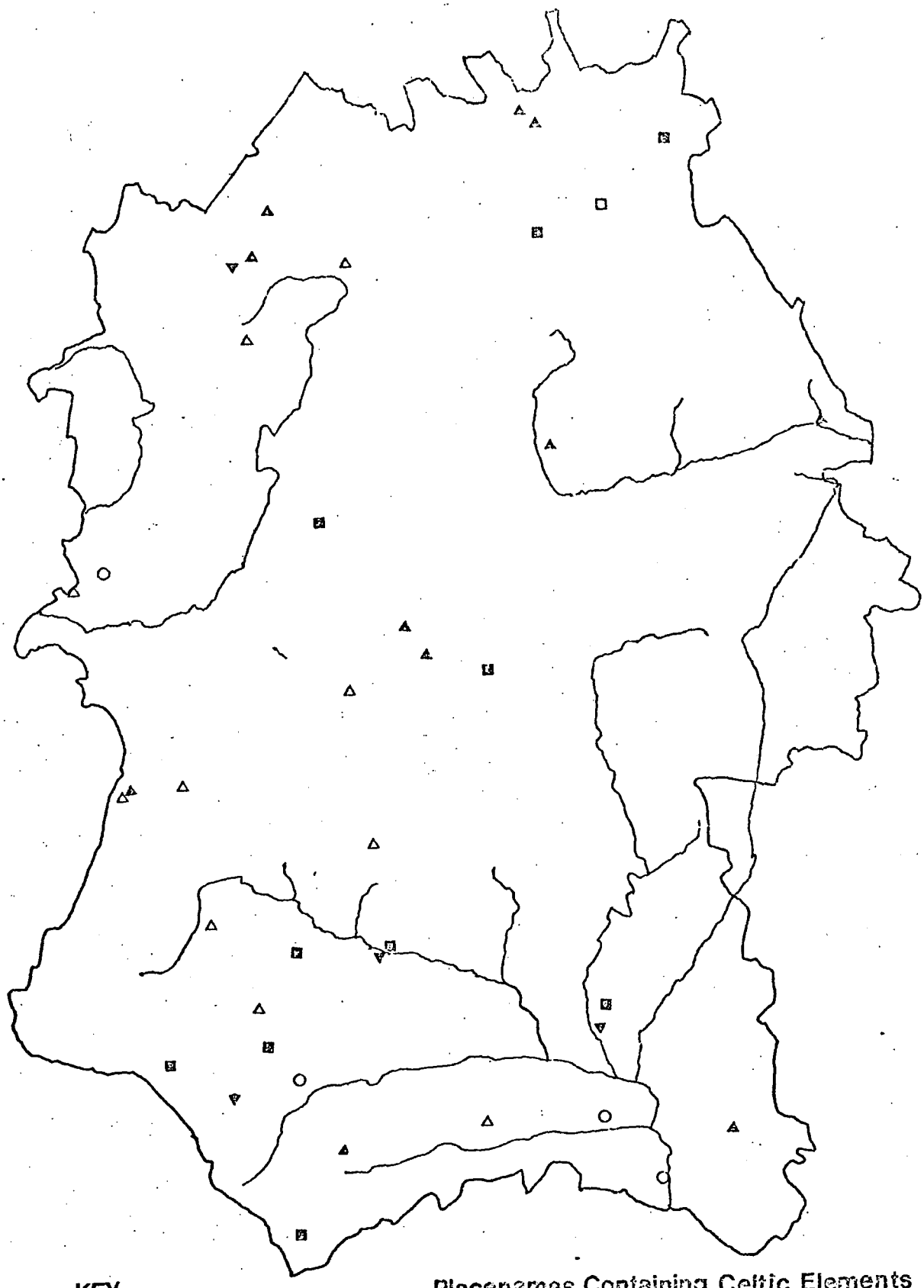
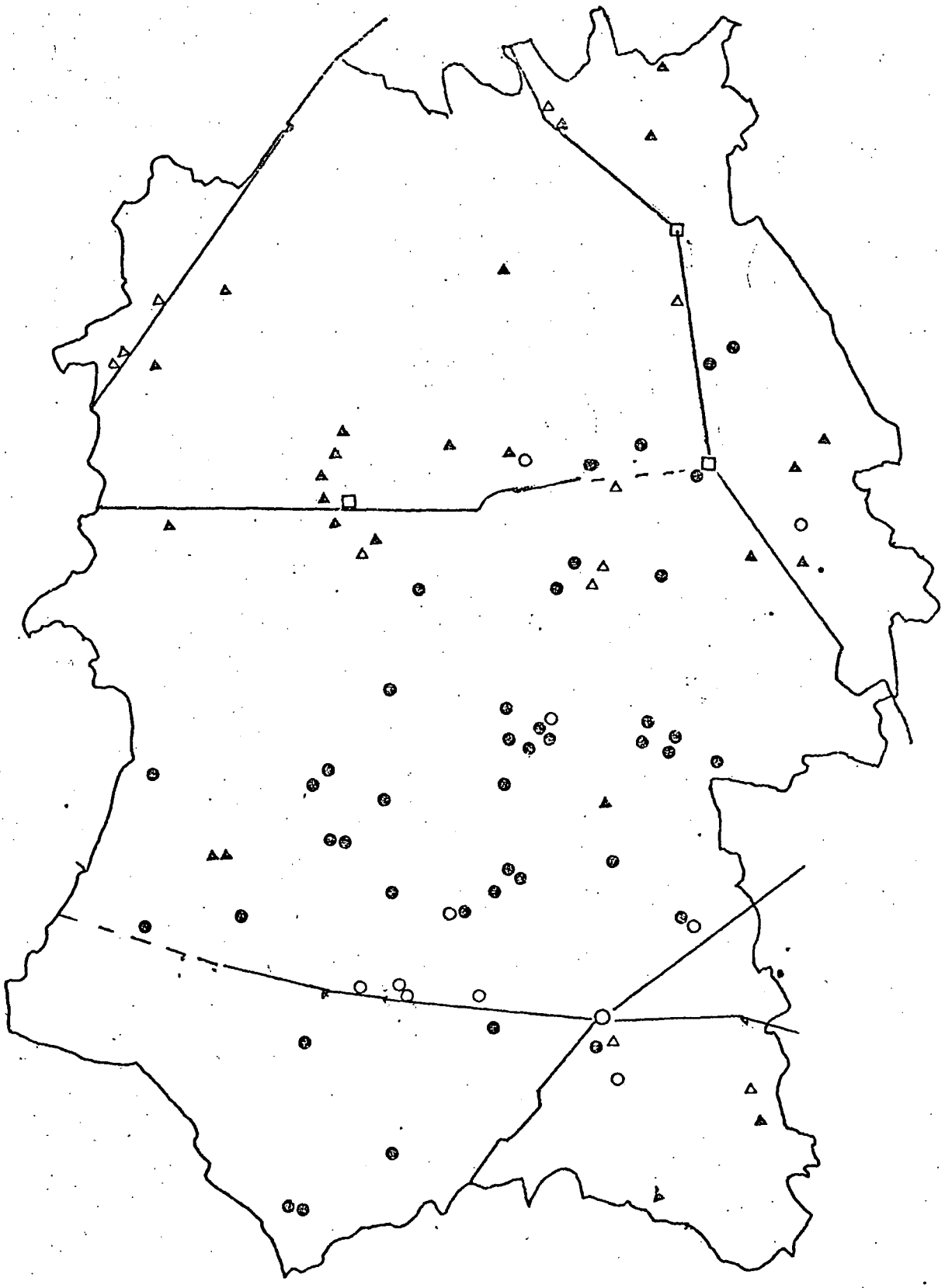

KEY
Placenames Containing Celtic Elements
Celtic Placename
Possible Celtic Name
Hybrid
Possible Hybrid
River
A.S. Name Referring to Native Settlement
0 1 0 1 2 3 4 Miles

fig.1

The Romano-British Period



KEY

- ▲ Villa
- △ Building or Villa
- □ Small Town (Roman)
- ⊙ Native Settlement
- ○ Re-Used I.A. Hill-Fort (R.B.)

fig. 2

A GEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE MODERN COUNTY OF WILTSHIRE

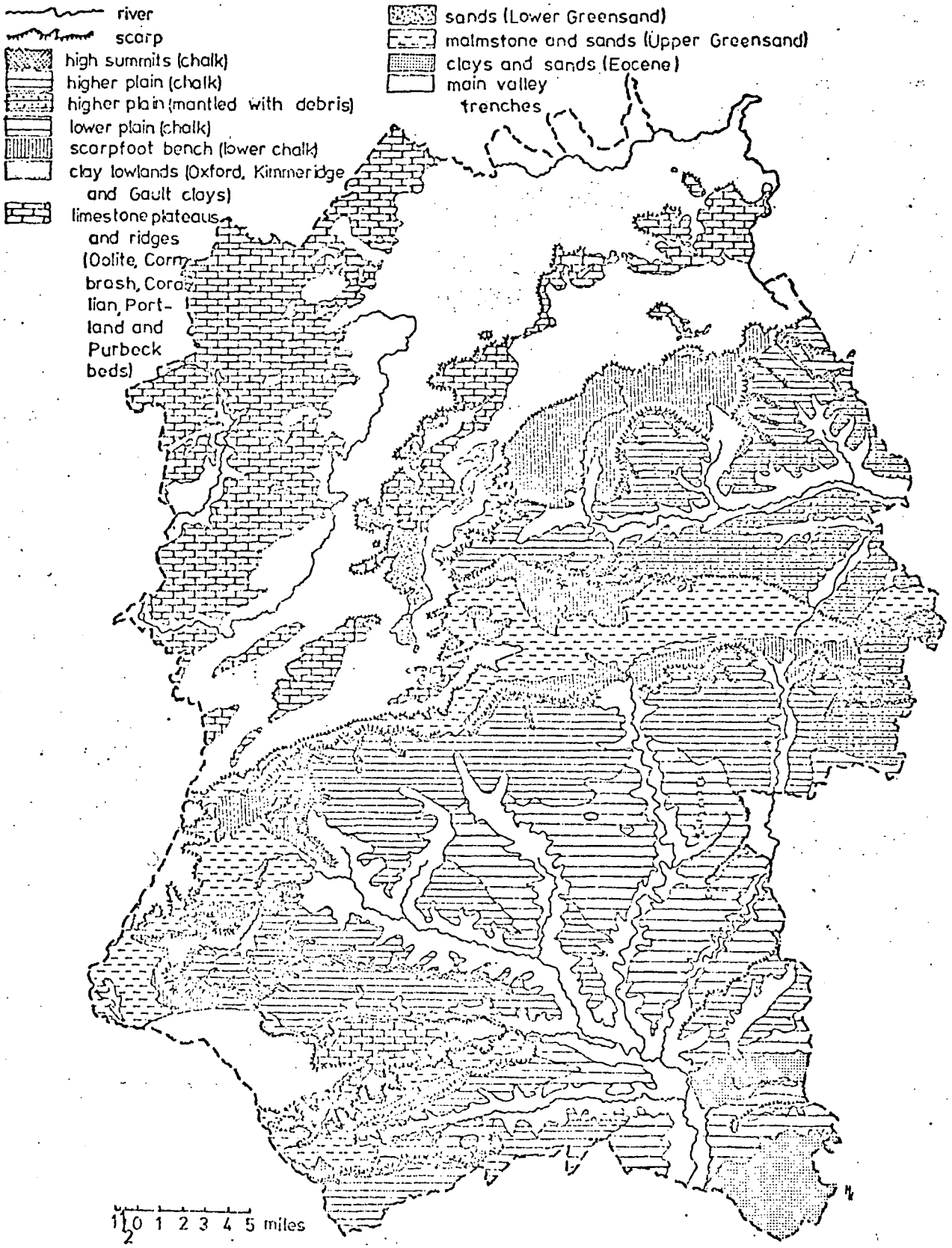
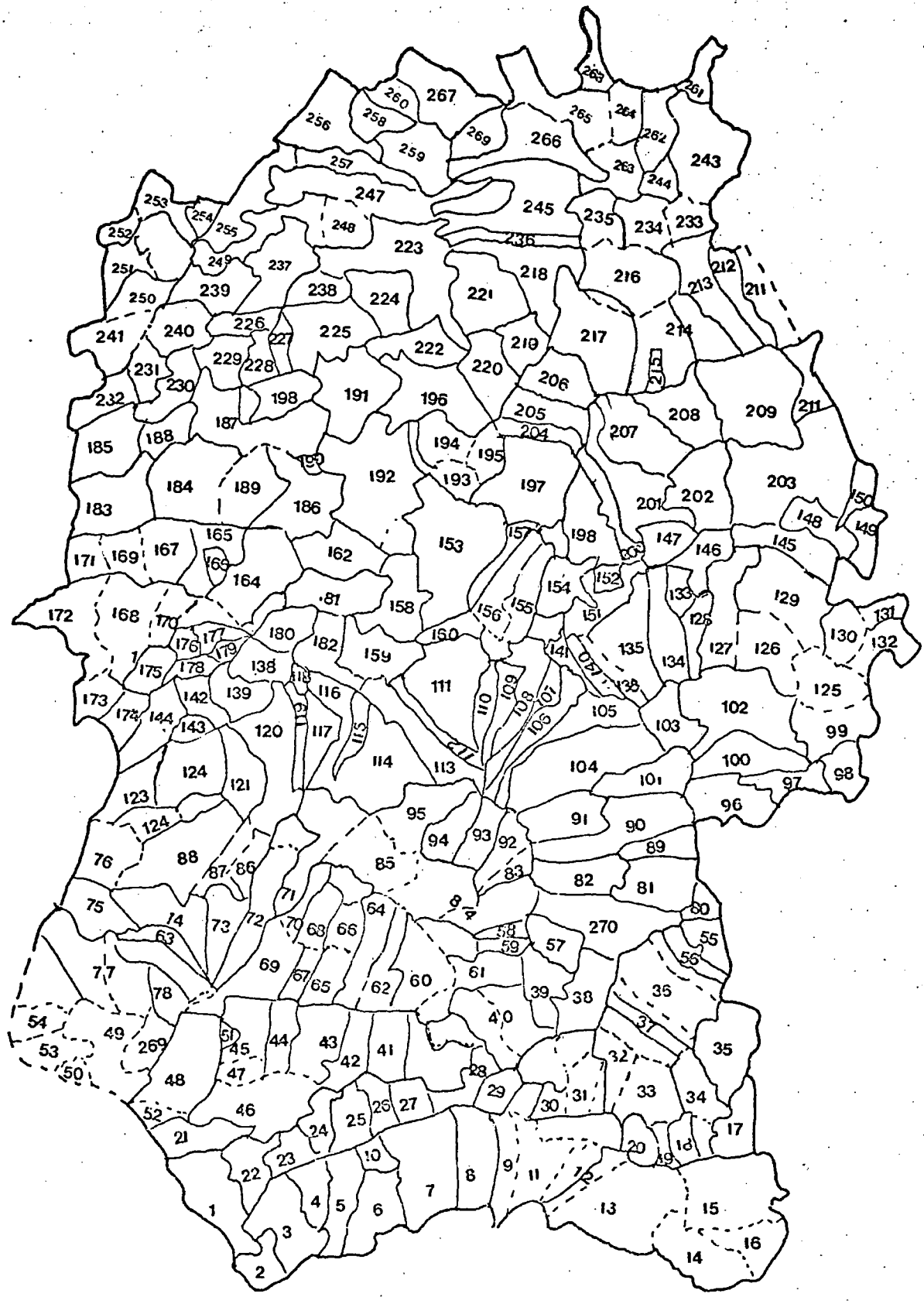


Fig.3



Nineteenth Century Parish Map

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Miles

fig.4

Key to Figure 4

1. Donhead St. Mary
2. Tollard Royal
3. Berwick St. John
4. Alvediston
5. Ebbesbourne Wake
6. Bower Chalke
7. Broad Chalke
8. Bishopstone
9. Stratford Toney
10. Fifield Bavant
11. Coombe Bisset (formerly Coombe Bisset and Honington)
12. Odstock (formerly Odstock and Nunton)
13. Downton & Standlynch
14. Redlynch (formerly 13)
15. Whiteparish (formerly Whiteparish, Earldown & Melchet Park)
16. Langford
17. West Dean
18. East Grimsted
19. West Grimsted
20. Alderbury
21. Semley
22. Donhead St. Andrew
23. Antsey
24. Swallowcliffe
25. Sutton Mandeville
26. Fovant
27. Compton Chamberlain
28. Burcombe
29. Wilton
30. Netherhampton
31. Salisbury (formerly Figgleston St. Peter)
32. Laverstock
33. Clarendon Park
34. Pitton & Farley
35. Winterslow
36. Idmiston
37. Winterbourne (formerly Winterbourne Gunner, Dauntsey and Earls)
38. Danford
39. Woodford
40. South Newnton (formerly N. and S. Newnton)
41. Dinton
42. Telfont Magna & Evers
43. Chilmark
44. Fonthill Bishop
45. Berwick St. Leonard
46. E. and W. Tisbury
47. Fonthill Gifford
48. East Knoyle
49. Mere
50. Zeals (formerly 49)
51. Chicklade
52. Semby
53. Sturton with Gasper (formerly 49)
54. Kilminton (formerly 49)
55. Newton Toney
56. Allington
57. Wilsford
58. Rolleston
59. Winterbourne Stoke
60. Steeple Langford
61. Stapleford
62. Wylye
63. Hill Deverill & Brixton
64. Fisherton de la Mere
65. Codford St. Mary
66. Codford St. Peter
67. Sherrington
68. Stockton
69. Boyton
70. Upton Scudamore
71. Knook
72. Heytesbury & Imber
73. Sutton Veny
74. Longbridge Deverill
75. Homington
76. Corsley
77. Kingston Deverill
78. Monkton Deverill
79. N. Bradley
80. Cholderton
81. Bulford
82. Durrington
83. Rolleston
84. Maddington
85. Chitterne
86. North Bavant
87. Bishopstow
88. Warminster
89. Milston
90. Figheldene
91. Netheravon
92. Shrewton
93. Orchestron St. George
94. Orchestron St. Mary
95. Tilshead
96. N. Tidworth
97. Luggershall
98. Chute Forest
99. Chute
100. Collingbourne Ducis
101. Fittleton
102. Collingbourne Kingston
103. Everley
104. Enford
105. Upavon
106. Rushall
107. Charlton
108. Wilsford
109. Mardon
110. Chirton
111. Urchfont
112. Easterton
113. Market Lavington
114. West Lavington
115. Little Cheverell
116. Great Cheverell
117. East Stoke
118. Bulkington
119. E. Coulston
120. Edington
121. Bratton
122. Westbury
123. Dinton Marsh (formerly 121)
124. Chopmarclade
125. Hipperscombe
126. Garsdon (formerly 128)
127. Burbage

128. Easton
129. Great Bedwyn
130. Shalbourne
131. Ham
132. Buttermere
133. Woulton Rivas
134. Milton Lilbourne
135. Pewsey
136. Mannington Abbots
137. Mannington Bruce
138. Keevil
139. Steeple Ashton
140. Borham
141. Echilstoke
142. W. Ashton
143. Heywood
144. Bradley
145. Little Bedwyn
146. S. Savernake
147. N. Savernake
148. Froxfield
149. Hungerford
150. Chilton Foliat
151. Wilcot
152. Huish
153. Bishop's Cannings
154. Alton Priors
155. Stanton St. Bernard
156. All Cannings
157. Allington (now 156)
158. St. John's-Devizes
159. Potterne
160. Etchihampton
161. Heddington
162. Bromham
163. Chiltoe
164. Melksham & Bracton
165. Land Common to 164
166. Broughton Gifford
167. Atworth
168. Bradford
169. S. Wraxhall
170. Holt
171. Monkton Farleigh
172. Winsley (formerly 168)
173. Westwood
174. Wingfield
175. Trowbridge
176. Whaddon
177. Semington
178. Helperton
179. Great Hinton
180. Seende
181. Rowde
182. Poulshot
183. Box
184. Corsham
185. Colerne
186. Pewsham
187. Chippenham
188. Biddeston
189. Lacock
190. Hardenhuish
191. Bremhill
192. Calne Without & Bowood
193. Cherhill
194. Compton Bissett
195. Yatesbury
196. Hilmarton
197. Langley Burell
198. Avebury
199. W. Overton
200. Fyfield
201. Preshute
202. Mildanhall
203. Ramsbury
204. Winterbourne Monkton
205. Berwick Bassett
206. Winterbourne Bassett
207. Ogbourne St. Andrew
208. Ogbourne St. George
209. Aldbourne
210. Baydon
211. Bishopstone
212. Little Hinton
213. Liddington
214. Chiseldon
215. Draycot Foliat
216. Swindon
217. Wroughton
218. Lydiard Tregoze
219. Broad Town
220. Clyffe Pypard
221. Woolton Bassett
222. Lyneham
223. Brinkworth
224. Dauntsey
225. Christian Malford
226. Seagry
227. Sutton Benger
228. Draycot Cerne
229. Kingston Langley
230. Kingston St. Michael
231. Castle Coombe
232. N. Wraxhall
233. S. Marsdon
234. Stratton St. Mary
235. Rodbourne Cheney
236. Lydiard Millicent
237. St. Paul's-Malmesbury
238. Little Somerford
239. Hulkington
240. Grittleton
241. Nettleton
242. Littleton Drew
243. Highworth
244. Stanton Fitzwarren
245. Purton
246. Brayton
247. Charlton
248. Lea
249. Westport St. Mary
250. Alderton
251. Luckington
252. Sopworth
253. Sherston Magna
254. Easton Grey
255. Brokenborough
256. Long Newton
257. Hankerton
258. Crudwell
259. Minety
260. Oaksey
261. Linglesham
262. Hannington
263. Blousdon St. Andrew
264. Castle Eaton
265. Langton
266. Cricklade
267. Ashton Keynes
268. Leyton

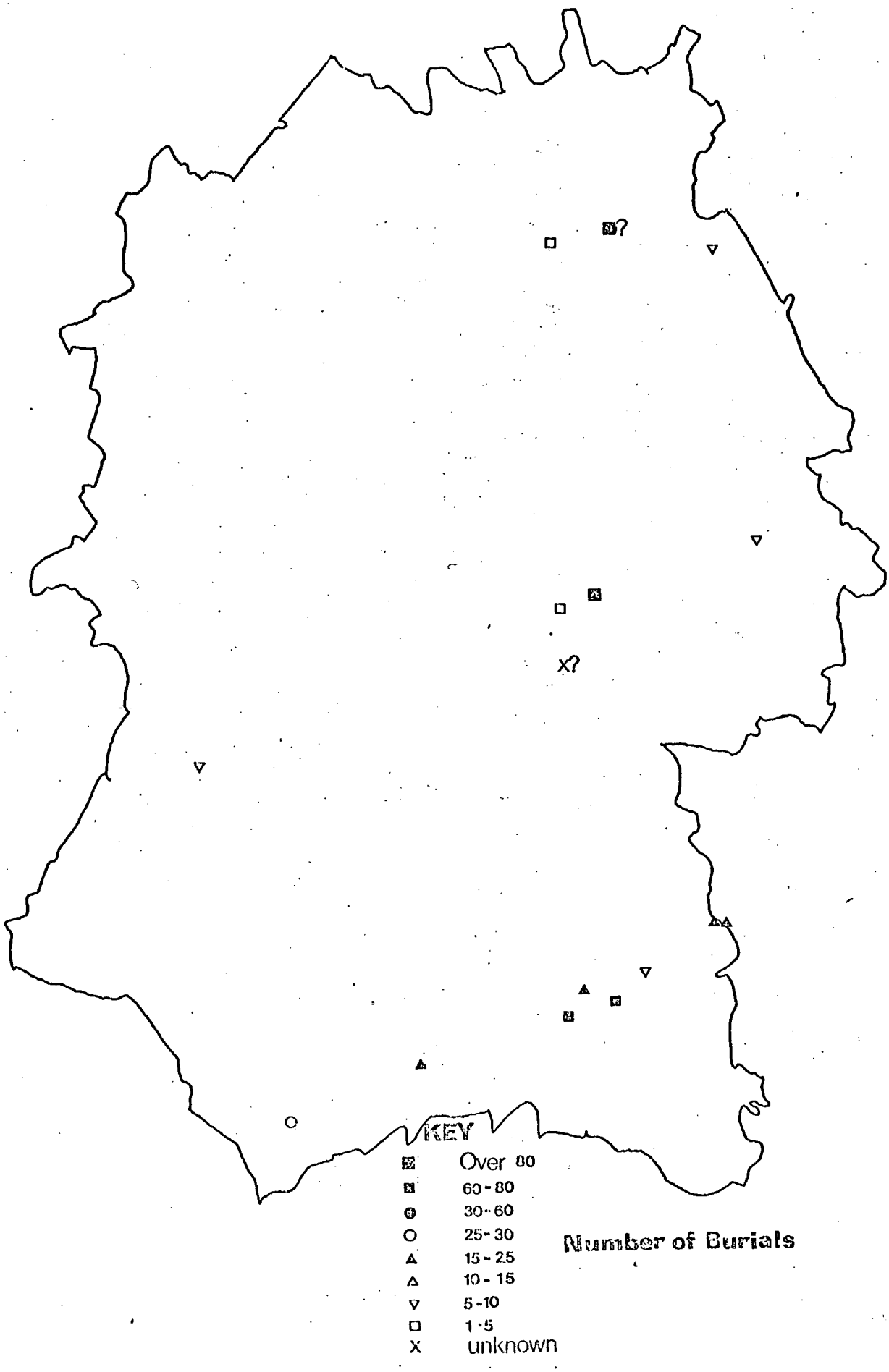
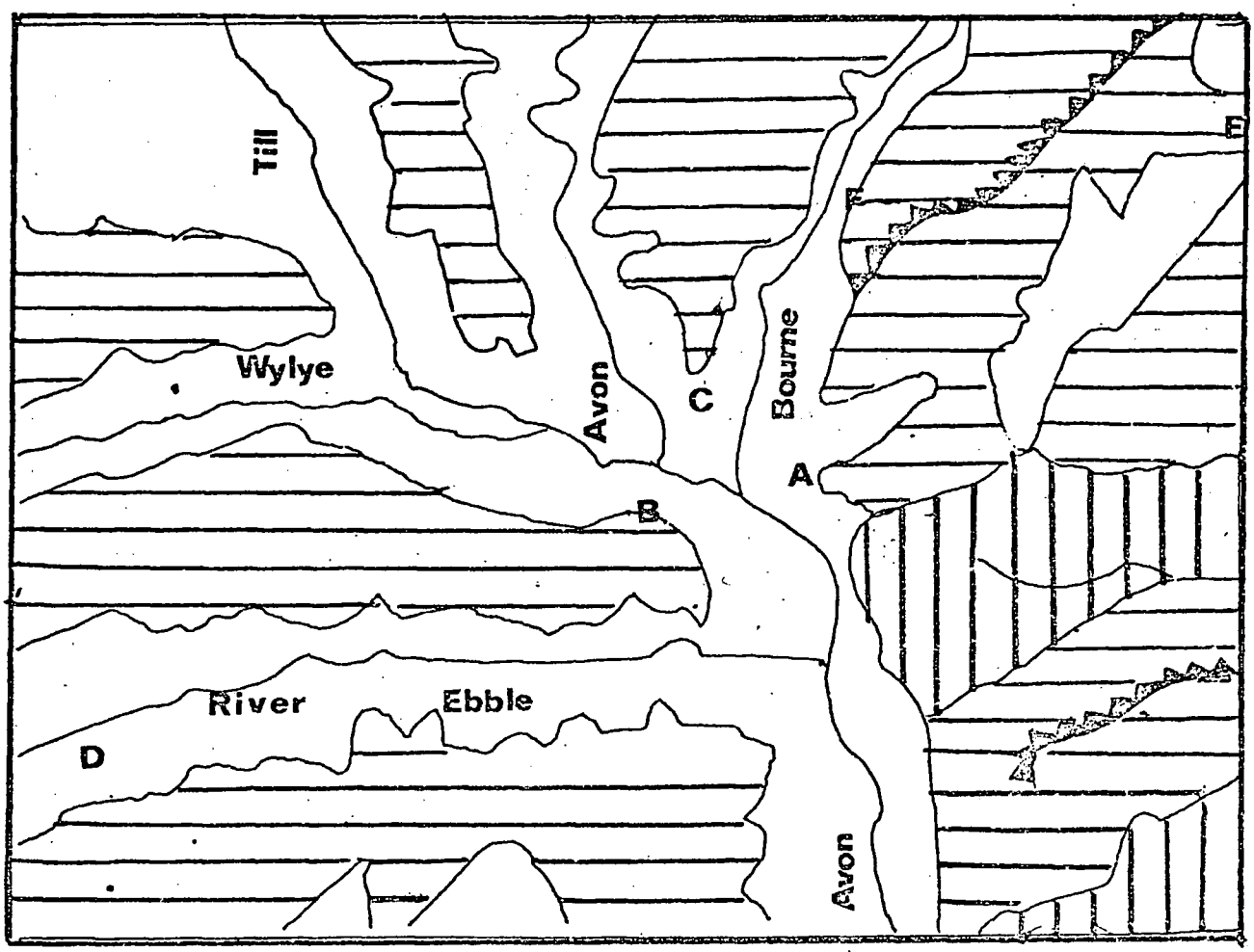

KEY
Over 80
60 - 80
30 - 60
25 - 30
15 - 25
10 - 15
5 - 10
1 - 5
unknown
Number of Burials
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Miles

fig.5



KEY

2 miles

A. Petersfinger
B. Hamham Hill
C. Salisbury
D. Broad Chalke
E. Roche Court Down
F. Winterbourne Gunner

The Old Sarum Group

fig.6

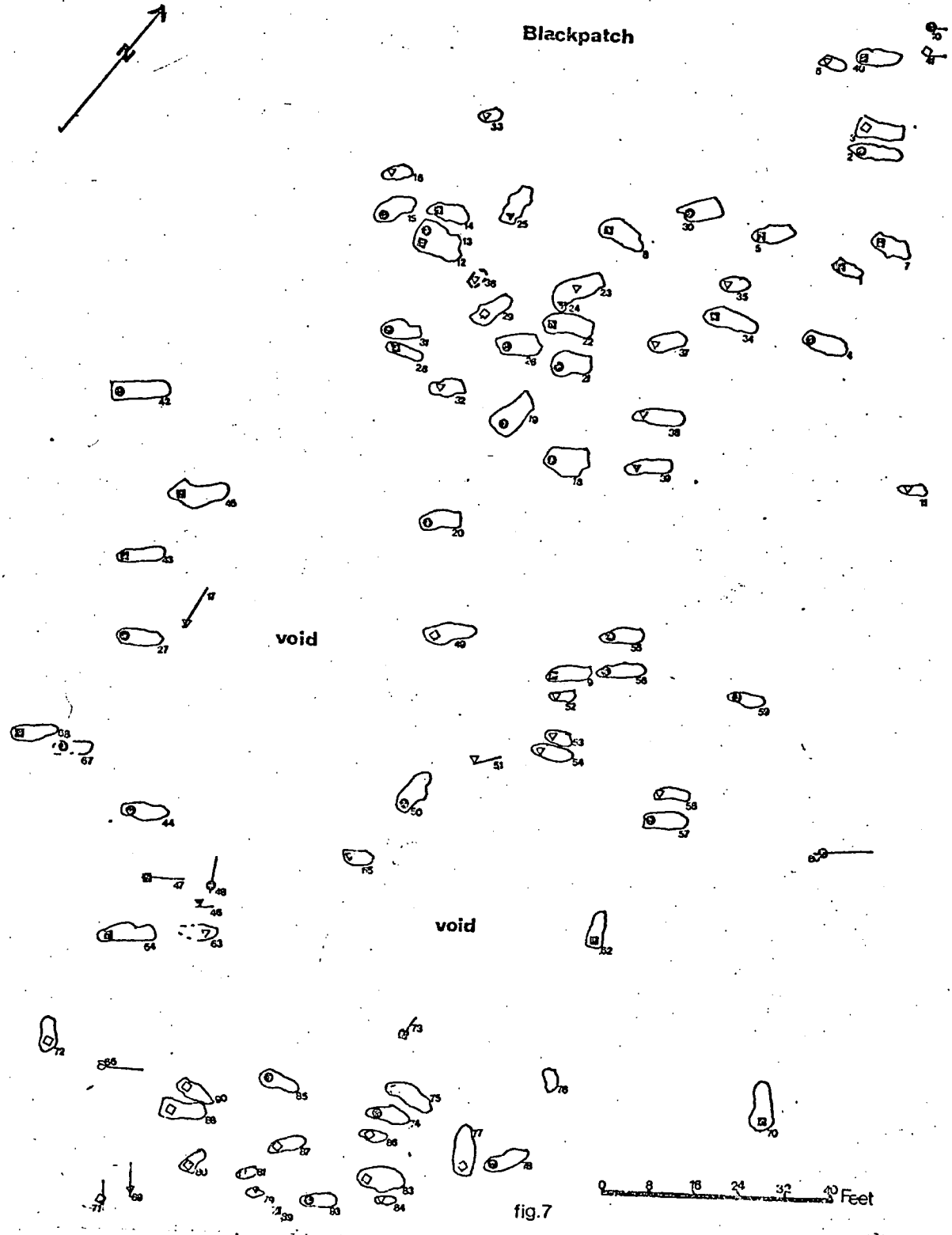


fig.7

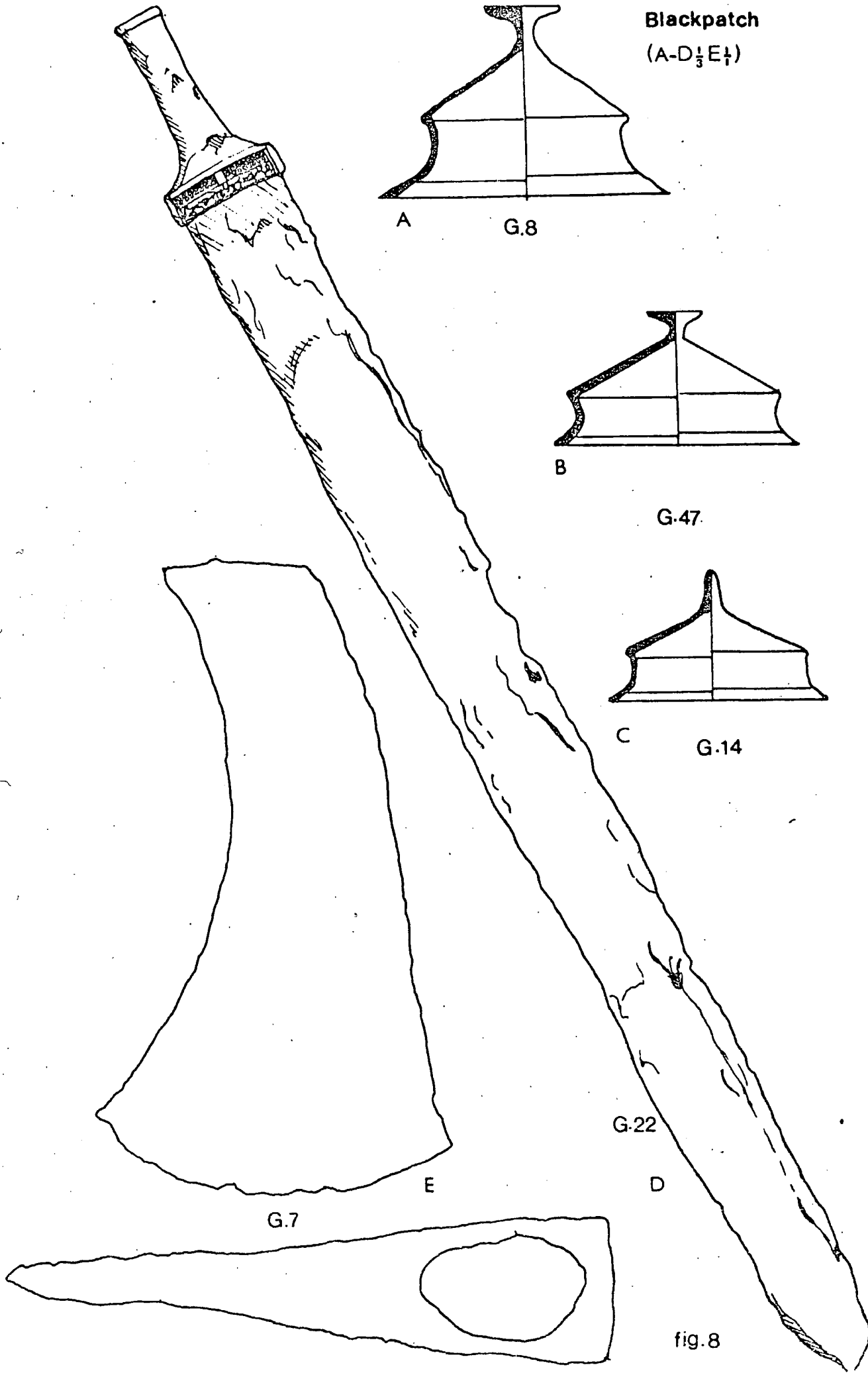
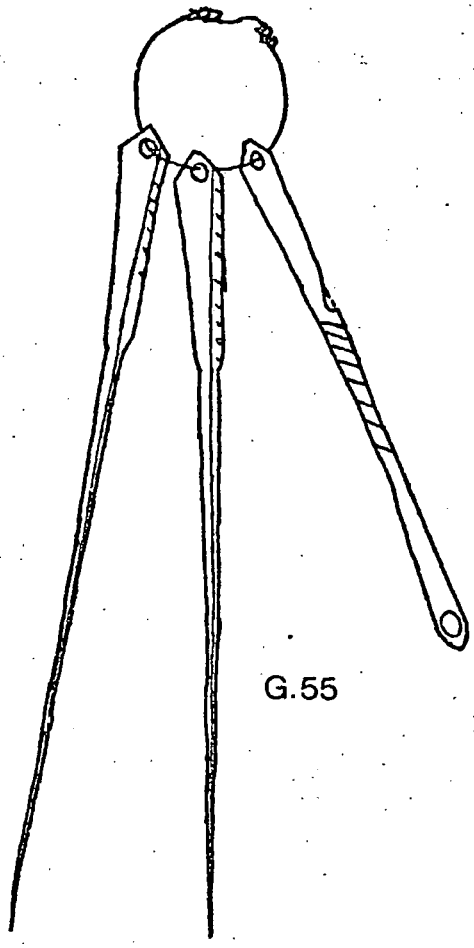
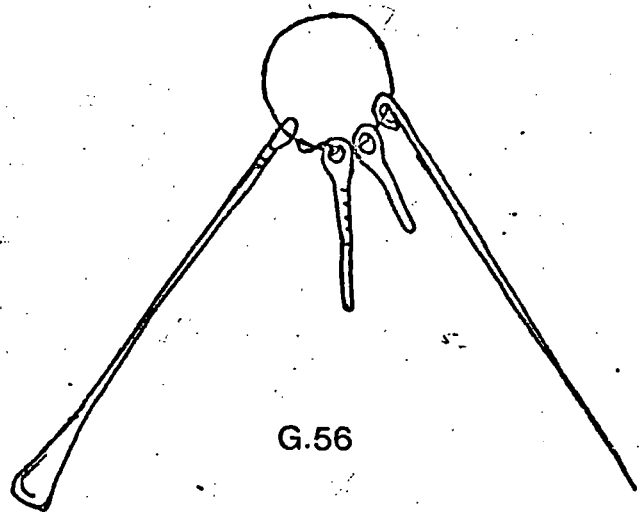


fig.8

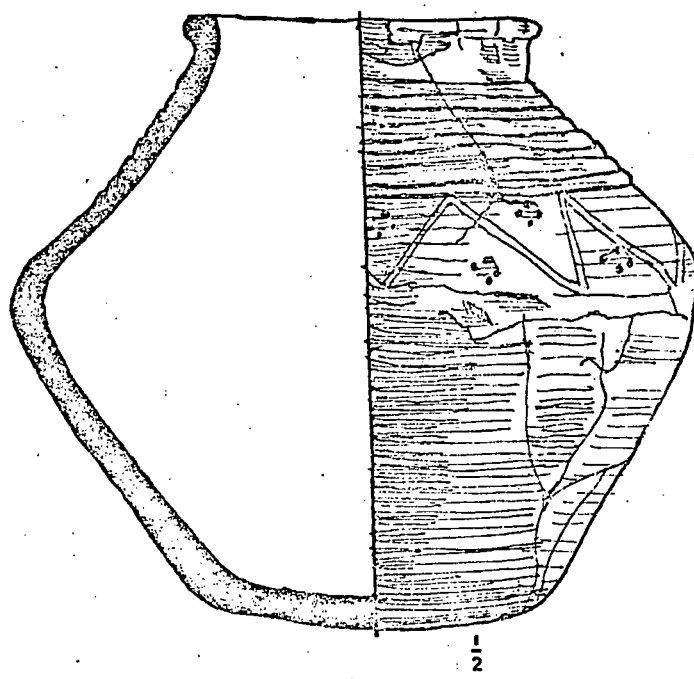


G.55



G.56

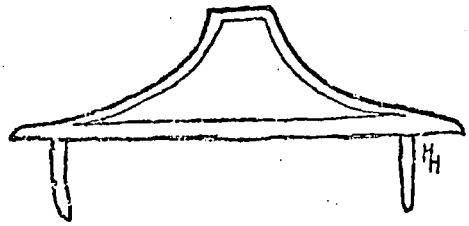
G.38



G.15

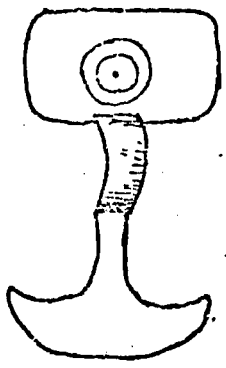
Blackpatch

(1/1)



G.22

fig.9



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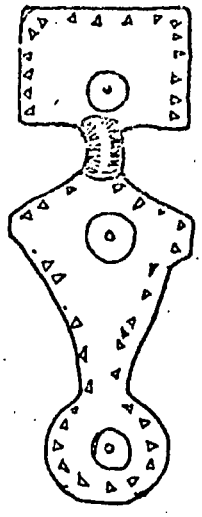

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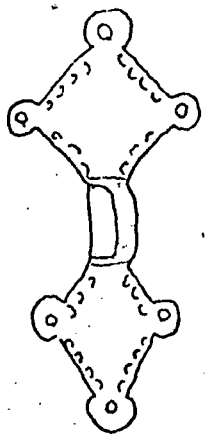

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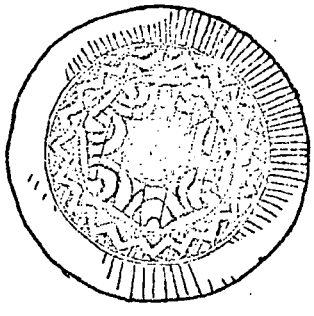

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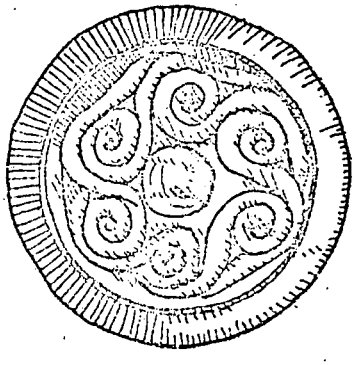

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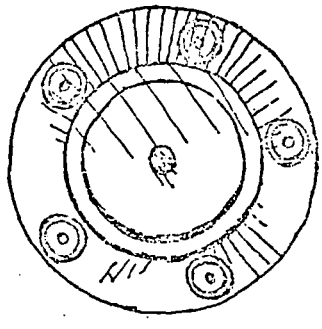

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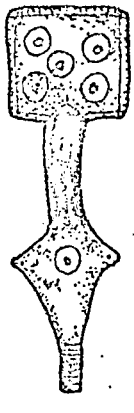

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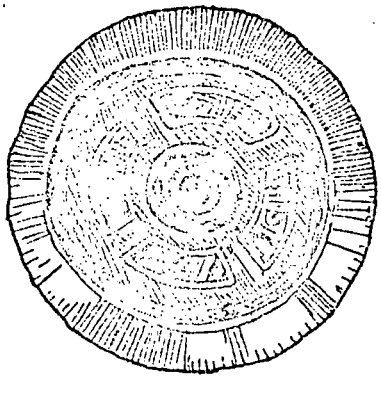

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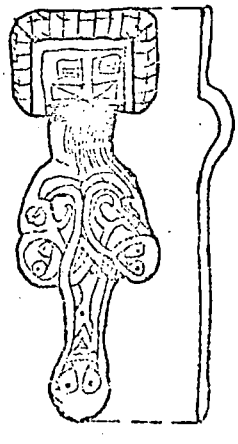
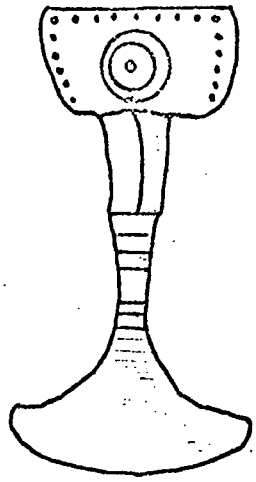


G.31

Blackpatch

fig.10 (¼)



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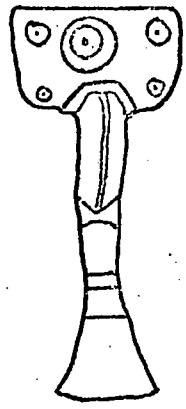
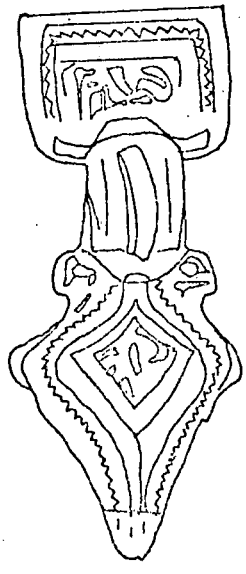


G.85

G.44



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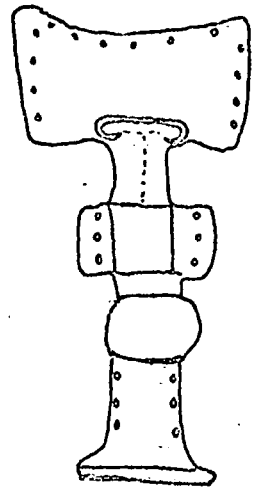
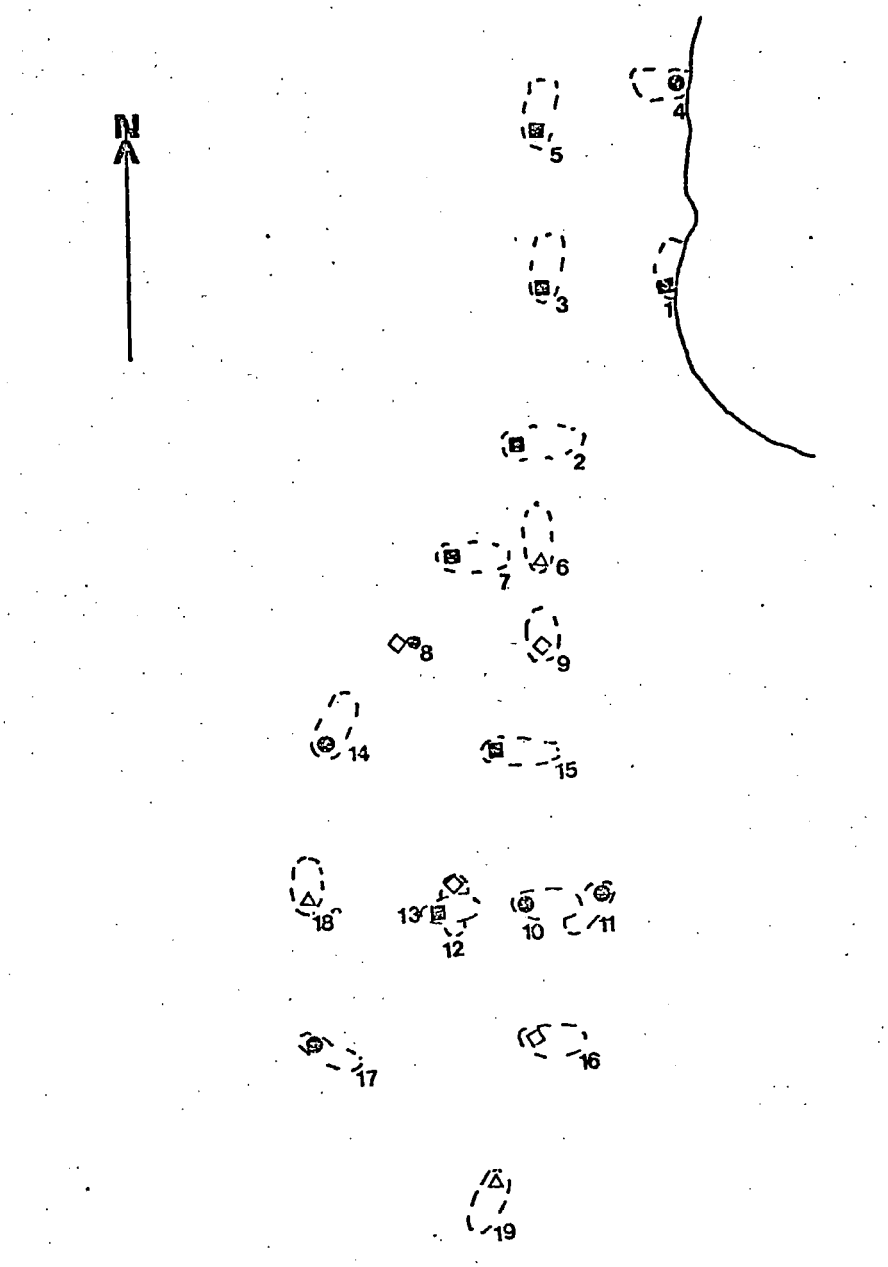


Blackpatch

(½)

fig.11



BROADCHALKE

0 7.5 15 22.5 Feet

fig.12