

ON ANGLO-SAXON ANTIQUITIES, WITH A PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
FAUSSETT COLLECTION.

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AND THOSE OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.)

There is scarcely any part of our islands in which we do not find here and there scattered over the surface of the ground, artificial mounds, or tumuli, of various elevations, from one foot, or even less, to more than a hundred. It has been long known that these tumuli covered the last remains of the different peoples who lived here in the ages preceding the introduction of the Christian faith, subsequent to which the interment of the dead was differently regulated. Accidental discoveries must often have brought this truth to light, if the knowledge of it, or at least the belief in it, had not been, as I think there is every reason for believing that it was, handed down to us traditionally from the time at which they were made. In fact, it is no unfrequent occurrence, when we open a tumulus which as far as we could judge from its outward appearance, cannot have been touched for many ages, to find that at some remote period it had been broken into and its contents either abstracted or broken and scattered about. Great numbers of such tumuli have been destroyed unobservedly in the various processes of agriculture or in the adaptation of their site to modern purposes. Others have been opened through mere motives of curiosity, or even of superstition, and any object of interest they contained was carried off under the indefinite character of an old relic. It has only been in more recent times that these monuments have been explored with care and order, in the hope that an intelligent examination and comparison of their contents might make us acquainted with peoples and races concerning whom we learn little from the pages of written history. Thus has the practice of "barrow-digging"—to use the phrase which has become popular within the last few years—passed through three distinct phases; during the first long-extending period its object was mere plunder, consequent on the knowledge that articles of value were often deposited with the dead; during an intermediate period, the object was curiosity; and during the third period, it was knowledge, or, to use at this meeting the more appropriate

word, Science. It is this latter period alone with which we are at present concerned.

The difficulties with which sound English archæology has had to contend in its beginning, arose chiefly from the vague spirit of curiosity which preceded it. Instead of the careful and extensive comparison from which alone we can hope to deduce facts of importance, people looked at each article only with regard to itself; and, for the course of inductive reasoning which science requires they thoughtlessly substituted mere irrational conjecture. This had become a sort of habit. People assumed, without knowing why, that the tumuli of which I have been speaking covered the remains of battle-fields, and never questioning the fable or tradition which made the heroes of these battles Danes or Britons, Saxons or Normans, (popular tradition knew little of Romans), they followed that tradition in calling whatever articles were found in them Danish or British, or Saxon or Norman. It is quite wonderful, when we look back into the writings of the old antiquaries of note, how few escaped from the influence of such popular errors. Although accustomed to classification in other branches of science, they seem never to have thought of applying it to this; and museums were simple collections of curiosities, instead of being the materials for scientific investigation. It may be said to have been in the Anglo-Saxon tumuli of Kent that a better spirit of investigation first showed itself, and that the foundations were laid for the higher cultivation of archæological science which now happily prevails.

There are various circumstances characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon interments, which contributed much towards this result; because they led people almost necessarily to follow a new course of reasoning. The larger and more remarkable tumuli, those which are known to be Roman and those which are believed or supposed to be British, were in general found singly by themselves, or in a group of not more than two or three; they were probably memorials of respect or attachment to persons of distinction, while people in general were buried in a less ostentatious or less durable manner. As the interments had in most cases been preceded by cremation, it was only in particular instances that the contents offered anything remarkable or characteristic. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon tumuli are arranged in extensive groups, forming regular cemeteries, each probably belonging to a sept or to a district. Each grave contains almost invariably

a considerable number of articles of very different descriptions, so that the abundance of the objects alone invited to comparison. Another circumstance also has contributed to their preservation. In the Anglo-Saxon interments, the body with the objects accompanying it were laid in a grave, at some depth below the level of the ground, so that the plunderer who sought objects of value, or the collector who sought curiosities, found nothing in the mounds they opened to encourage their researches. From these circumstances, the first correct principles of our national archæology were obtained in the investigation of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; and it adds considerably to the interest of the extensive and valuable collection now exhibited to us, that they not only form the finest collection of Anglo-Saxon antiquities of the pre-Christian age ever yet made, but that they are those upon which the foundations of our present knowledge were laid.

The Rev. Bryan Faussett, of Heppington, near Canterbury, to whom we owe the formation of this collection, had passed the greater part of his life in a district peculiarly rich in Saxon remains; for the succession of chalk downs stretching out from Canterbury towards the east and south, are remarkable for the numerous groups of Saxon barrows, or rather the Saxon cemeteries, which are found on their slopes and summits. In the year 1730, one of these groups, situated on a high part of Chartham down, somewhat more than three miles to the south-west of Canterbury, was partially excavated by Charles Fagg, Esq., of Mystole, in Chartham parish. These excavations were carried on in a very unsatisfactory manner, under the immediate personal direction of Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, the Secretary of the Royal Society; and so little was then known either of the character of the cemeteries, or of the objects they contained, that the learned secretary of that celebrated scientific body actually wrote an elaborate paper on them, in which he arrives at the conclusion that they were the graves of the soldiers slain in a battle fought here between Julius Cæsar and the Britons. Bryan Faussett, at this time only about ten years old, is said to have been present at the opening of these graves, which excited in him an interest that clung to him during the remainder of his life. He was subsequently curate of Kingston, about five miles to the south of Canterbury, from 1750 to 1755, and while resident there his attention was forcibly rivetted on a very remarkable and extensive group of barrows in his own parish, on the brow of the hill near Ileden. Still possessed by the notion

that these barrows or tumuli marked the site of a battle between Cæsar and the Britons, Bryan Faussett was anxious to open them, but the permission to do so was refused by the owner of the land, Thomas Barrett, Esq., and Mr. Faussett's curiosity remained unsatisfied. At length, in 1757, Mr. Faussett was enabled to gratify his spirit of research in commencing a series of excavations in a cemetery on a spot called Tremworth down, in the parish of Crundale, which however proved to be Roman. His excavations on this site were continued in the year 1759. In 1760, 1762, and 1763, he pursued his researches in the very rich Saxon cemetery at Gilton in the parish of Ash, near Sandwich, where he opened no less than a hundred and six tumuli or graves, which enriched his collection with a number of interesting objects. In 1767, Mr. Faussett's attention was again called to the barrows in Kingston parish, and the land having passed by the death of its former owner and the marriage of his daughter to a personal friend, he obtained at last full liberty to excavate. He was soon convinced of his error in supposing that they had any connection with Cæsar or the Britons, and he obtained from them many of the most precious articles which are now found in his collection. During the autumn of the year just mentioned Mr. Faussett opened fifty-four tumuli on this site. His further researches here were interrupted, for some reason or other, from the September of 1767 to the middle of July, 1771, when he resumed his labours on the same spot, and during that and the following month opened a hundred and sixty-five barrows. In August and October, 1772, he opened thirty-four more tumuli on this spot; and in the August and September of the following year, he examined forty-five more; making in all three hundred and eight separate interments in one cemetery.

Although with Bryan Faussett, the notion that these tumuli covered the remains of Cæsar's soldiers was now entirely exploded, he fell into another opinion equally erroneous, and of which he seems never to have divested himself. He found Roman coins, and he concluded very hastily that the date of their deposit must have been the reign in which they were struck; he found fragments of Roman pottery in comparative abundance; he found a small number of urns containing calcined bones, which he, unable to discriminate the character of the pottery, imagined must have been deposited at a date anterior to that at which the Romans abandoned

the practise of cremation. Against these circumstances Mr. Faussett had to place the absolute uniformity of character of the interments as he found them; and he explained this anomaly by supposing that the coins, urns, &c., were the remains of previous Roman burials, which had been broken up at a later period, in order to use the old graves for a new interment. From these circumstances Faussett concluded that "this spot" had been "no other than a *κοιμητήριον*, or common burying-place; of Romans, no doubt, (and that, too, from a very early period); but not of those alone, but also, if not chiefly, of Romans Britainized, and Britains Romanized (if I may be allowed the use of these expressions), even till long after the Romans (properly so called) had entirely quitted this isle." "In short," he adds, "my opinion of this matter is, that this spot was a burying-place not only, at first, for the Roman soldiers who may be supposed to have kept garrison in some of the many intrenchments and look-outs in this neighbourhood, but that, afterwards, it served for such of the inhabitants of some one or more of the adjacent villages; which we may very reasonably presume were latterly inhabited by what I have presumed before to call 'Romans Britainized and Britains Romanized,' i.e., by people of both nations—who, having mixed and intermarried with each other, had naturally learnt, and in some measure adopted, each other's customs. The ossuaries, or bone-urns, here found, will sufficiently prove that this place was used as such in the time of the higher empire, i.e., before the custom of burning the dead ceased among the Romans; and the coins of Gallienus, Probus, of Carausius and Allectus, and of the Constantine family, will be ample evidence of its having continued to be used as such in the time of the lower empire. How much longer it was put to that use, it is impossible for me to determine from anything yet found there; but my conjecture is that it served for that purpose (I mean, a burying-place for some neighbouring village, or perhaps villages), long after the Romans (i.e., those properly so called) had entirely evacuated and quitted this isle." Mr. Faussett adds that, from the circumstance of a cross-shaped fibula being found in one of the graves, it is plain that the wearer of it was a Christian, and therefore that this cemetery may have been in use until the time when Archbishop Cuthbert, who came to the see of Canterbury in 741, ordered that the burials should take place in cemeteries adjacent to the churches.

I have quoted the whole of this statement of Bryan Faussett's opinions in order to shew you how imperfect the science of archæology was in this country only eighty years ago, and how apt people were to build theories upon what they believed to be facts, merely because they did not themselves know the contrary. Mr. Faussett was ignorant that the Roman coinage of all dates was in general and extensive circulation among the Anglo-Saxons; that great quantities of Roman pottery were in use among them; that the practice of cremation did exist among the Teutonic settlers in this island; that the "bone-urns" which he dug up were all of Saxon, or rather perhaps of Frankish manufacture; and, finally, that the cross-shaped ornaments are so common, and occur under such circumstances, that we cannot possibly take them as any evidence that the skeletons with which they were found were those of Christians.

The years 1772 and 1773 were those of Mr. Faussett's most active researches. In the July of the former of these two years, he began to open a rather extensive cemetery, or more accurately speaking, two cemeteries, on Sibertswold down, about half way between Canterbury and Deal. During the summers of this and the following year, he opened a hundred and eighty-one Anglo-Saxon graves, many of which contained objects of the greatest interest. During the July and August of 1772, Mr. Faussett also opened forty-eight graves in a smaller cemetery on Barfreston down, in the immediate neighbourhood of that at Sibertswold. During the summer months of the year 1773, Mr. Faussett opened forty-four Saxon tumuli in a cemetery in the parish of Beakesbourne, about four miles to the south-east of Canterbury; and in the autumn of the same year, returning to the scene of his earliest antiquarian impressions, he opened fifty-three graves on Chartham downs, in the same cemetery which had, in 1730, occupied the attention of Mr. Fagg and Dr. Mortimer. With these excavations Bryan Faussett's labours seem to have closed. He was probably hindered from continuing them by declining health, as we know that he died within three years after, in 1776.

Bryan Faussett had a successor in these researches, in the Rev. James Douglas, who, in the years 1779 and 1780, assisted in opening a number of graves in a Saxon cemetery on Chatham lines, which was cut through in the course of the military works there. In 1782, Douglas opened some

Saxon barrows at St. Margaret's on the Cliff, near Dover; in 1783, he opened a group in the parish of Ash near Sandwich; and in 1784, he explored a small group in Greenwich park.

The researches of Douglas were far less extensive than those of Bryan Faussett, but they have been better known through the circumstance that the former, towards the end of the century, published the results of his inquiries in a folio volume which has long been advantageously known to antiquaries by the title of *Nenia Britannica*. In attempting to appropriate these remains, Douglas erred in the opposite direction from Bryan Faussett. The latter imagined that they belonged principally to a population which preceded the Anglo-Saxons. Douglas seems himself to have set out with this notion, but he soon relinquished it, and he went so far right that he ascribed them to the Anglo-Saxons themselves. Douglas, however, laboured under certain prejudices and vulgar errors. He imagined that the Saxon settlers, before their conversion to Christianity, were mere barbarians—that they were totally unacquainted with art—and that they were neither capable of making, nor likely to possess, the numerous articles, rich in material and ornamentation, which were found in these cemeteries. Further, he fancied that there was a Byzantine character in the ornamentation, and he immediately concluded that it must be the work of artificers who came to England along with Theodore the Greek in the year 668. He therefore adopted the very untenable theory that these were the graves of Christian Saxons; and that they belonged to the period which intervened between the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons at the close of the sixth century and the middle of the eighth century, when the cemeteries were ordered to be attached to the churches. Nothing can be more evident to the unbiassed observer of these interments than the pagan character of them all.

I have dwelt the more upon the opinions of these first investigators, because in science, the history of error is often as instructive, to the student at least, as the declaration of truth; inasmuch as it teaches him the necessity of caution, especially in a science, like British archæology in its present condition, where there is much room for speculation. From the time of Douglas to our own days, no further researches were made in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and no one attempted to correct or to build upon his labours. Those of Bryan Faussett, which had not been published,

remained unknown, except by a few articles engraved in the plates to the *Nenia*; Douglas himself having had access to the Faussett collection. So little indeed were the correct principles of archæology understood in this country that a diligent if not a very correct collector of facts, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who made an unwise attempt at an arbitrary classification of barrows by their outward forms, actually set down the contents of Saxon tumuli as British, although he might have corrected himself by a simple glance at the then very well-known work of Douglas. In 1841, and during several subsequent years, Lord Londesborough (then Lord Albert Conyng-ham), who was residing at Bourne near Canterbury, and had a rather extensive cemetery in his own park, opened at different times a considerable number of barrows there, at Wingham near Sandwich, and on Breach down in the parish of Barham, about four miles to the south of Canterbury. His lordship was accompanied at most of these excavations by Mr. Akerman, Mr. Roach Smith, or myself, and I believe that Mr. Akerman and Mr. Roach Smith, in giving accounts of those and other discoveries in the same neighbourhood, *first* stated clearly and distinctly to what people these remains belonged, namely, to the Anglo-Saxons of the period previous to the introduction of Christianity; or from the middle of the fifth century to the end of the sixth, and in some parts probably, where Christianity had penetrated more slowly than in others, to the middle of the seventh. The interest excited by these discoveries, called much attention to the subject, and it was soon known that several Anglo-Saxon cemeteries had been partially opened by accident in other parts of Kent, and that the contents had either been scattered abroad and lost, or preserved by private individuals who were not aware of their peculiar character. Thus, a rather extensive cemetery had been opened at different times from 1825 to 1828 at Sittingbourne, and many of the articles found in it were preserved by Mr. Vallance. Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich, had already begun to form his valuable collection from the cemeteries and barrows at Gilton, Coombe, Woodnesborough, and other places, which has been since so much enriched from his excavations at Osengell. Saxon cemeteries of great interest have been also excavated at Stroud and Rochester; another has been cut through by the railway at Northfleet; and traces of several others have been noticed in different parts of Kent.

You have now before you, in the Faussett collection alone, the contents

of between seven and eight hundred graves, and you will see that, as I have already intimated, they furnish an almost indefinite variety of articles; and this variety would no doubt have been greatly increased but for the perishable materials of which many of those placed in the graves were composed. There are, however, certain classes of articles which are more numerous than the others, and to which it may be well to call particular attention.

The body was usually laid on its back in the middle of the floor of the grave. In the MS. account of his diggings, Faussett frequently mentions traces of the existence of a coffin, but as far as my own experience goes, I am led to think that the use of a coffin was not common. Where the body was that of a man, we almost always find above the right shoulder the iron head of a spear, and in general we may trace by the colour of the earth the decayed wood of the shaft, until near the foot of the skeleton lies the iron-spiked ferule which terminated it at the other end. We sometimes also meet with one or more smaller heads of javelins, or arrows, for I disagree entirely with a statement which has been made lately and adhered to, that the bow was in discredit among the Anglo-Saxons as a weapon.* Closer to the side of the skeleton lies usually (though not always) a long iron broad-sword, not much unlike the claymore of the Scottish highlander, of which it is perhaps the prototype. Its most usual form is that represented in the annexed figure. The sheath and handle appear

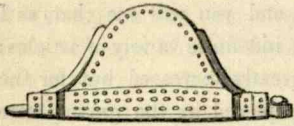


I. Sword, from Barham Down.

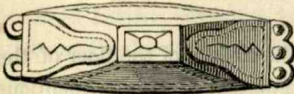
in most cases to have been made of perishable materials, and we seldom find more than the blade with the spike by which it was fixed into the handle. The tip of the sheath, however, is sometimes found, having been made of bronze or other metal, and also at times, the handle of the sword, which has been found of silver.† A usual form of the top of the handle

* See on this subject the note at the end of this paper.

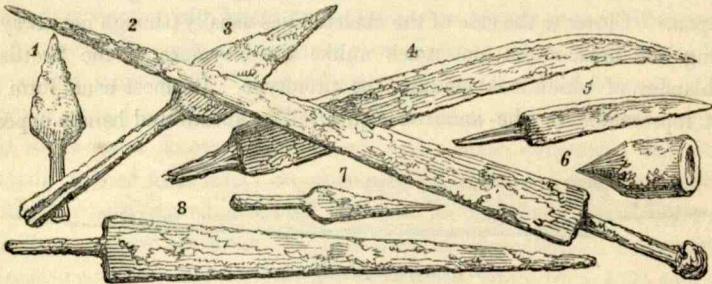
† Fine examples of the handle of the Anglo-Saxon sword will be found in the engravings to Mr. Smith's *Collectanea* and Mr. Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*.



2. Top of the handle of a Sword, from Kingston Down.



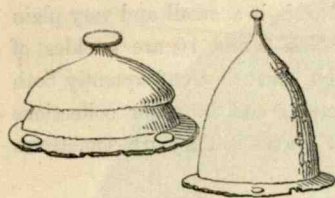
is represented in figure 2. Another article, peculiarly characteristic of the Saxon interments, is the knife, the length of which is generally about five or six inches, although at times it extends to from ten to eleven inches, and then from its shape it must have been a very formidable weapon, independent of its utility for other purposes. It has been pretended that it was from the use of this instrument, called in their language a *seax*, that our forefathers derived their name of *Saxons*. Another weapon, the axe, is found at times in the Saxon graves, but it is of very rare occurrence, and was probably not in general use in this island. The accompanying group of weapons were taken from one grave on Kingston Down: they consist of two swords of rather different form to that represented above (2 and 8); the head (3) and the ferule (6) of a spear; smaller javelins or arrow heads (1, 7); and knives large and small (4, 5).*



3. Weapons, from Kingston Down.

Over the breast of the Saxon warrior is generally found the iron *umbo* or boss of his shield. Its shape is not always the same, as will be seen by

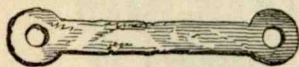
* Mr. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 48, has given his opinion that the sword was not an ordinary weapon of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and states that its occurrence in the grave is an exception. I confess that my experience does not altogether support this opinion or statement; but I have remarked in more than one instance that the sword was entirely decayed in the same grave where the spear-head was very well preserved, and this to such a degree that it required close observation, and an experienced eye, to detect in the colour of the earth the traces of its former existence. I am not aware whether highly tempered steel undergoes more rapidly the effect of decomposition than steel less highly tempered, or than common iron.



4. Umbos of Shields, from Ash and Chartham.

the examples now exhibited, but there is a general character about this part of the accoutrements of the Anglo-Saxon which makes it perfectly inexcusable for any one who pretends to the character of an archæologist to misappropriate it, as has been done in a recent publication which I regret to say contains too many errors of this kind, I mean Wilson's "Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland."

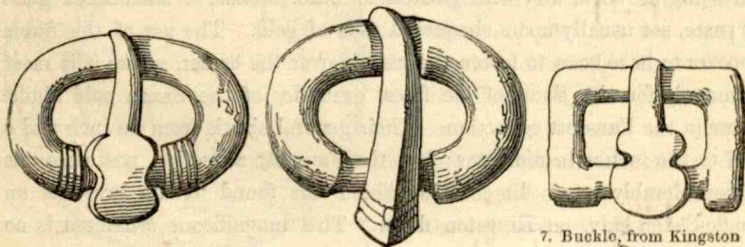
Beneath the boss of the shield, is usually found a piece of iron which is



5. Handle of Shield.

best described by a drawing, and which no doubt was the handle by which the shield was held. Douglas, who had not observed carefully the position in which it is found, imagined it to be part of a bow, and called it a bow-brace. The shield itself, as we know from the Anglo-Saxon writers, was of wood, generally of linden, and has therefore perished, but we find remains of nails, studs, and other iron work, belonging to it.

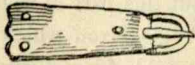
Such are the more common arms which we find, without much variation, in the graves of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, of the period to which these cemeteries belong. The miscellaneous articles are so varied, that I can only enumerate them rapidly. Of personal ornaments, the first that attract our attention are the fibulæ, or brooches, and the buckles. The latter are usually of bronze gilt, and are often very elaborately ornamented, as will be seen by the numerous examples in the Faussett collection. From the position in which they are found, it is evident that they formed, most generally, the fastening of the girdle. The forms of these buckles are varied. The two first examples here given (6) are of a form which is not uncommon. Sometimes they are square, instead of round, as in the example No. 7. The buckle is very commonly only the extremity of a



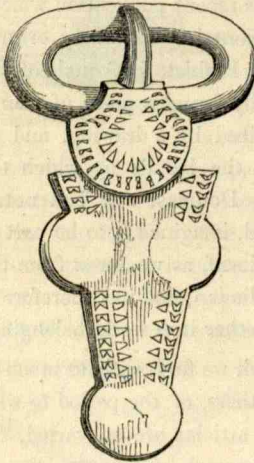
6. Buckles, from Kingston Down.

7. Buckle, from Kingston Down.

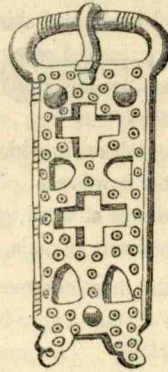
bronze ornament, more or less elaborate. No. 8, is a small and very plain buckle of this kind. Nos. 9 and 10 are buckles of ornamental forms, which occur not unfrequently both in the Faussett collection, and in other collections made from the Kentish graves. They are sometimes



8. Buckle, from Kingston Down.



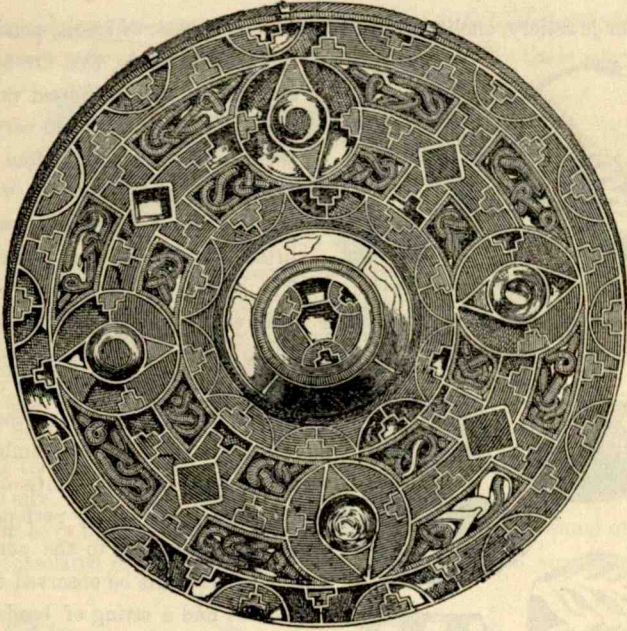
9. Buckle, from Kingston Down.



10. Buckle, from Sibertswold.

very massive, the larger ones apparently belonging to the male, and the smaller ones to the female costume.

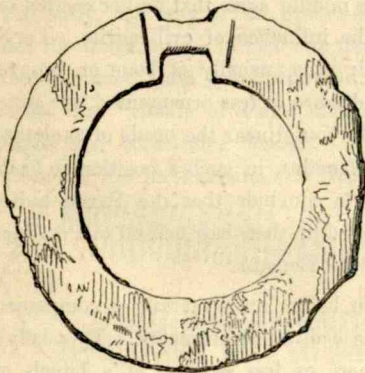
Many of the fibulæ which are found upon male skeletons, as well as females, are extremely rich and beautiful. In the Kentish tumuli the prevailing form is circular, and they are often of gold, profusely ornamented with filigree work, and with garnets or other stones, or sometimes glass or paste, set usually upon chequered foils of gold. The use of this fibula appears to have been to fasten the mantle over the breast, where it is most commonly found. Some of the finest examples of the Saxon gold fibulæ occur in the Faussett collection. Their general size is from an inch and a half to two inches in diameter; but the Faussett collection possesses one of considerably larger dimensions, which was found in the grave of an Anglo-Saxon lady, on Kingston down. This magnificent ornament is no



11. The great Fibula, from Kingston Down.

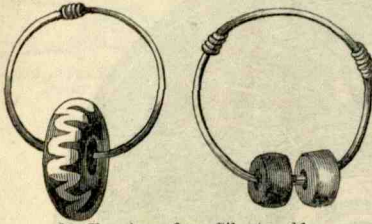
less than three inches and a half in diameter, a quarter of an inch thick at the edges, and three quarters of an inch thick at the centre, all of gold, and weighing between six and seven ounces. It is covered with ornaments of filigree work, in concentric circles, and is set with garnets and with pale blue stones. The acus or pin on the back is also ornamented and set

with garnets. It was found high on the breast, near the right shoulder. Other examples of the circular gold fibula will be seen in the Faussett collection, and they are met with in almost every collection of Anglo-Saxon remains from the Kentish barrows. Fibulae of plainer forms are also of common occurrence, sometimes consisting of a mere circle of bronze, like the example here figured.



12. Plain Fibula, from Kingston Down.

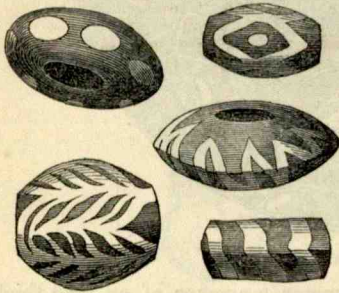
Other jewellery, such as rings, bracelets, necklaces of beads, pendants to



13. Ear-rings, from Sibertswold.

the neck and ears, &c., are found in abundance, and in a great variety of form. The ear-rings are very diversified in form, but they often consist of a plain ring with one or two beads on it. Gold coins are sometimes fitted up as pendent ornaments.

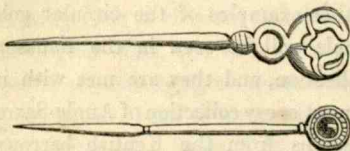
The most common material of beads is glass or variegated clay, the latter made with great skill, and often exhibiting pleasing patterns. It belonged to a class of manufacture which



14. Beads in variegated clay.

has continued to exist in this country down to a recent period. Another common material of beads was amber, and we sometimes find small lumps of amber which have been merely perforated, in order to be attached to the person by a string. It must be observed that we sometimes find a string of beads round the neck of a man, and other circumstances shew that there were Saxon *exquisites* who were vain enough of their

personal adornments. It is, however, a very usual thing to find one or more beads of amber near the neck in cases where there can be no doubt that the deceased was a man; but this circumstance is explained by a widely prevailing superstition in the middle ages, that amber carried on the person was a protection against the influence of evil spirits. Large



15. Hair-pins, from Sibertswold.

hair pins, usually of bone or bronze, and more or less ornamented, are generally found near the heads of skeletons of females, in such a position as leads us to conclude that the Saxon ladies bound up their hair behind in a manner

similar to that which prevailed among the Romans.

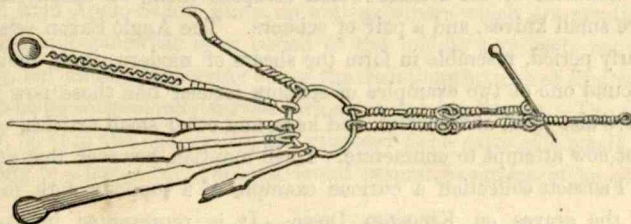
The interments of the Anglo-Saxon ladies are generally accompanied with a number of articles of utility, as well as of ornament. By a lady's side, we usually find the remains, more or less perfect, of a bunch of

domestic implements, somewhat resembling the article brought into fashion a few years ago, under the name of a *châtelaine*. To these were hung,



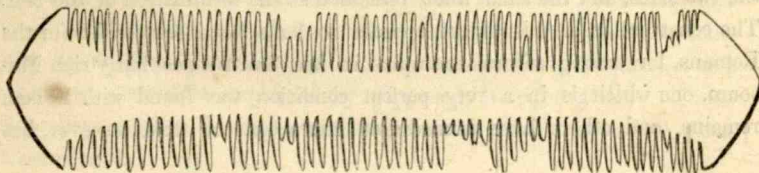
16. Tweezers, from Kingston Down.

among other articles, small tweezers, intended for the eradication of superfluous hairs, which are so common, that it is evident that the practice of depilation prevailed generally among the Anglo-Saxon ladies. Other instruments have evidently served for ear-picks and tooth-picks. The tweezers so closely resemble those found on Roman sites, that we can hardly doubt that it was from the Romans the Anglo-Saxons originally derived them. The cut given as an example is represented here of its natural size. The next figure (17) represents examples of what are believed to have been ear-picks, tooth-picks, &c., as they were found attached to the *châtelaine* in a grave at Sibertswold. Combs also are found very



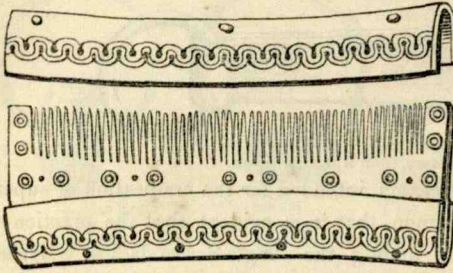
17. Chatelaine, from Kingston Down.

frequently, not only in the graves of women, but in those of men, a proof that the latter, which in fact was the case among all the branches of the Teutonic race, paid great attention to their hair. Those which are preserved are usually of bone, and they are, as at present, sometimes single, and sometimes double. The first of the examples here given, is one of the least ornamental character.



18. Comb, from Kingston Down.

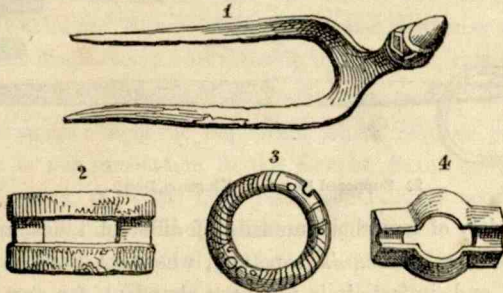
The second (No. 19) is curious on account of the two guards for the protection of its teeth from damage when not in use. It is more than pro-



19. Comb, from Kingston Down.

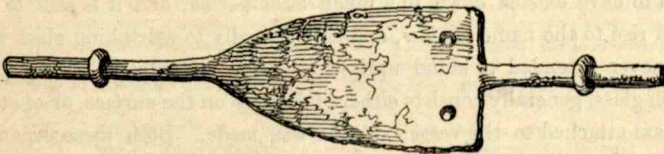
bable, that in many of the graves in which little is found, there were originally combs and other articles of wood, a material which of course has perished long ago, even where it existed in much greater masses. It appears that there was often attached to the *châtelaine*,

or suspended by the side of it, a bag of some kind, containing other articles used by the ladies, for we frequently find on the spot where it has lain a heap of small articles, which are at times tolerably preserved, but in others the iron is so much oxidized, as to present a mere confused mass of fragments. In these groups, which differ much, both in the number and in the character of the articles which compose them, we usually find one or more small knives, and a pair of scissors. The Anglo Saxon scissors of this early period, resemble in form the shears of modern times, though we have found one or two examples of scissors formed like those now in use. We have also pins, and needles, and keys, and other small articles, which I will not now attempt to enumerate. I will mention, however, that you find in the Faussett collection a curious example of a supposed fork, found in one of the graves on Kingston Down. It is represented in the next figure. It constitutes another example of the necessity for careful and extensive comparison before we hazard opinions on the purposes of many of the objects found in the Anglo-Saxon graves. I have been convinced, by Mr. Roach Smith, that the object in question is not a fork, but a totally different thing,—in fact that it is part of the metal tag at the end of the belt. The forked part fitted in between two small plates of metal, forming the two sides, and the small knob remained as the termination of the belt. The construction of this object appears to have been borrowed from the Romans, for among several examples in Mr. Smith's peculiarly rich Museum, one which is in a very perfect condition was found with Roman remains, and others have a mediæval character. A fork, however, has



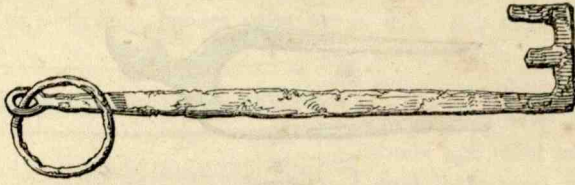
20. Tag of a belt, and other articles, from Kingston Down.

actually been found in one of the early Saxon graves on Harnham Hill, near Salisbury; and the museum of Lord Londesborough possesses a very curious Anglo-Saxon fork of a later date (the ninth century.) These examples have been supposed to disprove the commonly received opinion that forks were not used in eating at table before the sixteenth century; but I think it more than probable that these single examples of forks furnished from Anglo-Saxon times, as well as others which are mentioned incidentally at a somewhat later period of the middle ages, were not used for eating, but merely for serving out of the dish some articles of food which could not be so conveniently served with any other implement. The other figures (2, 3, 4) in the cut No. 20, are supposed to be parts of a small lock or fastening to a box. Mr. Faussett found several examples of an object



21. Bolt, from Kingston Down.

which is represented in the annexed figure, and which, from its general appearance, seems to have been an internal bolt of a box. Another kind of implement, of which, though there are some varieties, the one represented in the figure (No. 22) is a common form, is also found frequently, and can only at present be explained by supposing it to be a key. These were perhaps used to fasten or unfasten internal bolts in boxes like those just mentioned.



22. Supposed Key, from Kingston Down.

A great variety of household utensils, of different kinds, are also found in the Anglo-Saxon graves. The pottery, when not Roman, is of a rude construction, and, in fact, it is not very abundant, for our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, for several ages after their settlement in this island, seem to have used principally pottery of Roman manufacture. I would merely call your attention to the particular character of several earthenware urns, found in Kent, which Bryan Faussett supposed to be early Romano-British, and of which I shall have to speak again further on. But if the Anglo-Saxon earthenware was rude and coarse in its character, the case was quite different with the Anglo-Saxon glass, which is rather common in the graves of Kent. The glass of the Anglo-Saxons is fine and delicately thin. It is found chiefly in drinking cups, though a few small basins and bottle-shaped vessels of glass have been found. The drinking cups are in shape either pointed at the bottom, or rounded in such a manner that they could never have stood upright, a form which it is supposed was given them to force each drinker to empty his glass at a draught. This practice is understood to have existed down to a much later period, and it is said to have given rise to the name *tumbler*, applied originally to a drinking glass which was never intended to stand upright. The ornamentation of the Anglo-Saxon glass, generally consists either of furrows on the surface, or of strings of glass attached to the vessel after it was made. Both these ornaments seem to come fairly under the epithet "twisted," which is often applied to drinking cups in the earliest Anglo-Saxon poetry that has been preserved.

Bowls, large basins, and dishes, of metal, are not unfrequently found in these graves, of such elegant form that we can hardly help supposing them to be of Roman manufacture; and in one instance a bowl of apparently Roman workmanship, was found mended with what were as evidently Saxon materials. Others, however, seem to be Saxon, and prove certainly that the Anglo-Saxons had skilful workmen. These bowls, basins, and dishes,

are usually of bronze, and are often very thickly and well gilt. The metal is generally thin, and it may be remarked as a particular character which distinguishes Anglo-Saxon workmanship from Roman, that the substance is usually thin instead of being massive.

There is another domestic implement which requires particular notice, and which is not uncommon in the Kentish Saxon graves. I mean a bucket, of which, as it has been made generally of wood, there seldom remains more than the hoops, and other bronze or iron work. One, engraved by Douglas, seems to have been composed almost entirely of brass, or bronze, and iron. The use of these buckets has been the subject of conjecture and of very contrary opinions; but I am inclined to believe that each was the vessel called by the Anglo-Saxons a *fæt*, or vat, and that its use was to carry into the hall, and convey into the drinking cups of the carousers, the mead, ale, or wine, which they were to drink. These buckets generally possess too much of an ornamental character to have served for any purpose of a less honourable description. The early Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, (l. 231,) in describing a feast, tells us how

byrelas sealdon
win of wunder-fatum.

cup-bearers gave
the wine from wondrous vats.

These vats or buckets are never large. The one engraved by Douglas was only seven inches and a half high; another found in Bourne park, the largest I have seen, was about twelve inches high.*

* I believe I first suggested, in the *Archæological Album*, this use of the bucket, and it seems to have been generally adopted since; but it has been very recently disputed by Mr. Akerman, in his *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 56. "These vessels," Mr. Akerman remarks, "have been supposed to have been used to hold ale or mead at the Anglo-Saxon feasts, an opinion to which we cannot subscribe. It has been conjectured that the passage in Beowulf—

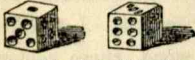
byrelas sealdon
win of wunder-fatum.

cup-bearers gave
wine from wondrous vats,

alludes to them; but it is difficult to conceive how the term "wondrous" could apply to utensils of this description, while the huge vats of the Germans are to this day the wonder of foreigners."

One would really imagine that Mr. Akerman was joking with my very literal translation of the passage in the *Archæological Album*; he certainly has taken a wrong impression of the meaning of the original, by arguing on the common modern usage of the English words. *Wunder-fatum* is certainly represented word for word by *wondrous vats*, but the 'vats' of the Anglo-Saxon poet were not such implements as we call by that name now,—*fæt* was the term applied very generally to almost any kind of vessel. Neither would the Anglo-Saxon *wunder* have presented any difficulty to those who are acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language, and more especially with its poetry: it simply indicated something excelling in beauty, or form, or some other qualities, the

I will only mention, as a further illustration of the great variety of articles which are found in these Anglo-Saxon graves, and which shew us how little we have hitherto really understood of the degree of civilization existing among the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion to Christianity, that with one interment has been found a pair of compasses. A small pair



23. Dice from Kingston Down.

of dice, found in a grave on Kingston down, leave no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons possessed even the vices of civilization, and that one of these was gambling.

In several instances scales and weights have occurred. Mr. Rolfe obtained from the interesting cemetery at Osengell a pair of delicately formed bronze scales, with a complete set of weights, all formed from Roman coins. You may observe a set of such coin-weights in the Faussett collection. This leads me to recur to a former statement of the not unfrequent occurrence of Roman coins in these Anglo-Saxon graves, and we have other reasons for believing that Roman money was long in circulation after the Romans

common examples of the same article, and the real meaning of the words might be given in the English "very beautiful vessels," or "very elegant vessels," which, according to Anglo-Saxon notions of beauty and elegance, is a sufficiently exact description of the buckets of which we are speaking. One thing is certain, that the Anglo-Saxon poet who wrote these lines, never imagined that he would be taken as intimating that every time the cup-bearers went round to pour liquor into the cups of the guests, each carried a duplicate of the great tun of Heidelberg in his hand.

Mr. Akerman goes on to say :—"In a recent communication with which we have been favoured by the Abbé Cochet, he mentions the fact of his finding in the cemetery of Envermen a bucket containing a glass cup, and hence concludes that the problem of the use of the former is solved, and that they are, in fact, drinking cups. With all deference for this opinion, we have arrived at a different conclusion. In the Frank graves at Selzen, glass drinking cups were found, protected in a similar manner, but does it not lead to the inference that the larger vessel was intended to hold *food* and not drink? From the circumstance of their being discovered in the graves of either sex, it seems highly probable that these buckets were used for *spoon-meat*, and are, in fact, porringers."

I must confess that I cannot at all understand the train of reasoning by which Mr. Akerman arrives at these inferences and probabilities, which appear to me to be mere gratuitous assumptions. He seems to argue, moreover, as though the worthy and learned Abbé and I had supposed that these buckets were drinking vessels, which is not the case; but I must say, that until I see better reasons against it than are advanced here, I feel inclined to adhere to the explanation I have suggested, which seems to me a very natural and reasonable one. I agree with the Abbé Cochet that the finding of the drinking glass in the bucket is to some degree a confirmation of my opinion, as it seems to imply a connection between the uses of the two articles. Mr. Akerman should have given us some authority for believing that the Anglo-Saxons did eat *spoon-meat* in the way he seems to suppose, or that any people in Western Europe ever eat out of buckets. I have been reminded that the practice of serving out the ale or other liquor in vessels closely resembling the Anglo-Saxon buckets still prevails in England, with the only difference that these vessels are made of tin, and that, instead of being named buckets or vats, they are simply called cans.

relinquished the island. Coins even of the eastern emperors were brought hither, perhaps by traders, long after the fall of the empire of the west. In one of the graves at Osengell was found a gold coin, in a very perfect condition, as though it had not long left the mint, of the Emperor Justin, who reigned at Constantinople from 518 to 527. We know that the early Anglo-Saxon coins, known as *sceattas*, were copied from the Roman coinage, principally from the coins of the Constantine family, which were so largely circulated in this country. These *sceattas*, which were of silver, have been found in the Kentish graves. In a grave opened by Lord Londesborough's directions, on the Breach down, the remains of what appeared to be a small purse presented themselves, among which were four silver *sceattas*. Coins of the Merovingian dynasty of the Franks are also found, and in the Faussett collection there was one of Clovis. Setting aside all other evidence of the date to which these interments belong, the comparison of these coins is decisive. Having alluded to the presence of coins which must have been brought hither from Constantinople, I must also mention the by no means unusual occurrence of an article which we should certainly not have expected to find there, namely, cowrie shells, which I believe are only found on the shores of the Pacific. Several of these will be observed in the Faussett collection.

You will bear in mind that all I have yet said relates to the contents of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries found in Kent, and I must now recall your attention to the particular construction of the Anglo-Saxon grave. The barrows of other peoples are generally raised above ground, without any, or with very slight excavation, and the interment was usually placed on the surface of the ground. The Anglo-Saxons, on the contrary, dug a rather deep rectangular grave, sometimes small, but often of considerable dimensions; that from which Mr. Faussett procured his largest gold fibula was six feet deep, ten feet long, and eight feet broad, and one, at the opening of which I assisted, in Bourne park, was fourteen feet long, more than four feet deep, and about eight feet broad; the deposit was laid on the floor of the grave, which was then filled up with earth, and a mound raised above it. The pagan Saxon graves were in fact exactly the type of our ordinary churchyard graves, except that the mound was circular and generally larger. The circumstances of the interment are often interesting, though they have been hitherto less noticed than the articles found in the grave. In general,

each grave contains only a single skeleton, but this is not always the case, and in some of the graves at Osengell, in the Isle of Thanet, which I assisted in opening with Mr. Rolfe, a grave contained two, or even three bodies. In the arrangements of such interments I remarked evidences of domestic sentiment of the most refined character. Where two bodies were laid in one grave, they were generally those of a male and female, no doubt of a man and his wife, and they were usually laid side by side, and arm in arm, with their mouths turned towards each other, and close together, as though taking a last embrace. In one grave I found the bodies of a man and his wife, and daughter, a little girl, as appeared by the remains of her personal ornaments. The lady lay in the middle, enfolding in her right arm the left arm of her husband, and holding with her other that of her daughter. We are led almost naturally to ask, what event can thus have swept over the homestead, to have destroyed perhaps whole families together? for from the appearances of the grave, I am satisfied that in each case the whole interment was made at once. Perhaps it was a destructive pestilence; or, when we consider that this cemetery crowned an extensive down which overlooked the sea, it may have been equally ruthless pirates, who, in their sudden descents on the coast, spared neither age nor sex, leaving, on their departure, husbands, and wives, and children, to receive interment together from the hands of those who had escaped the scourge under which they fell.

There is another circumstance which I have remarked not unfrequently in the Kentish cemeteries, where the mound was of any magnitude. When the workmen opened the mound, human bones appeared here and there scattered about in it in a manner which led us at first to suppose that the grave had been opened before, and almost caused us to desist from exploring it further. When, however, we opened the grave itself, we found that the original deposit had not been disturbed, and that the few bones found in the mound must have been deposited there quite independent of it. This has occurred to me so often, that I think it cannot be accidental, and I am inclined to believe that, at all events in certain cases which we have not the means of knowing, it was the practice to kill a slave or a captive, and throw his remains into the mound as a sacrifice to the spirit of the tenant of the tomb below.

The cemeteries in eastern Kent, lying generally upon downs which had

never been cultivated, and where, except at Osengell, the mounds still remained over the graves, are easily discovered, and attracted early attention. But in other parts of the kingdom, where the ground has long been under the process of agriculture, and the mounds thereby entirely cleared away, the existence of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries can only be brought to light by accident. Thus, although single articles which we now know belonged to the period of the Anglo-Saxon pagan interments were met with from time to time, and found their way into museums, as odd things which nobody clearly understood, the existence of the numerous cemeteries which have since been discovered was not even suspected. When, however, the researches of Lord Londesborough called more attention to the subject, closer observation soon led, not only to the knowledge that such cemeteries had been found and destroyed, and slightly or imperfectly recorded, but to the discovery of a number of others which had never been touched. Several had been discovered years ago in Leicestershire, and a few articles found in them were engraved by Nichols. More recently, a very extensive cemetery had been broken into and destroyed at Marston Hill, in Northamptonshire, some of its contents being fortunately preserved; and previous to this, a less extensive one had been broken into at various times at Badby, in the same county. An account of the cemetery found at the former place has since been published in the "Archæologia" by Sir Henry Dryden. An extensive burial site, of a similar character, was explored by Mr. Dennett, on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight.

In the year 1844, a cemetery was discovered at the village of Kingston, near Derby, where, in every case, cremation had preceded interment, and where consequently, all that remained to identify the people to whom these belonged, was the pottery of the sepulchral urns, which was itself of an unusual character. It was supposed generally to be British, but Mr. Roach Smith immediately suspected and afterwards satisfied himself that it was Saxon; yet I believe that for some time Mr. Smith and myself were alone in asserting its Saxon character, and even those whose belief in its British character was shaken, could only be induced to yield so far as to call it "supposed British." Subsequent comparison, however, and especially the discoveries of the Hon. Mr. Neville, have left no doubt whatever of its being purely Anglo-Saxon. This pottery, which will be best understood by the figures, is peculiar in form, and ornamented with circles, stars,



24. Urn, from Kingston, near Derby.



25. Urn, from Little Wilbraham.

lozenges, and other marks, stamped on the surface in regular order, as though with the end of a stick, and it is especially characterised by bulges or protuberances on the sides. It has since been found more or less in most of the cemeteries in East Anglia, and it is a curious circumstance, that in *Beowulf*, which is understood to have been originally an Angle poem, the heroes are represented as burning their dead; so that cremation was probably the practice originally of that Teutonic tribe at least, if not of the others. A cemetery discovered near Newark contained, like that near Derby, nothing but urn-burial, and similar deposits of the Anglo-Saxon period have been found in Warwickshire.

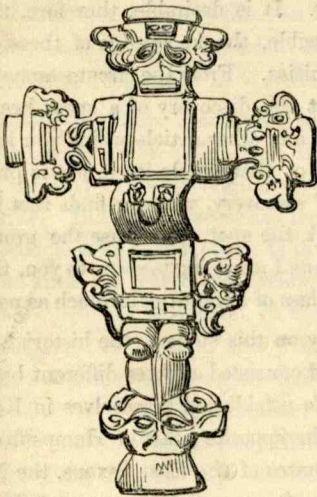
Among the more interesting of recent discoveries I must particularize the small cemetery at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, opened by Mr. Wylie, and the very extensive ones at Great and Little Wilbraham opened by Mr. Neville. But such discoveries have become now so numerous, that it will be sufficient on this occasion to give a bare enumeration of them. We will begin with the extensive cemeteries at Great and Little Wilbraham, in Cambridgeshire; at Linton, in the same county, and at Stowe Heath, near Icklingham, in Suffolk, and others of various extent which have been opened or traced at Staunton, Aldborough, Ixworth and Eye, in the county last mentioned; at Walsingham, and near Swaffham, in Norfolk; and at Sandby and Shefford in Bedfordshire. All these belonged to the kingdom of the East Angles. In the extensive inland district occupied by the Mercians, who were chiefly of the Angle race, cemeteries have been found at Caenby; at Castle Bytham, near Stamford; in the neighbourhood of Newark; and at Searby, near Caistor, in Lincolnshire; near Cottgrave, in

the county of Nottingham; at Kingston, and in parts of the Peak, in Derbyshire; at Ingarsby, Great Wigston, Queenboroughfield, Rothley Temple, and Billesdon, in Leicestershire; near Warwick, at Churchover, and Cestersover, in Warwickshire; at Marston Hill, Badby, Hunsbury Hill, and Barrow Furlong, in Northamptonshire. Others, found near Abington, and at Long Wittenham and Blewbury, in Berkshire; at several places in Hampshire; at Harnham Hill, and near Devizes, in Wilts; and probably those at Fairford, and elsewhere, in Gloucestershire; at Mentmore, and Dinton, in Buckinghamshire; and at Souldern, and Cuddesden, in Oxfordshire; belong to the West Saxons. Of the Northern Angles we know only a very interesting cemetery at Driffild, in Yorkshire, and a few scattered remains which have been dug up from time to time in the north-eastern counties of England, and in the Lowlands of Scotland. A few Anglo-Saxon remains have been found in the neighbourhood of Colchester, and in some other spots in Essex, which we must, of course, ascribe to the East Saxons.

It will be seen at once by this enumeration, comparing it with what has been found and what is daily being found in the county of Kent, that there must be a great number of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries scattered over this island of which we yet know nothing. It is desirable, therefore, that we should spread abroad as much as possible, the knowledge of these, which may only be called *our* national antiquities. From the circumstance I have impressed upon your attention,—that the discovery of a spear head, or a sword, or of the boss of a shield, or of any other article which you know to be Saxon, is not the mere obtaining of that article itself, but is probably the indication of an extensive field of discovery, whoever finds that indication should, if possible, carefully mark the spot, and cause the ground to be trenched. It is desirable, for reasons I am going to show to you, that we should extend our knowledge of this class of antiquities as much as possible.

We learn from our oldest authority on this subject, the historian Bede, that the Teutonic settlers in this island consisted of three different branches or tribes of that race; the Jutes, who established themselves in Kent, in the Isle of Wight, and on a part of the opposite coast of Hampshire; the Saxons, who formed the three small states of the East Saxons, the Middle Saxons, and the South Saxons, and the far more extensive one of the West Saxons; and the Angles, who, as East Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians, occupied a still larger portion of the surface of modern England.

It becomes interesting to us to know if there are peculiarities in the remains found in the Anglo-Saxon graves which correspond with the ethnological division given us by the historian, for it is in this manner that the science of archæology becomes serviceable to ethnology and to history. This question will only be fully ascertained by more extensive researches, and by careful observation; but certain peculiarities have already been remarked which lead us to expect that such researches will be ultimately crowned with important results. I have already stated that the practice of cremation of the dead and urn burial distinguished the Anglian race from the Kentish Jutes, and apparently from the Saxons. This practice seems, among the Angles themselves, to have prevailed in particular districts more than in others, which perhaps indicates smaller divisions of race, a subject into which I will not attempt at present to enter. You will observe in the collection before you, that the fibulæ of the people of Kent were almost all round, the few examples of fibulæ of other forms found in the Kentish graves being evidently importations. Now, when we turn to the collections made from the graves of East Anglia, such as that of Mr. Neville, we find the fibulæ assuming a totally different form, which has been termed cross-



26. Large fibula, from Stow Heath.



27. Large fibula, from Little Wilbraham.

shaped, because the general outline is that of a single or double cross



28. Example of small fibula, from Stow Heath.

There is a marked difference between two varieties of this fibula, the larger ones and the smaller ones; the former are sometimes of extravagant dimensions. I believe examples have been met with, nearly, if not quite, a foot in length. Both are made of bronze or copper, and the large ones at least, have in general been highly gilt. The round fibula is rarely found in an East Anglian grave. As far as observation has yet gone, these cross-shaped fibulæ prevail wherever the Angle race settled. They were used in Mercia certainly; indeed, some of the finest examples of the large cross-shaped fibula have been found in Leicestershire. We are as yet but little acquainted with the Northumbrian graves, but as far as our knowledge goes, these same cross-shaped fibulæ, identical both in make and ornament, are found there also.* Again, when we look to the collections from the graves in the West of England, from Hampshire to Gloucestershire, we find a round fibula prevailing, but differing in character from anything we have seen before. From its form it has been called



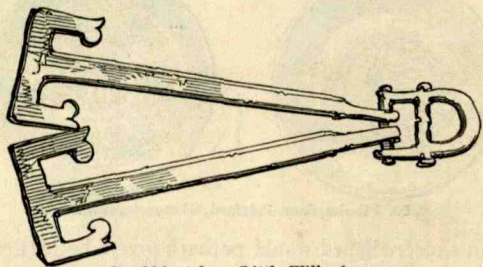
29. Fibulæ, from Fairford, Gloucestershire.

cup-shaped, but saucer-shaped would perhaps give a better description of it. It is usually of copper, gilt, and the field is variously ornamented, not unusually with a rude figure of a human face in the centre.

Thus we observe at the first glance, in one article alone, a very remarkable variation in form, extending exactly over the districts which the early historians give as the limits of the three great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race; the elegantly ornamented round fibula of gold and precious stones of

* Excavations made in the Isle of Wight by Mr. Hillier, since the above was written, show that the Saxon population of that island used a cross-shaped fibula, but it differed from that of East Anglia, a little in the character of its ornament, and entirely in its material, all the examples found by him being of silver, gilt.

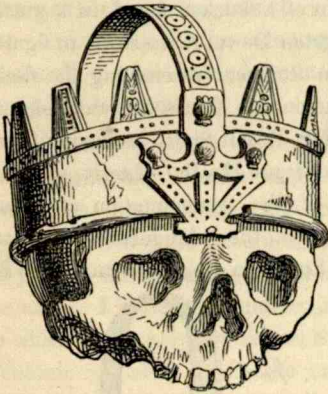
the Jutes of Kent, the cross-shaped fibula of the Angles, and the cup-shaped fibula of the Saxons of the West. I have no doubt that we shall gradually discover differences in other articles equally distinctive; for as yet we have much to learn in this class of antiquities. Several articles have already been found of which the exact purpose is not yet clear, and will only be ascertained by more extensive comparison, and by the results of future excavations. Of these I will only allude to one, which shews us the necessity of caution in guessing at the meaning of things we do not understand. A curious implement had been from time to time found with Anglo-Saxon remains in different parts of Anglia and Mercia. It was conjectured that these articles might be latch keys, and they were commonly set down as such; but there is nothing in their appearance to lead us to any distinct notion of the purpose for which they were intended, and they had been obtained so carelessly that it was not observed that they usually occur in pairs. At length a discovery was made at Searby near Caistor, in Lincolnshire, which at least helped us forward a step in explaining it. Two of these so-called latch keys were found fixed together with a bow of metal. From this moment it became quite evident that they were not keys. Numerous pairs of these articles,



30. Object from Little Wilbraham.

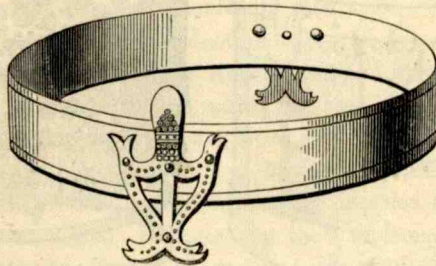
one of which is represented in the annexed figure, have since been found at Little Wilbraham, and may be seen in Mr. Neville's museum, and from the position in which they appear to have lain, and other circumstances connected with them, I believe that Mr. Roach Smith has hit upon the right explanation, namely, that they are the tops or handles to bags or purses, or to *châtelaines*, which were pendent to the girdles of the Anglian and Mercian ladies. Here, then, we have another article of costume peculiar in form to the Angles, and not found in the same form among the Jutes or the Saxons.

It is thus that, in these researches, as new discoveries are made, we arrive step by step at truth. I will mention one other, and a very remarkable instance of the errors which are apt to arise from careless observation, and of the necessity of extensive comparison. On the Continent, as in England, Teutonic graves had from time to time been accidentally opened, and articles taken from them had found their way singly into museums, where they were looked upon as a sort of nondescripts. A Prussian



31. From Xanten, in Prussia.

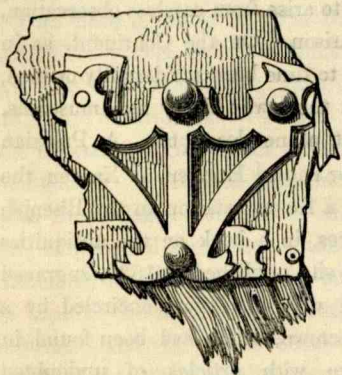
collector named Houben, at Xanten, the site of a Roman station in the Rhenish provinces, in a book on the antiquities of that site published in 1839, engraved a skull with the brow encircled by a bronze crown, which had been found in a grave with articles of undoubted Teutonic character. There was something so romantic in the idea of this grim old king of the Teutons whose love of royalty was so great that he carried his crown with him even into the tomb, that no one dreamt of doubting the truth of Houben's statement. So much indeed were scholars thrown off their guard by it, that one of the most distinguished of the French antiquaries of the present day, the Abbé Cochet, having obtained from a Frankish cemetery



32. From the Valley of the Eaulne, Normandy.

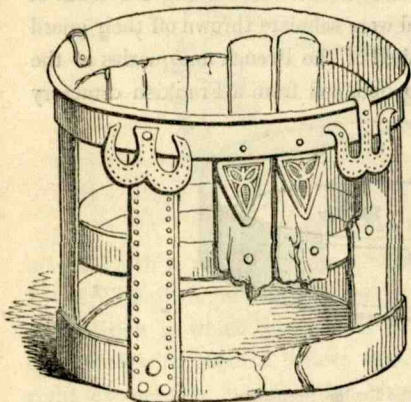
in the valley of the Eaulne a hoop of a not dissimilar character, was inclined to adopt at first the explanation hazarded by the person who took it out of the earth, that it was a "*coiffure ou couronne.*" The correct explanation, however, had already been given by Mr. Roach Smith in his

Collectanea Antiqua. All the different parts of the supposed crown and coiffure had indeed been found in Anglo-Saxon graves in different parts of

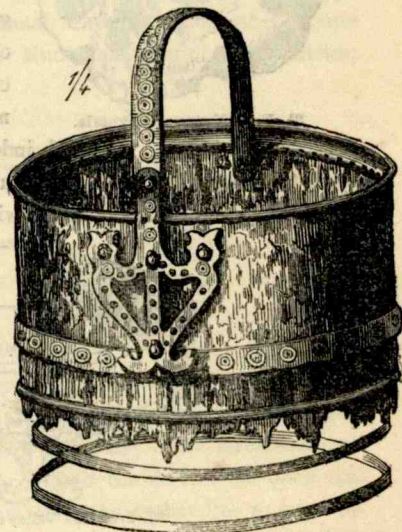


33. From Kingston Down, Kent.

England, and all more or less connected with the remains of buckets. In fact you will recognise the principal ornament of Houben's crown among the fragments in the Faussett collection, in a portion of a bucket found in a grave on Kingston Down, represented in figure 33. An ornament resembling the similar ornament on figure 32, was pointed out by Mr. Roach Smith as having been found on Stowe Heath. Lastly, another portion of the ornamentation of Houben's crown, the triangular ornaments round the rim, were pointed out by Mr. Smith in a bucket found at Wil-



34. Bucket, from Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.



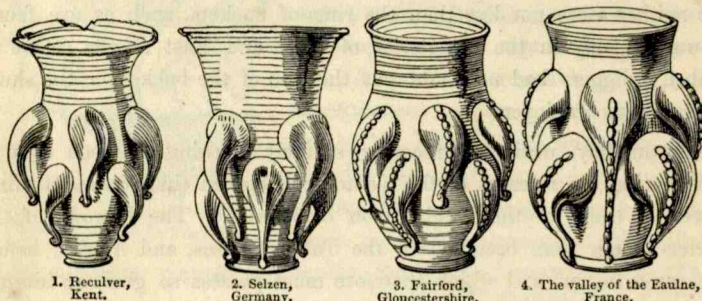
35. Bucket, from Envermeu, Normandy.

braham in Cambridgeshire, which is represented in our cut, fig. 34. More recently, the Abbé Cochet has entirely satisfied himself of the correctness of Mr. Roach Smith's explanation, by the discovery, in a Frankish grave at

Envermeu in Normandy, of a bucket nearly entire, with precisely the same ornament as that of the supposed coiffure found in the valley of the Eaulne. The Abbé has given an engraving of this bucket in the second edition of his most interesting and valuable work, *La Normandie Souterraine*, which by his kind loan I am enabled to reproduce here, (figure 35.) A comparison with the Teutonic remains in our island has thus solved the riddle. This crown of the German king, this *coiffure* of the Frank, were neither more nor less than the rims of buckets, such as are found not uncommonly in the cemeteries of Kent and East Anglia. One of Houben's diggers had no doubt put the rim of the bucket on the skull, to mystify his employer.

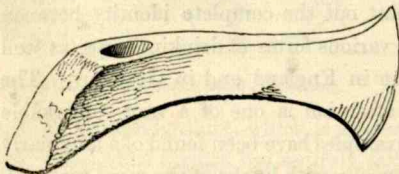
Unfortunately, until very recently, scarcely anything has been done in investigating the remains of the Teutonic tribes on the Continent which answer to those of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The barrows of the districts which were occupied by the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, before they came hither, and which therefore must possess so great an interest for us, are I believe altogether unexplored. For Germany, the only book to which I can point, which is a very valuable one, is the account of the Teutonic cemetery at Selzen on the Rhine, published by the brothers Lindenschmit in 1848. A similar cemetery near Lausanne in Switzerland has been explored by M. Troyon; and we have been made acquainted with the contents of the Frankish cemeteries in France by the labours of M. Baudot, Doctor Rigollot, and especially by the Abbé Cochet in his work, *La Normandie Souterraine*, already mentioned. The discoveries of the brothers Lindenschmit and of the Abbé Cochet are of particular interest to us in regard to our Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, with which the interments at Selzen are as nearly as possible identical. I will merely observe that, if there had remained any doubt as to the pottery found near Derby and in other parts of Mercia and East Anglia being of the Saxon period, it would have been entirely dispelled by a comparison with that found at Selzen; and point out the complete identity between the Saxon and German glass. The various forms of drinking cups, as well as their ornamentation, are the same in England and in Germany. The example to which I will call your attention is one of a very remarkable kind. In several parts of England, examples have been found of a singularly shaped glass vessel, ornamented externally with knobs of the same material. One of these has been found by Mr. Wylie, in Gloucestershire, and is

figured in his book on the Fairford Graves; another has been found in the county of Durham, and Mr. Joseph Clarke has the fragment of a third found in Hampshire. There is a fourth in the Faussett collection; and a fifth, which was found near Reculver, in the museum at Canterbury. One of these same glasses was found in a Teutonic grave at Selzen; and another, engraved by the Abbé Cochet, was met with in the Frankish cemetery in the valley of the Eaulne. The



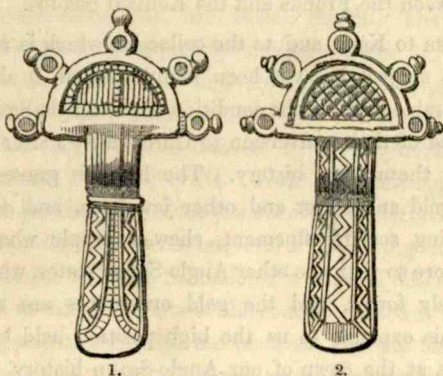
36. Anglo-Saxon, Old German, and Frankish Glasses.

identity of these glasses, as well as of the drinking glasses of the more usual forms, is so complete, that I believe they must have all come from the same manufactories; and I think it probable that the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks at this early period obtained their glass from works at Mayence and along the Rhine. I would further observe that I have seen vessels of glass which were dug up at Mayence and were evidently of very late Roman manufacture, which displayed many of the peculiar characteristics of the glass found in the Teutonic graves. On the other hand, the cemetery at Selzen presents examples of jewellery and goldsmith's work of such a character as would lead us to suppose it was brought from Kent. The Frankish cemeteries are interesting to us because they shew us whence a few articles of rarer occurrence in the Kentish graves were procured, such as the battle axe, or *francisque*, a particular shaped long fibula, and the few examples of burial urns. I give here an example of the form of the first of these articles which seems to have been most common among the Franks—it was found by the Abbé Cochet at Londinières on the river Eaulne. Axes identical in form with this



37. Battle-axe, from Londinières, Normandy.

have been found in Kent, but they are of rare occurrence, and evidently could not in this country be called a national weapon. The fibulæ to which I allude are very peculiar in form, and evidently belong to the Continent, though a small number of examples have been found in England, chiefly in Kent. One of the examples here given (1) is from Osengell in the isle



38. Fibulæ, from Osengell and Selzen.

of Thanet; the other (2) is from Selzen in Germany. Their identity of character strikes us at once; and it is remarkable that this is a prevailing form of fibula in the Frankish graves. I have already alluded to the urns in the Faussett collection; the two examples here given, from among those found by the Abbé Cochet in the cemetery in the valley of the Eaulne,



39. Urns, from the valley of the Eaulne.

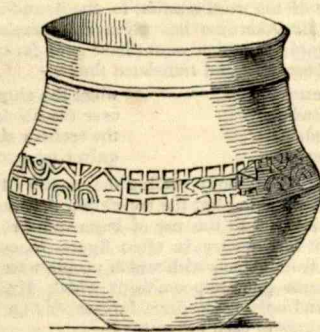
will enable us to satisfy ourselves of their perfect identity with the few Kentish urns, and it is probable indeed that the latter were imported from France. At all events, they differ much from the Anglian urns, of which we have given examples before. In these Frankish urns we can trace an evident, though rude, attempt to imitate the ornamentation of Roman

pottery, and in some instances we have even a copy, more or less perfect, of the well-known egg-and-tongue pattern. The latter is sometimes intermixed with other forms in a very incongruous manner, as will be seen in an example which I give (fig. 40) from Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*. All these circumstances can leave no doubt in our minds of the intimate intercourse between the Franks and the Kentish Saxons.

To return then to Kent, and to the collection which is now before us,—as little as the subject has yet been really studied, it already begins to throw a considerable light on the condition of the Anglo-Saxons in England before the period of their conversion to Christianity; after which, only, we begin to know them from history. The Kentish graves, abounding in ornaments of gold and silver and other jewellery, and containing many articles indicating social refinement, shew a people who were rich and powerful, far more so than the other Anglo-Saxon states, where the precious metals are rarely found, and the gold ornaments are replaced by gilt bronze; and this explains to us the high position held by Kent towards the other states at the dawn of our Anglo-Saxon history. Cowrie shells, brought from the Indian ocean, money from Constantinople and from France, glass from the interior of Germany, all these prove an extensive commerce, the origin and accompaniment of national prosperity.

I need not say, after these considerations, that the study of the interesting objects now exhibited to you is one of national importance, and that the collection made by Bryan Faussett ought to be considered as, in the highest sense of the term, a national monument. I cannot therefore help sharing largely in the regret, felt by I believe every Englishman who has reflected on the subject, at the manner in which this collection has been rejected by the trustees of our great national museum, and for the sort of an excuse which was made for that rejection, when its propriety was questioned in the House of Commons. It was not only from being transferred to the Continent, or from passing into the hands of some other collector, that this collection was saved by the intelligent zeal of Mr. Mayer; for I have reasons to believe that Mr. Mayer actually stepped in between the British Museum and a public auction room, and that if he had not purchased them, the whole collection might now have been scattered in small lots, all over the world. I must add that we are about to receive from that gentleman a benefit for which we might probably have looked in

vain but for the chance which threw the collection into his hands. Mr. Mayer is already proceeding with the publication of the whole of the Faussett manuscripts, to be illustrated with engravings of the articles forming this collection, and he has wisely placed it under the editorial care of an antiquary whom I consider as the most capable of all our scholars to perform such a task effectually, Mr. Roach Smith. The study of Anglo-Saxon antiquities, and consequently the knowledge of the subject, are evidently extending themselves, and several works of great interest on particular cemeteries have been published by the zeal of individuals. I need only mention the "Fairford Graves," by Mr. Wylie, and the cemetery of Great Wilbraham, by Mr. Neville. I will take this opportunity, too, of calling attention particularly to the praiseworthy undertaking of one of our well-known antiquaries, Mr. Akerman, who is publishing in numbers, under the title of "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," a series of miscellaneous articles from cemeteries in different parts of the country, which is highly deserving of the encouragement I trust it has received, and will form a very useful collection of examples. But all these works sink in importance before Bryan Faussett's Journal of his Excavations. Whatever his antiquarian knowledge may have been, Faussett was a most careful observer and most faithful recorder of what he observed; and I can venture to announce that everybody who understands the subject will be astonished at the quantity of valuable facts which will be placed before the world by the publication of these manuscripts.



40. A Frankish Urn.

NOTE (to p. 9) ON THE USE OF BOWS AND ARROWS AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

In a paper in the 34th volume of the *Archæologia*, Mr. Akerman has stated the opinion that the bow was a despised implement among the Anglo-Saxons, and that they did not use it as a weapon of war; and as on other occasions he has since repeated this, as though it were an acknowledged fact, and the statement appears to a certain degree under the authority of the Society of Antiquaries, perhaps I may be permitted to offer a remark or two on the subject. In the first place I would observe, that I cannot understand any people despising or neglecting so formidable a weapon as the bow if they were acquainted with the use of it, and that it was well known to the Anglo-Saxons we can have no doubt, since our English names, *bow* and *arrow*, are words belonging to the Anglo-Saxon language; and the fact of these words having been preserved in the language shews that the use of the things they designate was derived from the Saxons and not from the Normans, otherwise we should doubtless have called them *arks* and *fletches*.

Mr. Akerman quotes the following lines from the celebrated Exeter Book, (p. 341, Thorpe's edit.) where they form part of a collection of gnomic verses—

scyld sceal cempan,	a shield for the soldier,
sceaf reafere,	a shaft for the robber,
sceal byrde beag.	a ring for the bride.

And he seems to imagine that this proves that the Saxons held the arrow in contempt, as a weapon only to be used by robbers. Mr. Akerman also gives from the same book several passages, illustrating as he supposes, the use of the Saxon *gar* as a javelin thrown by the hand. One of these, taken from a religious poem, (p. 42), runs as follows—

þon gar-getrum	when the gar shower
ofer scild-breadan	over the shield's defence
sceotend sendað.	warriors send.

I will only remark on the first of these passages, that, although no doubt the bow was the best weapon for a robber, who naturally wished to kill his victim at a distance, yet it does not at all follow as an inference that it must be despised by other people. If we alter the words to make the sentiment applicable to modern times, and say, "a pistol for the highwayman," which would be equally true, should we be justified in inferring from this that the pistol is a weapon that Englishmen hold in contempt?

In the second of these extracts, Mr. Akerman has been led into an error by Mr. Thorpe's English translation. It is true enough that the Anglo-Saxon *sceotend* may be translated in general language a *warrior*, but it signified a warrior of a particular class; in fact it is the substantive of the word *sceotan*, to shoot, and is the Anglo-Saxon word for an *archer*. Moreover, Mr. Akerman has given us, somehow or other, a mutilated sentence, the remaining words of which would have gone far towards setting him right. The passage should have been read and translated thus:—

þonne gar-getrum	when the shower of shafts
ofer scild-breadan	over the shield's defence
sceotend sendað	the archers send,
flicor flan-geweorc.	quivering arrow-work.

Indeed, I can hardly imagine anybody reading the poetry of the Exeter Book, even slightly, and leaving it with anything but the conviction that the people for whom it was composed were well acquainted with the use of bows and arrows. It must be remembered that the language of this poetry is often figurative, and in such language the images are naturally taken from objects with which people were most familiar. It is singular enough, that in the same gnomic poem from which Mr. Akerman takes the first of the foregoing extracts, and only a few lines further on, (p. 343), the poet, speaking of the natural fitness of things to each other, says—

boga sceal stræle,	a bow shall have an arrow.
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Again, in a poem on the endowments of men, (p. 296), we are told that

sum bið rynnig,	one is a runner;
sum ryht scytte.	another a sure archer.

And a little further on we are informed that another

.... scyldes rond
fæste gefegan,
wið flyge gares.

.... the disc of a shield
makes firmly,
against the arrow's flight.

I think there can be little doubt that these terms *quivering* or *sticker*, and *flying*, have reference to the feathers on the arrow. The idea found in other passages, of the arrows coming in *showers*, will be well understood as applied to a discharge of archery in a battle. The epithets in the following passage (from Exeter Book, p. 326) are expressive and peculiarly characteristic of an arrow's flight—

Ful oft of þam heape
hwinende fleag
giellende gar
on grome þeode.

full oft from that troop
whining flew
the yelling arrow
on the fierce nation.

Again, in the same religious poem from which Mr. Akerman gives the second illustration I have quoted from him, and only a little further on, (p. 47), we meet with the following passage:—

He his áras þonan
halig of heahðum
hider onsendeð,
þa ús geschildaþ
wið sceppendra
englum earhfarum;
þi læs unholdan
wunde gewyreen,
þonne wroht-bora
in fole Godes
forð onsendeð,
of his brægd-bogan
biterne stræl;
forþon we fæste sculon
wið þam fær-scyte, &c.

He his angels thence
holy from above
will send hither,
who shall shield us
against the enemies'
noxious quivers;
lest the fiends
inflict a wound,
when the accuser
among God's people
sendeth forth
from his bended bow
the bitter arrow;
therefore we should firmly
against that sudden shot, &c.

Here we have a distinct image of hostilities in which one party drawing their arrows (*gares*) from their quivers, (literally, arrow-cases) shoot them from bended bows into the midst of the other party—which in fact is exactly analogous to the passage immediately preceding, taken from a poem describing historical events (the song of the scop or minstrel). I will only give one other example—it is taken from the Legend of St. Guthlac, (p. 170), and is part of the description of the progress of a mortal disease—

com se seofeða dæg
ældum andweard
þæs þe him ingesono
hat heortan neah
hilde scurum

The seventh day came
present to mortals
since that into him penetrated
hot near the heart
in battle showers, (*i.e.* showers of
arrows such as occur in a battle,)
the quivering arrow's force.

flacor flan-þracu

Surely, with these extracts taken only out of one volume, nobody will tell us again that the Anglo-Saxons were not well acquainted with the use of bows and arrows in war. I have no doubt whatever that some of the smaller iron blades we find in Saxon graves are the heads of arrows—they are too small for javelins; but all doubt is quite set at rest by the recent researches of Mr. Hillier in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the Isle of Wight, where he has found not only unmistakable arrow heads, but the remains of the bows. A bundle of arrow-heads, I believe about a dozen, was found in one grave opened by Faussett.

NOTE (to p. 25) ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The Anglo-Saxon historians have left us a very straight-forward account of the great ethnological divisions of their race, and as far as we have yet gone in this line of research the difference in the articles found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, in different parts of the island, correspond with it; but the exact geographical limits are not so easily fixed, and in fact, they no doubt varied at different periods. The limits of the Kentish Jutes are clearly defined, and the same may be said of the South Saxons, the Middle Saxons, and the East Saxons; and to some degree of the Northumbrian Angles. It would not, however, be so easy to fix the exact boundary line inland of the East Angles or of the Middle Angles of Lincolnshire; and the boundary of the Mercians was continually varying. It must be understood that I am speaking of the Mercians of the age previous to their conversion, of the history of which we are really ignorant. We learn from the Saxon Chronicle, that in the year 571, the west Saxons under Cuthwulf took from the Britons the towns of Bedcan-ford (Bedforda), Lygean-byrg (Lenbury), Ægeles-byrg (Aylesbury), Bænesing-tun (Benson), and Egonesham (Eynesham); that in 577, under Cuthwine and Ceawlin, they defeated the Britons at Deorham, and obtained possession of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester; that in 584 they defeated the Britons at Fethan-lea (Frethorne, on the Severn), and took "many towns;" and we know that they subsequently extended their conquests to the Wye. It is not till 628 that we find the Mercians invading the frontiers of the West Saxons, and fighting a battle with them at Cirencester. I think, therefore, that in treating of the pagan period we may consider the kingdom of Wessex as including the modern counties of Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, and Gloucester, and perhaps also part of Worcestershire and Herefordshire, and that the population of those districts are really Saxon and not Angle. This is a consideration which must not be lost sight of in our classification of the early Anglo-Saxon remains; and it is upon it that I have given the limit between the west Saxons and the Mercians in a map of Saxon-England during the pagan period. The Mercians appear to have pushed forth from Lincolnshire in a western and south-western direction, and so to have reached the borders of Wales at a very early period, after which they began to extend their conquests towards the south.

The distribution of the cemeteries, as marked by the small crosses in this map, is far from uninteresting; but the discoveries hitherto made have been in most cases so accidental, that it would be premature to draw any inferences from it. However, as I suspect the presence of these cemeteries marks generally the seat of what we might, perhaps, call the more aristocratic part of the race, that is, of those who were buried together with the greatest ceremony, their position has, to a certain degree, an historical importance. As far as we yet know, the mass of the great cemeteries of the Jutish race lay in east Kent, on the sea-coast from Hythe to Ramsgate, along the banks of the Thames; the cemeteries of the east Angles lay in and on the borders of Cambridgeshire; those of the Mercians especially in Leicestershire. It is rather a peculiarity of the Peak of Derbyshire that the Saxon barrows there are not found in cemeteries, but in single scattered tumuli, and that district may have been occupied by a peculiar tribe, or by a mining people, who, though not Saxons, adopted Saxon manners. They have been found rather in a similar way scattered over the Downs of Sussex. The discoveries in other parts of the country are as yet too few to allow us to form any judgment of the peculiarities in their position. The following is, as nearly as I have been able to make it, a complete list of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the pagan period which have hitherto been discovered. The numbers refer to the map.

KENT.

1. Chartham Down.
2. Kingston Down.
3. Gilton, in the parish of Ash.
4. Coombe, in the parish of Wednesborough.
5. Sibertswold.
6. Barfreston Down.
7. Wingham.

KENT, *continued.*

8. Minster, in Thanet.
9. Osengell, in Thanet.
10. St. Margaret's, near Dover.
11. Between Folkestone and Dover.
12. Folkestone.
13. Barham.
14. Bourne Park.
15. Sitingbourne.

MAP OF
SAXON ENGLAND
 previous to A.D. 600.

*Showing the towns which are known to
 have existed then as Anglo-Saxon towns,
 and the Anglo-Saxon *Conceteris*.*



KENT, *continued.*

16. Chatham Lines.
17. Rochester.
18. Strood.
19. Northfleet.
20. Greenwich.
21. Reculver.

EAST SAXONS.

22. Colchester.

EAST ANGLES.

23. Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire.
24. Great Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.
25. Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.
26. Stowe Heath, Suffolk.
27. Staunton, Suffolk.
28. Aldborough, Suffolk.
29. Tostock, near Ixworth, Suffolk.
30. Eye, Suffolk.
31. Near Bungay, Suffolk.
32. Near Swaffham, Norfolk.
33. Walsingham, Norfolk.
34. Markeshall, near Norwich.

WEST SAXONS.

35. Harnam, near Salisbury.
36. Roundway Down, near Devizes, Wilts.
37. Fairford, Gloucestershire.
38. ———, Gloucestershire.
39. Near Abingdon, Berkshire.
40. Long Wittenham, Berkshire.
41. Blewbury, Berkshire.
42. Cuddesden, Oxfordshire.
43. Souldern, Oxfordshire.
44. Mentmore, Buckinghamshire.
45. Dinton, Buckinghamshire.
46. Sandby, Bedfordshire.
47. Shefford, Bedfordshire.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

48. Chessell Down.
49. ———

MERCIA AND THE MIDDLE ANGLES.

50. Caenby, Lincolnshire.
51. Castle Bytham, Lincolnshire.
52. Near Newark, Lincolnshire.
53. Searby, near Caistor, Lincolnshire.
54. Syston Park, Lincolnshire.
55. Near Cottgrave, Nottinghamshire.
56. Kingston, near Derby.
57. Winster, in the Peak.
58. Middleton Moor, Peak.
59. Haddon field.
60. Brassington, Peak.
61. Standlow, near Dovedale.
62. Cowlow, near Buxton.
63. Ingarsby, Leicestershire.
64. Great Wigston, Leicestershire.
65. Queenborough field, Leicestershire.
66. Rothley Temple, Leicestershire.
67. Billesdon Coplow, Leicestershire.
68. Husband's Bosworth, Leicestershire.
69. Parish of St. Nicholas, Warwick.
70. Near Warwick.
71. Cestersover, near Rugby, Warwickshire.
72. Churchover, Warwickshire.
73. Marston Hill, Northamptonshire.
74. Badby, Northamptonshire.
75. Hunsbury Hill, Northamptonshire.
76. Barrow Furlong, Northamptonshire.
77. Welford, Northamptonshire.

THE ANGLES NORTH OF THE HUMBER.

78. South Cave, Yorkshire.
79. Great Driffield, Yorkshire.
80. Near Rudstone, Yorkshire.
81. Castle Eden, Durham.