

XX.—*An Account of Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A. *Secretary.*

Read Nov. 17, 1853.

IN the summer of the present year, a paragraph appeared in the newspapers stating that some ancient weapons had been discovered at Harnham Hill, in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, in a field in the occupation of William Fawcett, Esq. one of the borough magistrates. The description of these relics was sufficiently accurate to assure me that they were of the Anglo-Saxon period. I immediately wrote to Mr. Fawcett, who most promptly and kindly replied to my inquiries, and promised me the requisite facilities for a proper exploration of the site as soon as the crop which the field then bore should be carried. He further stated, that about eight years ago a carpenter, in digging a hole to receive a gate-post on the south side of the field, had turned up a spear-head and part of a human skull. This circumstance attracted no attention at the time, but in June last a further discovery was made by Robert Wallan, "the drowner," or person in charge of the water meadows in the occupation of Mr. Fawcett, who, when employed in the field, perceived, about two yards from the gate-post, a spear-head protruding from the ground. This induced him to make further search, and in a short time he discovered the iron umbo of a shield and portions of a skeleton. Subsequently, an iron knife and a buckle were turned up with the remaining portions of the skeleton.

The fact of the field in question bearing the designation of the Low-field, afforded good grounds for the supposition that the locality was the site of a pagan cemetery, the hláwes or tumuli which once covered the ground having long beyond the memory of man been removed by the operations of agriculture. Many Anglo-Saxon charters make mention of groups of tumuli, as landmarks, in various parts of England which the antiquary will now look for in vain.^a

The spot in question appears to have been included in a large grant of land given by Cenwealh, the second Christian king of the West-Saxons, to the church of Winchester; and it is possible that some of the landmarks mentioned in the

^a Cf. Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, passim.

charter may at this time be recognised and identified. It is situated at the foot of Harnham Hill, nearly opposite the south transept of the cathedral, looking over the valley of the Avon, in the direction of Old Sarum. Above it runs the bridle-way which leads over the downs to Shaftesbury; and at the bottom of the field is the turnpike road leading from East Harnham to West Harnham. There is not perhaps a view in all England on which the eye of the antiquary may rest with deeper interest than that obtained from the site of this early burial place.

Permission to excavate having been kindly afforded by the Viscount Folkestone, Mr. Fawcett accompanied me to the spot on the afternoon of the 21st of September. Wallan attended, as our chief excavator, and, as the surface of the field afforded no external indications, I directed him to open the ground at a venture, a little west of the gate-post. The result was the discovery of a skeleton with the iron umbo of a shield, resting on the left shoulder, and with a knife on the right side. The femur of this skeleton measured $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was with one exception much longer than any subsequently discovered. Encouraged by our success, I directed the surface ground to be removed for several yards in a westerly direction under the hedge, and this occupied the workmen until the close of the day. The following is a diary of succeeding excavations:—

Thursday, 22 September.

Grave No. 2. Skeleton in good preservation, the femur measuring 19 inches. A knife on the right side, and a flat bone bead near the left wrist.

No. 3. Skeleton, femur $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The head on one side to the right, a knife near the left arm.

No. 4. Skeleton, apparently of a woman, a comb on the right side of the head.

No. 5. Skeleton, the legs crossed, head lying on the right side.

No. 6. The skeleton of a child apparently about 14 years of age, with the skeleton of an infant. Minute search was made for relics, but none were discovered.

No. 7. Skeleton, with a knife under the left arm.

Friday, 23 September.

No. 8. Skeleton, femur 17 inches. Iron buckle in lap.

No. 9. Skeleton of a male child, apparently about 15 years of age. A knife on the right side, and a small spear on the right of the head.

No. 10. Skeleton, lying near the surface, and partly destroyed by the plough-

share, which had passed over it. A plain metal ring on the finger of the left hand.

No. 11. Skeleton of a young person, with a bronze circular fibula on each shoulder, and a knife by the side.

No. 12. Skeleton, apparently of an aged woman, the femur measuring $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the wrist of the left arm, which lay in the lap, were eight blue glass beads. The right arm was extended by the side, and on the wrist were eleven similar beads. An iron buckle and bronze tweezers at the waist. A cup-shaped bronze fibula was found on each shoulder, and had imparted a beautiful blue tinge to the clavicles.

Saturday, 24 September.

To day only three skeletons were exhumed, the men being chiefly engaged in opening surface ground.

No. 13. Skeleton, apparently of a woman, the head inclined to the left. A knife under the left armpit. Between the knees, which were slightly bent, and widely extended, lay the skeleton of a very small child, on the shoulders of which were a pair of small fibulæ of bronze gilt.

No. 14. Skeleton, apparently of a young person, the head inclined to the left. A spear on the right side of the head.

No. 15. Skeleton, apparently of a young woman, the pelvis 14 inches wide.

Monday, 26 September.

No. 16. Skeleton of a very young person, much decomposed, the head alone being nearly perfect. No relic.

No. 17. Skeleton,^a with a small knife under the left armpit.

No. 18. Skeleton, femur 17 inches long. No relic.

Tuesday, 27 September.

No. 19. Skeleton of an infant, with a slight quoit-shaped fibula.

No. 20. Skeleton of an infant, without any relic.

No. 21. Skeleton of an infant, with fragment of a fibula of the later Roman type.

No. 22. Skeleton of an adult, with the right hand on the lap. No relic.

No. 23. Skeleton, lying on the right side with the knees doubled, and the hands near the face. On one of the wrists a bronze armlet.

No. 24. Skeleton, about 5 feet long, the legs crossed at the ankles. On the right shoulder a diamond-shaped plate of bronze, which had apparently been fastened by nails to the staff of the spear, the iron of which was found on the right of the head of the skeleton.

^a Of a young person not exceeding twenty-eight years of age, according to Professor Owen.

Wednesday, 28 September.

No. 25. Skeleton of an infant. Near the left arm two beads, one of red paste, the other of blue glass and double.

No. 26. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

No. 27. Skeleton of, as appeared by the teeth, an aged person. No relic.

No. 28. Female skeleton, about 5 feet long. The teeth very perfect, and the skull unusually thick. The body lying on the back, and the head inclined to the left. On one of the fingers of the right hand a spiral ring. At the waist a belt ornament of bronze gilt. Near the left arm, blue glass beads, a large amber bead, and two smaller ones. Near the left hand, the knuckle-bone of a sheep, a small brass Roman coin, a small flat square of bone or ivory with marks like those on dice. On the left breast a small bronze ring, on which are strung two toothpicks and an ear-scoop.^a

No. 29. An adult skeleton; some fastenings of bronze near the left side of the head.

No. 30. Skeletons of a woman and an infant; the latter near the right arm of the former.

Thursday, 29 September.

No. 31. Skeleton of an adult, much decomposed, but the teeth perfect. Head on one side to the right. No relic.

No. 32. Skeleton of an adult, between those of two children. On the wrist of the small skeleton on the left, a bronze armilla, and at the head, some small beads.

No. 33. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

No. 34. Skeleton of an adult, the wisdom teeth undeveloped. No relic.

Friday, 30 September.

The men were all this day engaged in removing the surface earth eastward of the gate.

Saturday, 1 October.

Our researches were renewed this day, when seven skeletons were exhumed.

No. 35. Skeleton of a young person, 5 feet long. No relic.

^a These are very like the same description of toilet implements discovered by Mr. Wylie at Fairford. Fairford Graves, Pl. ix. fig. 10.

No. 36. Skeleton of an adult,^a much decomposed, the teeth showing it to be that of an old person. The grave 4 feet deep from the surface of the ground. A silver spiral ring on the middle finger of the right hand. A long strip of bronze near the right hip. On the shoulders two fibulæ of bronze, beads of various colours, and of amber, in the lap. A single amber bead at the neck.

No. 37. Skeleton of a young person; near the side, a small bronze ear-scoop.

No. 38. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

No. 39. Skeleton of an adult, the femur measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

No. 40. An adult skeleton, the bones, even to the skull, nearly decomposed. At the feet a bone spindle socket, which has evidently been turned in a lathe. On the breast, two small cup-shaped bronze fibulæ.^b Among the bones of the fingers of the left hand a silver ring of solid form, another of spiral form, and a plain gold ring. In the lap a fibula of bronze resembling those of the later Roman period; also beads of amber and paste, fragments of a comb, and an object in bronze like a small spatula. Under the left armpit an iron knife, the point upwards.

No. 41. Skeleton of a young person, about four feet long. The teeth very perfect. The left hand in the lap, and near it a large amber bead.

Monday, 3 October.

No. 42. Skeleton of an adult; femur 18 inches long. A bronze gilt fibula, with a blue bead of glass in the centre, on each breast; a bronze pin on the right side.

No. 43. Skeleton of an adult, the head to the left. Femur $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Teeth very perfect. No relic.

No. 44. Skeleton of an adult, the head dislocated, and lying on the breast, apparently owing to the pressure of the superincumbent earth. In the lap, some minute blue glass beads. On the left side, the remains of an infant skeleton.

No. 45. Skeleton of a young person, 3 feet 6 inches long. Some small glass beads near the left wrist.

Tuesday, 4 October.

No. 46. Skeleton of an adult, superficially buried. Knife, and small bronze buckle. The rain here interrupted our proceedings, which were resumed on the following day.

Wednesday, 5 October.

No. 47. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

^a Not above fifty-five years of age, according to Professor Owen.

^b These resemble very closely the fibulæ found in a tumulus on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight. See the Winchester Book of the B. A. Association, pl 3, fig. 2. But the workmanship is superior.

No. 48. Skeleton of a young person,^a 5 feet 7 inches long. Under the right armpit, a knife of the usual form, a fork, with a handle of deer's horn, a pin, formed of deer's horn, a pair of bronze tweezers, and a steel for striking a light.

No. 49. Skeleton of an adult, the head slightly inclined to the right. No relic.

No. 50. Youthful skeleton, with the knees doubled, lying on the right side. Near the ribs, a small knife.

No. 51. Skeleton of an adult, the arms lying close by the side, the head to the left. No relic.

No. 52. Skeleton with the legs crossed at the ankles; length 4 feet 9 inches. At the neck, two beads of amber and one of paste. Two bronze fibulæ on the shoulders, and a latten clasp at the waist.

Thursday, 6 October.

No. 53. Skeleton of an old person, lying on the right side, with the knees doubled. A knife under the right fore-arm. A penannular fibula on the first rib. Bronze buckle at waist; bronze ring on the left hand, which lay in the lap. Amber beads on the breast. Fibula of a different form on the left shoulder.

No. 54. Skeleton of an adult, about 5 feet 7 inches long. The skull of very peculiar form. Fragments of bronze on the left of the pelvis, and on the right, a glass bead. Beads of glass, and a bronze ring at the waist. A very broad iron buckle at the waist. A bronze flat circular fibula on each collar-bone.

Friday, 7 October.

No. 55. A youthful skeleton, lying doubled up, the head to the south, the feet to the north. Near the lumbar vertebræ a knife, and near the knees the handle, which crosses the umbo of a shield, but no umbo was found.

No. 56. Skeleton of an infant. No relic.

No. 57. Skeleton of small stature, apparently of a woman, the teeth much worn. No relic.

No. 58. Skeleton of an adult of small stature. On either side, the skeleton of a child. No relic.

Saturday, 8 October.

No. 59. Adult male skeleton, head to the right, left hand in lap, right hand extended by the side. Teeth very perfect. No relic.

No. 60. Adult skeleton, the hands crossed on the lap. No relic.

^a Between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty-five, according to Professor Owen.

Two things appear to me to be peculiar to the interments at Harnham Hill ; first, the very obvious regularity and order in which the bodies had been laid in their last resting places. With few exceptions, and some of these appeared to be accidental, the skeletons lay due east and west (the heads to the west). One body, as already noticed, was found doubled up, and deposited north and south ; but this may have been owing to some unintentional dislocation after burial, since only a knife, and the flat iron bar which crosses the inside of the umbo of the shields of this period, were found with it. Secondly, it seems to have been the practice of these people to excavate the alluvial soil down to the chalk bed on which the body was then laid. This mode differs from that which is common in the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent and Sussex, where a cist is formed in the chalk below the base of the tumulus.

No trace of a coffin was discovered. The greater part of the bodies were protected by large flint stones, placed so as to form a coffin-like cist, and among the earth in more immediate contact with the remains, were found fragments of pottery of an earlier age. Some of these were clearly of Roman or of Romano-British fabric. The appearance of such fragments has already been noticed by antiquaries, and their occurrence has been referred to a practice glanced at by our great poet :—

————— Her death was doubtful ;
 And, but that great command o'ersways the order,
 She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd
 Till the last trump. For charitable prayers,
 Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.

HAMLET, act v. scene 1.

I was, for a long time, unwilling to assent to such a conclusion, but I am compelled to confess that the constant finding of these shards, so near the bodies exhumed at Harnham, leaves me no alternative. I have collected a number of these fragments, and it will be perceived that they uniformly bear marks of abrasion, some appearing as if water-worn, and all plainly indicating that they had been mere fragments, long before they were used in the manner here described.

I have given, as far as is practicable, a minute account of the exact position of each skeleton. I may here mention that in many it appeared that one office had been neglected by those who had consigned them to the earth, namely, the closing of the jaws, which were often found widely distended, in a manner that can scarcely be attributed, in every instance, to dislocation caused by the subsidence of the superincumbent earth. In some, however, the jaws were found perfectly closed.

It will be observed that several of the skeletons were unaccompanied by the knife, that very characteristic deposit, and in fact by any relic whatever. Of this I can offer no explanation. If it may be supposed that interments in this cemetery continued down to a period subsequent to the conversion of the West-Saxons, we shall yet require proof that pagan funeral ceremonies were so soon extinguished by the new faith. On the other hand, while the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical canons simply denounce the violation of sepulchres,^a the secular laws of the Franks, and other people of Germanic origin, prove beyond doubt that the despoiling the corpse of its accompanying implements or ornaments was a crime not unknown among a people of cognate race and habits.^b

It is somewhat remarkable that not a single example of a sword was discovered during the whole of these excavations; nor, except beads, was any specimen of glass, or fragment of glass, observed.

Among the more remarkable objects thus brought to light is a gold ring, exactly resembling our modern wedding-ring, found among the finger bones of the left hand of the skeleton No. 40. Of this ring I may observe, that it was discovered in a manner that affords no room for any doubt of its being coeval with the interment. It is, I believe, an unique example of a ring of this description found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The fork placed with the knife under the arm of the skeleton No. 48, appears to have been an implement of daily use. It affords us something like evidence, if evidence were required, that the knives found in these graves are not to be regarded as weapons. The antiquary well knows that our ancestors conveyed their food to their mouths on the points of their knives: that the fork, however, was known to the Anglo-Saxons was already proved by the example found with coins of Ceolnoth, Berhtulf, Egbert, Ethelwulf, and Athelstan, ranging from the year 796 to 890, at Sevington, in the county of Wilts.^c The latter specimen is of silver, two pronged, and differs altogether from the example now exhibited to the Society, which is plainly the companion implement of the knife found with it.

^a Lib. Penit. Theodori Arch. Cant. xxii. § 14; et Excerpt. Egberti Eborac. Archiep. ex Can. Toletan.

^b "Si quis corpus hominis mortui, antequam in terram mittatur, per furtum expoliaverit, iud den, qui faciunt solidi LXII. s. culpabilis iudicetur." *Legis Salicæ*, tit. lvii. cap. 1.—"Si quis hominem mortuum effoderit, et expoliaverit, sol. cc. culp. jud." Ibid. tit. lxxx. epil. c. vi.; Cf. *Legis Ripuariorum*, tit. liv. c. 1, et tit. lxxxv. c. 1, 2; *Legis Alamannorum*, tit. l. c. 1, 2, 3, 4; *Legis Baiuvariorum*, tit. xviii. c. 1; *Legis Wisigothorum*, lib. xi tit. ii. c. 1.

^c Archæologia, vol. XXVII. p. 301. Mr. Edward Hawkins, who communicated this account, cites another example of a fork engraved by C. M. Grivaud, in his "Antiquités Gauloises et Romaines recueillies dans le Jardins du Palais du Senat." Paris, 1807.

The fork was not unknown to the Romans, as may be seen by the specimen engraved by Caylus, and stated by him to have been found in the Appian Way.^a This, however, may have been used, like that of a later age, found at Sevington, for sacred purposes; but no doubt can be entertained of the use to which that discovered at Harnham was appropriated.

The spears are of various forms; three of them found with the skeletons of boys (Nos. 9, 14, 24) are very characteristic of a people with whom “wæpned and wyfman” expressed male and female.^b

The girdle ornament found with the skeleton No. 28 is a novelty in these interments. The pattern, which would proclaim its origin, wherever it had been found, seems stamped from a die, and is the same on both sides. When first brought to light, the gilding was as bright as when it came from the hands of the workman.

The two small dish-shaped fibulæ, found with the same skeleton, are remarkable for their minuteness. They are not pairs, but the lines on the one of ruder fabric appear to indicate a degeneracy of art, with which the antiquary, but especially the numismatist, is not unfamiliar.

The object in bronze, discovered with the same body, appears to be the tag or finish of a belt, the fastening of which would seem to have been similar to that recently adopted by our French neighbours for the fastenings of parasols and umbrellas.

The iron instrument found in juxta-position with the knife and fork, and the bronze tweezers, is similar to that found by Wallan. It appears to be a briquet, or steel implement for striking a light. Mr. Charles Roach Smith has recently engraved in his “*Collectanea Antiqua*,”^c a similar one found at Ozengal, near Sandwich, and supposes it to have formed part of the clasp of a purse. The metal of which it is composed seems, however, to negative such an explanation. Had it been designed for such a purpose, it would, in my opinion, have been formed of bronze.

^a Recueil d'Antiquités, tome iii. p. 312, pl. lxxxiv.

^b So the Anglo-Saxon Gospels: “Fram fruman gesceafte, God hig geworhte wæpned and wyfman.” S. Mark, x. 6 — The German jurists still divide families into male and female by the titles of *schwertmagen*, sword-members, and *spill* or *spindel-magen*, spindle-members. The spears in these graves are as significant as the spindle-bead at the feet of the skeleton No. 40. Thus Alfred the Great, in his will, says: “Mín yldra fæder hæfde gecweden his land on Ʒa sperehealfe, næs on Ʒa spinl healfe;” i. e. my grandfather hath given his land to *the spear side*, and not to *the spindle side*. In the preceding sentence he speaks of Ʒa wæpned healfe. Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxonici, vol. i. p. 116.—Among the Ripuarian Franks, the choice of the spindle, or the sword, decided the fate of the free woman who had attached herself to a slave: “Quod si ingenua Ripuaria servum Ripuarium secuta fuerit, et parentes ejus hoc traducere voluerint, offeratur ei a Rege, seu a comite, *spata et conucula*. Quod si spatam acceperit, servum interficiat. Si autem conuculam, in servitio perseveret.”—Leg. Ripuar. tit. lviii. c. 18.

^c Vol. iii. p. 16.

On mentioning my conjecture to Mr. Josiah Goodwin, who was present at the discovery of the specimen found by Wallan, he at once came to the same conclusion, and stated that he had taken from the place where it lay, a fragment of flint which is notched at the edges, as if it had been frequently used. The graves of Selzen contained steels for striking a light;^a and Scheffer tells us, that, so late as the 17th century, such of the Laplanders as yet adhered to their ancient idolatry, buried their dead with similar implements.^b

The bronze fibulæ found on the skeleton No. 42 differ in their style of ornament from any yet discovered. The setting of the beads is peculiar. In the collection of the British Museum is a bronze fibula, somewhat resembling this design; but, instead of containing a bead, the projecting stud was probably faced with enamel.

These fibulæ are dish-shaped, and their inner surface is covered with a foil of bronze gilt, and bearing a pentagonal figure. The soldering having decomposed, these surface ornaments have become detached. These dish-shaped fibulæ are generally formed of solid metal; but an example discovered at Fairford, by Mr. Wylie, is covered with a surface of bronze foil like those here described, the pattern, however, being altogether different.

The two small fibulæ of bronze-gilt found with the infant skeleton lying in the lap of No. 13, are interesting objects. They resemble in style those found in a tumulus on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight.^c

The knuckle-bone of a sheep discovered with No. 28 may be one of a number of *tali*, but some may be inclined to regard it as a relic of a superstition not quite extinct in our own days.

Tali formed of the bones of sheep, and artificially of ivory, and even of metal,^d are well known to the student of classical antiquities, and have been frequently met with in ancient sepulchres. Whether the example found in the Harnham grave is one of these playthings, or a veritable "cramp-bone," must be left to conjecture. In the Museum Schoepflini^e is a representation of one of these bones,

^a Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen. Mainz, 1848. 4°. Folding plate, fig. 10.

^b "Ceux qui n'observent pas les ceremonies de Christianisme, enterrent avec le corps du defunt sa hache, un caillou, et un morceau d'acier pour faire du feu."—Histoire de la Laponie, p. 292. Paris, 1678. 4°. "Lappones hodieque cum mortuis sepeliunt arcum, sagittas, securim, silicem et chalybem, quorum usus esset, tum in vita futura tum via ad eam patefacienda."—Keysler, Antiquitates Septent. p. 173.

^c See the Winchester Book of the Brit. Archæol. Association, pl. iii. fig. 4.

^d The tali of Tiberius were of gold. They were used sometimes in divinations.—Suetonius in Tiberio, c. 14. See the work of Francesco de' Ficoroni: "I tali ed altri Strumenti Lusori degli Antichi Romani." Roma, 1734. 4to.

^e Museum Schoepflini. Argent. 1773. 4to. Tab. xv. fig. 14.

which, from the character of other objects engraved in the same plate, may be supposed to have been found in some Frankish grave.

With the exception of the instances already mentioned, all the skeletons were found in a very perfect state of preservation. This remark, however, does not apply to those of very small children, which, as might be conjectured, were generally much decomposed. Several of the skulls were preserved entire, and were delivered by me to Dr. Thurnam and Mr. J. B. Davis, in the hope that they might furnish materials for the projected work, "*Crania Britannica*," but the majority fell to pieces on removal. As far as might be judged from the appearance of all of them, not one had received injury before interment. One arm-bone bore marks of fracture, and had, very plainly, been set. In some instances the jaws indicated that a tooth had been drawn, the alveolar process having closed up. Caries of the teeth was observed in some of the adult skeletons.^a

A drawing of the skull of the skeleton No. 2 is exhibited, and it will be perceived that the frontal suture was never closed, although the individual had attained to middle age. Another skull, that of the skeleton No. 54, is represented in the drawing now exhibited, not, however, as a type of those found in this cemetery, but on account of its peculiar configuration, differing totally from any that I have ever observed in the burial places of this period. As already mentioned, this skeleton had a broad buckle at the waist of unusual size, and adapted to a very broad belt. From its appearance it would seem to have been once highly ornamented. The length of the skeleton (5 feet 7 inches), which from the state of the teeth was doubtless that of a person who had attained the middle age, together with the glass beads, favour the inference that the individual was a woman.

Lastly, we have to consider the period to which these interments may safely be assigned. Its earliest limit, then, must be the first settlement of the West Saxons in this district, which could not have been prior to the close of the fifth century. Its latest limit would probably be the first half of the seventh century, when, according to Beda, Cynegils, king of the West Saxons, was converted to the

^a The number of skeletons exhumed may be divided into four classes, thus:—

Infants.	Persons under twenty years of age.	Young and middle-aged adults.	Old persons.
11	10	43	3

Of course this table is only given approximately ; but the proportions appear to be about the same as those of the Frank cemeteries, according to the Abbé Cochet.

Christian faith in the year 635.^a Cynegils died A.D. 643. On his death his son Cenwealh forsook the faith, was embroiled with Penda, king of Mercia, and fled to Anna, king of East Anglia. The same authority,^b however, tells us that he was restored to his kingdom and to the church in 646, and died in 672. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that some time in the reign of Cynegils, the Pagan mode of interment among his subjects ceased; and, although the canons of Ælfric forbid the heathen songs of the relatives and friends of the defunct,^c and thereby indicate that Pagan customs still lingered among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, we can scarcely suppose that those who were converted to the true faith would be buried with *all* the ceremonies and observances of the worshippers of Woden, of which we find so many traces in these graves.

The small brass Roman coin found with the skeleton No. 28 may perhaps be regarded rather as a tessera or token, than as money current at the time of the individual with whom it was interred,^d although there is every reason to believe that the money of the Romans circulated throughout Europe for a very long period after the fall of the Empire of the West.

The animal teeth, exhibited with these relics, are selected from a number of the same kind found during the excavations in the cemetery at Harnham. They are pronounced by Professor Owen to be the teeth of oxen and of sheep or goats. I know not how to account for their presence in this isolated spot, unless by supposing them to be the evidences of those feasts which our pagan forefathers were accustomed to celebrate over the graves of their dead, a practice censured and denounced in the Indiculus of the reign of Carloman, A.D. 743,^e and in the Capitularies of Charlemagne and Ludovicus,^f as well as by Saint Boniface,^g who

^a Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 7.

^b Ibid. loco citato.

^c Priests are enjoined not to attend funerals uninvited, but if invited, they are to forbid such pagan practice: "Forbeode ge þa hæðenan sangas þæra læwedra manna. 7 heora hludan cheahchetunga."—Canons of Ælfric, xxxv. The same injunction occurs in the Capitularies of Charlemagne and Ludovicus, lib. vi. c. 197, as noticed below.

^d This coin is much corroded; but the letters CONSTR are legible on the obverse. The reverse appears to bear the device of two figures of Victory supporting a shield, a very common type of the family of Constantine the Great. It is most probably a small brass coin of Constantine his son.

^e Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum:—

1. De Sacrilegio ad sepulchra Mortuorum.
2. De Sacrilegio super Defunctos, id est *Dadsisas*.

^f "Admoneantur fideles ut ad suos mortuos non agant ea quæ de paganorum ritu remansuerunt. Et quando eos ad sepulturam portaverint, illum ululatum excelsum non faciant et super eorum tumulos nec manducare nec bibere presumant." Capitularium Karoli Magni et Ludovici Pii, lib. vi. c. 197.

^g "Omnia autem sacrificia et auguria paganorum, sacrilegia sunt, quemadmodum sunt sacrificia mortuorum super defuncta corpora, vel super sepulchra illorum."—S. Bonif. Sermo vi.

distinctly mentions bullocks and goats as the animals immolated on such occasions.^a The fragments of these feasts would probably be conveyed away from the spot, while the heads of the animals, perhaps elevated on poles, would be left as offerings to the gods. This would account for the presence of the teeth alone.^b

At the commencement of this account I stated my belief that the land-limits recited in the charter of Cenwealh, might, to some extent, be identified at the present day. I have not been disappointed in my expectations. With the zealous co-operation of Mr. Josiah Goodwin of Salisbury, I have been enabled to trace out various localities included in this extensive grant, the subject of which is thus particularised:—

CHARTER OF CENWEALH OF WESSEX.

Dis synt ða landgemáro tó Dúntúne. Erest of cradwan crundul on wereðan hylle; on fyrdinges leæ; on Ebblesburnon tó Afene; on pysere; on ða fúlan lace; on earnes beærh; on díc, æt beredes trówe; on ðone herepað tó heáddan gráfe; ðonne on ðone hagan tó pitan wyrðe; on dyre bróc; on welewe; on ða díc æt hicles wyrðe; ðonne ofer ðone feld on hagan út þurch bremberwudu on ðone sténean stapol; anlang herepaðes tó fobban wylle; anlang herepaðes tó ðas hagan ænde tó fegerhilde forde; on ðone hagan; on ceorles hláwe; on cradan crundul; ðonne on ða yferan gemére on Ebblesburnan; on Strétford; on hrofan hric; andlang wegges on ða díc tó byméra cumbe; and ðér þwyres ofer þrý crundelas; ofer ða strét; þwyres ofer ða dúne tó wudubeorchhulle; ofer berigan cumb on Ybblesburnan; on beordúne; on ðes hlinces ende; on ðone smalan weg; ofer higcumb on ðán smalan wege; on ðon stán; on ðet héð westeward; on ðone beorh tó ðán rigwege; ðonne eást andlang hrigweges tó Brytfordingea landsceære; ðonne súð on Strétford.^c

This grant was confirmed by Ecgberht A.D. 826; by Æthelstan A.D. 932; by Eadred A.D. 948; and by Ethelred A.D. 997.^d It may be rendered in English thus:—

These are the land-limits to Duntun. First from Crows' Crundel, on Werethan Hill,—on Fyrdinges Lea—on Ebbesbourne to the Avon—on Pysere—on the Fowl-Lake—on the Eagles Hill—on the Dyke at Beredes Tree—on the military road to Headgrave—then on the Hay, to Pitanwyrthe—on Deerbrook—on Welew—on the

^a “ Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui *tauros et hircos* diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificia mortuorum, habentes et pollutum ministerium, ipsique adulteri esse inventi sunt, et defuncti.” —Epist. 71.

^b Besides these, several teeth were found in one spot, which we are informed by Professor Owen are those of a very large dog.

^c Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxonici, No. DCCCLXXXV.

^d My best acknowledgments are due to Sir Frederic Madden for the kindness with which, at my request, he has compared these charters, now preserved in the British Museum.

Dyke at Hicklesworth—then over the Field, on the Hay out through Bremberwood—on the Stone pillar—along the military way to Fobanwell—along the military way to the end of the Hay—to Fairhyld ford—on the Hay—on Churle's Low—on Crows' Crundel—then on the upper boundary, on Ebbesbourne—on Stratford—on the High ridge—along the way,^a on the Dyke to Bemercombe—and there across over three Crundels over the street—across the Down to Woodbury hill over Berycombe—on Ebbesbourne^b—on Beordune^c—on the linch's end—on the small way over Highcomb—on the small way—on the stone—on the Heath westward—on the hill to the Ridgway—then east along the Ridgway to Britfording land-share—then south on Stratford.

The map now exhibited will show that the land given by Cenwealh to the church of Winchester included many places which may be identified by the ordinary observer; but there are others which do not appear to agree so palpably with the Anglo-Saxon designation. I take them in the order in which they are recited in that interesting document.

Cradwan Crundel.—This, there is every reason to believe, is the spot marked as Crowden Farm on the map. *Crundel*, according to Mr. Kemble, is a small stream;^d and, as there is one in the immediate neighbourhood resembling the Wiltshire “bournes,” many of which are nearly dry in summer, I think with Mr. Goodwin, that we may consider this spot as identified. It is important as affording the starting point.

Werethan Hill.—I do not feel so certain as to this locality, but it is not improbable that we may look for it in the spot called Vern Hill, at a little north of Grimsdike.

Fyrdynges Lea appears to be the original designation of the place called *Stoke Farthing*. The compilers of the History of Wiltshire, which bears the name of Sir Richard Hoare, were evidently in error in supposing that the proper name was *Stoke Verdon*,^e an error the more palpable from the fact of there being a *Stoke Penning*, a little north of Stoke Farthing.

Ebblesburn.—This is, without doubt, Ebbesbourne Wake, on the Avon.

^a The charter of Eggerht has from this word the following variation :—“On the Great Dyke,—so to the Chalk Boundary—thence to Woodbury Hill—so to Ebbesbourne—thence on Beordown—so to the Hawkslinch—so on to the rugged Hill—thence along the military way on the land boundary to Britford—from the military way, eft on Stratford.”

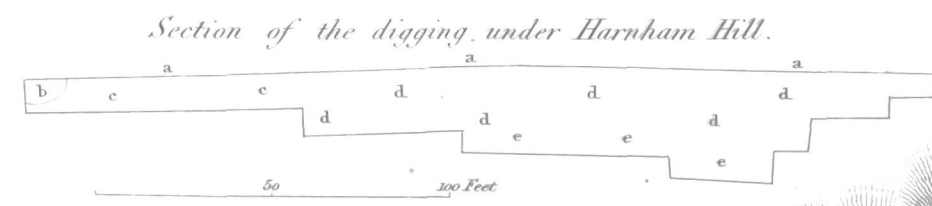
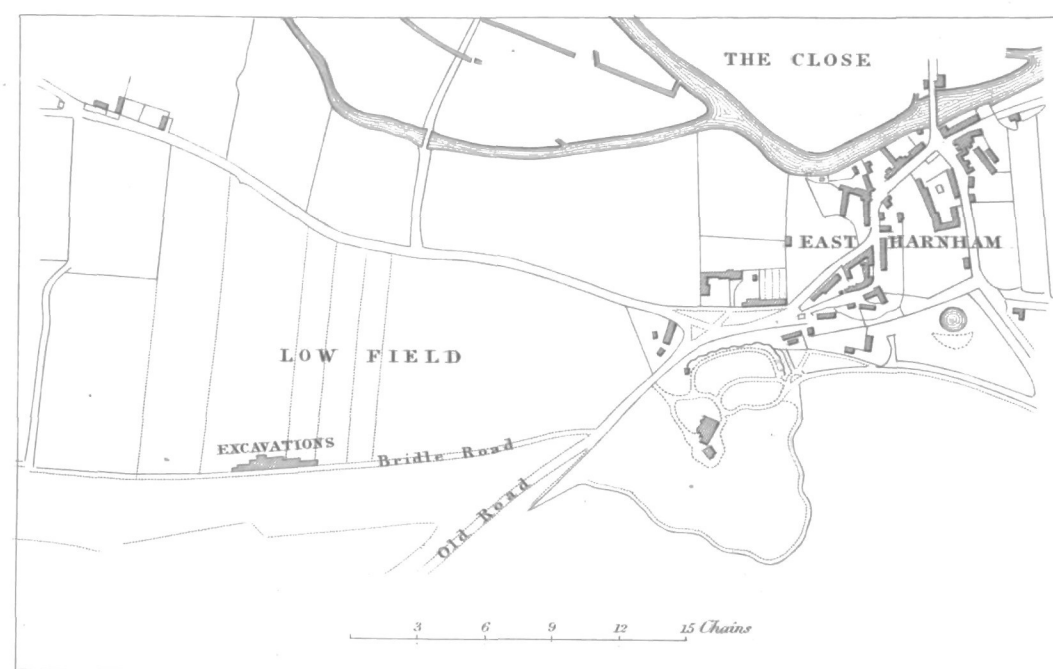
^b Here the charter of Æthelstan inserts “on Stratford,” which may be an error of the scribe.

^c There is a part of the Down, near Ebbesbourne, known at this day as Bare or Bear Patch.

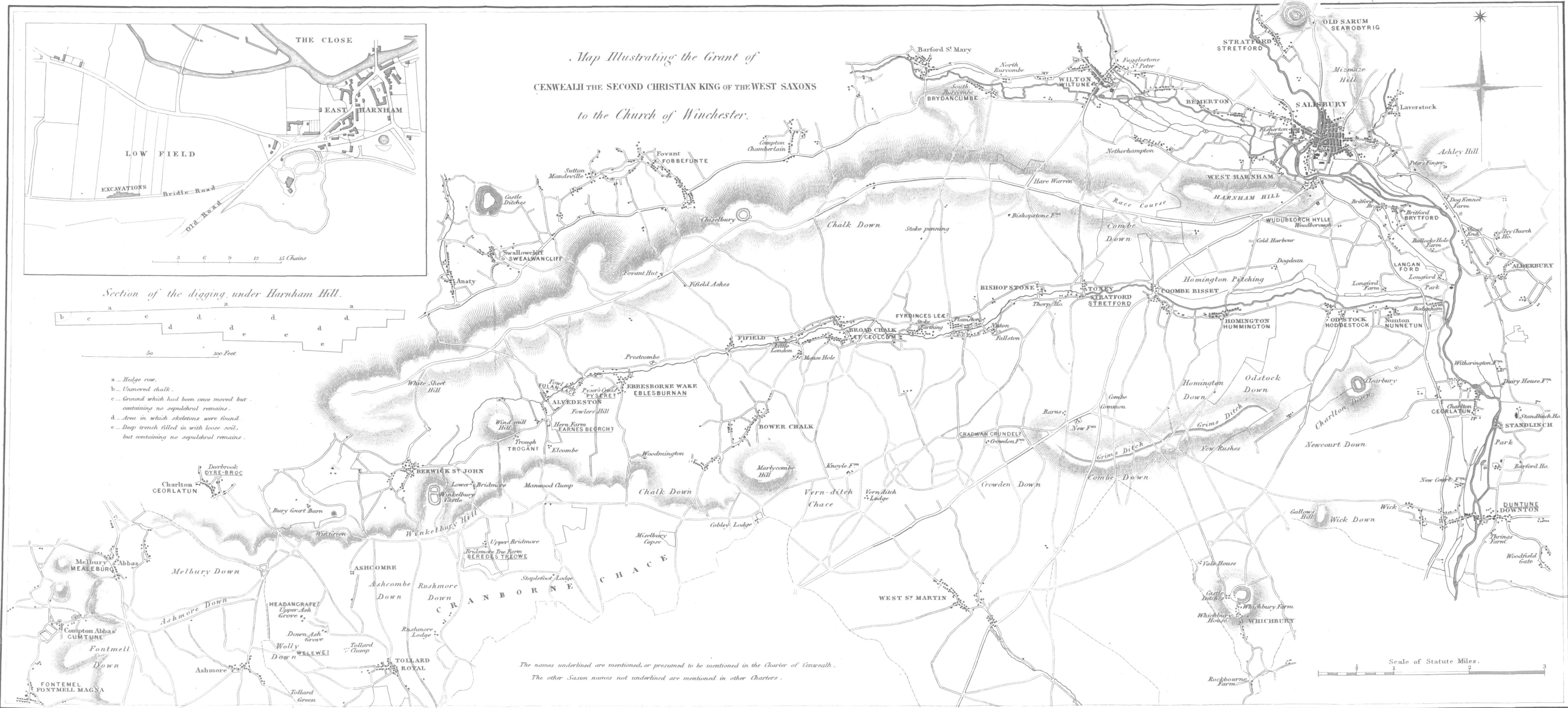
^d Cod. Dipl. vol. iii. p. 21.

^e *Stoke Verdon* seems rather a provincial form of the name.

Map Illustrating the Grant of
CENWEALH THE SECOND CHRISTIAN KING OF THE WEST SAXONS
to the Church of Winchester.



- a - Hedge row.
- b - Unmoved chalk.
- c - Ground which had been once moved but containing no sepulchral remains.
- d - Area in which skeletons were found.
- e - Deep trench filled in with loose soil, but containing no sepulchral remains.



The names underlined are mentioned, or presumed to be mentioned in the Charter of Cenwealh.
The other Saxon names not underlined are mentioned in other Charters.



Pysere.—I do not attempt to explain the meaning of *Pysere*, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Kemble has neglected to notice it in the Glossary prefixed to the Third Volume of the *Codex Diplomaticus*. I am informed that a cross once stood here called “Pyser’s Cross,” but it has long since disappeared, the spot still retaining the name.

Fúlan lace.—This spot is now a swamp, which is still occasionally the resort of flocks of wild fowl. Above it, is a hill still known as *Fowler’s Hill*. It is situated between Ebbesbourne and Alvediston.

Earnes Beorch is probably the spot at this day known as Hern Farm, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of Alvediston.

The Dīc at Beredes treowe.—There can be scarcely a doubt that *Bridsmore Tree Farm*, situated south of Upper Bridmore, marks the spot where this once well-known tree stood. The addition of “more,” a provincial name yet in use for a *root*, may probably be traced to its condition before it finally disappeared, the roots and portions of the trunk having perhaps existed long after the tree had decayed. *Trough Elcombe*, a place at a short distance, may have derived its name from this tree.

The Herepath.—This, probably, indicates the highway leading To Headangrafe, which appears to point to the spot now known as “Upper Ash Grove.”

Dyre-broc is now known as Deerbrook, the main source of the Avon just under Melbury Hill, on the borders of Dorsetshire.

Welewe.—This word appears to point to some natural spring or fountain, the name of which seems to be retained in “Wolly Down.”

Hiccleswyrthe.—Now Hicklesworth, in Dorsetshire.

Bremberwudu.—There appears great difficulty in identifying this spot, but it may possibly be discovered by some person better acquainted with the localities mentioned in the grant of Cenwealh.

Fobbanwylle appears to be Fontmell. In later records Fovant is termed “Fobbanfunte,” which is nearer the Saxon name. Fovant, however, can scarcely be the place termed Fobbanwylle in the Saxon Charter. It is probable that the name was at one time generally given to natural springs.

Fegerhildeforde is probably Fairfield Ford, in the neighbourhood of Melbury Hill.

Ceorles hláwe.—This spot may be that now known as Charlton. It must, however, be borne in mind, that Charlton, found in so many of our counties,^a signifies the Churles’tun, and that it occurs always in the plural

^a In many of the northern counties we find Carlton.

number (Ceorlatun) in Anglo-Saxon charters. The hláwe here indicated may have been the general burial place, like that of Great Driffield in Yorkshire, the tumulus being used in common by the inhabitants of the district.^a

Here, it will be observed, we again arrive at the Crows' Crundle, and I am compelled to confess that, even with the assistance I have received, I am unable to arrive at any positive identification of the localities specified in what appears to be the line of the upper boundary of this grant. Although Wudubeorchylle would appear to indicate Woodbury, and Britfording landshare to point to land about Britford, the mode in which the limits are traced is still obscure and difficult of identification. In the charter of confirmation of Ethelred, the land given to the church at Winchester is stated to lie in two portions;^b but that of which Ebbesbourne appears to be the centre is much more clearly defined than the other. In this we seem to have ascertained the limits from east to west; but there are others which, as already observed, are not so easily recognised and have hitherto defied identity, notwithstanding the diligent investigation of the gentleman who has so kindly and patiently assisted in this inquiry. The map here given will, however, shew the extent of the important grant of the Saxon monarch; and it is hoped its appearance may incite to further inquiry our Wiltshire antiquaries and topographers. There can be little doubt that so large a gift was an expiatory offering to the Church, in consequence of Cenwealh's apostacy from the true faith, and its importance in helping us to arrive at a conclusion as to the time when the pagan mode of interment ceased in this district is therefore obvious.

I cannot conclude this account without returning my best acknowledgments to Viscount Folkestone for permission afforded me to prosecute my researches in the Low Field; to Mr. Fawcett, to whom I was previously a stranger, for much kindness and hospitality; to the Rev. William Biscoe, incumbent of Coombe Bisset, for inquiries kindly promoted with a view to afford me information regarding the land limits described in the charter of Cenwealh; and, lastly, to Mr. Josiah Goodwin, who, by numerous inquiries and many personal visits to the localities therein named, has rendered me the greatest possible service. Indeed, but for the zeal and perseverance of this gentleman, I should have abandoned all hope of identifying any portion of the grant.

^a Remains of Pagan Saxondom, p. 13.

^b Quæ tamen tellus duobus in locis est dirempta, L^a scilicet ac V^e in ipsa supradicta villa continens mansas per ripas amnis Avenæ nuncupatæ, quæ circa eandem villam decurrit, adjacentes XL^a vero et V^e in altera inde non longe et Ebblesburnan appellatur secus decursus ejusdem torrentis extensas. (Cod. Dipl. Ævi Sax. vol. iii. p. 301.)

NOTE by DR. THURNAM, F.S.A.

The form of the crania, nine in number, from the cemetery at Harnham, resembles generally that observed in ancient Anglo-Saxon skulls. The outline of the upper surface of the crania is, for the most part, of an elongated oval form, which places them in the dolichocephalic class of Professor Retzius. The forehead, in the majority, is poorly developed, being narrow and rather receding; and the other dimensions are under, rather than above, the average. In two of the male skulls, indeed, (Nos. 2 and 22,) the forehead is broader and better developed, particularly No 2 (in which the frontal suture is persistent), and consequently the upper outline is of a less distinctly lengthened oval form.

The surface of the crania generally is smooth and gently undulating, without those angularities and nodulated prominences—the result of an exuberant ossific growth—which are so often observed in ancient British skulls. The bones of the face, including the lower jaw, are rather fully developed; and, in the best formed skulls, the upper jaws do not deviate much from the upright or orthognathic form. In one or two instances the deviation from this form is considerable.

The crowns of the teeth are almost universally much reduced by mechanical attrition, the effect of the hard and coarse food which must have formed, much of the staple diet of these people. In a few instances carious teeth are observed.

Altogether the examination of these skulls does not warrant the conclusion of any high grade of intellectual endowment or mental cultivation, or lead us to assign these graves to other perhaps than the lower rank of the West Saxon settlers and conquerors.

Observations on the Human Cranial Remains, and some Associated Fragments of the Skeletons of Inferior Animals, disinterred at Harnham Hill, Wiltshire.
By PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.

No. 17 is an under jaw with the adult series of teeth in place; the last two grinders (m. 2 and m. 3), are but little worn; the incisors are worn at their margins; the first molar of the right side (m. 1), is much worn and slightly decayed; that on the left side is much decayed, and the fangs have been exposed by ulceration of the jaw. This jaw has belonged to a man between twenty and thirty years of age, with a good prominent chin, and with the premaxillaries and front teeth not too projecting.

No. 42 is the lower jaw of an older man, between thirty and forty years of age. The molars are much worn; the incisors and canines are also much more worn than in No. 17. The first molar of the left side has been lost during life with ulceration of the alveolus; the rest of the molars are in place. The chin of this man is less developed, and the front teeth are more produced, indicating an individual of lower intellect and more animal nature than No. 17.

No. 48 is the lower jaw of a man, with the molars rather less worn than in No. 42; and with the loss, during life, of the first molar (m. 1), of the right, and the last molar (m. 3), on the left side. The front teeth are not unduly prominent.

No. 36 is a mutilated lower jaw, apparently of a man, with all the teeth much worn, the front ones nearly to the fangs, leaving broad grinding surfaces, which depend upon the conical form of those teeth. The two last molars of the left side (m. 2 and m. 3) shed, and their alveoli have been absorbed. This jaw is from an individual of probably between forty and sixty years of age.

No. 53 is the skull of an old person, many teeth having been lost and their alveoli absorbed. The sutures have been partly obliterated. This skull is of an Anglo-Saxon character. The cranium is of a narrow oval form; the molar bones are slightly prominent; the upper jaw is slightly prognathic.

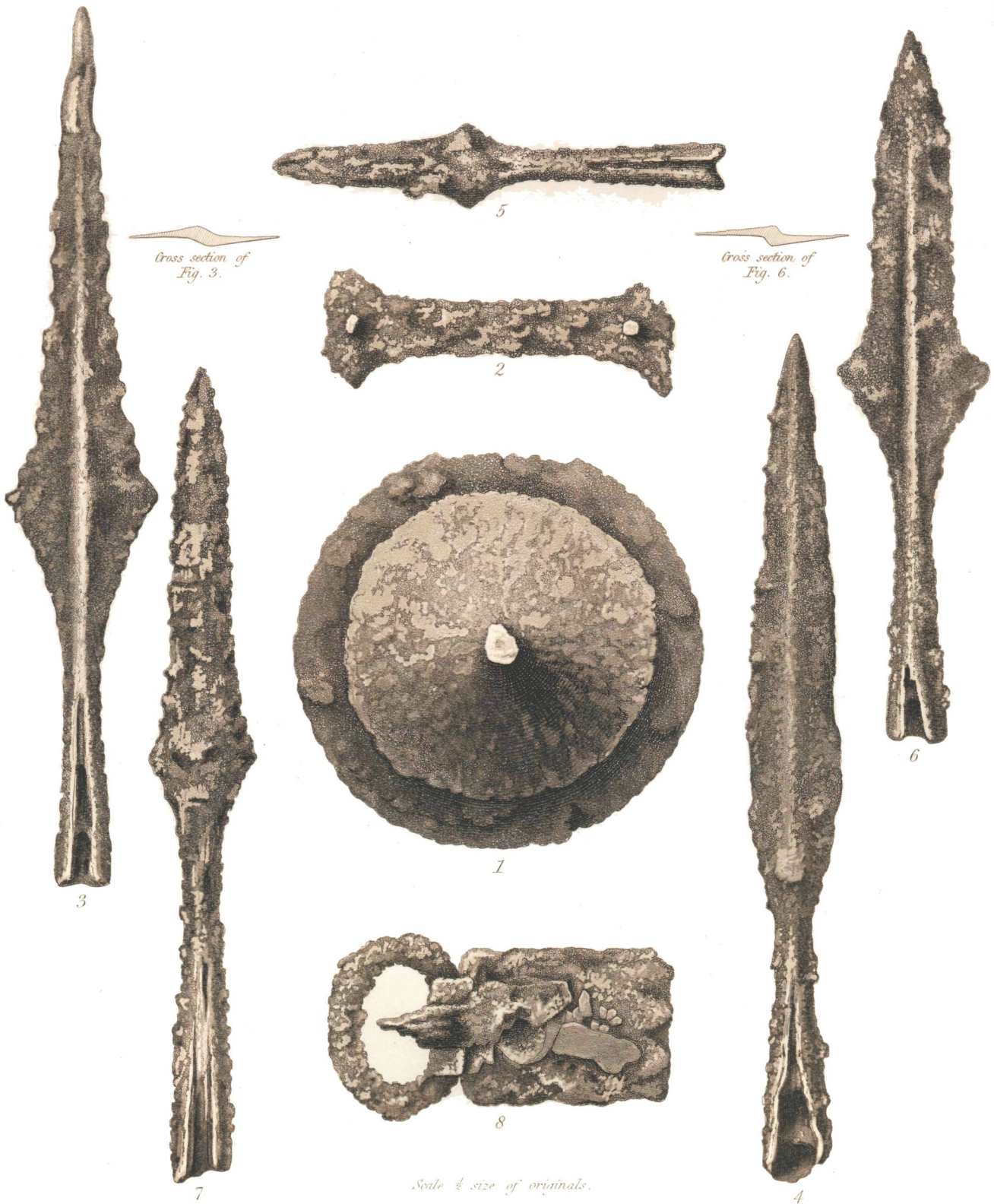
The remains of the lower animals include the teeth of the ox, horse, goat, dog, and field mouse.

PLATE I.

The objects in this Plate are all drawn of half the actual size.

- Fig. 1. The iron umbo of a shield, discovered with the skeleton No. 1.
 2 is the iron bar forming the handle of the shield.
 3. Iron spear-head, discovered by the carpenter in setting a gate-post.
 4. Spear-head, discovered by Robert Wallan.
 5. Iron spear-head, discovered with the skeleton No. 9.
 6. Iron spear-head, discovered with the skeleton No. 14.

It may be observed that the blade of this weapon, like that of Fig. 3, is of a form which will be best understood by reference to the cross section. This form is evidently a contrivance to cause the weapon to rotate in its flight—a significant proof of the mode in which the smaller spears or spicula of the Anglo-Saxons were used. We have in our possession a Hottentot assagaye, the blade of which is



UMBO, SPEAR-HEADS and BUCKLE, found at Harnham Hill, Salisbury.

formed in a similar manner. The Anglo-Saxon youth—and it will be seen that these spears were discovered with the skeletons of boys—were, doubtless, trained in infancy to the use of such weapons, as their descendants were afterwards taught to use the bow.

Fig. 7. Iron spear-head, found with the skeleton No. 24.

8. The broad waist buckle found with skeleton No. 54. It appears to have been originally covered with some ornament, which has perished.

PLATE II.

These objects are all drawn of the actual size.

Fig. 1. Iron knife	}	discovered with the skeleton No. 48.
2. The fork		
3. The steel		
4. Pin of deerhorn		
5. Bronze tweezers		

The steel, No. 3, is smaller than that found by Wallan, but its shape is identical. There appears some reason for supposing that these implements were deposited in the grave from other motives besides those assigned by Keysler. Fire produced from flint and steel was supposed to be a preservative from demons. See the account of its use in Saxo Grammaticus, Lib. viii. p. 431,^a “*extusum silicibus ignem, opportunum contra dæmones tutamentum.*”^b

Fig. 6. Bronze diamond-shaped plate, discovered just below the socket of the spear lying by the head of No. 24, probably an ornament of the staff.

7. Another similarly-formed object, but of iron, found with the skeleton dug up by Wallan.

8. Bone spindle-bead or socket, found with the skeleton No. 40.

9. The tag of bronze found with the same skeleton.

10. Slip of bronze, found with skeleton No. 36.

^a Ed. Müller, Hauniæ, 8vo. 1839.

^b All iron-work was supposed to be equally efficacious; an axe, key, knife, needle, &c. were held to possess the same power. See W. Müller's *Geschichte und System der Altdeutschen Religion.* Göttingen, 1844, 8vo.

PLATE III.

All these objects are drawn of the actual size.

- Fig. 1. Bronze pin, found with skeleton No. 42.
2. Bronze fibula, found with skeleton No. 53.
 - 3, 4. Bronze fibulæ, found with skeleton No. 40.
 5. One of the pair of bronze fibulæ found on the youthful skeleton No. 13.
 6. One of the pair of bronze fibulæ found with skeleton No. 36.
 7. Bronze ring, with monogram, found with skeleton No. 54.
 8. Silver ring, found with skeleton No. 40.
 9. One of the pair of bronze fibulæ, with a bead of blue vitrified paste in the centre, found with skeleton No. 42, and the pin, No. 1 of this plate.
 10. One of a pair of bronze circular fibulæ, ornamented with indentations formed with a triangular punch, discovered with skeleton No. 11.
 11. One of a pair of bronze concave fibulæ, found with skeleton No. 12.
 12. Bronze ring and socket, probably the mounting of a pin of some perishable material which was not recovered, found with skeleton No. 54.
 13. Bronze toilet implements, found with skeleton No. 28.
 14. Silver twisted ring on the middle finger-bone of skeleton No. 36.
 15. An unknown object of bone or ivory with marks as on dice, found with skeleton No. 28.
 16. Bronze fibula, found with skeleton No. 53.
 17. The belt ornament of bronze, gilt, found with skeleton No. 28.
 18. The knuckle-bone, found in the same grave as the preceding.
 19. Bronze fibula, found with skeleton No. 40.

It remains only for me to add, that the whole of the relics discovered in the cemetery at Harnham Hill have been most liberally presented by Viscount Folkestone to the British Museum.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.



STEEL, KNIFE, FORK, ETC. found at Harnham Hill, Salisbury.



FIBULAE, RINGS, ETC. found at Harnham Hill, Salisbury.