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THE SUTTON HOO SHIP-BURIAL

Recent theories and some comments on general interpretation

By R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD, SEC. S.A.

INTRODUCTION

The Sutton Hoo ship-burial was discovered more than ten years ago. During these years, especially since the end of the war in Europe has made it possible to continue the treatment and study of the finds and proceed with comparative research, its deep significance for general and art history, Old English literature and European archæology has become more and more evident. Yet much uncertainty prevails on general issues.

Many questions cannot receive their final answer until the remaining mounds of the grave-field have been excavated. Others can be answered, or at any rate clarified, now. The purpose of this article is to clarify the broad position of the burial in English history and archæology.

For example, it has been said that 'practically the whole of the Sutton Hoo ship-treasure is an importation from the Uppland province of Sweden. The great bulk of the work was produced in Sweden itself.'¹ Another writer claims that the Sutton Hoo ship-burial is the grave of a Swedish chief or king.² Clearly we must establish whether it is part of English archæology, or of Swedish, before we can start to draw from it the implications that we are impatient to draw.

The identity of the person buried, or commemorated, and our historical appreciation of the monument, depend not only on whether the grave is English or Swedish, but upon whether, if English, it is that of an East Anglian king, or of someone else; whether it is pagan or Christian; and whether or not it originally contained a body, or was constructed as a cenotaph. Opposite views have recently been expressed on these points, and it is desirable that an official assessment of the issues should be offered to students even though it cannot be regarded as final. It is the aim of this article to provide such an assessment.

The two most recent articles in which these questions have been discussed appeared together in *Fornvännen*, h.2-3, 1948. They

¹ H. Maryon, 'The Sutton Hoo shield,' *Antiquity* XX, 1946, 28.

² Birger Nerman; *Fornvännen*, h. 2-3, 1948, 65-39.

THE WUFFINGAS

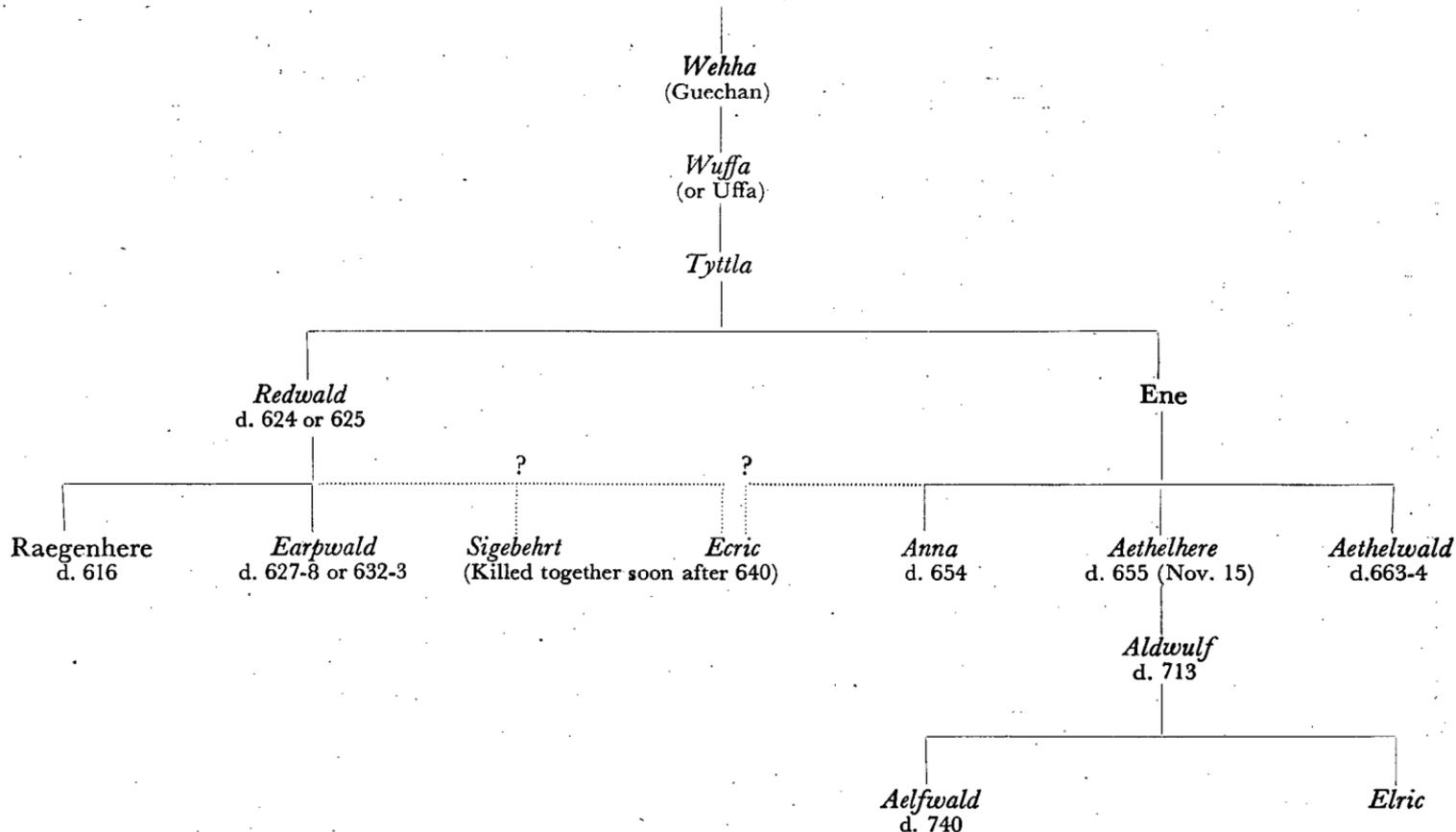


FIG. 1. THE FAMILY TREE OF THE EAST ANGLIAN ROYAL HOUSE, THE WUFFINGAS.
(Based on Chadwick, *Antiquity* xiv). Those who came to the throne are shown in italics.

are 'Sutton Hoo och Beowulf' (Sutton Hoo and Beowulf) by Professor Sune Lindqvist, Professor of Northern Archæology in Uppsala University, and 'Sutton Hoo: en svensk kunga- eller hövdinggrav?' (Sutton Hoo: the grave of a Swedish king or prince?) by Professor Birger Nerman, Director of the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm. Professor Lindqvist's paper has appeared in English translation in *Antiquity* 1948, 131-140.

In maintaining that the grave is a Swede's, Dr. Nerman claims the use of a boat and other general aspects of the funeral arrangements as Swedish.³ As far as the objects that make up the burial-deposit are concerned, however, he claims out of the lengthy grave-inventory only three pieces—the sword, the helmet and the shield—as made in Sweden. The rest he seems prepared to regard as objects acquired in Suffolk by the Swedish intruder, as gifts, spoils taken in fighting, or rewards for services rendered. Thus, (if we set aside for the moment the notion of wholesale importation, which is indeed out of the question) it may not seem to matter much to English archæology whether the man buried or commemorated is a Swede or not. The silver dishes and other silver pieces, the Coptic bowl, the Merovingian coins and perhaps the hanging-bowls (if made in Ireland or the Celtic north or west) would remain imports into Suffolk and a part of English archæology, even though they eventually came into the hands of a Swedish intruder; and the bulk at any rate of the gold jewellery and most of the remaining finds are, in Nerman's view, local English work.

Questions of the first importance do, nevertheless, depend upon the identity of the buried or commemorated man. The meaning of the direct link between England and Sweden, now revealed for the first time, and beyond all question, at Sutton Hoo,⁴ depends wholly upon whether the Swedish-seeming traits occur in the grave of a stray Swede or in that of an established English king. Before this important question can be satisfactorily discussed it is necessary to clarify related questions: whether the monument is a king's or not, whether it is pagan or Christian, whether it was grave or cenotaph.

The cenotaph question has just been made the subject of a special study. As yet the outlines only of this investigation have been given in print.⁵ It is to be published fully elsewhere, and the question will not be discussed here in detail. We must, however, consider the question of the royal character of the burial, the prospects of identifying the person buried or commemorated, and the pagan or

³ *op. cit.* 88.

⁴ See below.

⁵ A summary of a lecture, by the author of this article, entitled 'The problem of the Sutton Hoo cenotaph', which was delivered to the Royal Archæological Institute in January 1950, appeared in *The Archaeological News Letter*, Vol. 2. No. 10, March 1950, 166-9. Further important results have been obtained from laboratory investigations since that date.

Christian character of the monument.

IS THIS A KING'S BURIAL?

In his learned study, published in 1940, on the question of the identity of the man for whom the Sutton Hoo treasure-ship was buried, the late Professor H. M. Chadwick wrote the following words:—

I find it impossible to believe that in the times with which we are concerned a treasure of such amount and value can have belonged to anyone except a king. According to heroic standards then recognised all men of the highest rank were dependent on the king and expected to present to him, as their lord, everything that they acquired by their exploits—though doubtless they looked for rewards. We may refer to *Beowulf*, 2052 ff, where the hero, on his return home, presents to the king and queen all the treasures which have been given to him at the Danish court. There is no evidence that England in the seventh century possessed a wealthy independent class, whether mercantile, industrial or professional.

It does not necessarily follow that the person buried or commemorated was himself a king. We know of extravagant funeral honours paid by kings to their mothers and wives; and this funeral may possibly have been in honour of the father or other near relative of a king. But on the whole it is not very likely. The great funerals we hear of in early Teutonic history and tradition are those of kings themselves; we may thus cite e.g. Jordanes, *Get.* 49 and *Beowulf*, 3134 ff. At all events it is difficult to believe that a cenotaph on this scale can have been intended for anyone except a king.⁶

The royal status of the grave has been further discussed by the present writer in the previous issue of these *Proceedings*.⁷ What has been said there should be read in conjunction with Chadwick's treatment of this subject in the article quoted.

It seems impossible to doubt that the Sutton Hoo burial is royal in the sense that it reflects the royal court and illustrates the topmost stratum of Saxon society. The treasures, if not actually personal to a king, may legitimately be regarded at least as 'tribal treasures' (*peodgestreon*, *Beowulf*, 1218-9) distributed by him from the national treasure-store.

⁶ 'Who was he?' *Antiquity* XIV, 1940, 76-7.

⁷ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'Saxon Rendlesham', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, XXIV, 1948, 231-4.

The set of ten⁸ silver bowls, probably, and certainly the pair of spoons,⁹ have a specifically Christian character.¹⁰ We read in Bede of gifts from Popes to Saxon kings and queens, converts or prospective converts. 'A number of gifts of divers sorts'...¹¹ 'a shirt with ornament in gold, and a cloak made at Ancyra'...¹² 'a looking glass of silver and a comb of ivory gilt with gold.'¹³ Our spoons and perhaps the set of silver bowls seem to come into this category *i.e.* gifts to royalty. We do not read of any general distribution of such gifts. Important nobles might well, for all we know, as converts or prospective converts, receive from a bishop an individual token of this kind. We would not expect to meet such gifts in the archæological record, as I do not believe they would normally be placed in the grave of such a recipient, if he were Christian. There is a body of opinion however that can regard lavish burials such as those at Sutton Hoo¹⁴ and Taplow¹⁵ as the graves of Christians. If this is right, we might certainly expect to find such baptismal or conversion gifts amongst grave-goods. Except at Sutton Hoo, we do not. The fact remains that classical silverware, whether acquired by ecclesiastical gift or continental trade, is excessively rare not only in Anglo-Saxon but in Continental Germanic archæology of this period. I can quote only the *phalerae* from Ittenheim¹⁶ as instances of mediterranean silver in the classical tradition occurring in a Germanic grave of this period (6th-7th centuries). I know of no other instance on the Continent, and no single piece of mediterranean silver has come to light in any Anglo-Saxon grave, other than the Sutton Hoo ship-burial. Nothing of the kind occurred in the rich 7th century burials at Taplow and Broomfield, or rewarded those industrious early gatherers of Saxon grave-goods, Faussett, Douglas and Akerman. This is remarkable because oriental and mediterranean imports in general—Coptic bowls, ewers, copper and bronze pails, amethyst beads, cowrie shells and so on—are common in South Germany, the Rhineland

⁸ Hitherto it has been thought that there were nine of these bowls (*e.g.* *Antiquity* XIV, 52; *Antiquaries Journal* XX, 166; British Museum Provisional Guide, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 1947, 47). Recent work in the British Museum Research Laboratory has revealed the remains of a tenth.

⁹ See pages 30, 31 below. ¹⁰ B. M. Provisional Guide, 49.

¹¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 1, Chapter xxxii. 'dona in diversis speciebus per-plura' and 'small presents' (*parva exenia*). Gregory the Great to Ethelbert of Kent. The translation of Bede used in this paper is that of Thomas Stapleton (published 1565) as adapted by Dr. J. E. King, *Beda's Opera Historica*, Vol. 1 (Heinemann, 1930—Loeb Library).

¹² *ibid.* Book 11, x. 'cum ornatura in auro'... Boniface V to Edwin of Deira.

¹³ *ibid.* Book 11, xi. 'speculum argenteum, et pectinem eboorem inauratum'. Boniface V to Queen Ethelberga of Deira.

¹⁴ Lindqvist, *op. cit.*, *Antiquity* XXIII, 132-4; *Fornvännen* 1948, 96-9.

¹⁵ T. C. Lethbridge, *Merlin's Island*, 1948, 139.

¹⁶ J. Werner, *Der Fund von Ittenheim*, Strassburg 1943.

and South-East England in the late sixth and first half of the seventh centuries.¹⁷ It seems highly unlikely that the sixteen notable silver pieces in the Sutton Hoo grave, comprising items of diverse dates and origins, could have been accumulated anywhere at this time except in a royal treasury and by a royal family, especially if we may suppose that the entire holding of silver was not disposed of, and that other, perhaps finer pieces, were retained in the family's possession or treasure-store, so that the accumulation of silver was in fact greater than revealed in the grave. When we hear in literary sources of the use of a silver dish in Anglo-Saxon England at this time—a piece that seems to be in the category of the Anastasius dish or at least the bowl with classical head from Sutton Hoo—the context is royal.¹⁸ Such considerations, together with those brought forward by Chadwick, and by the present writer in the discussions of this subject already referred to,¹⁹ seem to leave no doubt that the Sutton Hoo grave is of royal standing.

But is there any justification for claiming that it is the burial of the king himself? Can we say with any confidence that it is not the grave of a king's father, uncle or son? Ene, younger brother of Redwald and father of three Wuffinga kings, may for all we know have lived into the period fixed for our burial by the coins (650-670 A.D.). He seems to have been born about 570-580,²⁰ and would thus have to have reached the age of 70 to 90 years. One might expect the father of three kings, whose life had spanned the great phase and personalities of East Anglian history, to receive conspicuous honours at the hands of his surviving royal son, or sons, and grandchildren. This is pure speculation, but it illustrates the need for caution. Or again, to add a category to those mentioned by Chadwick, might it not be the grave of a distinguished visitor, perhaps related to the East Anglian royal family, who died on his visit? Professor Nerman has in fact already suggested the foreign visitor explanation of the burial.²¹ The burial of any of these possibilities would be a burial at the royal level. It would contain gifts and no doubt heirlooms from the royal treasury, and siting near a royal centre (in this case Rendlesham) would be natural.

¹⁷ N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, Uppsala 1926, 102-6. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *Antiquaries Journal* XXX, 1950, 76-80. (Review of *Nubian Treasure*).

¹⁸ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, vi; the Easter Day dinner of King Oswald of Northumbria (633-641) and Bishop Aidan. 'A silver dish replenished with princely dainties' was set on a table before the King. This dish was afterwards broken up and the pieces distributed to a large number of poor.

¹⁹ Saxon Rendlesham, 231-6.

²⁰ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 86.

²¹ *op. cit.*, 90. 'Möjligen kan man emellertid också tänka sig, att krigaren i Sutton Hoo varit inkallad till hjälp av någon östanglisk konung i dennes strider, kanske i släkt med denne.' ('One can also imagine . . . that the Sutton Hoo warrior may have been called in to assist an East Anglian king, perhaps a relation, in his wars.')

The distinguished foreign visitor theory arises from the belief already referred to that boat burial is not a Saxon, but on the contrary, at this date, a distinctively Swedish custom, and that the dead man's most cherished weapons—helmet, shield and sword—were of Swedish make. This has to be accounted for. The distinguished foreigner theory would account for it (the foreigner being a Swede); so that this possibility, as well as the possibility that the grave is that of a near relative of an English king, must be given serious consideration.

We may here echo Chadwick's comments on these possibilities. They do not seem very likely. Whatever may be theoretically possible, in practice all burials of an equivalent scale or richness known in literature and in archæology are known to be, or are with good reason held to be, those of kings themselves.²² The very great richness of the burial, the unique character of many of the pieces it contains, the outstanding quality of everything present (except the imported silver, which makes up for this in rarity) suggest that it is a king's grave.²³ It may be doubted whether any relative or visitor, however distinguished, other than a king, would have received such lavish treatment.

We must also note Chadwick's point that at all events it is difficult to believe that a *cenotaph* on this scale can have been intended for anyone except a king. The recent study of the cenotaph problem, already referred to, appears to afford conclusive proof that at any rate no body was ever placed in the region of the burial-deposit between the Anastasius dish and the west end of the sword and jewellery lie.²⁴ This has been demonstrated not only by archæological arguments but by an elaborate and ingenious system of chemical tests carried out on the grave-goods.

As has been said elsewhere,²⁵ however, the question whether the grave is that of a king or of some other royal person depends, more perhaps than on anything else, upon the interpretation of two objects in the grave, the long iron stand with a spike at the bottom, and the giant whetstone. They have been identified as a standard and a sceptre.²⁶ If they are, then they are symbols not merely of rank, but of office, such as can only at this date have been proper to the king himself, and to no one else. It is necessary to examine these two objects more closely, and if possible to establish their true character.

²² p. 4 above. Saxon Rendlesham, 233. ²³ cf. Saxon Rendlesham, 232-3.

²⁴ For plans of the burial deposit see B. M. Provisional Guide, Pl. XXIV; *Antiquaries Journal*, XX, 1940, Pl. XXXVII. With hypothetical skeleton drawn in, *The Archæological News Letter*, Vol. 2. No. 10, 1950, p. 167, fig.; *Proceedings of the Royal Institution*, Vol. 34, Pt. 3. No. 156.

²⁵ Saxon Rendlesham, 231.

²⁶ *ibid.* 231-2. B. M. Provisional Guide, 13

THE WHETSTONE (PLATE I)

Of the whetstone little need be added to what has been said elsewhere.²⁶ Whether one calls it a 'sceptre',—an object normally held in the hand—or prefers the word 'mace',—normally carried in front of an official—it is clear that in it we have a symbolic and ceremonial piece, and also one that is in the highest degree striking and unusual. It obviously has the character of a whetstone; but it is equally obvious that it is more than a whetstone. That is the real point. And if, as has been pointed out,²⁷ it has never been used in practice to sharpen anything, and is in fact impracticable for sharpening the large blades (swords or long scramasax knives) which its length implies, what purpose is left to it, if not a ceremonial or ritual one? Such must be the explanation of the mysterious bronze saucers at either end, which can have had nothing to do with the operation of sharpening and yet do not seem to be mere ornament; and perhaps the bright red colour of the knobs was more than decorative. Such a symbolic object cannot it seems at this time represent anything but the power and office of a king, unless it be those of a high-priest; and we may be certain that it is not a high-priest's grave from the presence of weapons and armour, the late date of the burial (well into the Christian period), the presence of objects of Christian character amongst the grave-goods, the great wealth of the grave, probably the use of a ship, and many other considerations. On the other hand, a giant whetstone would be a natural enough symbol for the power of a king, the giver and master of the swords of his war-band, the head of a fighting aristocracy in a heroic period. Dr. T. D. Kendrick has said of it 'nothing like this monstrous stone exists anywhere else. It is a unique, savage thing; and inexplicable, except perhaps as a symbol, proper to the king himself, of the divinity and mystery which surrounded the smith and his tools in the northern world.'²⁸ No direct comparison can properly be drawn between this astonishing object and the quite plain, strictly functional, often well-worn whetstones common in rich Swedish burials of the period—for instance the earlier boat-graves at Vendel, or the royal mounds at Old Uppsala.²⁹ None of these show anything of the striking elaborations or ornate character of the Sutton Hoo piece. There is also a difference in scale. The longest of those quoted, in Vendel graves 4 and 1, are 31.2 and 28 cms. in length.³⁰ The Sutton Hoo

²⁷ Saxon Rendlesham, 232.

²⁸ *British Museum Quarterly*, XIII, 1939, 128.

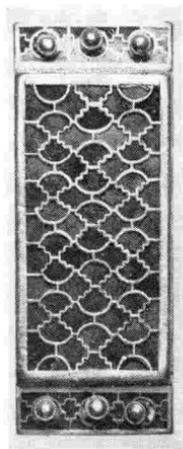
²⁹ cf. Nerman, *op. cit.*, 71-3: e.g. Sune Lindqvist, *Uppsala Högar och Ottarshögen*, Uppsala 1936, Figs. 96, 97 (No. 14), 105. H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *La Nécropole de Vendel*, Stockholm 1927, Pl. VII, Fig. 9. (Pl. XI, fig. 5, Pl. XV, Fig. 10 for whetstones in the Viking period graves).

³⁰ Nerman, *op. cit.* 72.

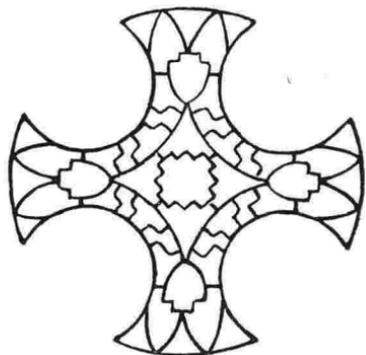
PLATE I.



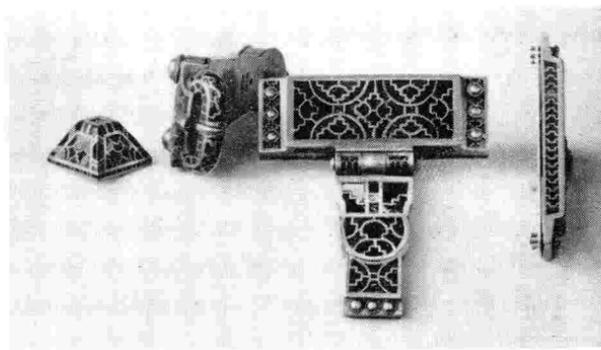
The Sutton Hoo whetstone, detail. (1).
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



a



b



c

a. Gold cloisonné rectangular strap mount, Sutton Hoo ($\frac{1}{2}$); b. Cruciform design from the Sutton Hoo scabbard-bosses ($\frac{2}{3}$); c. Jewelled pieces, Sutton Hoo (reduced).
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



a



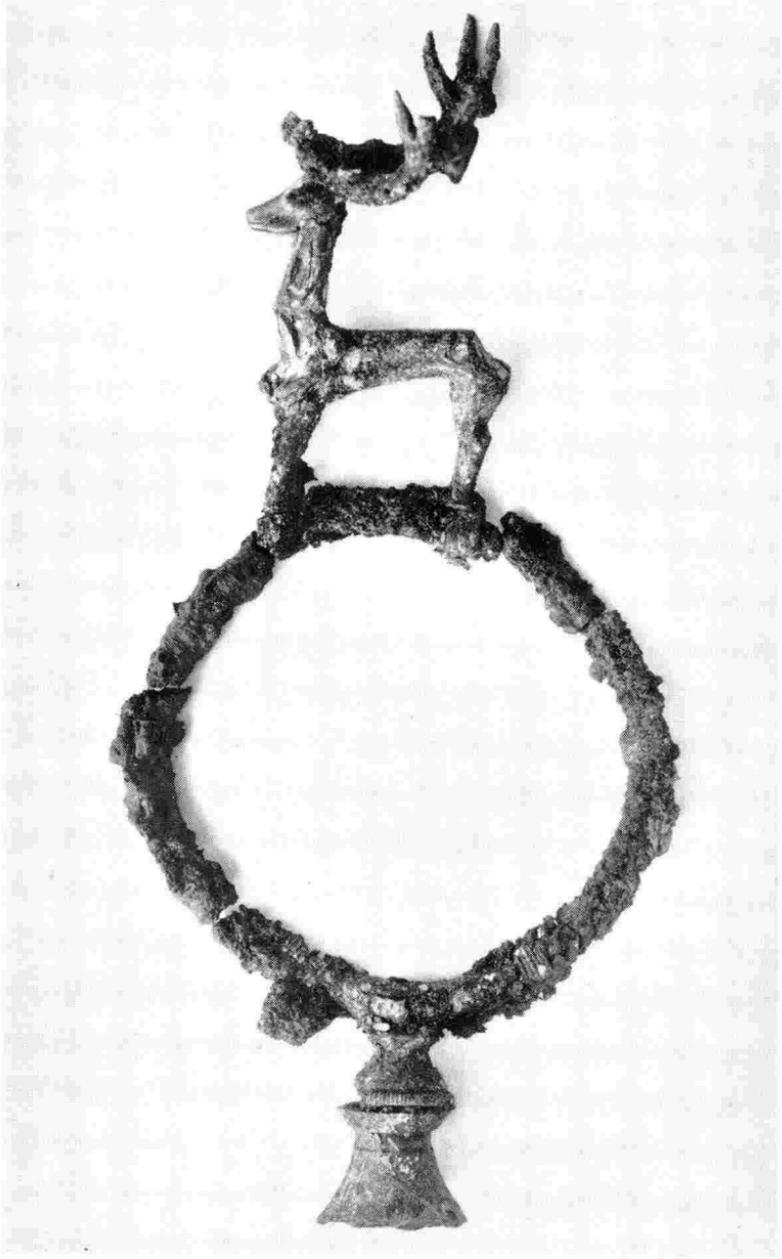
b



c

Gold cloisonné pendant crosses; *a*. Ixworth, Suffolk; *b*. St. Cuthbert's cross; *c*. Wilton, Norfolk. (All $\frac{1}{4}$).
(*a*. and *b*. by permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum and the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral respectively; *c*. by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

PLATE IV.



The top of the Sutton Hoo standard ($\frac{2}{3}$).
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

piece, with the bronze fittings at either end, is 60 cms. long.³¹ It is not in all cases possible to tell the original length of the whetstones found in the royal mounds at Old Uppsala, but the thickness of the largest fragment is approximately 3.3 cms.^{31a}; that from Sutton Hoo reaches 5 cms. In bulk and weight the Sutton Hoo piece greatly exceeds any other whetstone known. That sceptres of a more orthodox (Roman) kind were familiar attributes of royalty to Germanic kings at this period may be inferred from the signet ring of the Frankish king Childeric 1st. (d. 481), which gives a representation of the king holding one.³² This piece in the Sutton Hoo grave may then reasonably be accepted as an emblem of the kingly office. Indeed, it is difficult to see what else it can be.

THE IRON STAND (FIG. 2, and PLATE IV.)

The second object of critical importance in establishing the grave as that of a king is the iron stand. In the official report of the excavations it was called a flambeau. Mr. Phillips said of it 'It seems to have been a portable flambeau which could have been stuck in the ground where required. Its head would be wound round with tow soaked in oil, the bulls' heads playing their part in helping to retain the combustible material in place.'³³ This suggestion recurs in the *Antiquity* XIV account of the finds; and the *British Museum Quarterly*, XIII, 1939 (p. 113), apparently following Mr. Phillips' lead, called it a lampstand. When these suggestions were being put forward it was not known that the cruciform projections terminating in bulls' heads at the upper end of the object were not the top of it, but had in fact themselves been surmounted by a vertically set ring of twisted wires, on top of which in turn was set an exquisitely modelled cast bronze stag, (Plate IV).³⁴ These additions transform the character of the object, giving it added height and a more ornate and impressive appearance. It seems extremely improbable that so delicate an arrangement as the ring, which is made up of four individually twisted strands of iron wire, about one eighth of an inch thick, held together by fluted bronze strip-clips, of the kind familiar in Saxon archæology on the rims of ornamented cups and drinking-horns, would have remained intact for long in the heat of open flames such as would accompany its use as a flambeau or beacon. Nor would the delicate antlers of the stag have stood up to

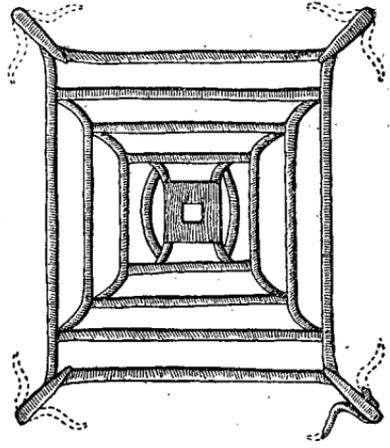
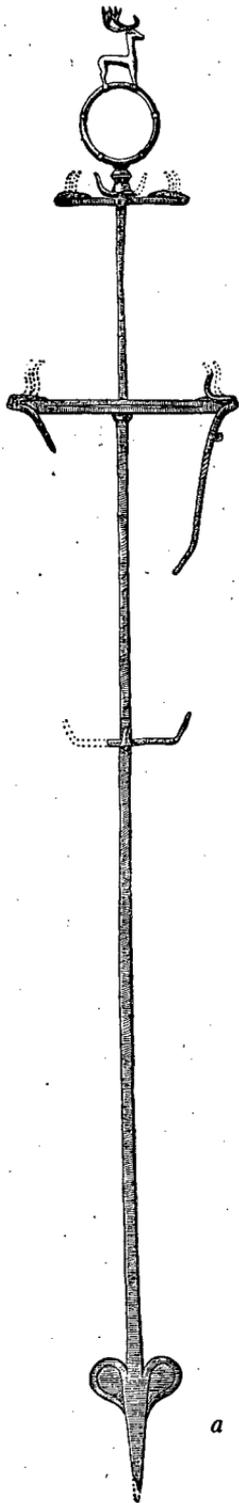
³¹ Not 64 cms. as given by Nerman.

^{31a} Lindqvist, *Uppsala Högår*, Fig. 96, from the East Mound.

³² E. Babelon: Le tombeau du roi Childeric et les origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée (*Mémoires de la Soc. Nat. des antiquaires de la France*, 76, 1919-23, Figs. 1-4).

³³ *Antiquaries Journal* XX, 1940, 162-3.

³⁴ At the time the stag was thought to have come from the helmet. (*Antiquaries Journal*, XX, 163, 168).



b

FIG. 2. a. Iron standard from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial. b. Openwork iron grid of the standard, seen in plan. The corners of the grid were supported from below by four vertically set iron rods, which joined a cruciform projection from the stem lower down. These have not been reconstructed in the drawing. (After B.M. *Provisional Guide*, by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

a

such heat for long. The illumination of the stag by flames beneath and around it might have made a fine spectacle, but it is most unlikely that so rare an object would have been given over to the constant action of flames and intense heat and the fouling of smoke. The fact is that this stag is a great rarity, unique in the Germanic world of this time as sculptural work, and in its sensitivity, life-like appearance and delicate stylisation. It does not seem to belong to the Germanic art-world at all, and may have been made in distant parts, possibly even in a distant age.³⁵ The stag and ring in fact show no signs of any such exposure to heat. In view of this new knowledge of the nature of the object the portable flambeau or beacon explanation can be ruled out.

The lampstand possibility remains. The horizontal openwork grid (Fig. 2*b*) might have functioned as an elevated portable platform on which small float-wick lamps, each giving a comparatively small tongue of flame, could be set. The wire ring, stag and bulls' heads would be merely ornamental. Even with this restricted use for lighting, however, the stag and upper parts of the object must have become blackened and dirty, and there would not seem to be any purpose, other than a spectacular one, for continuing the object above the level of the platform for twenty inches, as is the case. No fragments of any pottery or other vessels such as might have been employed as lamps with the stand occurred in the grave, and no such objects are known in pagan Saxon archæology. One might imagine as used in this way pottery cressets like those recently discovered in quantities on the late Saxon town site at

³⁵ The closest parallels to the stag I have been able to find are similar stag figures associated with open-work 'sun-discs' and thought to represent the tops of standards, excavated at Alaca Höyük in Turkey, and dating from the Copper Age. (H. P. Kosay: 'Disques solaires mis au jour aux fouilles d' Alaca Höyük', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXXVII, 1936-7, (Myres Festschrift) Plates 19, 20, 22. More recent finds of similar stags are described in the *Illustrated London News*, 21 July, 1945. The resemblances are in some instances quite close, and it seems not inconceivable that our stag is an antique of this kind accidentally dug up in the Black Sea area and handed down in a Germanic family. For the Alaca Höyük excavations see also *IPEK*, Jhrg. 1939-40, Bd. 13-14, Berlin 1941, 23-35. (Remzi Oguz Arik, 'Alaca Höyük-une nouvelle station proto-historique en Anatolie centrale.') For stags, Plates 4 (Nos. 5 and 6), and 6-10. An illustration of one of the Alaca Höyük stags associated with a metal ring and openwork grid, seen as found lying in the ground by the excavator, is also given by Mrs. D. E. Martin Clarke in Fig. 12, p. 118 of her paper 'Significant objects at Sutton Hoo' in the just published Chadwick memorial volume, (*The Early Cultures of North West Europe*, Edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins, Cambridge 1950). Mrs. Martin Clarke's paper is principally concerned with the Sutton Hoo standard, and I am grateful to her for letting me see her MS. before publication. Mrs. Martin Clarke identifies the Sutton Hoo object as a standard, and discusses the literary and archaeological evidence for standards and their association with royalty from early times.

Thetford. These are hemispherical cups perched on clay spikes, which could be accommodated in the open portions of the grid. Individual lamps could be picked out and carried away in the hand, and replaced in the grid when finished with; but there is no evidence for the use of any such cressets in the 7th century, nor do I know of any evidence in literary sources or in archæology that such elaborate lighting devices as the iron stand were used. There is no reference to anything of the kind in the hall scenes in *Beowulf*, and indeed references to artificial lighting are curiously absent from the poem. A lampstand of the kind visualised would only be a practical proposition indoors, and if the floor of the building was an earthen one. It is not unlikely that the floors of important royal halls were paved at this time. In *Beowulf* (line 725) the floor of Hrothgar's hall Heorot is described as 'coloured' or 'gleaming' (fæg; 'on fægne flōr feond treddode', which is rendered by Clark Hall 'The fiend stepped onto the many-coloured paving of the floor' and by Gordon: 'he trod the gleaming floor').^{35a} A stone pavement was encountered in excavations on the earthen platform at Old Uppsala which is thought to have carried the Vendel period (later 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries A.D.) royal hall.³⁶

It has also been suggested that the Sutton Hoo iron stand is a portable weapon-rack. For this purpose it is quite impracticable. It is top-heavy in itself and the treads and spike would be insufficient to keep it erect under a weight of gear. The openings in the grid are too narrow for the reception, as has been suggested, of spear shafts. There is no literary or archæological evidence for such weapon-racks. In *Beowulf* (1242-7) we read how the warriors, when they lay down to sleep in the hall, set their shields at their heads, their helmets, mailcoats and spear-shafts on the bench above each man. Spears might be leaned up against the edges of the grid of the Sutton Hoo stand, and retained by the projecting bulls' heads at the corners; but it seems pointless to carry a cumbersome object about in the field, just to rest spears against, when the wall, or ground, or a simple improvisation would do as well.

None of the foregoing suggestions has anything positive to support it, and none is satisfactory, and apart from the standard possibility I do not know of any other suggested use for the iron stand.

Before we pass on to the standard possibility, it is necessary to consider the historical setting in which the Sutton Hoo burial occurs.

^{35a} cf. also *Beowulf* 1316-7:-

Gang ða æfter flōre fyrdwyrðe man
mid his handscale —healwudu dynede—

(Then the man distinguished in battle walked across the floor with his little band—the hall-timbers resounded—).

³⁶ S. Lindqvist, *Uppsala Höggar*, 83 (Fig. 60) and 331 (English summary).

It will be seen at once that by contrast with these other unsupported theories as to the use of the object, the concept of a standard fits the historical setting in a natural and admirable way, and receives both archaeological and literary support. The historical background is, as we shall see, most important. The whetstone, to judge by its human faces, which are really all that we can parallel about it, and which find their closest analogies in Sweden,³⁷ or in material that may be of Swedish origin,³⁸ might perhaps be claimed as a Swedish piece, and so be adduced to support the idea that the grave is that of a Swedish king (though I do not believe this to be tenable). The standard, however, is a symbol of royal office peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon background, and would therefore have an important bearing on the nationality, and so the identity, of the commemorated or buried man.

It has already been pointed out³⁹ that standards were used by the Saxon Bretwalda (Overlord, or High King) and King of Deira, Edwin (A.D. 616-632) as symbols of his power; and that there was an intimate connection between Edwin and Redwald and the East Anglian court.⁴⁰ Professor Margaret Deanesly has suggested, independently of the Sutton Hoo object, that Redwald may have used standards in East Anglia, and that Edwin may have learned the use of them there.⁴¹ 'A conscious respect for Roman tradition existed in the early days of the settlement', and the evidence on which Professor Deanesly bases this view belongs particularly to the seventh century. She develops three lines of argument:— (i) the probability that the Saxon title Bretwalda meant Ruler of Britain (not of the Britons, still less the Saxons), and that this implies a quasi-Roman claim to territorial rule. (ii) the likelihood that the standards and banners of Edwin of Deira described by Bede in a passage emphasising Edwin's dignity and power, were

³⁷ e.g. Nerman, *op. cit.*, 73; and pp. 57, 58 below.

³⁸ e.g. the Sutton Hoo Shield; p. 58 below and Plate VI b.

³⁹ B. M. Provisional Guide, 13, note. Saxon Rendlesham, 231-2.

⁴⁰ Saxon Rendlesham, 232; Chadwick, *loc. cit.*, 80; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. II, Ch. xii.

⁴¹ 'Roman traditionalist influence among the Anglo-Saxons', *English Historical Review*, LVIII, 1943, 138. In a footnote on p. 137, Professor Deanesly refers to the Sutton Hoo object. 'It has been suggested that the notable iron 'lamp-stand' found at Sutton Hoo (see *Antiquity*, March 1940, Pl. II) was some kind of a standard, but it in no way resembles the *signa* of the legions, and a *vexillum* would have perished apart from the metal head of the lance.' Professor Deanesly's impression of this piece was apparently derived from the illustration to which she refers, which presents a foreshortened view, and she wrote before it was known that the stag and ring (see below) belonged to this object, i.e. when our picture of it was significantly incomplete. Professor Deanesly has since been kind enough to examine the original object at my invitation in the British Museum, and has indicated verbally and in writing that she is now prepared to accept the Sutton Hoo object as a standard.

copied from Roman emblems of authority. (iii) the fact that the Saxon moneyers who struck the silver *sceat* coinage of the later 7th and the 8th centuries employed in the new designs on the reverses of their coins devices selected from among the age-old emblems of Roman authority, as represented on the reverses of imperial coins.⁴²

The Anglo-Saxon silver *sceatta* coinage emerges *c.* 675 A.D.,⁴³ and it should be noted that the standard motive occurs also in the gold coinage that preceded it, and that one of the first gold coins struck in England, now in the British Museum, a copy of a gold coin of Honorius, shows on the reverse the Emperor, standing with his foot on a fallen captive, and holding a standard (Fig. 3 *g*). This is the well-known coin which bears a runic legend to the right of the Emperor's figure, read as SCANOMODU.⁴⁴ It probably belongs to the period *c.* 575-600 A.D., to which Sutherland assigns the first production of gold coins in England,⁴⁵ and it and others like it were certainly circulating in the early decades of the 7th century.

That the East Anglian royal house, the Wuffingas, shared in the conscious claim to inherit something of the authority of Rome in Britain may be inferred from the fact that (almost certainly at this time) they incorporated the name Ceasar in their genealogy, after Woden. It appears in the best genealogy, a document dating from the early 9th century⁴⁶ (Plate V *b, c*).

Thus we have a historical background into which a royal standard in the Sutton Hoo grave would fit. We must now consider the object itself, and see whether its appearance and characteristics are such as we might expect in a barbaric version, probably derived from the designs of coin reverses, of a Roman standard.

Professor Nerman refers to the suggestion in the British Museum Provisional guide that this object may be a standard, (*fälttecken*), but says that with its horizontal projection it seems impracticable for the purpose.⁴⁷ He does not say what he considers the function of a standard to be, and the fact is that all Roman standards have horizontal projections of some kind.

The passage in Bede makes it clear that Edwin used no less than three different kinds of standard:—

Moreover he had such excellency of glory in the Kingdom that not only in battle were banners borne before him, but

⁴² Deanesly, *loc. cit.*, 135.

⁴³ C. H. V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon gold coinage in the light of the Crondall hoard*, Ashmolean Museum, 1948, 67.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 79, No. 22 and Pl. II, 1.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 67.

⁴⁶ Chadwick, *op. cit.* 78.

⁴⁷ *op. cit.* 71: 'Denna pjäs, som nedtill har ett par avsatser för att hålla den i läge, om det stötes ned i marken, har tolkats som ett fälttecken, varutill den dock med sina horisontalt anbragta utsprång synes opraktisk.'

in time of peace also a standard-bearer was accustomed to go before him whensoever he rode about the cities townships or shires with his thanes; yea, even when he passed through the streets to any place, there was wont to be carried before him that kind of banner which the Romans call 'Tufa', but the English 'Tuuf'.⁴⁸

The three types of standard mentioned in this passage are *vexillum signum* and *tufa*. A *vexillum* was a light wooden lance which carried a small flag. Professor Deanesly says of it: 'use of *vexilla* in battle (in the plural) accords with the practice of the Roman army at the end of the 4th century; within each legion the centurions in battle bore the *vexilla* of the units they commanded in order to maintain touch with each other. Bede was right to use the word in the plural, for the legionary *vexilla* had a tactical, not merely a ceremonial use.'⁴⁹ The light *vexillum* as distinct from the *signum* or *labarum*,⁵² is not commonly represented on Roman coins of the late Empire, and is unlikely to be the prototype of the Sutton Hoo stand. We read however that in peace time Edwin was preceded, not by a *vexillarius*, but by a *signifer*, and 'this implies the carrying of a copy of some legionary *signum*'. 'The *signum* of the legion was a wooden lance with similar sharp metal tip (e.g. Fig. 3 h) for sticking in the ground, but above the hand-hold it was silver-plated and enriched with a series of discs, fillets and metal ornaments. It was surmounted by a metal eagle and was altogether a much heavier affair than the *vexillum*. Among the discs and fillets and below the eagle there was frequently by the end of the fourth century a metal symbol of the particular legion, sometimes one of the animals of the signs of the Zodiac.'⁵⁰

We may also note that there were late debased forms of standard, which sometimes included a small *vexillum* (pennant or banner) beneath the eagle or symbolic animal, and that although the eagle became the official legionary *signum*, other legionary symbols and animals continue to appear frequently on coins down to the end of the Roman period.⁵¹

Research is needed into the representations of *signa* and *labara* ⁵²

⁴⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. II, Ch. xvi: 'Tantum vero in regno excellentiae habuit, ut non solum in pugna ante illum vexilla gestarentur, sed et tempore pacis equitatem inter civitates sive villas aut provincias suas cum ministris, semper antecedere signifer consuesset; necnon et incedente illo ubilibet per plateas, illud genus vexilli, quod Romani 'Tufam', Angli vero appellant 'Tuuf', ante illum ferri solebat.'

⁴⁹ *op. cit.* 137.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² The *labarum* was a square silken banner bearing the Chi-Rho monogram and suspended from a lance by a silken cord. (Deanesly *loc. cit.* 143). For Roman standards and banners in general see Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Tom. IV, Pt. 2, under *Signa Militaria*, especially Bibliography, and Figs. 6408, 6433, etc.



FIG. 3. a, b. Constantinian coins showing legionary standards (from Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, vol. 8, 1928, *Labarum*, Fig. 6540). c, d, e, f. Anglo-Saxon silver *sceattas*. g. Anglo-Saxon gold *solidus* (c-e, and g, illustrated in C. F. Keary, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. 1, Plates I, III, IV). h. Standard-bearer from a Roman monument (after Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Tom. IV, Pt. 2, R-S, (*Signa Militaria*), Fig. 6408).

in Roman and Anglo-Saxon art to see what representations occur that might have given rise to the creation or evolution of a Saxon equivalent resembling the Sutton Hoo object. It is however clear that the legionary *signum* was a heavy lance, the height of a man or rather taller, (Fig. 3 *h*) with an animal or bird crest at the top, a cross-bar somewhat lower down, with various elaborations associated with it, and a point at the bottom for sticking it into the ground. With such an object the Sutton Hoo stand corresponds in heaviness, in height and proportion to the human figure, in the spike at the bottom, the animal figure at the top, and the cross-bar with complications in between.

There remain unexplained features of the Sutton Hoo stand; The square openwork grid in particular, and the cage of four vertical bars that support it from below. To these and other details in the design of the Sutton Hoo object I do not at the moment know of any parallels amongst Roman standards. But the important point to remember here is that the Saxon monarchs who had standards made for them probably had no more to go on than oral tradition, and miniature representations on coins. The silver discs, fillets, wreaths, animal figures and symbols, even sometimes a *vexillum*, and other niceties that complicated the upper portions of the legionary standard, would probably have been incomprehensible to 7th century Saxons when depicted on coins, and if not understood could not have been incorporated into a piece of Saxon craftsmanship. One would rather expect a translation, or free interpretation of the object seen on the coins in which the general intention and broad characteristics were maintained, but the details barbarised, misunderstood or re-adapted to suit the notions of a Germanic king. A similar process may be observed in many items of Germanic equipment derived from Roman prototypes. In this way the aberrant features of the Sutton Hoo standard could, it seems, be explained. The eagle of the legions could very properly be replaced by the stag, which may indeed have been a symbol of royalty in the Germanic world.⁵³ The ring on which the stag stands might have been suggested by the discs of the *signum*, which sometimes appear on coins as circles (Fig. 3 *a, b*); the four vertical bars that support the grid, seen in profile, give a

⁵³ Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd edition with supplement, 1941, p. 129, Note 78, on Hrothgar's hall: 'The hall has been supposed to be named Heor(o)t from horns (antlers) fastened to the gables, although the appellation horn = 'gable' (horn-geap, 82; reced, 704; hornas, Finnsb. 4; horn-sael, sele in other poems) seems to be derived merely from 'horn shaped projections on the gable-ends' (B.-T., cf. Miller, *Angl.* XII, 396f). But the name may have been primarily symbolical, the hart signifying royalty (A. Bugge, *Zfd. Ph.* xli, 375, n.) The name Heorot was explained by Sarrazin from an ancient worship of a 'hart-deity'. (*Angl.* XIX, 372, f.)—a claim that has more recently been reinforced by Shütte . . .'

x cf. ἄετός =
eagle,
standard
pediment

rectangular shape, for they spring from projections that run out horizontally for some little way from the vertical stem. The broad effect of this seen from the side is not unlike that of a *labarum* on a coin, where a flag, often represented by a rectangular outline, appears below the cross-bar of the lance. (Fig. 3 *b*: cf. also 3 *g*).

Finally we may consider the third type of banner, the *tufa*, used by Edwin. Bede calls this a type of *vexillum*, so that it ought to be comparatively light, and the fact that it seems to have accompanied Edwin wherever he went also suggests something of a not very cumbersome or ceremonial kind. It is thus perhaps unlikely that the Sutton Hoo object is a *tufa*. We have, however, no real knowledge of the nature of the *tufa*, and Professor Deanesly has argued very plausibly that no such thing existed amongst the Roman military signs, and that the latin word arose from a textual corruption. Nevertheless, it is clear, however the word may have arisen, that Bede in using it was referring to a specific object that was different from Edwin's *signum*, and which, though a kind of *vexillum*, was a special type, different from those used in battle. It also seems clear that the Saxons had a special word for it. The Saxon word *þuf* (tuft) is used in Anglo-Saxon writers of foliage (*þuf-boere*, leafy; *þufigum*=frondosus)⁵⁴ and it is perhaps worth drawing attention to the feathered extremities of the Sutton Hoo object, where the bulls' horns on the corners of the grid are echoed in those on the cruciform projections higher up and in the antlers of the stag at the top (Fig. 2 *a*). The Anglo-Saxons of this period did not favour foliage themes in their art, but they seem to have done so in their rituals,⁵⁵ and it is not inconceivable that the open grid of the Sutton Hoo stand might have been filled with bracken or yew fronds, or carried a wreath or other vegetation; it is not impossible that we may have in the Sutton Hoo stand a standard of the kind 'known to the Angles as Tuuf'.

If the object were a standard there might have been banners or pennants hung on the four sides of the iron grid, perhaps suspended from the bulls' heads and tied off lower down, where the vertical bars below the grid meet the stem, and kept apart by these bars. These are speculations, but serve as a reminder that there may have been flags, foliage or other secondary features of a perishable kind, that would alter the appearance of the object and might explain the peculiarities of its design.

Finally, it should be noted that the iron stand occurs in the grave alongside (or, if originally erect, near) the ceremonial whetstone, and at the west end of the burial chamber amongst

⁵⁴ Deanesly *op. cit.*, 140, note 2; from Bosworth-Toller.

⁵⁵ e.g. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. I, Ch. xxx. (The letter to Mellitus): quoted in Bruce-Mitford, 'Saxon Rendlesham', 238.

honoured objects—the shield and seven spears, helmet, harp, and rare imported bronze and silver bowls.⁵⁶ The only humble object at this, the ‘distinguished’ end of the burial chamber, was an iron-bound wooden bucket which was probably placed there for the sake of its contents rather than for its own sake.⁵⁷ The more utilitarian appliances, however imposing, like the great bronze cauldrons with the ornamental suspension gear; those silver dishes, though imposing, that seem to have no particularly personal significance; and miscellaneous items, such as the leather bags, combs, shoes, clothes, pottery bottle and so on, were placed at the east end of the chamber. The placing of this piece in the grave alone suggests that it had an honourable significance and was not merely a domestic item.

No serious research has as yet been done on the standard, and in particular the designs on coins circulating in England need investigation in this connection. The silver *sceattas* were ‘small, thick . . . clumsily struck coins’, and Saxon moneyers often did not get onto them the whole of a *labarum* or standard, but concentrated on details and significant features.⁵⁸ There is for instance a coin bearing an enigmatic device⁵⁹ (Fig. 3 *f*), which might well on the face of it represent not a classical type of standard, but the upper part of a barbaric version having the features of our Sutton Hoo object. A final opinion must necessarily await further research and a definitive description of the Sutton Hoo piece. Any discoveries about it that may result from laboratory examination are however likely only to add to its ornamentation. In the meantime, it seems clear that the most plausible explanation, from every point of view of the Sutton Hoo object is that it is a royal standard, and I hope it may be provisionally accepted as such. If the use of such a standard is thought of as part of a Bretwalda’s ceremonial, then our object was no doubt made for Redwald, and passed on to his successors in the reduced days of East Anglian power, as a legacy from his reign.

It seems therefore that in these two pieces we have ceremonial objects—a mace, or sceptre; and a standard—both of which must be regarded at this period as symbols of royal office; and that for this reason in particular, as well as for all the many others adduced, we may accept the Sutton Hoo ship-burial as the grave of a king and not of any lesser royal personage or guest.

⁵⁶ See the plans of the burial deposit, *Antiquaries Journal*, XX, 1940, Pl. xxxvii, B.M. Provisional Guide, Pl. XXIV, etc.

⁵⁷ No evidence has survived as to its contents, but it may have held wine or mead.

⁵⁸ Deanesly, *op. cit.* 145.

⁵⁹ On this coin see Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III, 88-9 and Pl. VI 12.

We may now pass to another question.

IS THE SUTTON HOO SHIP-BURIAL PAGAN OR CHRISTIAN?

It must be admitted that English commentators on the Sutton Hoo ship-burial do not seem at all willing to allow that it can be a Christian burial. Professor Chadwick, whose knowledge of the period was profound, has said of it: 'It may be doubted greatly whether extravagance on the scale found at Sutton Hoo ever prevailed in the burials of Christian times',^{59a} and again 'We must conclude then, if the funeral took place after 640, that it was due to a deliberate reversion to heathenism.'⁶⁰ Dr. T. D. Kendrick, writing in the *British Museum Quarterly* in 1939,⁶¹ said 'the main case for the identification' (of the grave with Redwald) 'depends on the view, with which archæologists must agree, that the burial is pagan . . .' The present writer, in the British Museum's Provisional Guide, said 'There can be little doubt that Sutton Hoo is a pagan burial. It is whole-heartedly, perhaps even ostentatiously so', and later 'The greatest pagan mausoleum known to British archæology was erected within nine years of the Synod of Whitby'.⁶² Professor Nerman, in his *Fornvännen* article in 1948, said that the Sutton Hoo chief was 'buried in the heathen manner'.⁶³

It was thus not surprising that Professor Lindqvist, who has argued that, on the contrary, the Sutton Hoo ship-burial is 'without doubt Christian, prepared for a convert',⁶⁴ should take pains to demonstrate that the Christian Church did not discourage rich provision of grave-goods in the early stages of the conversion. But the richness of the furnishing of the Sutton Hoo grave was not *per se* the reason why English writers have felt so confident about the pagan character of the burial.

The fact that richly furnished graves, on the Continent at any rate, can be Christian was fully appreciated. Thus Professor Chadwick wrote in 1940 'The custom of burying objects of various kinds with the dead did not cease with the introduction of Christianity. Some rich Frankish cemeteries *e.g.* at Worms and Mainz, were attached to churches, and in these there have been found a number of graves well-furnished with both weapons and ornaments, and containing grave-stones with Christian inscriptions, which originally no doubt stood or lay above the graves'.⁶⁵ The attitude of modern English archæology on this point was expressed by

^{59a} *op. cit.*, 83.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 84.

⁶¹ p. 114.

⁶² pp. 42, 43.

⁶³ *op. cit.*, 89. 'efter hednisk sed'; and p. 93 'the burial at Sutton Hoo is typically pagan' (English summary).

⁶⁴ *Antiquity*, 1948, 133: *Fornvännen* 1948, 99.

⁶⁵ *op. cit.*, 82, 83.

Mr. E. T. Leeds in 1936 in his *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*,⁶⁶ and the subject has recently been further discussed by Mr. Lethbridge, who expresses the view (with which I see no reason to agree) that the Taplow Barrow, the richest grave known in Saxon archæology before the discovery of the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, is a Christian burial.⁶⁷

That the Church in England was tolerant of pagan burial customs in the earlier phases at any rate of the conversion may be inferred from the accommodating and sympathetic attitude towards pagan practices and mentality expressed in the letter of Pope Gregory the Great to Bishop Mellitus,⁶⁸ and from the fact, recorded by Bede, that Earconbert of Kent, as late as 640 A.D., 'was the first King of England who of his princely authority commanded that the idols in all his whole realm should be forsaken and destroyed', and fixed punishments for infringements of his edict.⁶⁹ Kent had been officially a Christian kingdom since 597. Compared with worship of idols deposition of grave-goods was a harmless habit, and it must have been practised in Kent, certainly by surviving pagans and probably by many Christians also, as late as 640, especially in remoter parts, if pagan worship itself was allowed to survive so late.

On the other hand, though grave-goods no doubt continued to be deposited in many instances in the early phases of Christianity, there is no evidence in English archæology, whatever may have been the case in parts of the Continent, that conversion to Christianity resulted in any even temporary increase in the richness of burials. Professor Lindqvist's opinion that 'the very fact that such a wealth of grave-goods is not met with in the preceding centuries' shows the Sutton Hoo burial to be Christian,⁷⁰ cannot be accepted. If the richness of the Sutton Hoo burial has not been met with earlier, this is partly because it is the first royal burial found. It stands at a different social level from all previous discoveries, even in its own century; and the difference between a royal grave and any lesser burial at this time may be expected to be marked.⁷¹ It is also because Saxon archæology in general is richer in the 7th century than in the 5th and 6th centuries, a fact due to the consolidation of the Saxon Kingdoms and the resumption of continental trade—for example the renewed flow into England of continental gold⁷²—and not to the arrival of St. Augustine.

⁶⁶ pp. 96-8.

⁶⁷ T. C. Lethbridge, *Merlin's Island*, 1948, 139.

⁶⁸ Bede, Bk. I, Ch. xxx: see also 'Saxon Rendlesham', 237-8.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, Bk. III, Ch. viii.

⁷⁰ *Antiquity* 1948, 133: *Fornvännen* 1948, 99: 'Mot denna bakgrund framstår graven vid Sutton Hoo som utan tvivel kristen, anlagd för en konvertit. Detta redan genom den från föregående sekler ej betygade rikedom på gravgåvor.'

⁷¹ See p. 4 above.

⁷² Sutherland *op. cit.*, 22, 23.

The attitude of the Augustinian church towards grave-goods is probably well-reflected, as Chadwick has pointed out,⁷³ in the *Seafarer*:—

Though he will spread with gold the grave of his own brother, and bury with the dead in treasures of various kinds what he wishes to have with him, yet gold, which he has hidden while he is still alive here, will not be able to help a soul which is sinful, in place of the fear of God.⁷⁴

In other words it was not regarded as wrong as much as inefficacious. Thus we might expect that with the acceptance of Christianity the custom would in many cases continue, but as a matter of sentiment and tradition, and not of urgency, and that the grave goods would assume more and more a token character. This is indeed what happens in English archæology. Many furnished graves may be late and Christian, but none that may be confidently called Christian is rich.⁷⁵

Such must I think have been the considerations in Professor Chadwick's mind when he wrote 'It may be doubted greatly whether *extravagance* on the scale found at Sutton Hoo ever prevailed in the burials of Christian times;' (my italics). Such considerations were certainly in mine when the British Museum Provisional Guide was written. It seemed that the burying of so many rare and intrinsically valuable objects must express a positive religious feeling, and that such lavish provision if the dead man were a Christian would represent an improbable sacrifice to no more than sentiment of many items of an extremely costly and rare character.

The most serious objection to Professor Lindqvist's treatment of this subject, is however, that his arguments, however sound they may be in theory, do not apply to Sutton Hoo. He overlooks the background of the burial in English history, as continental commentators are apt to do, although it has been carefully and accessibly expounded by Chadwick.⁷⁶ Professor Lindqvist, when he wrote, understood the numismatic evidence for the date of the burial to be

⁷³ *op. cit.*, 83. The date of the poem is uncertain.

⁷⁴ The passage is somewhat obscure. *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 1948, gives the text as follows:—

peah þe græf wille	golde stregan
broþor his geborenum	byrgan be deadum
maþum mislicum,	þæt hine mid wille:
ne maeg þære sawle,	þe biþ synna ful,
gold to geoce	for Godes egsan,
þonne he hit ær hydeð	þenden he her leofað.

⁷⁵ cf. Lethbridge, *op. cit.*, 140: 'very few of the graves at this time had rich associations of grave goods.'

⁷⁶ *op. cit.*

'after 650, and most probably not until about 670',⁷⁷ which is slightly, but not far, off Mr. John Allan's statement on the late side. If I understand him correctly, Professor Lindqvist considers that the provision of elaborate grave-goods was encouraged in an initial phase by the Church as an inducement to abandon cremation (which conflicted with the concept of resurrection of the dead), as being in some sort a compensation for the spectacle and popular celebrations that accompanied important cremations.⁷⁸ But by 650 A.D., let alone 670, the custom of cremation had long since disappeared in Anglo-Saxon England, even in its strongholds.⁷⁹ St. Augustine arrived in 597 in an exclusively inhuming county. The argument does not apply.

Again, Professor Lindqvist says 'I have tried to show that the rich grave must be regarded as a typically Christian arrangement, but only conceivable during a period of transition from paganism which was of very short duration in all parts of England.'⁸⁰ (my italics). But by 670 East Anglia had been substantially Christian for nearly 40 years. Professor Lindqvist even toys with the possibility⁸¹ that the grave could be that of Aldwulf, who died in 713 (Fig. 1), but says that 'a date of deposition as late as this is archæologically hardly possible.' Whatever it may be archæologically, it is, as everyone who knows 7th century England must agree, historically fantastic.

We thus begin to understand the reluctance of English archæologists to see this lavish burial as Christian, and why Chadwick said 'if the funeral took place after 640 it was due to a deliberate reversion to heathenism.' The later one places the burial after 640, the more compelling does this conclusion become.

But this is not the end of the matter. It is necessary to look at

⁷⁷ *op. cit.*, 'med all sannolikhet först omkring 670' (*Fornvännen* 1948, 96). Mr. Allan said that he had little doubt that the date was 'nearer 670' than 650, which is not quite the same as 'not until about 670'. See B.M. Provisional Guide, 42 and Note 1 on p. 42.

⁷⁸ *Antiquity* 1948, 138: *Fornvännen* 1948, 98-9.

⁷⁹ For the upper limit in date for cremation in Anglo-Saxon archæology see E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.*, 33, 35: e.g. 'it is mainly the wide range of brooch-types associated with cremations that serves to establish the persistence of the rite down to the beginning of the 7th century and in a few cases beyond.' cf. R. R. Clarke, 'Norfolk in the Dark Ages', Pt. I, *Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society* XXVII, 1939, 177: 'Cremation was not general after about 550' (in Norfolk). Probably the latest Anglo-Saxon cremation known is the Asthall Barrow, from which part of a Coptic bowl and the remains of a gilt-bronze object ornamented in Style II were recovered (*Antiquaries Journal*, IV, 113-126).

⁸⁰ *Antiquity*, 1948, 138: *Fornvännen* 1948, 107.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 134; *ibid.*, 99. 'Aethelwalds dödsår torde få beräknas till 663 eller 664, åtta år närmare den tid, som mynten anses hänvisa till såsom den mest sannolika. Är detta för tidigt, få vi hänvisa till hans år 713 avlidne efterföljare Aldwulf. Arkeologer är likväl en så sen anläggningstid svårligen möjlig.'

the history of Christianity in East Anglia ⁸² more closely, and in particular at the history of Christianity in the East Anglian Royal house.

The story of Christianity in East Anglia begins, some time before 617 A.D., with the conversion of Redwald on a visit to Kent, although he did not, in the event, give up his pagan practices. Redwald's son, Eorpwald, however, was persuaded by Edwin of Deira to 'leave off the superstitions of idols, and with his whole realm to receive the faith and sacraments of Christ.'⁸³ This must have been after Edwin's own conversion on Easter Day, 12th April, 627, and before his death in 632. The subsequent history of East Anglian Christianity until the death of Sigeberht (soon after 640) ⁸⁴ is given by Bede in the same chapter:⁸⁵

But Eorpwald, not long after he had received the faith, was slain by a man that was a paynim named Ricbert, and from that time three years after the province abode in terror, until Sigbert, brother of the same Eorpwald, took the kingdom, a man in all points most Christian and learned, who whiles his brother was yet alive, living banished in France was instructed in the mysteries of the faith; of which he went about to make all his realm partake as soon as he began to reign. Whose good endeavour herein the Bishop Felix farthered to his great glory, and when Felix came from the coasts of Burgundy,⁸⁶ (where he was born and took holy orders) to Honorius the Archbishop and had opened his longing unto him, the Archbishop sent him to preach the word of life to the aforesaid nation of the East English. Where certes his desires fell not in vain; nay rather this good husbandman of the spiritual soil found in that nation manifold fruit of people that believed.

For according to the good abodement of his name he brought all that province now delivered from their long iniquity and unhappiness, unto faith and works of justice and the gifts of unending happiness; and he received the see of his bishopric in the City of Domnoc: ⁸⁷ where when he had ruled the same province seventeen years in that dignity, he ended his life in peace in that same place. ⁸⁸

⁸² For the conversion of East Anglia see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1943 (The Oxford History of England, Vol. 1) 116-7.

⁸³ Bede, Bk. II Ch. xv.

⁸⁴ Chadwick *op. cit.*, 87. Sigeberht was killed at the same time as his 'cognatus' and co-king Ecgric in fighting against a Mercian invasion of East Anglia by Penda.

⁸⁵ Ch. xv.

⁸⁶ 'de Burgundiorum partibus.'

⁸⁷ Dunwich, in Suffolk.

⁸⁸ Probably in 648 or 649 A.D. See Chadwick's calculations, *op. cit.*, 81.

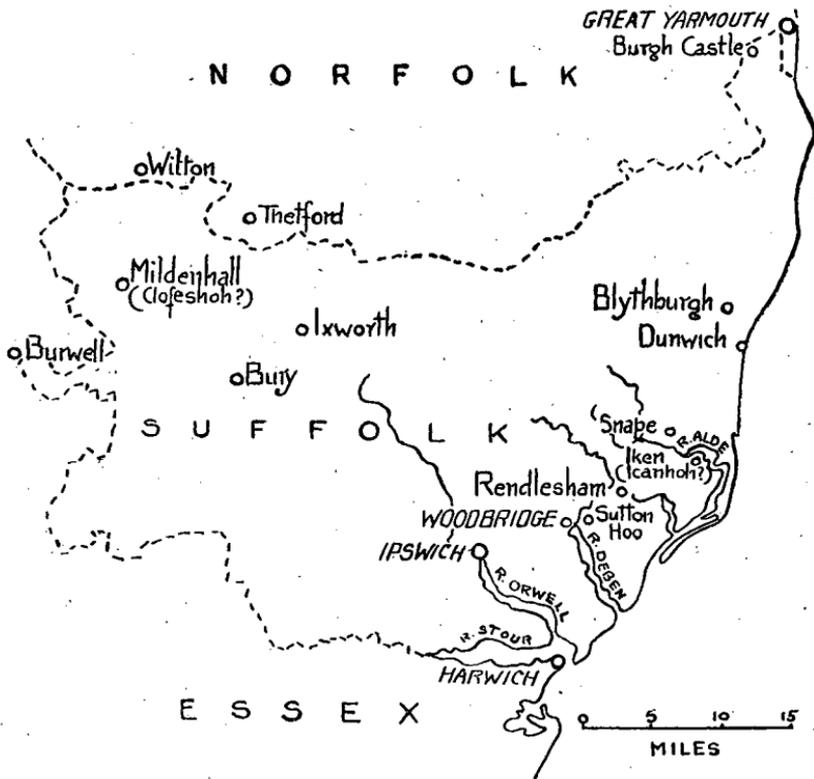


FIG. 4. Sketch map of Suffolk and adjacent counties, showing places mentioned in this paper.

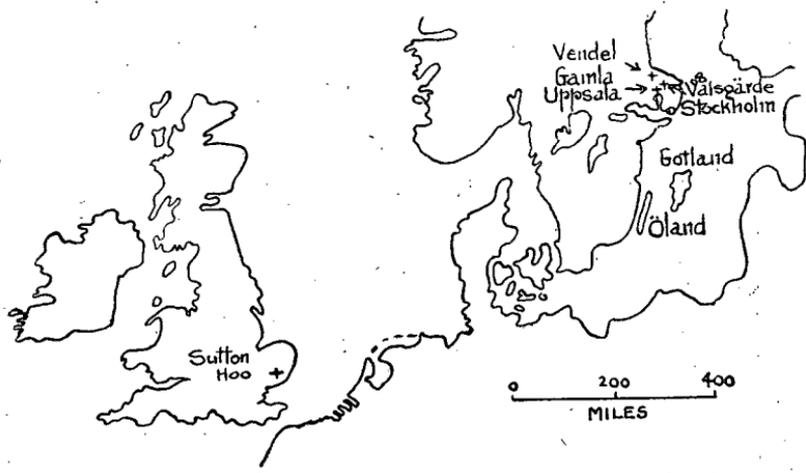


FIG. 5. Sketch map of Northern Europe, showing the general geographical relationship between Sutton Hoo and the principal related Swedish sites; Vendel, Valsgarde and Old (Gamla) Uppsala, all in Uppland province; and the Islands of Öland and Gotland.

During Sigbert's reign there came from Ireland direct to East Anglia (not *via* Northumbria, and in fact at just about the same time that St. Aidan came to Lindisfarne, A.D. 635) another missionary figure. This was a famous Irish ascetic St. Fursey, who 'came through the Britons to the Country of the English,' with a few brethren.⁸⁹ He was received honourably by Sigbert, made converts and strengthened the hesitant. He built a monastery in the place given him by Sigbert (identified as Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth) 'which afterwards Anna' (d. 654 A.D.) 'and all the noble men enriched with buildings of more majesty and with offerings.'

The future of the East Anglian Church was secured by the foundation of a school for which Felix secured teachers 'such as there were in Kent.'⁹⁰ Sigbert himself founded a monastery at Bury⁹¹ and gave up the throne to enter it.

The co-kings Sigbert and Ecgric, killed together,⁹² were succeeded by the good King Anna, an exemplary Christian in every way and the founder and benefactor of monasteries, 'all of whose daughters became nuns, and three of them saints.'⁹³ We have no precise information about the religion of his brother and successor Aethelhere, who reigned only one year. But Aethelhere's successor Aethelwald, another brother, was a Christian and stood godfather to the King of Essex who was baptized at Rendlesham at this time (655-664 A.D.) at the hands of Cedd, Bishop of the East Saxons.⁹⁴ Subsequent kings, Aldwulf, who died fifty years after his predecessor Aethelwald and who lived in Bede's own day, and his son Aelfwald, who died in the middle of the 8th century, may be assumed to have been Christians.

From this survey, it is clear that by 650, the earliest date considered on numismatic opinion to be possible for the Sutton Hoo Ship-burial, East Anglia was substantially converted. The course of Christianity there seems furthermore to have been smooth and markedly successful, studded with saints and notable Christian personalities. Before 670 there were at least five monasteries, Felix's at Dunwich, St. Fursey's at Burgh Castle, Sigberht's at Bury, Anna's at Blythburgh; and another presided over by St. Botolph at a place called Icanhoh which has recently been identified with Iken on the Alde (Fig. 4).^{94a} So celebrated had this last become that Abbot Ceolfrith of Wearmouth journeyed especially to visit it shortly after 669.⁹⁵ It seems to have been

⁸⁹ Bede, Bk. III, Ch. xvii.

⁹¹ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 81.

⁹³ *ibid.*, 82, note 2.

^{94a} *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Vol. 18, 1924, 29-52. (F. S. Stevenson, 'St. Botolph and Iken'). I am indebted to Mr. Leslie Dow for this reference.

⁹⁵ Stenton, *op. cit.*, 117.

⁹⁰ Stenton, *op. cit.*, 116.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹⁴ See 'Saxon Rendlesham' 230, 236-7,

founded in 654 A.D.⁹⁶ Besides monastic establishments there must have been numerous churches. One of these was almost certainly close to Sutton Hoo, at Rendlesham, a church that must have been built for members of the East Anglian royal family and no doubt dated back to Anna's reign, very possibly to Sigbert's.⁹⁷

It is also necessary to draw a clear distinction between royalty and converts of lesser standing, and especially those in districts remote from Christian centres. It was essential for the missionaries to obtain the consent and good will of kings before operating in their territories. If the king and other members of the royal circle could be persuaded to accept Christianity, others would follow and the work of the mission would be given an auspicious start and good prospects of success. Thus we find the efforts of the missionaries everywhere addressed first to kings, and the part played by royalty in the introduction and spread of Christianity was of conspicuous importance, largely because of interconnections by marriage between the different courts. The way for Augustine in Kent was prepared by the fact that Ethelbert already had a Christian wife, the Frankish princess Bertha, who had with her in Kent before Augustine came a Christian chaplain, Luidhard, and a Christian retinue.⁹⁸ Redwald of East Anglia was converted on a visit to Ethelbert in Kent. Sigbert of East Anglia became Christian whilst in exile at the Frankish court, and when he won back his throne, took the vital steps in ensuring the conversion of East Anglia. The first introduction of Christianity into Northumbria was the result of Edwin's marriage with Ethelbert of Kent's daughter Ethelburgh, and the fact that Paulinus was sent with her from Kent as her chaplain. After Edwin's death and the return of Paulinus with Ethelburgh to Kent, it was at King Oswald's invitation that St. Aidan was invited from Iona and settled with his Irish mission at Lindisfarne (A.D. 635). It was Edwin of Northumbria who persuaded Redwald's son Eorpwald in East Anglia 'to leave off the superstitions of

⁹⁶ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records under 654 that Anna was slain and Botolph 'began to timber that minster at Ikanhoe'. Stevenson *op. cit.* 29.

⁹⁷ 'Saxon Rendlesham', 236-7. Bede refers on a number of occasions to mass baptisms in rivers, the Swale, Glen and Trent for instance. (Bk. II, Chs. xiv, xvi). These ceremonies were characteristic of rural areas in the early days of the conversion: Thus Bede, explaining the baptisms in the Swale at Catterick, says 'for as yet there could not be builded oratories or places of baptism in the very birth of the new church.' But where it is a case of baptising kings we read of churches set up for the occasion (*e.g.* at York and Canterbury), and it must be regarded as in the highest degree improbable that in East Anglia between 655 and 664 a bishop would have conducted the baptism of a visiting king in the river at a royal seat that had belonged to saintly and conspicuously active Christian kings such as Sigberht and Anna. It must be regarded as virtually certain that there was a church, even if only of the nature of a private royal chapel, at Rendlesham when this royal baptism took place there between 655 and 664 A.D.

⁹⁸ R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I, 264.

idols and with his whole realm to receive the faith and sacraments of Christ'. It has been said of the policy of the Church towards pagan burials that 'the first effect of the conversion was not so much the discontinuance of grave offerings as a change in the place of burial. People were now taken to churches for burial, and, just as in Iceland in later times, this change probably took place at once.'⁹⁹ Nowhere was the Church more insistent, or consistent, in the matter of this change in the place of burial, than with kings and queens, and in these cases offerings in the grave, in the pagan manner, also ceased at once. We can see this in operation on the Continent at an earlier period. Thus whilst Childeric 1st, the last pagan king of the Franks, was buried at Tournai in 481 with the richest grave furnishings known in Northern Europe until the Sutton Hoo discovery, his son Clovis, the first Christian king, converted in 496, was buried in the Church of the Apostles at Paris, and his descendants seem regularly to have been buried in churches.¹⁰⁰ In Kent, one of Augustine's prime concerns was to build 'a monastery not far from the city' (Canterbury) 'to the eastward, in which by his advice Ethelbert erected from its foundations the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul and enriched it with divers gifts; wherein the bodies of the same Augustine and of all the bishops of Canterbury and of the kings of Kent might be buried.'¹⁰¹ Similarly the first act of Edwin of Northumbria after his conversion was to build a stone church at York, in which royal burials from that time onwards took place. He was baptized at York on Easter Day, 12th April, 627, in the church of the Apostle Peter 'which in all speed he himself set up of wood in that same place where he was catechised and instructed against his baptism.' As soon as he was christened 'he set to building right in that place a basilica of stone greater and more magnificent.'¹⁰² In this basilica Edwin's two infant children were buried within five or six years of its foundation at most,¹⁰³ as was his own head, recovered from the battle of Heathfield (A.D. 632). Chadwick¹⁰⁴ quotes also the burials of Sebba, first king of the East Saxons to be converted, in St. Pauls' in London, of Mercian kings at Lichfield, Bardney and other churches, and of members of the royal house of Northumbria in the monastery at Whitby (founded in 637 by St. Hilda, whose sister married the East Anglian King Aethelhere, d. 655, in whose honour it has been suggested the Sutton Hoo ship-

⁹⁹ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 83; also footnote on p.84. 'It may be noted that the (Continental) Old Saxons after their conquest by Charlemagne, in 785, were required to bury Christians in cemeteries of the church, and not in 'barrows of the heathen.' cf. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, I, 260 f.

¹⁰⁰ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁰¹ Bede, Bk. I, Ch. xxxiii.

¹⁰² Bede, Bk. II, Ch. xiv.

¹⁰³ Chadwick, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

burial was constructed).¹⁰⁵ Many of these burials took place within a few years of conversion, and there is no indication in Bede that any variation from this rule (such as Sutton Hoo must represent if it is the grave of a Christian king) occurred in any instance of a royal Christian's burial. Whatever may have happened in the countryside at large, in the case of kings and queens, key personalities whose souls must have been directly in the care of bishops, all the evidence indicates that conversion resulted in a clean break with the past both in the place and in the mode of burial.

If we now turn to East Anglia, we find that here too, in the Wuffinga family, this break with the past had been effected by the time of the Sutton Hoo burial. Sigbert (d. c 640?)¹⁰⁶ had left the throne to enter a monastery, and we may feel sure that this monk's body, if recovered from battle, was buried in consecrated ground, most probably in the monastery which he had himself founded and entered, and from which he was only brought out by force to fight his last battle. Anna (d. 654), according to an express statement in the Ely Chronicle, was buried at Blythburgh, his body being still venerated there in the 12th Century. Thus in East Anglia as elsewhere Lindqvist's 'very short period of transition' is over, whereas the need for naïve inducements to abandon cremation is something that can never have applied in the history of East Anglian Christianity. The burial-ground at Sutton Hoo certainly had pagan associations, as Chadwick has pointed out,¹⁰⁷ since some of the mounds excavated there in 1938 contained cremations,¹⁰⁸ whilst at this very time a royal church in all probability existed at the royal seat close by, at Rendlesham. It is thus extremely difficult to suppose, and indefensible on general grounds, that this great burial in the pagan tradition and in the old pagan burial place, occurring as late as between 650 and 670 ('about 670' as Lindqvist understood the numismatic evidence) can have contained the body of a Christian Wuffinga king.

This is the background against which the question of the pagan or Christian character of the grave must be considered, and these are the general considerations that gave rise to the view that the great burial must represent a reversion to paganism, or the accession, even at this late date, of an independently-minded king, who had declined to follow the example of earlier kings and other members of his family, and had remained faithful to the old Gods.

That such an exception might possibly occur is shown by the history of Christianity in the West Saxon royal house. Birinus, first

¹⁰⁵ B. M. Provisional Guide, 42-3.

¹⁰⁶ p. 24 above, note 84. 640 is given by Chadwick as the probable approximate date of Anna's accession.

¹⁰⁷ *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁰⁸ B. M. Provisional Guide, 9.

bishop of the West Saxons, found them 'intensely heathen'.¹⁰⁹ He baptized their king Cynegils in 635 and immediately afterwards set up his bishopric at Dorchester on Thames. Cynegils' eldest son and grandson soon followed his example, but his second son and successor was still heathen in 645 when he was expelled from Wessex.¹¹⁰ Such a thing could theoretically have occurred in East Anglia, but against the possibility we may set the later date with which we are dealing (650—670), and the fact that by this date Christianity was longer and much more firmly established in East Anglia than it was in Wessex by 645. Indeed, when the exiled king of Wessex does become converted, we find that he is converted in East Anglia and under the influence of Anna (d. 654).¹¹¹ Nevertheless, in the face of the phenomenon represented by the Sutton Hoo burial, such a possibility cannot be ruled out. It is more likely, in so well-Christianized a milieu, than any general relapse; and indeed a general relapse in East Anglia would assuredly have been recorded by Bede, who records them in other kingdoms less distinguished for good works and holy lives. If one strong personality who eventually became king remained pagan down to this period and to the last, the only possible figure seems to be Aethelhere (d. 655), who on accession immediately reversed the foreign policy of East Anglia, entering into an active alliance with the pagan Mercian king Penda who had killed his most Christian brother and predecessor Anna, whose Christian wife left him to go into a monastery near Paris, and whose death seemed to fit admirably with the circumstance of the cenotaph.¹¹²

One circumstance, however, seems to me to conflict with this attempt to explain the lateness of the great burial by saying that it is that of an obstinate pagan—namely the evidences of Christianity in the grave itself. These are positive and striking. They are also not casual, but seem to have deliberation, intent. Thus Professor Lindqvist refers to the two silver spoons which he says are marked 'Paul or Saul'.¹¹³ These are of course, as has been stated many times,¹¹⁴ marked 'Paul and Saul', that is to say, one is marked Paul, the other Saul (Fig. 6). Kitzinger has said of these that there is little doubt that the inscriptions refer to Paul the Apostle.¹¹⁵ But there can be no doubt at all. The fact that the spoons are a pair, and the coupling of the name Saul with that of Paul, put it beyond doubt. Kitzinger also seemed to have some difficulty in

¹⁰⁹ Stenton *op. cit.*, 117-8.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² B. M. Provisional Guide, 42-3.

¹¹³ *Antiquity*, 1948, 134; *Fornvännen* 1948, 99 'Paulus eller Saulus.

¹¹⁴ *Antiquity* XIV, 1940, 58. *B.M. Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1939, 124. B.M. Provisional Guide, 24.

¹¹⁵ *Antiquity*, XIV, 1940, 59.

explaining the purpose of the spoons, and said 'the best solution seems to be to regard them either as votive gifts to a church or as pilgrims' souvenirs of some sacred place.'¹¹⁶ This was because he thought that the saint's pre-Apostolic name could hardly have

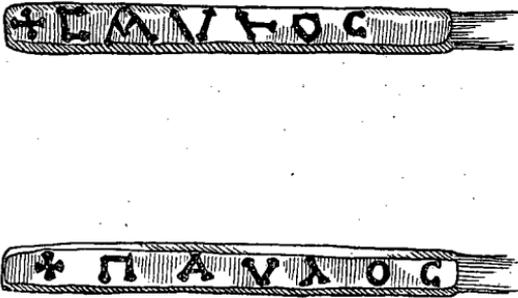


FIG. 6. Inscriptions in Greek, "Saulos" and "Paulos", from the pair of silver spoons found in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial (†).

(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

appeared on a liturgical object. It would not be appropriate on a liturgical object. But there is one ecclesiastical context in which the use of the saints' pre-apostolic name, in conjunction with his apostolic name, is peculiarly apt. Our pair of spoons make a clear reference not merely to St. Paul¹¹⁷ but to the critical and supreme event of his life, to the change that came over him on the road to Damascus. We may accept the spoons without hesitation as a present for a convert,—not as a Christening gift for an infant, but as a gift intended to mark the baptism of an adult convert relinquishing his pagan state, and no doubt a royal convert. The pair of silver spoons in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial are thus not a vaguely Christian memento, or tourist's souvenir, but have a specific significance in the historical context in which they have been found. They might also be supposed to have had a peculiarly personal significance to their owner, and to be unlikely to have been buried with an active pagan resisting the Christian environment by which he must have been at this date very largely surrounded.

We must also observe that the set of ten silver bowls with

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ It may be noted that Augustine built in Canterbury the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and that the first church of the East Saxons in London was St. Paul's (p. 28 above).

cruciform designs were placed immediately beside the spoons in the burial deposit, and away from the rest of the silver.¹¹⁸ It has already been suggested that the cruciform designs on these bowls may have Christian significance,¹¹⁹ and their placing beside the spoons, and close to the scabbard-bosses which are also charged with Christian symbols,¹²⁰ in a spot which must have been, or been taken as representing, the right shoulder or side of the dead man, seems to reinforce this view.

Extreme caution is necessary before it can be asserted that a cruciform design or even a specific cross has anything to do with Christianity at this period. I certainly would not claim, for example, that the small crosses which appear with regularity between the rivet-heads on the rivet-shelves at either end of the rectangular plaques that ornamented the Sutton Hoo sword-belt (Plates II *a, c*, XIV *b*) and also in the middle of the garnet-inlaid panels along their edges (Plate II *c*) and in similar positions on another of the jewelled pieces, the unique T-shape double-hinged mount (Plate II *c*) had Christian significance, although it might well be so in this context.¹²¹ The crosses on the scabbard-bosses seem more definite however (Plates II *b* and XI).

It is true that cruciform designs very similar to those on the scabbard-bosses may be found in early Anglo-Saxon archæology in a number of instances where there are no grounds for inferring any Christian significance. The equal-armed curvilinear cross occurs, for example, on the escutcheons of one of the hanging-bowls from Faversham¹²² which belongs to Kendrick's early 'romanising' group¹²³ and there seems no reason to assume that it is specifically Christian.¹²⁴ Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland has pointed out that this form

¹¹⁸ See plans of the burial deposit, B. M. Provisional Guide, Pl. 24; *Antiquaries Journal*, XX, Pl. XXXVII. Also *Antiquity*, XIV, Pl. XIII.

¹¹⁹ B. M. Provisional Guide, 49. ¹²⁰ Plates II *b* and XI.

¹²¹ Similar crosses occupy a central position on the gold cloisonné fittings, probably from a bag or purse, found with the Crondall hoard of gold Saxon and Merovingian coins deposited probably between 660 and 670 (C. H. V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon gold coinage in the light of the Crondall hoard*, 13). See Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III, Pl. III, 2; Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *Art in the Dark Ages in Europe*, 1930, Pl. XX, M 2. N. Åberg, *Anglo-Saxons in England*, 1926, Fig. 290. The coins were purchased by the Ashmolean Museum in 1944, but the gold cloisonné pieces are now lost. (See Sutherland, *op. cit.*, 8).

¹²² T. D. Kendrick, 'British Hanging Bowls,' *Antiquity*, VI, 1932, p. 176 Pl. III; F. Henry, 'Hanging Bowls', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, LXVI, 1936, p. 227 and Pl. XXVII, 5.

¹²³ *op. cit.*, 170.

¹²⁴ C. H. V. Sutherland, 'Numismatic parallels to Kentish polychrome brooches', *Archæological Journal*, XCIV, 1937, 116-127. The fully-developed Celtic cross is seen on one of the Camerton escutcheons (F. Henry, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIII, 4) but this cemetery is late enough to suggest that this cross may be due to the specific influence of Christian art. On the Camerton cemetery see Leeds, *op. cit.*, 111-113.

of cross is a fundamental element in the design of some of the Kentish circular jewelled brooches, for instance the well-known Sarre brooch¹²⁵ and that from Milton, near Abingdon, in the Ashmolean.¹²⁶ We may add the Faversham brooch in the Fitzwilliam¹²⁷ and the Dover brooch in the British Museum.¹²⁸ Dr. Sutherland has also shown how this cruciform design may have evolved naturally in copper coinage of the early Saxon period (attributed by him to the 5th and 6th, and perhaps early 7th, centuries) out of the square altar, with pellets, on the reverse of a prominent variety of the common type issued to commemorate the death of Claudius Gothicus in 270 A.D.¹²⁹ He also claims that the perfect examples of the 'celtic' cross that appear on the reverses of certain silver *sceattas* of the London group (Fig. 3 d) came into being by a similar process of natural evolution from one or other of two Constantinian types, either the *Virtus Exercit*—VOT. XX (standard and captives) type or the *Beata Tranquillitas*—VOTIS XX (altar) type.¹³⁰ Cruciform designs like those on the Sutton Hoo scabbard-bosses must not therefore automatically be assumed to have Christian significance at this time.

Against this it should be said that Dr Sutherland has not been able to demonstrate in the copper coin series the final stage in this pagan evolution of the cross—the emergence of the curvilinear cross of the type that appears on the Sutton Hoo scabbard-bosses. He was not able in the paper quoted to take the development beyond the stage illustrated by the coin in the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle,¹³¹ being obliged to turn to the Kentish brooches (and to a late example at that) to complete the evolution.¹³² It may also be claimed that in the Kentish polychrome brooches on which it appears the 'celtic' cross must be regarded as little more than an adventitious element, latent in the design, and not explicit. Even in simplified line-drawing statements of the designs it appears that the ornamental emphasis rests upon the central and outlying roundels and upon the division of the disc into segments and subsidiary fields,¹³³ rather than upon the cross. This is much more

¹²⁵ *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 1923, Fig. 60; T. D. Kendrick, 'Polychrome jewellery in Kent,' *Antiquity*, VII, 1933, 440, Pl. IV, 4. N. Åberg, *Anglo-Saxons in England*, Fig. 203 etc.

¹²⁶ Sutherland, 'Numismatic Parallels', Pl. 1, B.

¹²⁷ Kendrick, 'Polychrome Jewellery', Pl. IV, 2; Åberg, *op. cit.* Fig. 205.

¹²⁸ Kendrick, 'Polychrome Jewellery', Pl. I, 5. The cross theme does seem to be introduced here in the design of the cloisonné ring of the central roundel, in the form of four short expanding arms proceeding from a large central circle, the general effect being similar to the Wilton pendant. This would seem to be deliberate, as distinct from the cruciform pattern formed by the four filigree panels, which may be adventitious.

¹²⁹ Sutherland, 'Numismatic parallels', 118.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, 121.

¹³² *ibid.*, 120.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 118 and Plate I, 5.

¹³³ *ibid.*, Fig. 1, G-H.

evident when the original specimens are seen, for the roundels are picked out with garnet inlay and prominent decorated shell bosses, and the borders, intermediate rings, and the rectilinear pattern often superimposed on the celtic cross, are accentuated in red by incrustation with garnets and attract attention by the intricacies of their cell-work. The clearest unencumbered statement of the cross is to be seen on the Sarre and Dover brooches, but even here there is no deliberate accentuation and it can hardly be claimed as anything more than a simplification of the general scheme so well established in the design of this group of brooches.

Nor is the internal evolution of the cross in the *sceatta* series convincing. There is a wide gap between Nos. 7 and 8 in Sutherland's series (*op. cit.* Pl. II) and since the *sceatta* series is now held not to have commenced until *c.* 675¹³⁴ the perfect crosses on these coins could very well have been derived directly from outside models, for instance the cruciform pendant series described below (p. 35), or designs like that on the Sutton Hoo scabbard-bosses, or designs derived from the Celtic milieu represented by the Cameron escutcheon.¹³⁵ The adoption on coins at this time of fresh designs taken from goldsmith's work (cloisonné jewellery) is illustrated in the *sceatta* series by a coin noted by Baldwin Brown,¹³⁶ which reproduces a step-pattern design of T-shaped cells, very similar to that which appears, in blue glass paste, on the central disc of the 7th century Roundway Down pins and chain and which is without doubt imitated from cloisonné jewellery.¹³⁷ There need be no connection between the 'Celtic' cross theme of London type *sceattas* and the designs of Roman origin on the reverses of the 'Wolf-Standard' group. Indeed had the course of development been as Sutherland suggests one would expect the cross to appear in the 'Wolf-Standard' series, whereas, in fact, it only appears on coins with other obverses. The rosettes or annulets between the arms of the 'Celtic' crosses on *sceattas* need not be an original and active element in the evolution of the design, but could be no more than conventional fill-ups echoing the familiar patterns of the polychrome brooch series or borrowed from the familiar annulets or rosettes of other types of *sceatta* reverses^{137a} or from the designs of the copper coinages.

¹³⁴ Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage*, 67.

¹³⁵ Above, note 124. Dr. Sutherland's view of the evolution of the 'celtic cross' on *sceattas* is repeated, and more positively affirmed, in his valuable paper 'Anglo-Saxon *sceattas* in England: their origin, chronology and distribution', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth series, Vol. II, 1942, pp. 5 and 22-3.

¹³⁶ *Arts in Early England*, III, Pl. VI, (p. 85) No. 13.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, Pl. LXXXI (p. 371) 2 and 4; and Vol. IV, p. 425.

^{137a} 'The lively interplay and merging of types resulted in certain borrowings of types by one class from another' (Sutherland, 'Anglo-Saxon *sceattas*', 21).

When we come to the cruciform pendants (Plate III)¹³⁸ the position is quite different from that in the brooches. Here the cross is explicit and the Christian purpose of the pendants cannot be in doubt, for one of them, whatever may be its date and place of origin,¹³⁹ was worn by St. Cuthbert, or at least placed on his breast and about his neck in the grave.¹⁴⁰ We may also refer to the obvious Christian character of other pendants of the period, for instance, the gold cross of the Desborough necklace,¹⁴¹ or the Camerton¹⁴² or Canterbury¹⁴³ crosses. For the purpose of the present argument—the significance of the cruciform designs on the Sutton Hoo scabbard-bosses—we are primarily concerned with the gold pendants encrusted with garnets. Two of the three known, those from Ixworth and Wilton (the third being St. Cuthbert's cross) were found in East Anglia. That from Wilton, Norfolk, in the British Museum, (Plate III *c*) containing a gold solidus of Heraclius I (610-640) is undoubtedly a product of the workshop that produced the Sutton Hoo jewellery, and very probably the work of one of the craftsmen that contributed to the Sutton Hoo regalia. Any one who handles together the Wilton cross and the Sutton Hoo garnet-encrusted pieces must be impressed by the identity of the metal, and the intimate relationship of style, quality of workmanship and finish. The cloisonné work of the pendant is carried out with the absolute regularity and delicacy of the best Sutton Hoo pieces. The garnets used are of the same colour and quality. The closest connection of all, however, is to be found in the repertoire of cell-types and patterns. On the Wilton pendant see there occurs around the central roundel a border of plain rectangular cells, smaller and larger cells alternately, which is a small-scale version of the border round the lid of the Sutton Hoo purse (Plate VI *a*). Similar borders of plain rectangular cells, but without the alternation of large and small, may be seen on a small buckle and two strap-ends in the Sutton Hoo jewellery,¹⁴⁴ and form the spines that run the length of the backs of the boars on the ends

¹³⁸ See Åberg, *Anglo-Saxons in England*, 136. T. D. Kendrick, 'St. Cuthbert's Pectoral Cross, and the Wilton and Ixworth Crosses', *Antiquaries Journal*, XVII, 1937, 283-293.

¹³⁹ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, 287, 292, regards the Cuthbert Cross as 5th century and 'a work of the Early British church'. Whilst seriously doubting the validity of this attribution, I agree with Kendrick that the Cuthbert Cross is strikingly unlike the other cruciform pendants in many ways, and presents features at present unparalleled in 7th century Saxon archaeology.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 284.

¹⁴¹ B. M. *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, Pl. iv, 4; Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, IV, Pl. cii (p. 425), 5.

¹⁴² *cf.* Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, 111.

¹⁴³ Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *Art in the Dark Ages in Europe*, 1930, pl. iii, A52.

¹⁴⁴ B. M. Provisional Guide, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial* 1947 Pl. 19 *c-e*.

of the epaulettes.¹⁴⁵ The distinctive 'mushroom' cell, which, as Dr. Kendrick has pointed out,¹⁴⁶ is so frequently and prominently employed by the Sutton Hoo jeweller, is used, in exactly the form in which it occurs at Sutton Hoo, on the Wilton pendant, and we may note that the very unusual¹⁴⁷ herring-bone pattern in cloisonné garnets to be seen on the suspension-limb of the Wilton cross, below the barrel-shaped loop, occurs at Sutton Hoo at either end of the straight bar along the top of the purse-lid (Plate VI a) and again, in carved or modelled garnets, round the edges of the scabbard bosses (Plate XI). When to these intimate affinities we add the fact that a distinctive cell-pattern theme, much favoured in particular by the goldsmith who made the Sutton Hoo sword-belt fittings (Fig. 7 a-c; Plate II a and c)¹⁴⁸ forms the central design of each of the three expanding arms of the Wilton cross (Fig. 7 e and Plate III c) it cannot be doubted that this cross came from the workshop of the Sutton Hoo master-goldsmith.

The Christian character of the Wilton pendant should be clear enough, and indeed has never been disputed. This seems nevertheless a good moment to resuscitate Reginald Smith's observation that 'the preference given to the cross on the reverse of the coin, as well as the form of the mount, show that the original owner was a Christian'.¹⁴⁹ There can only be one reason why the maker of the cross set the coin in the pendant so that the fine effigies of the Emperor and his son¹⁵⁰ were invisible when it was worn, and that is that he was more interested in the cross. That the cross is mounted upside down in no way means that its Christian significance was not appreciated. The cross itself, seen in this way, is equally effective, and could be, and evidently was, taken for a pendant cross (like the one in which it was to be set) suspended beneath its own misunderstood steps. The words 'blunder' used by Reginald Smith,¹⁵¹ and 'unintelligent' by Kendrick,¹⁵² as applied to the employment of the coin, seem unfair. To the goldsmith the coin so set was clearly the right way up, for if he reversed it, the Emperor and his son would then be upside down. He presumably

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, Pl. 23 and Fig. 16.

¹⁴⁶ *Antiquity*, XIV, 1940, 37: see also B. M. Provisional Guide, 59.

¹⁴⁷ This pattern also occurs on the foot of the Wittslingen fibula (Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, IV, Pl. H (p. 541)). The analogies here cited are much closer than any similarity there may be with the patterns of the Childeric jewellery (cf. Kendrick in *Antiquity*, XIV, p. 38. For the relevant Childeric pieces, see Baldwin Brown, *loc. cit.*, Pl.H) and J. Chiflet, *Anastasis Childerici I etc.* Antwerp MDCLV, *passim*.

¹⁴⁸ See B.M. Provisional Guide, Pl. 19 b, f, and Pl. 20 b.

¹⁴⁹ *B. M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, 61.

¹⁵⁰ Kendrick, 'St. Cuthbert's Pectoral Cross', (*Ant. J.* XVII) Pl. LXXVII, B and LXXVIII, C.

¹⁵¹ *loc. cit.*

¹⁵² *loc. cit.*, 290.

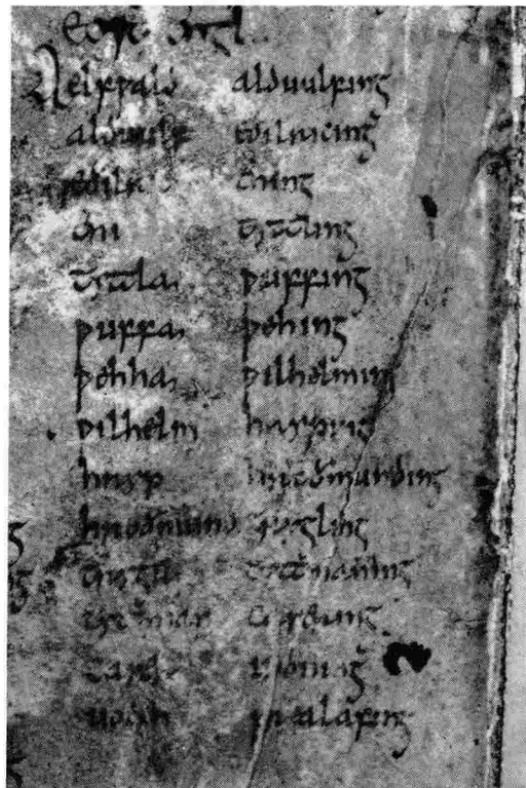


a

Eost Engla

Aelfwald	alduulfing
alduulf	eðilricing
eðilric	ening
eni	tyttling
tyttla	wuffing
wuffa	wehing
wehha	willhelming
wilhelm	hryping
hryp	hroðmunding
hroðmund	trygling
trygil	tyttmaning
tyttman	casering
caser	uodning
uoden	frealafing

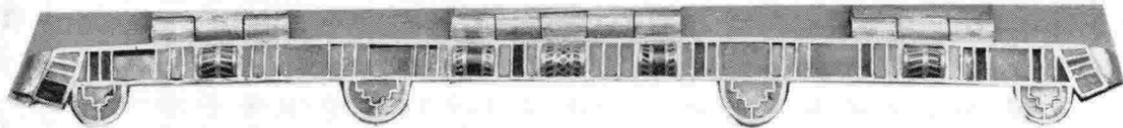
b



c

a. Whetstone with human face, from Ireland (length 5.2 ins.); b. Transcription of c; c. Genealogy of the East Anglian royal family, from the B.M. MS. Cotton Vesp. B.VI, Folio 109 v, (early 9th century).

(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



a



b



c



d

a. Hinged bar set with garnets, from the frame of the Sutton Hoo purse-lid ($\frac{1}{2}$); *b.* Face, in garnet cloisonné work with other coloured inlays, from the hip of the bird on the Sutton Hoo shield ($\frac{2}{3}$); *c.* Bird appliqué from Faversham, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$); *d.* Whetstone terminating in a carved head, from Llandudno, N. Wales ($\frac{1}{2}$).

(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

looked at the cross on the reverse the same way up as the portraits on the obverse, and so took it for a pendant cross.

Dr. Kendrick, in his valuable study of the Cuthbert, Ixworth and Wilton pendants already referred to, claimed that the Wilton cross was Merovingian work of the mid-6th century.¹⁵³ On this point as on so many others, the Sutton Hoo discoveries throw a flood of new light. We now recognise the Wilton pendant as local

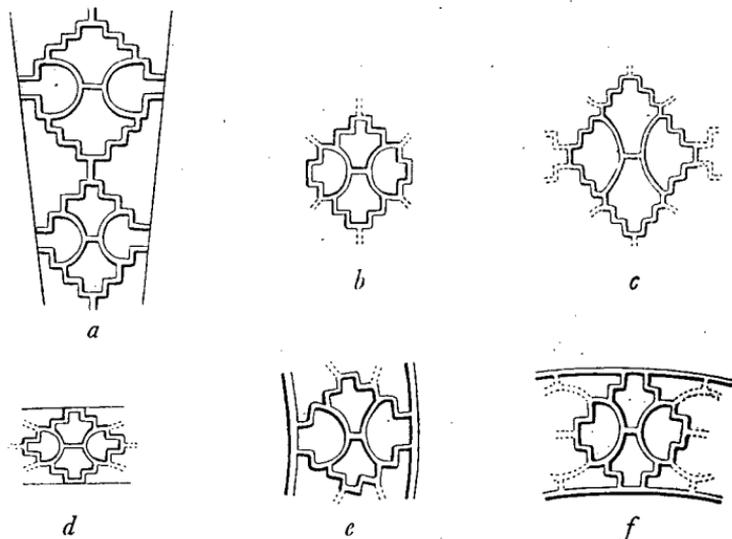


FIG. 7. Cell-pattern details: *a, b, c.* Sutton Hoo (*a.* curved buckle, *b.* T-shaped hinged strap-mount, *c.* rectangular strap-mount). *d.* Ornament at Tongres. *e.* Wilton pendant. *f.* Egbert shrine, Trier. (All slightly enlarged)

East Anglian work of the second quarter of the 7th century, and re-instate it as what it was always supposed to be, a manifestation of 7th century Saxon Christianity.

The general significance of this re-orientation of our gold cloisonné jewellery is great, but we must not digress. We may perhaps, however, refer in this connection to Kendrick's rapprochement between the Wilton pendant and the jewel set in the Egbert shrine at Trier.¹⁵⁴ He points out the occurrence on the Trier

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, The Wilton pendant (acquired by the British Museum in 1859) was unfortunately a stray find from a chalk-pit, without associations.

¹⁵⁴ *op. cit.*, 289-290, plate LXXVII and Fig. 3, 'I do not think it is going too far to say that the Wilton pendant and the jewel on this shrine were made in the same workshop, if not by the same man.' For the Trier jewel, see also C. de Linas, *Les origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, 1887, Vol. III, pl. X; H. Rupp, *Die Herkunft der Zelleneinlage*, Bonn, 1937, Pl. XXXI, and F. Rademacher in *Trierer Zeitschrift*, II Jahrgang, etc.

brooch of a ring of plain rectangular cells, large and small alternately, and of the distinctive pattern (Fig. 7 *f*) which we have already remarked as occurring frequently in the Sutton Hoo jewellery; both of these elements occur, as we have seen, on the Wilton pendant. We may add as another feature connecting the Trier brooch with the East Anglian milieu the four simplified animal heads, seen from above, which divide the outer cloisonné zone of the brooch into quadrants. These may well be descended from similarly-seen but more detailed animal heads like those distributed round the Sutton Hoo shield and decorating the extremities of the grip-extensions on the back,¹⁵⁵ and a use of similar heads recalling that on the Trier brooch occurs on the lid of the Burwell work-box.¹⁵⁶ We may also note that two opposite quadrants of the sunk inner zone on the Trier brooch show an incised pattern of T-shaped fields, the T-motives being alternately the right way up and upside-down. This same arrangement may be seen on the central roundel of the Ixworth Cross.¹⁵⁷ It seems clear that the brooch in the Egbert shrine is an East Anglian product, probably dating from the middle of the 7th century.¹⁵⁸ Standing in intimate relation with the pieces discussed is another remarkable piece of cloisonné work, of which no photograph has yet been published, recently discovered by Professor Holger Arbman in the cathedral Treasury at Tongres, in Belgium, and undoubtedly

¹⁵⁵ *Antiquity*, XX, 1946, p. 28, Pls. II and III, ('The Sutton Hoo Shield', by Herbert Maryon).

¹⁵⁶ T. C. Lethbridge, 'Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Quarto Publications. New Series*, No. III, 1931, p. 48, Pl. III. We may also recall in this connection the zoomorphic catch-plates on the backs of some English brooches, e.g. the Kingston brooch, (Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. xxxi, 6), a feature that does not often occur on the backs of the garnet-encrusted round brooches of the Rhineland (H. Rupp, *op. cit.*, Plates *passim*).

¹⁵⁷ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pls. lxxvii, c and lxxviii, D. This design occurs also in later Irish metalwork. (e.g. the Moylough Belt in the National Museum of Antiquities, Dublin), where it must be regarded as derived, along with much else, from Saxon art.

¹⁵⁸ It is unwise to express views on such matters without seeing the original pieces, but I would very much doubt whether the Trier brooch is the work of the individual who made the Wilton Cross. The use of green glass inlays, such as occur on the Trier Brooch, is not known either in the Sutton Hoo gold jewellery or in the various other pieces of cloisonné work that may be associated with the Sutton Hoo workshop—though in many cases the inlays are missing and we cannot be certain that coloured glass was not used. The unusually irregular cross-section of the Trier brooch is a feature that cannot be matched in the known East Anglian material, and details of the ornament particularly in the inner zone suggest a somewhat later date for this piece than for the Sutton Hoo jewels as a group. Nevertheless, the East Anglian origin of the piece seems certain, especially when it is compared with contemporary Continental material.

emanating from the Sutton Hoo workshop. (*cf.* Fig. 7 *d*).¹⁵⁹

It seems clear that the goldsmiths who produced the Sutton Hoo scabbard-bosses with cruciform designs were also making, in the same materials and at the same date, Christian pendant crosses. We may certainly assume that the Wilton pendant was not the only one made by this workshop. The cross on the bosses is identical in form with the Christian pendants. It is explicit, an essential element of the design, not latent or adventitious, as may be claimed of the cross-theme on the polychrome brooch series. It is also accentuated, in that the essential cross, except for the two wedge-shaped garnets at the extremity of each arm, is of a light, brick-red colour, achieved by the employment of thin slices of garnet, allowing the red colour to be modified by the gold foil beneath; whereas the remaining parts of the design are in deeper purplish colouring. The identity of these crosses with the pendant series may be further inferred from the elaboration of their cell work at the centre with a concentric rosette-like design. This seems to reflect the central elaboration of the Ixworth or Wilton pendants (Plate III *a, c*).

It is necessary in considering these points to allow for the possibility that visual effects may have been due to purely technical considerations, imposed by the difficulties of carrying out the design in a raised, almost hemispherical structure. The expansion of the central parts of pendants was no doubt necessary for mechanical strength. There would be no such need for development of the cross on the bosses. On the contrary, expansion of the centre of the cross in the bosses would have complicated a difficult piece of work, and tended to obscure, against the background of subsidiary cells, the statement of the cross-theme. But the central elaboration of the pendants was retained *ornamentally* in the boss-crosses in a central rosette design that did not break the smooth curves of the cross.

It must also be pointed out that the drawing (Plate II *b*) over-accentuates the cross. The extremities are not so clear-cut, but lose themselves in the plain gold border and petal-pattern round the edges of the bosses; this submergence of the cross at its extremities is heightened by the fact, already indicated, that the pair of wedge-shaped garnets at the end of each arm have the purplish colour, as well as the form, of the other 'petals', and so differentiate themselves from the brick-red and the differently formed cells of the rest of the cross. This again may be an effect imposed by the internal construction of the bosses.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Professor Arbman has most generously suggested that I should publish his photographs of this piece, and they are due to appear with a note in the *Antiquaries Journal*.

¹⁶⁰ These matters are to be fully entered into in the definitive catalogue of the Sutton Hoo finds now in preparation by the British Museum.

When all these points are considered, the clear fact remains that chronologically, formally, technically and geographically, the crosses on the scabbard bosses are very closely related to the gold cloissonné cruciform pendants, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they have Christian significance.

If this means that the original owner of the scabbard so fitted out was a Christian, it does not follow that the grave in which they ended up is a Christian's grave. The sword and scabbard could have been won in contest, or received as a gift, or simply inherited from a Christian forbear or relative, by a surviving pagan. The scabbard-bosses, however, do not stand alone in the grave. Close by them were placed the pair of spoons, presented to a convert, and the set of silver bowls which also very likely have Christian significance. This combination—and the historical context—are such that we must consider very seriously whether this cannot after all be a Christian monument.

We have now reached the crux of a difficult but fascinating problem. We have seen good reason to believe that the Sutton Hoo ship-burial is that of an East Anglian king; from the study of the course of Christianity in East Anglia, and from what we know of the kings who lived and died between the possible limits of date of the burial, we have seen that the East Anglian royal family was thoroughly Christianised at this period; and we have found apparently deliberate deposition in the body space in the burial-chamber of a group of significant Christian objects. These factors suggest that the burial is Christian. And yet we have seen, more forcibly still, that it is against every historical probability, and what facts are known, that the body of a Christian Wuffinga king should be deposited in the pagan fashion in the old pagan grave-field at this date, when the Church was so insistent on the burial of kings in Christian precincts, when so many churches and monasteries were available for the reception of the body, and when we know that the Wuffingas had already broken with the custom of pagan burials and with the heathen grave-field.

Two possible solutions of this dilemma suggest themselves. One is that the burial is in reality pagan, (Aethelhere's) and that the inclusion of a group of Christian objects in the burial-deposit represents a gesture on the part of his Christian relations (for instance, his nieces, children of Anna) and his Christian brother and successor, who, whilst loyally carrying out his wishes and instructions still felt obliged to give expression to their own hopes for the future life, and left Christian talismans in his grave. It does not any longer seem possible to regard the Christian pieces as casual reflections of the Christianity that was by the date of the burial well-established in East Anglia, and which must have been rep-

resented in the royal treasury.¹⁶¹ This possibility rests upon a structure of hypotheses, but there are at least some indications that Aethelhere may have been a pagan.

The clue to the other solution is contained in the words used above, that it seems impossible to suppose that the *body* of a Christian Wuffinga king could have been left in the pagan grave-field at this date. But the evidence is that there never was a body.¹⁶² The second solution is, then, that in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial we have a public and traditional monument erected in honour of a notable king whose body had received Christian burial elsewhere. Such a phenomenon seems feasible in the peculiar phase of transition between pagan and Christian civilisation, and in the particular historical circumstances of East Anglia in the mid-7th century. If so, we should have in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial another remarkable monument of the transition, like the Franks Casket, with its peculiar mixture of pagan and Christian subjects, or the Benty Grange tumulus, which appear to have been another large-scale Christian burial in the pagan manner,¹⁶³ or the Beowulf epic itself, with its closely-woven interpenetrations of pagan and Christian concepts and substance. We may also note, at Jellinge in Denmark, the erection of a similar cenotaph in the pagan tradition for a royal convert whose body was actually buried in a church, although in this case only mound and burial chamber were constructed, and grave-goods were not deposited.¹⁶⁴

If this explanation is correct, we may then suppose that the monument is most likely that of Anna (d. 654). His is the earliest of the three royal deaths that fall within the dating limits of the burial, and the later the date, the less probable does such a phenomenon become. Secondly, he seems to have been a man of quite outstanding character and personality, noted for good works, 'the father of a virtuous issue', who died in heroic circumstances, in battle defending East Anglia against Mercian invasion. He would be an eminently suitable figure to receive such a memorial. There is no doubt that under him East Anglia still retained a measure of the greatness of Redwald's day that was soon to fade, and a new promise of Christian civilisation, and yet remained close to its heroic age. It may be suggested that such an extravagant monument is unlikely to have been erected in a moment of national

¹⁶¹ cf. B.M. Provisional Guide, p. 42.

¹⁶² p. 3 above.

¹⁶³ Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, Vol. III, pp. 195-6, Pl. xxi. Chadwick, *Antiquity*, XIV, p. 84. Chadwick suggests that if this is a genuine Christian burial it is due to the fact that burial in Christian precincts was not available at the time, in an officially pagan Mercia.

¹⁶⁴ *Antiquity*, 1948, 90 *et seq.*; Fra Nationalmuscets Arbejdsmark, 1943, 19-31 *Acta Archaeologica* XIII, 1942, 65-99.

disaster, such as Anna's death and the Mercian invasion of 654 might represent.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, it could have been an affirmation of East Anglian pride and purpose in the face of defeat. And the effect of the invasion of 654 on East Anglia's internal strength may have been small. Its monasteries continued to flourish and in the next year Aethelhere was able to initiate and, with his following, to play a prominent part in a war against Northumbria.¹⁶⁶

With regard to the cenotaph problem, I do not want to anticipate the full exposition of the evidence which it is hoped to publish elsewhere. Evidence has been found of the original presence on the top of the great silver dish in the burial deposit of a considerable quantity of burnt bone. There is no means of establishing whether this bone-source was animal or human. It is extremely unlikely that it represents a primary burial. In the first place one would expect the grave-goods to have been burnt with the body; and this was so with two cremations found at Sutton Hoo in 1938.¹⁶⁷ Secondly, the arrangement of the grave-goods clearly shows that those who arranged them were thinking in terms of an inhumed body.¹⁶⁸ Thirdly, the presence of Christian objects is not compatible with cremation. Fourthly, it is impossible to eliminate the possibility that the burnt bone source may have been derived from earlier archæological deposits and filled into the grave.¹⁶⁹ It may be greatly doubted whether the detection of even considerable quantities of burnt bone on the Anastasius dish can have anything at all to do with the Cenotaph problem. It will never be possible to establish the human character of the original bone source, and even if it were possible to show that the bones had been placed deliberately in a container, we could not say whether they might not represent, for example, the remains of an ox roasted at a funeral feast. What has emerged from an elaborate but extremely cautious study of conditions in the grave and from a large number of chemical tests carried out on samples of soil and wood and on the grave-goods themselves, is that we believe we can now say with complete certainty that no body, either cremated or inhumed, ever occupied the 'body-space' at the West end of the burial-chamber, where everyone is agreed the primary burial should have been.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁶⁶ p. 30 above. B.M. Provisional Guide, p. 42.

¹⁶⁷ B.M. Provisional Guide, p. 9. *Antiquaries Journal*, XX, 1940, pp. 152-3.

¹⁶⁸ *Antiquaries Journal*, XX, 1940, p. 175-6. *The Archaeological News Letter*, Vol. 2, No. 10. March 1950, pp. 167-8.

¹⁶⁹ There appears to have been a 'fairly extensive Early Bronze Age occupation of the edge of the heath'. Worked flints and hearths were found, and considerable quantities of Bronze Age pottery had been filled into the boat fore and aft of the burial chamber.

¹⁷⁰ See note 167, above.

This result is not really surprising. If the arguments are accepted that this is the monument of one of the East Anglian kings who died between 650 and 670—and to me it seems that we can accept this with confidence—then we would not expect a body to have been there. Of the three possible kings, (Fig. 1) Anna lay at Blythburgh. Aethelhere's body was in all probability never recovered from the battle of Winwaed in Yorkshire,¹⁷¹ and the Christian Aethelwald, who died in the year of the Synod of Whitby, or in the preceding year, died when Christianity in East Anglia and his own family was so far advanced that the burial of his body in such circumstances is barely to be conceived.

To sum up; in the foregoing pages I have argued that the Sutton Hoo burial was that of a reigning king. I have also reached the conclusion that the monument could be either Christian or pagan, but that it is not possible to regard it, as Lindqvist claims, as an orthodox Christian burial containing a body. I have no doubt that it is a genuine cenotaph, and suggest that it was constructed either for Anna (d. 654) or for Aethelhere (d. 655). This would mean the dating of this all-important archæological document to the space of two years. It should be noted that, in any case, once the point is conceded that it is the grave of an East Anglian king, and always provided that the numismatic opinion for the dating limits of the burial (between 650 and 670) is sound, the burial may be dated to the ten year period 654—664 A.D. (Fig. 1).^{171a} Furthermore, if it is an East Anglian king's burial, this narrow margin of date would still be valid even if the numismatic evidence permitted wider limits. For Sigbert and Ecgric, Anna's predecessors, were killed together, as we have seen,¹⁷² soon after 640, and Aethelwald's successor did not die until 714 A.D., after a reign of fifty years. From this it will be seen how very important it would be for its bearing on the question of date to establish that the burial is that of an East Anglian king; and since we have dealt with the question of the kingly status of the grave, it remains to consider the question, was this king East Anglian, or was he Swedish?

THE SWEDISH CONNECTION

Any attempt at the present time at fundamental interpretation of this aspect of the great find (the Swedish connection) must be provisional. None of the major pieces in the burial deposit has yet been described definitively. Many of the less spectacular objects have not yet been studied or reconstructed—for instance, the bone combs, textile fragments, spears and scramasax, iron axe, the re-

¹⁷¹ B.M. Provisional Guide, 43; Bede, Bk. III, Ch. xxiv. -

¹⁷² p. 24 above.

^{171a} The deaths of the kings who reigned between the wider limits fall within this narrow margin.

mains of the mail coat, the small silver and bronze buckles found with the remains of shoes and clothing under the Anastasius dish, and the cauldrons, iron chain-work and buckets. Such articles of a modest kind may sometimes be archaeologically the most revealing.

For general interpretation of the find, the greatest importance attaches to the contents of the ten other burial mounds recognised on the site. The finds from the three excavated in 1938 have not yet been published,¹⁷³ though I am personally well acquainted with them. The excavation of the other seven, especially if one or more proves intact, should, with these 1938 finds, make clear many puzzling and obscure points and enable us to see the history and sources of the culture that has been revealed in the great ship-burial—which must, I believe, be the latest of the eleven burials. In the meantime, pending further excavation and final definition of all the finds so far made, it is necessary to be very cautious in fundamental interpretation. With this proviso constantly in mind we may proceed to discuss the Swedish connection and comment on the essays in interpretation that have been made. These attempts, even if they prove partly or wholly wrong, have all raised useful points and helped to define and clarify the issues. It is hoped that the present attempt may do the same, and furthermore, even in the present rather incomplete state of our knowledge of the great find, there are I believe some firm conclusions that can be drawn.

Similarities between the Sutton Hoo material and Swedish finds of the Vendel period were noted as soon as the Sutton Hoo pieces were excavated and appeared more striking when the shield and helmet were restored in 1946 and 1947. Some of them have already been noted elsewhere.¹⁷⁴ But before proceeding to draw conclusions from these similarities we must first of all ask whether they really even show that a direct link existed between the two areas. The fact is that many similarities that one notices in comparing Sutton Hoo objects with Swedish objects are no more than elements shared in common by the inhabitants of quite extensive areas of Western Europe.

For example, the general similarity between the Sutton Hoo sword-pommel (Plates XI and XIV *c*) and Swedish-found sword-

¹⁷³ These discoveries are described in bare outline in *Antiquaries Journal* XX, 1940, 152-3 and British Museum Provisional Guide, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-burial*, 9.

¹⁷⁴ The history of comment on the Swedish connections of the Sutton Hoo ship-burial may be followed in these references: T. D. Kendrick in *Antiquity* XIV, 1940, 38 and *British Museum Quarterly* Vol. XIII No. 4 (Dec. 1939), 134-5; H. Maryon, *The Sutton Hoo Shield*, *Antiquity* XX, 1946, 21-30 (especially 28, 29); R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *Sutton Hoo and Sweden*, *Archaeological News Letter*, Vol. I, No. 2, May 1948; *Sutton Hoo och Sverige*, *Ord och Bild*, Hefte 3, 1948, 97-104; 'The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial, a new chapter in Anglo-Swedish relations', *Anglo-Swedish Review*, April 1950. Also Nerman, *op. cit.* and Lindqvist *op. cit.*, especially Nerman's paper for well-illustrated comparisons.

pommels (Plates XII, XIII) in the same medium (gold and garnets), both in ornamentation and structural design, is immediately obvious. But a very similar gold and garnet pommel has also been found at Nocera Umbra in Northern Italy.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the hilts of two well-known swords from the Nocera Umbra grave-field, to one of which this pommel belongs,¹⁷⁶ and both of which carry large rings on their pommels and filigree clips (*cf.* the two plain gold filigree mounts from either end of the Sutton Hoo sword-grip, Plate XI), closely resemble the distinctive Swedish sword-grips, such as those from Vallstenarum, Gotland, and Valsgårde.¹⁷⁷ Again, the figural art of the Sutton Hoo helmet is obviously closely-related to that of the Swedish helmets,¹⁷⁸ yet the closest parallel to the scene of the rider and fallen warrior on the Sutton Hoo helmet is found, not in Sweden, but in South Germany (Plate VII *a, b*). Again, Mr. Maryon had difficulty when he wrote¹⁷⁹ in finding parallels to the head and leg of the bird on the Sutton Hoo shield.¹⁸⁰ A very similar head and leg on the same scale were found in boat-grave I at Vendel;¹⁸¹ but whole bird-figures of a similar general character, including probably some that are appliqués from shields (Plate VI *c*) in fact occur in the Rhineland,¹⁸² in Kent and elsewhere. Gold cloisonné work in the style of that at Sutton Hoo, where the whole surface of an object is covered with garnets in a carpet-like spread, has not been regarded as typically Anglo-Saxon; prior to the Sutton Hoo discovery, for example, as has been said above,¹⁸³ Dr. Kendrick regarded a typical example of the style found in England (the Wilton cross) as Merovingian work. The general resemblance between the 'un-Saxon looking' Sutton Hoo jewellery and the Swedish cloisonné work, in the same general style, might thus at first seem significant; but in fact the style of all-over garnet incrustation, with little or no use of filigree, and preserving many

¹⁷⁵ *Monumenti Antichi* XXV (Milan 1918) 159, Fig. 4; Elis Behmer, *Das Zweischneidige Schwert der Germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit*, Stockholm 1939, Taf. XLI, 7.

¹⁷⁶ *Monumenti Antichi*, XXV, 159 and Fig. 5, Behmer *op. cit.* Taf. XLI, 6.

¹⁷⁷ *e.g.* Behmer, *op. cit.* Taf. XLII, 1; XLVIII.

¹⁷⁸ For examples of figural art from Swedish helmets of the Vendel period see H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *La Nécropole de Vendel* (Stockholm 1927); also the Tor-slunda plates, Falk and Shetelig, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (O.U.P. 1937) Pl. 43; K. Stjerna, *Essays on Beowulf*, (Viking Club Extra Series vol. III) 1912, p. 8, Figs. 2-5; etc.

¹⁷⁹ *Antiquity* XX, 28 (note 2).

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.* Pl. III: Provisional Guide, Pl. 4 (a), (c).

¹⁸¹ Stolpe and Arne, *op. cit.* Pl. IV.

¹⁸² E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, Pl. XVII (c); Gustav Behrens, *Merowingerzeit*, (Mainz 1947) Abb. 83, 85; Hermann Stoll, *Die Alamannengräber von Hailfingen in Württemberg*, Berlin 1939, Taf. 21, no. 24, Taf. 24, nos. 2(a), (b), (d), (e) and 3 (a), (b).

¹⁸³ p. 37.

distinctive looking technical devices, is wide-spread, both geographically and in time. The style is characteristic of the gold cloisonné work of the 5th and early 6th centuries on the Continent, e.g. that from Childeric's grave at Tournai¹⁸⁴ which has strong affinities with the Sutton Hoo jewellery,¹⁸⁵ the so-called pectoral of Odovacer at Ravenna,¹⁸⁶ and the recently discovered sword-fittings from Klein Hünningen, near Basle in Switzerland¹⁸⁷ and elsewhere. In the 7th century the style still occurs widely, a good instance being the Wittislingen fibula.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Professor Lindqvist has said of the all-over encrusted cloisonné buckles and strap-mounts at Sutton Hoo: 'everything seems to show that pieces of this type were made by itinerant master-craftsmen, whom mighty men from near and far competed to attach to their courts.'¹⁸⁹ If this is so, the virtual identity even of pieces of cloisonné work at Sutton Hoo and in Sweden need not imply any sustained political, racial or economic contacts between the two areas, but might simply mark two points in the itinerary of a wandering craftsman. Again, on turning over the Sutton Hoo sword-pommel and two of the similar Swedish ones, the very individual-looking trick of making one long oval washer serve the two inner rivets of the three at either end of the pommels (Plates XIV *c*, XIII *a, b*), might seem a significant detail. But Professor Arbman tells me that this device is known (though not on sword pommels) in the Rhineland. It occurs also on sword-pommels (though not of cloisonné) in Kent, e.g. on a sword-pommel from grave 62 in the Bifrons cemetery; and on other Kentish pieces. When to this European background we add the warning of Professor Lindqvist that 'near prototypes of the shield and helmet forms (found at Sutton Hoo and in Sweden) were in use amongst Germanic peoples along and south of the part of the Roman frontier that followed the line of the Upper Danube, the forms might have spread direct from these people both to England, and to various parts of what is now Swedish territory,'¹⁹⁰ it will be appreciated that care must be taken before direct linkage

¹⁸⁴ Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, IV, Pl. H, II (p. 541): H. Arbman, *Les Épées du tombeau de Childéric, Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets historiska museum*, 1948, 97-137.

¹⁸⁵ See e.g. *Antiquity* XIV, 38.

¹⁸⁶ For this piece, now lost, see *Archaeologia* XLVI Pt. I, 1880, 237-240 and Plate VII. (Count Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, 'Two gold ornaments of the time of Theoderic'.) Also S. Lindqvist, 'Some Vendel-time finds from Valsgårde', *Acta Archaeologica* III, 1932, 35 *et seq.* for the view that these pieces were cheek-ornaments for a helmet.

¹⁸⁷ See R. Laur-Belart 'Ein Alamannische goldgriffspatha aus Kleinhünningen', *Ur-Schweiz*, Jhrg. X.Nr.4, 1946, 66-73 Fig. 50.

¹⁸⁸ Baldwin Brown, *loc. cit.* Pl. H.I.

¹⁸⁹ *Fornvännen* 1948, 100, 101: *Antiquity* 1948, 135.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.* 105 and *ibid.* 137.

of any significant kind between the two areas, Sweden and Suffolk, can be inferred. Our first task, then, is to enquire whether we can really show a genuine, substantial and direct link between those regions, beyond any dispute. We shall in fact find that not only are there peculiarly intimate similarities, transcending the more general ones discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, but that these resemblances occur over a broad front and consistently throughout the two cultures, so that we pass beyond the stage of isolated and dispersed parallels, such as may readily be found on the continent to individual features of the Sutton Hoo find.

THE DIRECT CONNECTION BETWEEN SUFFOLK AND UPPLAND.

A comparison of the scene on the disc-brooch from Pliezhausen with that on the Sutton Hoo helmet may be instructive in helping to form criteria for judging the archæological evidence. (Plate VII). The brooch has been illustrated by Veeck,¹⁹¹ and more recently by Holmqvist.¹⁹² Holmqvist classes its scene with other representations of riders in the art of the Merovingian period,¹⁹³—for instance on the Hornhausen grave-slab, Frankish openwork discs and ornaments, the disc-brooches from Oron and Cividale, and the helmet from boat-grave No. 1 at Vendel—which he regards as Germanic versions or derivatives of rider scenes that occur in Coptic, Early Christian and late Classical art in textiles, amulets, silver ware and in other media. His various illustrations of the rider-theme of course have points in common. But when we insert the Sutton Hoo scene, discovered since Holmqvist wrote, in the series we see at once that the similarity between it and the disc-brooch is of quite another order than that between these two and any of the many other rider-representations. The two scenes (Plate VII *a, b*) correspond in a quite remarkable manner. The subject in both is that of a horseman with shield and lance riding down a fallen mail-clad warrior who stabs the horse in the chest with his sword. But beyond this identity of subject there is a substantial identity both in composition and in details which shows that one must be copied from the other at very few removes, perhaps even directly.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ W. Veeck, *Die Alamannen in Württemberg*, Textband, Taf. H:1, (a) and (b) and p. 44 ff.

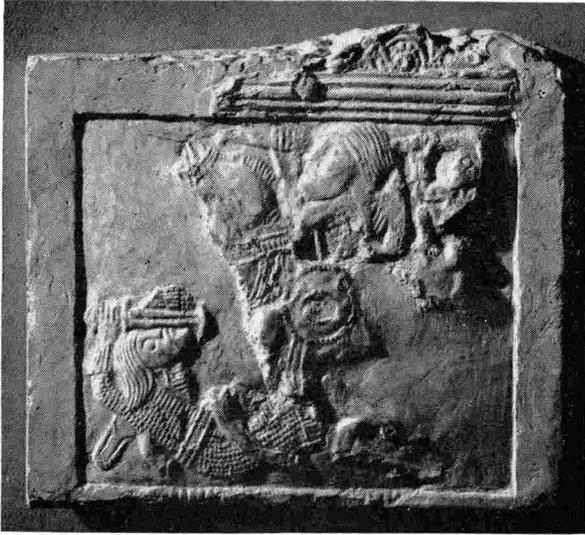
¹⁹² W. Holmqvist, *Kunstprobleme der Merowingerzeit*, Stockholm 1939, Pl. XXIII, 5 and p. 118.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, Plates XX-XXVII.

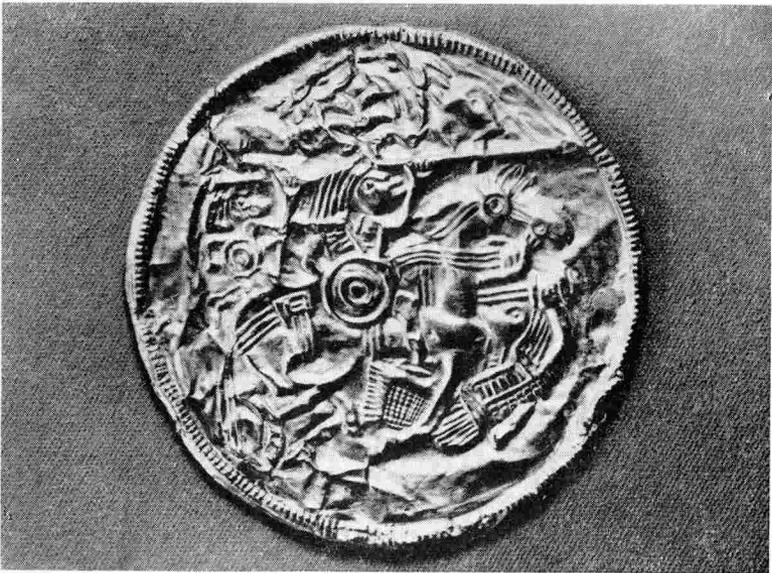
¹⁹⁴ Designs in stamped foil (*pressbleck*) are 'mass-produced', in the sense that many identical impressions may be taken from the same stamp, and we may assume that identical scenes such as that under discussion were widely distributed, through military operations or other occasions, on the helmets of warriors. The Sutton Hoo helmet (if Swedish) would be an illustration of this dissemination. It could thus be an easy matter for a subject that appealed to be closely imitated at this time in widely separated areas.

Allowing for the fact that the two scenes face in opposite directions, and omitting as irrelevant to our immediate purpose the important appearance above the rider's spear on the disc-brooch of two facing lions, we may note some striking similarities. Compare for instance the position of the fallen warriors, in particular the setting of their legs; the large heads and small shields of the riders, the horizontal poise of their spears, the treatment of the horses' girths and bridles, and the small kneeling figures at the riders' backs, who seem to lend them support by also gripping the spears. The closeness of the relationship between the two scenes is perhaps best to be seen in the close-knit composition of the design around the middle and upper part of the fallen warrior's body, especially about his head. In each representation the blade of the two-edged sword projects to the same degree from the horse's body, and in both its horizontal position and the groove down the centre of the blade throughout the exposed length may be noted. A fragment of pattern comprising pellets and some horizontal strokes may be noted in Plate VII *a* immediately above the blade of the sword. This is the mail-clad left arm and cuff of the fallen warrior, and the position of the cuff (indicated by the horizontal strokes) shows that his arm in the Sutton Hoo scene is running outwards to grip the horse's bridle exactly as seen in Plate VII *b*. Immediately under the blade in both we see the upturned horizontal profile of the head, with falling hair, filling compactly the space between the horse's body and the sword-arm. Lower down we can detect in the Pliezhausen version the edgings, belt and skirt-hem of the warrior's coat (already showing lack of comprehension and the tendency to disintegrate) that can be seen clearly depicted in the Sutton Hoo scene. In both note also the graphic straddling of the fallen man by the horse's fore-legs; one passes conspicuously across the front of the man's body, the other may be seen emerging between his shoulder and his belt from behind the man's body. The correspondence is indeed remarkably close, but against it must be set marked differences in style, technical and artistic ability and detailed comprehension of the subject. The Sutton Hoo version, though more conventionalized and without the power and élan of the more barbaric Pliezhausen version, is in other respects greatly superior. Every detail is comprehended and stated with perfect clarity: the artist, following a well-established style and conventions, is yet working with delicacy. This is particularly noticeable in the sensitive modelling of the fallen warrior's face and hair and bare legs and feet, for instance in the precise and neat, if conventionalized, emphasis of the ankle-bones—points not all visible in our photograph but striking on the original. On the Pliezhausen brooch, on the other hand, the composition does not fit happily into its circular frame, less care has been taken over the

PLATE VII.



a



b

a. Reconstructed panel from the Sutton Hoo helmet (slightly enlarged),
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum); b. Disc-brooch from Pliezhausen,
Württemberg ($\frac{1}{4}$).

PLATE VIII.



a



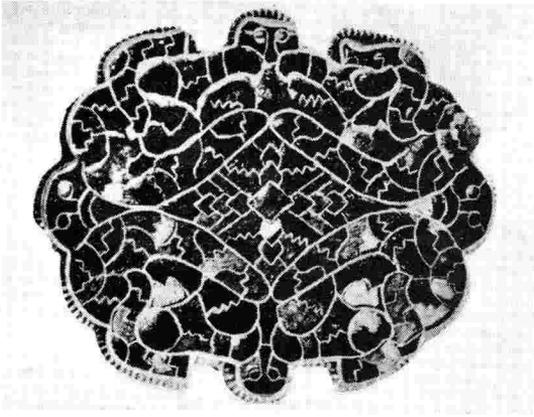
b



c

a. Bronze stamp from Torslunda, Oland (1), (Photo, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm); b. Detail from Sutton Hoo purse-lid (1), (By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum); c. Buckle from Lavigny, near Bofflens, Switzerland (about 1).

PLATE IX.



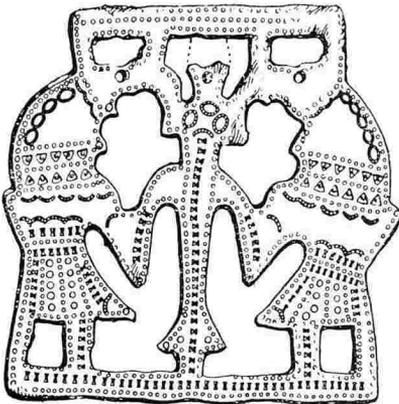
a

a. Gold cloisonné brooch from Reinstrup, Denmark (slightly enlarged).

b. Portion of Irish stone cross (greatly reduced).



b

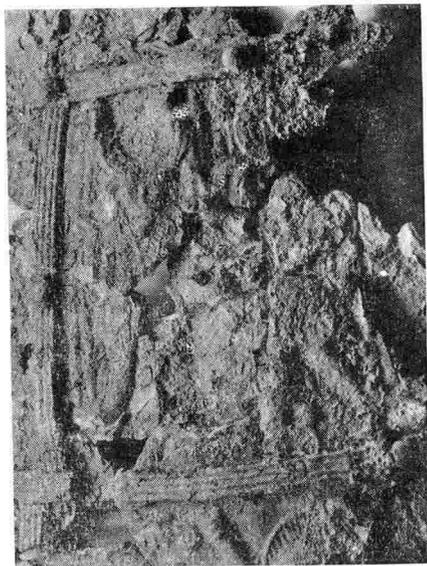


c

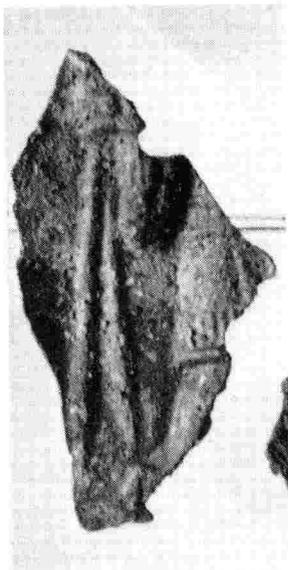
c. Frankish openwork mount from Amiens ($\frac{2}{3}$), (After *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, Fig. 199).

Versions of 'Daniel in the Lions' Den'.

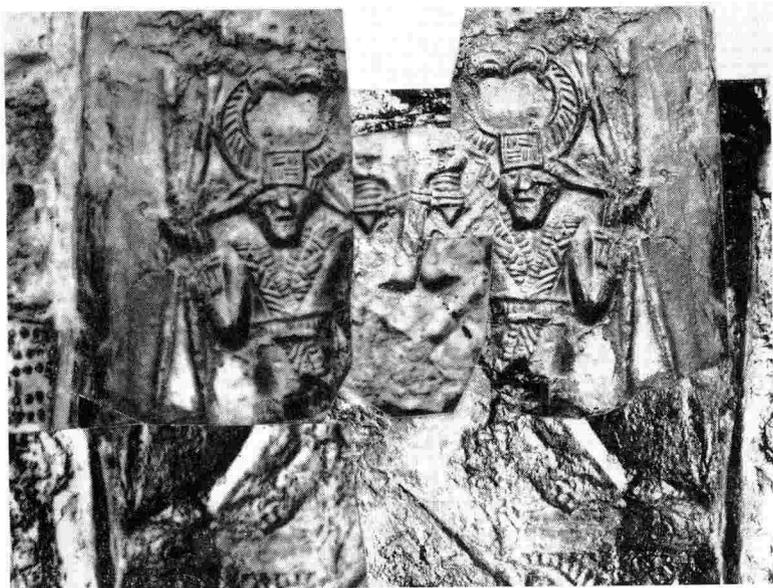
PLATE X.



a



b



c

The theme of two dancing warriors with horned hats, from the art of Vendel-type helmets; *a*. Panel from the helmet from boatgrave No. 7 at Valsgärde, Uppland, Sweden (approx. $\frac{1}{2}$), (By courtesy of Dr. Greta Arwidsson and Uppsala Universitets Museum for Nordiska Fornsaker); *b*. Fragment from a helmet-panel, East Mound, Old Uppsala, Sweden ($\frac{2}{3}$), (Photo, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm); *c*. Photomontage reconstruction of scene from a panel of the Sutton Hoo helmet (enlarged), (By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

making of the die, the whole is appreciably barbarized, and some details, notably the fallen warrior's scabbard, are omitted. The falling away may best be seen by comparing in detail the figures of the fallen warrior in the two scenes, for example in the skirts, skimped and perfunctory in the one, meticulous in the other. In fact, although the scenes are to all intents and purposes iconographically identical, nobody would regard them as works of the same school.

We may now consider in contrast the other recoverable scene on the Sutton Hoo helmet,¹⁹⁵ that of twin men with horned hats and spears, and its Swedish parallels. Plate X c shows a photomontage reconstruction of the scene as it appeared (twice) on the Sutton Hoo helmet. When the Provisional Guide was published in 1947 it was not realised that it consisted of two similar figures side by side, and the figure as seen on the right of the two was reproduced alone. (Provisional Guide, Fig. 7, right). Professor Nerman has already pointed out the relationship between this figure, who carries two spears and whose head-dress is furnished with flaps or wings and terminates at the top of the horns in birds' heads, and the similarly equipped figure on one of the bronze dies (for making stamped foil sheets for ornamenting helmets) from Torslunda, Öland.¹⁹⁶ But there are much closer parallels. The *attributes* of the figures in the two scenes are the same, but in face, dress (apart from the head-dress), attitude and context, the Torslunda figure bears no very direct artistic relationship to that from Sutton Hoo. Mr. Herbert Maryon has already described how it has been possible since the publication of the Provisional Guide, to reconstruct the whole of the Sutton Hoo scene with the aid of new evidence from Valsgårde.¹⁹⁷ The evidence which enabled us to proceed with the reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo scene occurs on the remarkable helmet from boat-grave 7 at Valsgårde. This has not yet been published, and I am greatly indebted to Dr. Greta Arwidsson for her kindness in allowing me to reproduce for the first time the relevant detail from the Valsgårde 7 helmet. I am also grateful to the Uppsala University Museum of Northern Antiquities for kindly supplying the photograph (Plate X a). The panel is in poor condition, but the wedge-shaped face, horned head-dress, and two spears held in the outer hand of the figure on the left can be recognised, and the V-shaped neck of the coat, with lapels quilted or embroidered as on the Sutton Hoo figure, but with a different pattern, may be seen. A similar figure stands to the right,

¹⁹⁵ A third scene occurred once on the Sutton Hoo helmet, but one small human leg is all that survives of it.

¹⁹⁶ Nerman, *op. cit.* Figs. 17, 19. For Torslunda plates see footnote 178, p. 45.

¹⁹⁷ H. Maryon, *The Sutton Hoo Helmet*, *Antiquity* XXI, 1947, 139.

his legs and part of the curve of the inner horn of the head-dress can be distinguished on the photograph. On the original it is possible to make out that the inner arms of the two figures cross one another and the hands of these arms are holding the hilts of swords, whose blades run vertically alongside the inner horns of the head-dresses. A search amongst the Sutton Hoo helmet remains revealed a fragment showing this central detail of crossed arms and sword hilts (Plate X *c*) and with the aid of this key fragment the rest of the panel was built up. The two scenes in fact proved to be iconographically identical, though not from the same stamp. The peculiar behaviour of the legs in the Valsgärde 7 panel should be noted, a distinctive convention of the Swedish figural art of the Vendel period.¹⁹⁸ The outer leg and foot are trailed, so that the heel and sole of the foot face upwards. The outer foot of the left-hand figure (sole uppermost) can be detected immediately below the two spear-points in the Valsgärde panel, and a similar attitude is struck in the Sutton Hoo version. Closer still to the Sutton Hoo figure, however, than the panel from Valsgärde 7 is the fragment from the East Mound at Old Uppsala, a Swedish royal cremation. (Plate X *b*) This is almost all that remains of a helmet that may have been very similar to the Sutton Hoo helmet. The figure is not from the identical stamp used for the Sutton Hoo scene (the angles at which the forearms are set, and the angle between the spears, may be contrasted in the two versions), but the relationship is very close indeed. We may note especially the treatment of the cuff, the embroidery of the belt, and skirt-hem, and the curve of the body between the belt and hem. In the Valsgärde 7 panel, and still more in this one, we have the closest possible parallel, not merely of subject and iconography, but also in style, details and function. The Swedish and English representations appear on objects of the same kind (helmets) and also of the same type, the Sutton Hoo helmet being in its general features and many of its constructional details intimately related to the Swedish helmets.¹⁹⁹ With these Swedish parallels, in contradistinction to the South German one (the disc brooch), we are dealing with works of the same school.

We may now turn to another group of antiquities, gold cloisonné work. Early in the history of the Sutton Hoo discovery Dr. Kendrick drew attention to the connection between a remarkable mutilated composite brooch (now wholly without its garnets or other inlays) from Faversham, Kent,²⁰⁰ in the British Museum,

¹⁹⁸ *cf.* Plate VIII *a*, and the Toroslunda plate, already referred to, with the figure with two spears and horned head-dress.

¹⁹⁹ Nerman, *op. cit.* 76-81.

²⁰⁰ *Antiquity* VII, p. 448. Plate V.

and the Sutton Hoo jewellery. He claimed that the Faversham brooch was made in the Sutton Hoo workshop, in particular because it achieved an interlacing linked-loop device in cloisonné work by means of a technical device—the cloison with the looped or beaded bend (Plate XIV *a*)—also employed by the Sutton Hoo goldsmith in effecting the interlace (*Guilloche*) patterns on a pair of rectangular mounts, one of which is illustrated in Plate XIV *b*.²⁰¹ Dr. Kendrick illustrated this beaded cloisonné device with drawings which are reproduced here (Fig. 8). Of interlacing themes in cloisonné work and this 'beaded-elbow' cloison, Dr. Kendrick said 'There are no other examples of this cloison at all, and no other examples of a cloisonné imitation of interlace; so it is as certain as anything in this world can be that the Faversham brooch and the Sutton Hoo jewellery were made in the same workshop'.²⁰²

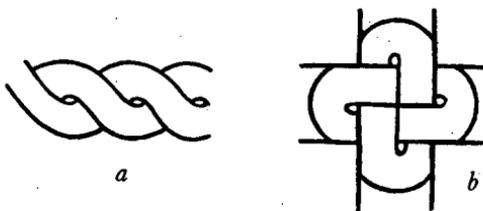


FIG. 8. Interlace motives in cloisonné work achieved by use of the beaded cloison. *a* Sutton Hoo rectangular plaque, *b* Composite brooch, Faversham, Kent. (Enlarged).

(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

The technique of this beaded elbow can be studied in the enlarged detail of the Faversham brooch, (Plate XIV *a*), in the linked-loop device to the left, and in Fig. 8. It will be seen that two vanes or cell walls are involved; one remains straight, while another crosses its end and is then bent round and back to meet it. The little loop so formed is then sealed by fusion or by the addition of a tiny gold lid—in the manner of the highly distinctive, virtually unique, lidded or covered cell technique used on the Sutton Hoo purse-lid and epaulettes.²⁰³ I agree with Dr. Kendrick's attribution of the Faversham jewel to the Sutton Hoo workshop. An additional reason is its zoomorphic details—a thing of the greatest rarity in insular cloisonné work. The central fields of the four small roundels on the Faversham brooch are surrounded by cloisonné belts in each of which a length of geometric cloisonné work terminates in affronted

²⁰¹ See T. D. Kendrick, *Antiquity* XIV, 1940, 35-6 and Fig. 3; *British Museum Quarterly*, XIII No. 4, Dec. 1939, 133.

²⁰² *British Museum Quarterly*, loc. cit.

²⁰³ Provisional Guide, 50.

boars' heads separated by a plain keystone cell (Plate XIV *a* and Fig. 9). The only other insular instances known to me of a zoomorphic cloisonné detail of this sort occur in the Sutton Hoo purse-lid and epaulettes, and the only other occurrence of boars heads in insular cloisonné work is in the interlinked boar figures at the ends of the Sutton Hoo epaulettes.²⁰⁴ Many uncommon technical devices employed in the Sutton Hoo jewellery can be paralleled, even if only sparsely, in insular and continental cloisonné pieces. But Dr.

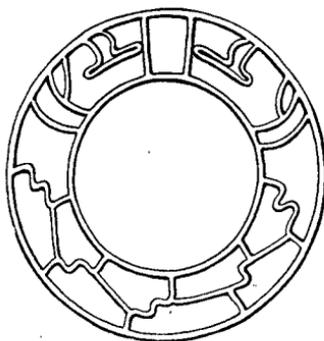


FIG. 9. Detail from composite cloisonné brooch from Faversham, Kent, showing affronted boars' heads (x).

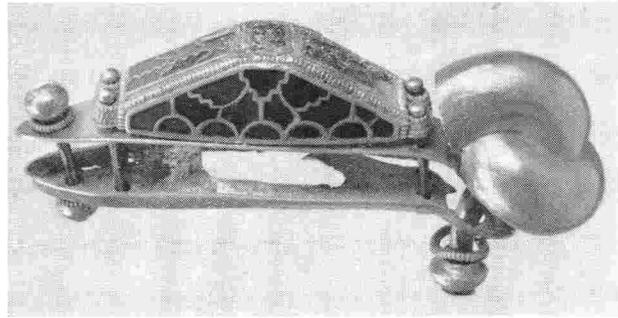
Kendrick was unable to find a single other instance of the ingenious beaded-elbow cloison. But after prolonged investigation of European cloisonné work I have managed to discover one solitary other instance of this technique (Plate XIV *d*). Remarkably enough it comes from the same Swedish group of royal graves at Old Uppsala that produced our closest parallel to the twin warriors scene on the Sutton Hoo helmet. When we also reflect that this tiny but very intricate and skilled piece of gold cloisonné work has the general all-over style characteristic of the Sutton Hoo jewellery, that it renders a zoomorphic design (though distortion in the fire makes it extremely difficult to recover its exact character) and that it is, to judge by its shape and particularly its flat truncated top, in all probability all that has survived the flames of a pyramid²⁰⁵ like those on

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, Fig. 16.

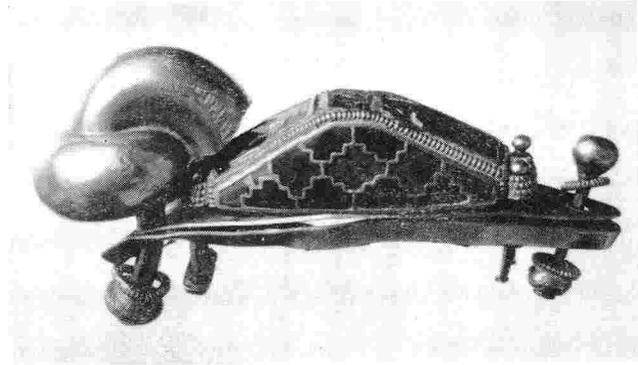
²⁰⁵ Pyramidal studs are by no means uncommon in the 7th and 8th centuries, occurring in England, the Rhineland, S. Germany, Italy and Northern Europe. I do not know of any examples with gold cloisonné faces apart from Sutton Hoo and Old Uppsala. Its small size suggests that the cloisonné fragment from the Western Mound at Old Uppsala may be the inner field or cloisonné



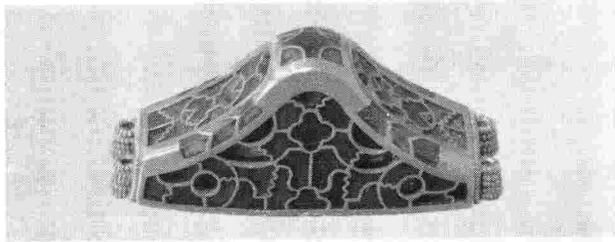
Gold and garnet fittings of the Sutton Hoo sword.
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



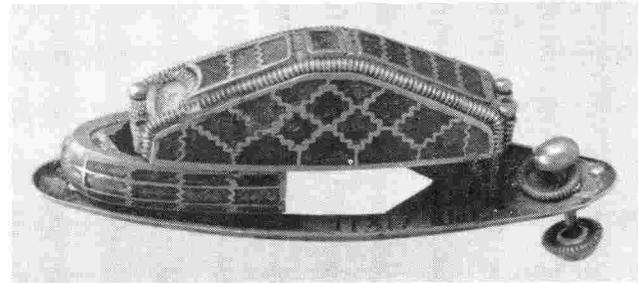
a



b

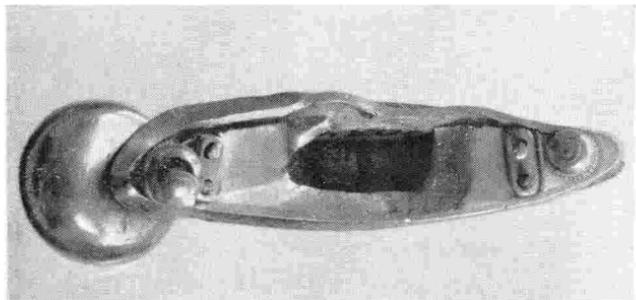


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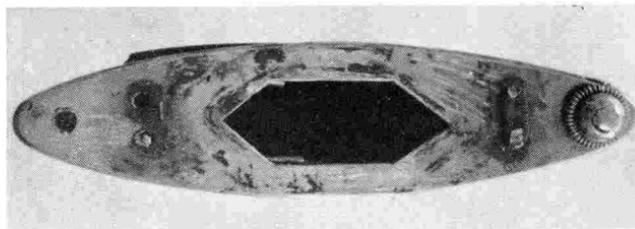


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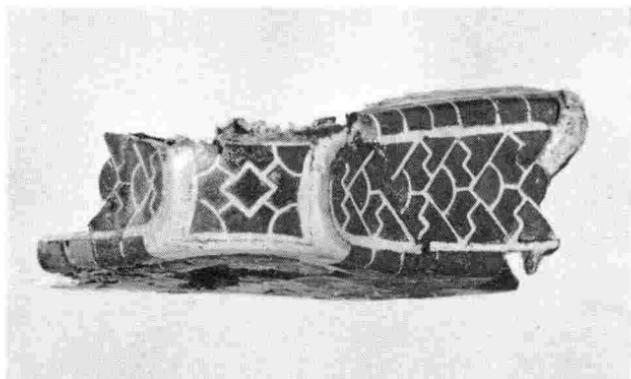
Gold cloisonné sword-pommels found in Sweden ; *a, b.* from Väsby, Hammarby parish, Uppland (two views); *c.* from Hög Edsten, Kville parish, Bohuslän; *d.* from Stora Sandviken, Sturkö parish, Blekinge (all $\frac{1}{2}$).
(Photos, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm).



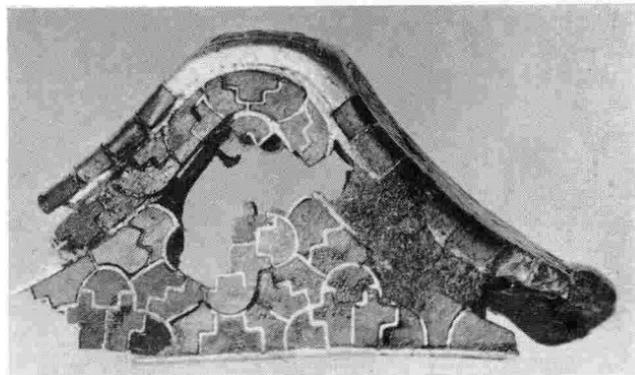
a



b



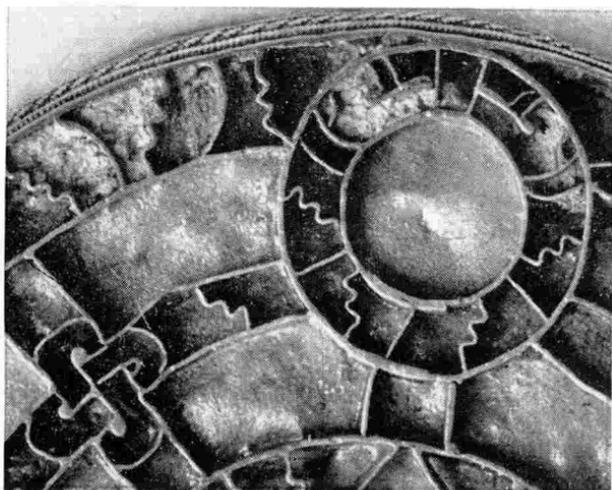
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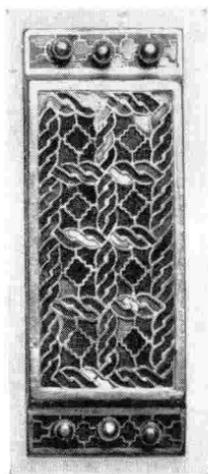
d

a, b. Undersides of the upper guards of the gold sword-pommels from Väsby, Uppland and Stora Sandviken, Blekinge ($\frac{1}{2}$); *c., d.* Gold sword-pommel encrusted with garnets from Skrävsta, Botkyrka parish, Sodermanland ($\frac{2}{3}$).
(All photos., Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm: *c.* and *d.* published by courtesy of the Director of the Museum and of Dr. Greta Arwidsson).

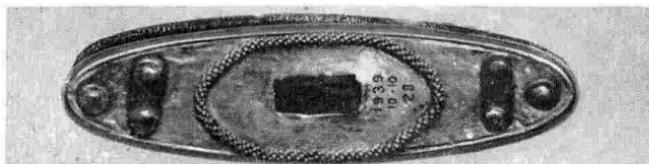
PLATE XIV.



a



b



c



d

a. Detail of gold composite cloisonné brooch from Faversham, Kent, showing 'beaded cloison' technique (approx. $\frac{5}{2}$); *b*. Rectangular gold cloisonné strap-mount from Sutton Hoo ($\frac{1}{2}$); *c*. Underside of the upper guard of the Sutton Hoo sword ($\frac{1}{2}$); *d*. Part of gold cloisonné pyramid from the Western Mound (Odeshög), Old Uppsala ($\frac{3}{4}$).

(*a-c* by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, *d*. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm).

Plate XI, it is clear that we have here a parallel of the most striking kind. It is true that in the Old Uppsala fragment the bead is not made by overlapping two separate gold vanes, but by bending a single long vane to form a loop in its centre. This may be an adaptation of the idea to suit the peculiarities of the particular design, for the same method is to be seen in the boars' mouths on the Faversham brooch (Plate XIV *a*), which also has the 'orthodox' beaded cells. The beaded elbow of the old Uppsala fragment is, in any case, sealed with gold, exactly as at Sutton Hoo and Faversham, and the device, that of providing a rounded hub or pivot around which to construct a curved cell to produce a fluent, interlacing effect, unlike the static effect of geometric cell-work, is identical.

The gold pommel of the Sutton Hoo sword (Plate XI) and the related Swedish gold pommels provide another illustration of linkage between the two areas. All the known Swedish gold pommels with the exception of that from Vallstenarum,²⁰⁶ Gotland, are illustrated in Plates XII and XIII. That from Skrävsta (Plate XIII *c, d*) excavated by Dr. Greta Arwidsson, is hitherto unpublished, and I am indebted to the authorities of the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, for the excellent photographs here reproduced, and for permission to publish them. The Skrävsta pommel, from a cremation burial and damaged by fire, and that from Hög Edsten, Kville parish, Bohuslän, have the true 'cocked-hat' form of the Sutton Hoo pommel (with concave upper faces). The Skrävsta pommel, unlike that from Nocera Umbra already referred to,²⁰⁷ shows the use of the 'mushroom cell' which is so prominent a feature of the repertoire of the Sutton Hoo workshop, and which Dr. Kendrick has argued may be 'the hall-mark of an Anglian cloisonné style.'²⁰⁸ The Hög Edsten piece, however, is, of all these Swedish pieces, the most intimately related with the Sutton Hoo jewellery. It shares with the Sutton pommel a feature that occurs nowhere else in the Sutton Hoo jewellery, the quatre-foil cell and the half-quatre-foil cell (Plates XI and XII *c*). But it also has features not present on the Sutton Hoo pommel but characteristic of the other Sutton Hoo jewelled pieces. Particularly distinctive of the Sutton Hoo jewellery is the overloading of the garnet encrustation whereby garnets are set not only in the main

plate from one face of a pyramid, and not the whole side of the pyramid.

It is possible that a small fragment of gold cloisonnage from the East Mound may represent another pyramid of this sort. (Lindqvist, *Uppsala Höggar*, 170, Fig. 87).

²⁰⁶ For the Vallstenarum pommel see Behmer, *op. cit.* Plate XLII, I or Falk and Shetelig, *op. cit.*, Plate 42 (a).

²⁰⁷ p. 45 above.

²⁰⁸ *British Museum Quarterly* XIII, 1939, 134.

ornamented fields but also on ends, edges, sides, round buckle loops and even in functional parts, as in the hinge of the T-shaped mount and rivet-shelves at the ends of the rectangular strap mounts (Plates II *a, c* and XI). This florid style can also be seen on the Hög Edsten pommel, in which garnets are set in the upper edges of the pommel, replacing the normal beaded or filigree cord. Furthermore, it will be seen that these garnets are not cut flat but worked in the solid (facetted) and that each of the four garnet bars contains a chevron. The parallel with the edges of the two Sutton Hoo pyramids (Plate XI) is at once apparent. The setting of facetted garnets in the edges is particularly important for this is a detail not found in the products of the Childeric period, or so far as I know anywhere else but on these three pieces and the Skrävsta pommel (Plate XIII *c, d*). To this one may add the engraving of a tabular garnet with a circle; this can just be detected in Plate XII *c*; the stone so carved is the topmost one of the pommel, that in the centre of its small convex top—and also the rendering of animal heads (seen in the corners of the forward face of the pommel) with large circular cells representing the eyes. These features occur in the early cloisonné work of the later 5th century, and both the flat garnets carved with circles (filled in with gold) and the large circular eye-cloisons in zoomorphic heads may be seen in the strike-a-light (*c.* 500 A.D.) from Klein Hüningen grave 212.²⁰⁹ They are, however, also entirely characteristic of the Sutton Hoo jewellery (*cf.* the eyes of the birds and 'lions' on the lid of the purse) and, combined with the other factors considered, form the strongest possible link between this pommel and the Sutton Hoo school. Since in many of these features it stands apart from the other Swedish gold pommels, and since it incorporates features characteristic of Sutton Hoo pieces demonstrably of English make,²¹⁰ it seems to me very probable that this pommel was made in Suffolk. A further point in support of this is the small cruciform design (containing the garnet carved with a circle) in the top compartment of the pommel. As we have already seen,²¹¹ such simple cruciform cell-patterns are not uncommon in English cloisonné work of the period, but have not so far been identified in Swedish cloisonné work.

We may now turn to another matter, a question of iconography. On the Sutton Hoo purse-lid appears twice a scene which has been held to represent Daniel in the Lions' Den (Plate VIII *b*).²¹² The relationship between this scene and one of the bronze plates from Torslunda, Öland, (Plate VIII *a*) was mentioned in the

²⁰⁹ *Ur-Schweiz*, Jhrg., 10, No. 4 p. 70, Abb. 50.

²¹⁰ p. 61 below.

²¹¹ p. 32 above.

²¹² *British Museum Quarterly*, 1939, 116; *Antiquity* XIV, 29, 37. Provisional Guide, 56.

Provisional Guide, and Nerman in his recent *Fornvännen* paper ²¹³ has again referred to the link between these two scenes. I do not now believe that this scene has any connection with Daniel in the Lion's Den, for Miss H. M. Roe has shown that many scenes so classified in the past are nothing of the kind. ²¹⁴ On Plates VIII and IX are given a typical selection of the varieties in which the scene traditionally identified as Daniel occurs. The scene on the Bofflens buckle, and the Moone cross (Plates VIII *c*, and IX *b*), (where all the seven lions specified in the Mount Athos Guide for painters ²¹⁵ are shown), undoubtedly represent Daniel. The Reinstrup brooch (Plate IX *a* and Fig. 10) shows the theme in a typically remote and evolved

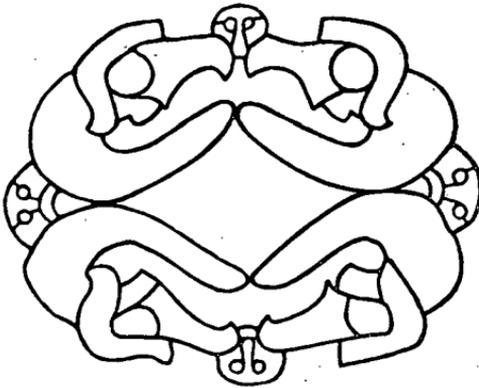


FIG. 10. Simplified statement of the 'Daniel in the Lions' Den' subject from the Reinstrup brooch (Plate IX, *a*).

northern form in gold cloisonné work—the same medium as the scene on the Sutton Hoo purse. ²¹⁶ The piece from Amiens (Plate IX *c*) is typical of many openwork Frankish ornaments showing similar scenes. ²¹⁷ Amongst these, and indeed all the known Daniel or man-and-monsters or birds-and-vase scenes, no two versions stand in closer relationship than those on the Toroslunda

²¹³ pp. 70, 71, footnote.

²¹⁴ Both Holmqvist, *op. cit.*, 141-159, and Miss H. M. Roe ('An interpretation of certain symbolic sculptures of Early Christian Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, LXXV, 1945, 1-23) have recently discussed the varied representations of Daniel and of the man-and-monsters and birds-and-vase themes in the art of the Merovingian period.

²¹⁵ Roe, *op. cit.*

²¹⁶ It has been said (*Antiquity* XIV, 38; Provisional Guide, 56, Note 3) that the Reinstrup brooch is probably English work. Having recently made a careful examination of it in Copenhagen, I consider that it is quite unlike any English work of the period, and is certainly not of English manufacture.

²¹⁷ For many further examples of these themes see Holmqvist and Roe, *loc. cit.*

plate and the Sutton Hoo purse. There are, however, certain distinct differences between them, so that closer analysis is desirable. The grouping and details of the three heads in each version (Plate VIII *a*, and *b*) is particularly alike. In both, the man's head rises slightly higher than those of the beasts, and the lips of the animals, curving slightly apart and outwards, are pressed against the side of the man's head, as though the animals were whispering in his ears. In both versions the two small protruding ears and beaded collars of the animals, the alignment across the composition of the four eyes, the large ringed eyes of the animals, the man's rounded face, his moustache and even the beaded treatment of the hair may be noted; and, at the bottom, similar entanglement of the lower limbs of the three figures; and, in the middle, the belts, the breadth across the shoulders of the man, the three-toed paws grasping the upper part of his body. In both, the three figures retain identical proportions and the whole scene is bound into the same close-knit composition. There are nevertheless some marked differences between the two. The stub-tailed bears of the Torslunda plate may be contrasted with the long-tailed, wolf-like creatures of the Sutton Hoo plaques. Again, the man in the Torslunda scene is represented in violent action. The legs and lower part of his body are seen from the back, the upper part twists right round to face the front. The figure is also armed with sword and dagger and stabs one of the bears mortally in the belly. The Sutton Hoo figure squats on the other hand unarmed and apparently uninterested, in buddha-like detachment. These differences can I suggest be to a large extent explained by differences in medium and milieu without affecting the essential identity of the two scenes. The Torslunda plate is one of a long series of lively and naturalistic representations, and has the characteristics of the Vendel figural art to which it belongs. The Sutton Hoo scene on the contrary is conventionalised (as may be seen from the spreadeagling of the legs of the man and the placing of his arms and hands),²¹⁸ and frozen in a purely symmetrical design. It is also rendered in a quite different medium, that of cut stones and inlays in cloisonné work, which does not lend itself to naturalism or realistic details, such as the bears' pelts in the Torslunda version, as would the wax from which the Swedish versions were no doubt cast. And again, although the animals

²¹⁸ Professor Günther Haseloff has suggested to me that the Sutton Hoo men are depicted in the 'orans' attitude (the hands raised in prayer) and that the scene must accordingly be a version of Daniel in the Lions' Den, as was originally suggested. But this is not the 'orans' attitude, which is invariably—Germanic as well as in Coptic and late Roman iconography—the arms outstretched and the palms of the hands turned upwards. (Plate VIII *c*). (See also Holmqvist, *op. cit.* Plates XXXI, 1 and 4; XXXII, 1; XXXIV, 3; XXXV, 2 and 3.)

are different in the two versions, they are in both instances animals, and clearly not, as in the majority of representations of the 'man between monsters', men wrapped or disguised in animal skins.²¹⁹ It may be that the artist was illustrating a subject in which monsters of a not very closely specified physical character were to be represented, (as for instance Grendel and his mother in *Beowulf*); and that we have at Sutton Hoo simply a different interpretation of the same subject which nevertheless closely adheres to an established iconography. It seems that at Sutton Hoo we have a conventionalised representation, suitable to jewellery, but still at once recognisable, of a well-known subject, which in the Vendel art milieu and the *pressbleck* medium received a more literal, graphic and naturalistic rendering. At the back of the connection which I believe we have established between these two scenes in different parts of Europe lies an important physical factor. The connection is not between two pieces in a vacuum. The Torslunda plate is a die from which this scene was impressed on to thin sheets of bronze and used to decorate Vendel-type helmets. It is true that this particular plate from Torslunda (like its fellow made by the same hand, showing a man bare to the waist, holding a monster by a rope drawn about its neck) was buried in mint condition, and few impressions can have been taken from it; but this is not the only instance of the scene in Vendel art, and it must have been quite familiar on Vendel-type helmets. Just such a helmet was found in the Sutton Hoo grave, and no doubt it was not the only helmet of its kind in Suffolk. The next boat-grave to be dug at Sutton Hoo, if intact, might well produce one bearing this very scene. Between the Sutton Hoo and Torslunda scenes there is thus an historical, indeed a physical link, as well as an iconographic one.

It would be possible to go on producing significant parallels between these two archæologies for a very long time and the articles of Nerman, Lindqvist and Maryon already quoted may be referred to for further illustrations. It will suffice here to take two further instances of a distinctive kind that can be briefly dealt with.

First, the Sutton Hoo whetstone (Plate I). Whetstones are of very rare occurrence in graves of the pagan Saxon period; whetstones, or stones of similar form, carved with faces occur at

²¹⁹ *cf.* Roe, *op. cit.* 8: This is a fact which distinguishes the Torslunda and the Sutton Hoo scenes from almost all the representations considered by Miss Roe in her Group I, and it is a further point in the establishment of a connection between the two. Our two versions are, for the period to which they belong, in a class apart, although close iconographic parallels may be found at a considerably later date, viz. the scene on the Kells market cross, with the horned central figure, (Roe, Pl. II, 3) and the capital (12th century) from a church in Aisne (Holmqvist, *op. cit.*, 147, Abb. 120).

about this period in Ireland,²²⁰ Wales,²²¹ and Scotland,²²² though none of them are closely datable. Primitive-looking faces carved on pillars or other stones are also characteristic of this period in Ireland.²²³ None of the faces on these insular pieces bear any resemblance to the Sutton Hoo whetstone faces, although the Sutton Hoo face is closely paralleled, even to its pear-shaped surround, on an Anglo-Saxon silver *sceatta* (Fig. 3 *e*), which should be later in date than the whetstone (p. 14 above). On the other hand Professor Nerman has pointed out not only that whetstones are highly characteristic of Swedish graves of the period (notably the Vendel and Old Uppsala graves),²²⁴ but also that the faces on the Sutton Hoo whetstone find their closest analogies in contemporary Swedish art. He quotes a number of instances from Gotland.²²⁵ To these we may add some examples closer to Sutton Hoo,²²⁶ namely the pointed faces that appear in the hips of the interlacing animals on the flange of the shield-boss and a rectangular mount from boat-grave 12 at Vendel.²²⁷ The best analogy for the bearded masks on the whetstone, however, seems to me to be the cloisonné face in the hip of the bird on the Sutton Hoo shield (Plate VI *b*) in which the pointed beard, the moustache and the pear-shaped field of the whetstone, and even the 'stop' or pellet below the point of the beard, are all suggested. This shield is claimed by Nerman as Swedish,²²⁸ and very likely is.

Lastly we may refer to the solitary gilt-bronze 'sword-ring' found in the Sutton Hoo burial (Fig. 11). As is well known, it does not belong to the Sutton Hoo sword.²²⁹ But it is not generally realised that it differs in an important respect from the true sword-ring, as Professor Lindqvist has pointed out to me. The vertically-set element of a sword-ring of the solid type (as distinct from the loose, 'functional' rings found on English swords²³⁰ is always cut away obliquely in an upward direction to fit on to the shoulder

²²⁰ Plate V *a*, and *Antiquaries Journal* VII, 1927, 323: Mr. Reginald Smith suggested a 12th century date for this piece.

²²¹ Plate VI *d*, and *Antiquaries Journal* XXI, 1941, 73 and Plate XVII. The incised interlace at the back of the head suggests a 7/8th century date.

²²² *e.g.* from Portsoy, Banffshire (*British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* 1923, 128, Fig. 163) perhaps a trial-piece; and from the Broch of Main, Shetland, (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* LVIII, 1923-4, 17 and Fig. 5).

²²³ *e.g.* F. Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, 1933, Vol. II, Plates 7-10.

²²⁴ pp. 8; 9 above. ²²⁵ *op. cit.*, 73.

²²⁶ The close relationship between the shield from boat-grave 12 at Vendel and the Sutton Hoo shield has already been commented on by Maryon, (*Antiquity* 1946) and by Lindqvist and Nerman, (*Fornvännen* 1948).

²²⁷ Stolpe and Arne *op. cit.* Pls. XXXIII, Fig. 2 and XXXVIII, Fig. 1.

²²⁸ *op. cit.*

²²⁹ Provisional Guide, 26, 28.

²³⁰ *e.g.* Åberg, *op. cit.* Fig. 272. Behmer, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVII, 6a, XXXVIII.

of the pommel.²³¹ Very occasionally, if it is an exceptionally small ring, it may remain unmodified.²³² The Sutton Hoo ring is unmodified and has an absolutely straight undersurface. I know of only one parallel to a ring of the size of the Sutton Hoo ring remaining unmodified, a 'sword-ring' of similar dimensions recently excavated in Uppland, at Valsgårde. It does not come from a sword, but was mounted on a drinking-horn.²³³ This solitary and unusual ring in the Sutton Hoo grave seems to be another distinctive link between the two areas.

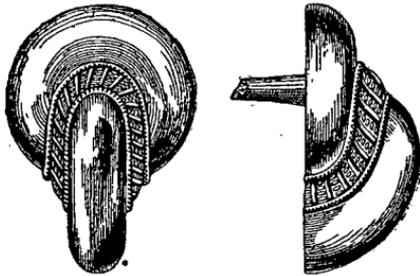


FIG. 11. Gilt-bronze 'ring' from the Sutton Hoo burial ($\frac{1}{2}$).
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

One more factor of a different but decisive kind must be mentioned—boat-burial. There are only two places in Europe where boat-graves are known to occur in the 7th century—Suffolk and

²³¹ e.g. Behmer, *op. cit.* Plates XL, 2; XLI, 6, 7; XLII, 2; XLIII, 1-3; XLIV, 4; L, 3, 4.

²³² As for instance the sword from Sarre, Kent, illustrated by Åberg (*op. cit.* Fig. 273).

²³³ Sune Lindqvist, *Från Upplands Forntid* (Kort vägledning genom Uppsala Universitets museum för nordiska fornsaker), Uppsala 1945, Plate facing p. 13. Unfortunately there is no adequate evidence as to where in the burial deposit the Sutton Hoo ring lay. (Provisional Guide, 26). I do not think it can have come from the sword-area, as all the sand from this region was carefully sifted for stray gold coins and loose garnets. A note in the writing of the Keeper of the Research Laboratory in the British Museum, (Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, F.S.A.) apparently made after the War (1945 or early 1946) when the fragmentary remains of the shield were unpacked for the first time and the shield was being restored, indicates that the ring came from the shield area, and it may possibly have been mounted on the shield. On the other hand there is clear evidence that certain small fragments had been thrown across the burial-chamber, presumably by the fall of a piece of wood from the roof, or some similar occurrence, and it is not altogether to be ruled out that the ring belonged to one of the drinking horns (which lay in the central part of the chamber, Provisional Guide, Pl. XXVII) even if it were found in the region of the shield.

Uppland. This shows, as has already been said,²³⁴ that the two areas share not only distinctive types of object and technical and ornamental details, but also distinctive customs. The fact of boat-burial, taken in conjunction with the many close connections to be found in the archæological materials of the two areas, shows that the link between them is not to be explained solely in terms of gifts or trade, but is something more substantial. For boat graves do not occur in Suffolk only at Sutton Hoo, but more widely.²³⁵

In contradistinction to the dispersed and often only rather general parallels to be found in the archæological materials of the continental mainland, and quite remote, even hypothetical, continental 'prototypes', there are concentrated in our two areas a great abundance of links of the most intimate character covering a broad range of antiquities of different kinds, and backed by a common burial-custom of a most distinctive nature. A wandering goldsmith could not suffice to explain the similarities, for they occur in many other things besides the goldsmith's work. It seems to me certain that any question of independent parallel development in Sweden and Suffolk from some supposed common continental source is completely ruled out. I hope that it will now be accepted—by historians, linguists and students of early Northern literature, as well as by archæologists—that there existed a direct and substantial connection between East Anglia and Sweden a hundred and fifty years and more before the commencement of Viking raids upon the British Isles. It also seems to me in the present state of knowledge, and particularly because of the closeness of the connections with the royal mounds at Old Uppsala, that that connection is primarily and essentially between Suffolk and Uppland, that is, with the kingdom of the Svear rather than that of the Geats. There are indications that the bond between the archæologies of East Anglia and Uppland extends beyond the Sutton Hoo grave-field, and that future discoveries in Suffolk are likely to demonstrate it with increasing force and clarity.²³⁶

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SWEDISH CONNECTION

As has been already said²³⁷ various attempts have already been made to explain the connections with Sweden revealed in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, and these must now be discussed.

²³⁴ By Nerman and Lindqvist in *Fornvännen* 1948 and also in the writer's articles already quoted on Sutton Hoo and Sweden in the *Archæological News Letter*, *Ord och Bild* and the *Anglo-Swedish Review*.

²³⁵ See p. 64 below.

²³⁶ As long ago as 1911 Mr. Reginald Smith made the suggestion that two bronze scabbard mounts in the Bury St. Edmunds Museum (Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, Pl. XVIII e) were brought over by a Swedish settler (*Victoria County History, Suffolk*, Vol. 1, 338).

²³⁷ See p. 1 above.

Perhaps the most telling consideration against Mr. Maryon's view that practically the whole of the Sutton Hoo treasure, including the jewellery, was imported from Sweden, is that no Swedish archaeologist accepts it. 'Maryon's opinion . . .' writes Professor Nerman 'can certainly not be accepted by those who know the Swedish material of the Migration and Vendel periods'.²³⁸ Since Nerman nevertheless argues that the burial is a Swede's, we may suppose that had it been possible to say that the majority of the finds were Swedish, he would have been the first to say so. A single point breaks down the conception of wholesale importation. The most striking and ambitious pieces in the Sutton Hoo jewellery—the purse-lid, epaulettes and we may add the pyramids that presumably decorated the sword-knot—are singled out by the prominent use in their decoration of chequered inlays of millefiori enamel.²³⁹ Not a single instance is known of the occurrence of such inlays in northern or continental metalwork, and furthermore the only source from which the millefiori idea and technique can have been derived is insular. The millefiori technique ²⁴⁰ lives on in the post-Roman world only in Britain, appearing in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. in the ornamentation of the escutcheons of the thin bronze Celtic hanging-bowls found in Anglo-Saxon graves. The use of millefiori on these Sutton Hoo pieces shows beyond doubt that they were made in England.²⁴¹ It is furthermore possible, by internal analysis and comparative study of the jewellery, to show that all the other pieces (except the sword pommel) are products, if not of the craftsmen who made the major pieces already referred to, at any rate of the same workshop or milieu.²⁴² So it is clear that at any rate one major germanic element in the find of outstanding importance—the cloisonné jewellery—is of insular origin.

Professor Nerman has argued at length that the Sutton Hoo ship-burial is the grave of a Swedish chieftain or king. He thinks this Swedish chief or king died in England about 670 A.D., and that he was most probably 'a conqueror who subjected part of the country to his rule'. 'We know so little of East Anglian history at this time that such a possibility cannot be excluded.' The site of the burial, on an arm of the sea, fits admirably with the idea of a foreign intruder of this kind. Nerman also envisages the possibility that, if not a conqueror, the Swede was called in; perhaps as a

²³⁸ *op. cit.*, 70, footnote.

²³⁹ See for instance Plates VIII *b* and XI.

²⁴⁰ For the history of millefiori in western European archaeology see Dr. Françoise Henry, *Emailliers d'Occident, Préhistoire*, II, 1933, 65-146.

²⁴¹ This statement can be clearly demonstrated by closer analysis of the finds and by technical considerations which cannot be entered into here.

²⁴² See for instance p. 37, Fig. 7, etc. above.

relative, 'to help an East Anglian king in his wars.'²⁴³

Before considering the suppositions upon which this theory rests some general observations may be made.

That a Swedish chief could have been called in to help the Wuffingas in their wars against Mercia is feasible, though we should have to suppose that he arrived in the reign of Sigbert or Anna, that is before 654 A.D. For Anna's reign saw the last of the early wars of East Anglia (except for Aethelhere's Northumbrian expedition) and marked the end of her political power. If the burial is to be as late as 670, we should have to suppose that he settled after the fighting was over. But the suggestion of a Swedish conqueror who established his rule over parts of the country can I consider be completely ruled out.

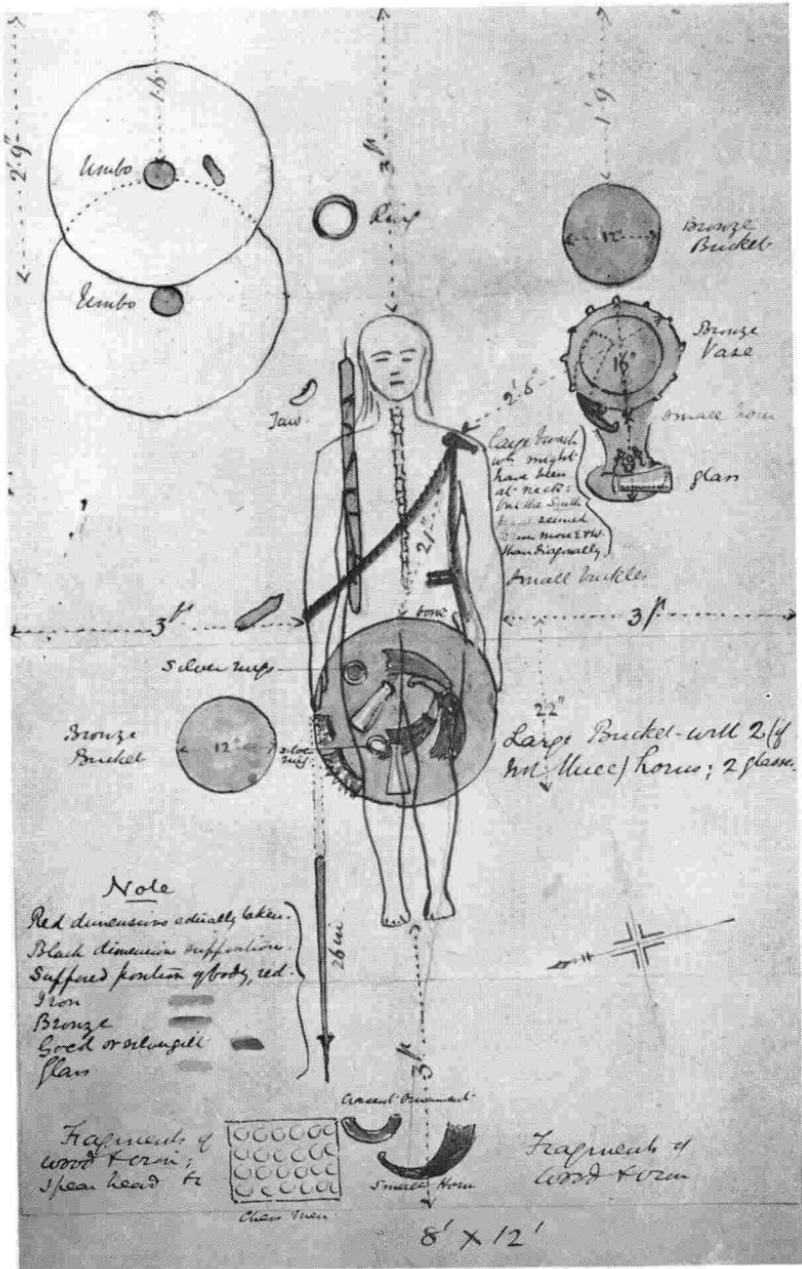
The fact is that we know much more about the history of East Anglia in the 7th century and in particular in its second and third quarters than Professor Nerman supposes; and at any rate, enough to decide this issue. We know from Bede the rulers of East Anglia, in unbroken succession, through the 7th century. The sequence is confirmed in a good genealogy (Plate V), written down between 811 and 814 A.D. We know the East Anglian bishops of the period in unbroken succession. Bede, who was well-informed about East Anglia in this period, gives no inkling of any such occurrence as the irruption of a pagan conqueror into an area that was at this very time (650-670) the centre of East Anglian Christianity (Fig. 4), politically startling, and adverse to the developing life of the Church, though such a Scandinavian invasion and the resultant counter-operations must have been. The most cogent argument against the notion of a pagan Scandinavian invasion is in fact the tranquil progress of East Anglian ecclesiastical and monastic life through this very time,²⁴⁴ clearly indicated both in the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Indeed if the identification of Clóveshoh with Mildenhall is correct (Fig. 4),²⁴⁵ we must suppose that the annual meetings of these important Councils of the Church of all England took place in Suffolk (admittedly in West Suffolk) from 670 onwards. This is hardly compatible with political instability or a pagan régime in Suffolk. Still more cogent is the attested flowering and prosperity of those monasteries—royal foundations or under royal patronage—in the region of Sutton Hoo itself. As for the siting of the barrows on an estuary, it has been

²⁴³ *op. cit.* 90 'Snarast har han varit en erövrare, som lagt under sig en del av landet'.

²⁴⁴ See p. 26 above.

²⁴⁵ *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, ii, p. 69. Claude Morley, 'Clveso'; *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* Vol. 18, 1924, 92-122. I am grateful to Mr. Leslie Dow for drawing my attention to these references.

PLATE XV.



A 7th century Anglo-Saxon aristocratic burial. A contemporary plan of the Taplow Barrow burial deposit, excavated in 1882.
 (By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

said elsewhere that this part of Suffolk was in all probability the core of the East Anglian kindom,²⁴⁶ largely because of its easy sea communications with Kent and the Continent. Nothing could be more unsound than to draw a positive inference, such as Nerman draws, from the geographical situation of the burial. The fact that it is only a few miles down-stream from what we may reasonably call one of the most important residences of the East Anglian Royal House at this very date should counsel caution. Indeed, as Chadwick lost no time in pointing out,²⁴⁷ we can hardly imagine that the ostentatious treasure-mound (whose reputed wealth must have been widely known)²⁴⁸ of a foreign invader, set up in the heart of the Wuffingas domains, would have been allowed to survive intact once the invader had been driven out. It would assuredly have been razed and the treasures confiscated to the royal treasury.

Nerman's view that the burial is a Swede's rests upon the belief that the sword, helmet and shield in the Sutton Hoo grave are Swedish pieces; that the manner of the burial (in a boat, richly furnished with grave-goods and arms and armour, under a low mound) is Swedish; and that the burial is pagan. He also supposes the monument to be an ordinary grave, and not a cenotaph. It would be possible, as will be indicated below, to accept all these propositions and yet draw a different conclusion. We must however examine the propositions themselves.

IS THE MANNER OF BURIAL SWEDISH?

Nerman writes 'the manner of burial itself is Swedish. Such richly-furnished unburnt warriors graves in a boat under low mounds or flat ground are only known from Sweden.'²⁴⁹ But richly-furnished unburnt warriors graves (without the boat) are also characteristic of Anglo-Saxon archæology. We may quote among many those found at Broomfield in Essex²⁵⁰ and Taplow in Buckinghamshire,²⁵¹ both probably slightly earlier than Sutton Hoo. A plan of the Taplow grave is published here for the first time (Plate XV),²⁵² and attention may be drawn to the sword,

²⁴⁶ Saxon Rendlesham, esp. 234-6.

²⁴⁷ *op. cit.* 77.

²⁴⁸ The publicity that must have attended the great burial has already been stressed Provisional Guide 41: Lindqvist, *Antiquity*, 1948, 134 and 139 note 17: *Fornvännen* 1948, 99 and 107.

²⁴⁹ *op. cit.* 88-9 '... själva gravskicket är svenskt. Sådana rikt utrustade obrända krigargravar i båt under låga högar eller under flat mark äro endast bekanta ifrån Sverige.'

²⁵⁰ *Victoria County History of Essex*, Vol. I, 326.

²⁵¹ *Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. I, 199-204, with colour plate etc.

²⁵² This drawing is contemporary with the excavation (1883) and is the best of four surviving versions of the grave-plan and the only one that gives any measurements. The original is in the British Museum.

angons and two shields. Again, the Sutton Hoo burial was *not* covered by a low mound. It did not have the low flat-topped circular mound, or no mound at all, of the Swedish boat-graves. The indications are that the great Sutton Hoo barrow was a long oval mound²⁵³ that must have attained the height of at least 12 feet. These are not merely differences in scale, but in form. They are not decisive factors, but they hardly justify the view that the Sutton Hoo barrow is typically Swedish. The only thing that appears distinctively Swedish about the funeral arrangements is the use of a boat, and here we may note that we are not dealing with an isolated phenomenon (such as the burials of a single small group of raiders) since another boat-grave has been found further away at Snape.²⁵⁴

Dr. Nerman has not I believe sufficiently considered differences between Sutton Hoo and the Swedish boat-graves. The concentration of the burial-deposit within a specially constructed chamber in the centre of the boat is one, but most important is the complete absence of sacrificed animals at Sutton Hoo. Animal sacrifices, often on a lavish scale, are an invariable accompaniment of important Swedish burials. From the royal cremations at Old Uppsala, where we have found the most striking parallels to some of the Sutton Hoo finds (and which illustrate how Swedish kings really were buried) many animal remains were recovered.²⁵⁵ The East Mound from which came the helmet-fragment shown in Plate X *b*, yielded remains of horses, at least three dogs, sheep or goats and bear. The West Mound, which produced the cloisonné fragment (Plate XIV *d*) yielded horse, bird, pig, bear and at least two dogs; the Centre Mound, cat, dogs, horses, domestic pig, smaller ruminating animals and cattle, fowls and possibly geese. There were similar finds from Ottar's Mound in Vendel.²⁵⁶ From the Vendel boat-inhumations were found remains of many horses and other animals and birds, including falcon, owl and crane.²⁵⁷ In a Swedish royal grave of the standing of the Sutton Hoo ship-burial we might well expect to find remains of as many as a dozen horses and numbers of other animals. In fact at Sutton Hoo, though ample space was left both inside and outside the burial chamber, there was not a trace of any animal remains. It is inconceivable that every trace of horses'

²⁵³ For the original shape of the mound see C. W. Phillips, *Antiquaries Journal* XX, 153.

²⁵⁴ I am aware of Professor Nerman's doubts about the Snape boat-grave (*op. cit.* 89, note 29); but a careful perusal of contemporary accounts leaves me with no doubt that this was a genuine burial of the period and that the gold ring and claw-beaker fragments belonged to it, though the whole had evidently been robbed. I hope to demonstrate the authenticity of the Snape boat-grave in a separate note in these *Proceedings*.

²⁵⁵ S. Lindqvist, *Uppsala Högar och Ottarshögen*, 342.

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Stolpe and Arne*, passim, especially plates XLV to LIII.

skeletons, with almost indestructable teeth, should disappear, even in the acid sand at Sutton Hoo (pH. 4.5). The survival of not inconsiderable quantities of burnt bone (more readily soluble in soil acids than unburnt) in two of the barrows excavated in 1938,²⁵⁸ apparently unassociated with any metals that might exercise a preservative effect, shows that soil conditions on the site are not such as to completely destroy such bone traces. Equally decisive (though archæologically regrettable) is the absence of any saddles, bits, bridles, harness mounts or other metal objects such as invariably accompany animal skeletons in Swedish inhumations of the period.

What does this absence of sacrificed animals at Sutton Hoo mean? Animal sacrifices are not characteristic of Anglo-Saxon inhumation graves, and it is of course compatible with the view that the grave is Anglo-Saxon. The absence of animals might also be connected with the absence of a human body, that is, it might be due to the peculiarity that the grave was a cenotaph. It would certainly be the proper accompaniment of a Christian burial, as ours may be. At all events, it seems clear that the Sutton Hoo burial is not typically pagan Swedish, but if a Swedish grave at all, one that makes concessions to and is strongly modified by its insular environment.

ARE SWORD, SHIELD AND HELMET SWEDISH?

They may well be. Though Anglo-Saxon shields could be richly decorated,²⁵⁹ and shield-bosses could be large and elaborate,²⁶⁰ no fragments indicating shields really similar to the Sutton Hoo shield have come from Saxon graves. The heavy, domed overhanging boss, with massive flange rivets, of the Sutton Hoo and Swedish shields is unknown in England. No vestige of helmets like the Sutton Hoo helmet have come to light in Kentish or other aristocratic warriors' graves. The only authenticated Saxon helmet known, that from the Benty Grange tumulus, is of a quite different character, being constructed with plates of horn over iron strips.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Provisional Guide, 9.

²⁵⁹ The Caenby, Lincs. shield mounts (in the British Museum) were elaborate, heavily gilded and decorated with style II interlace and garnets and mother o' pearl.

²⁶⁰ For instance that from Bidford-on-Avon, Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 4.

²⁶¹ Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, III. Pl. XXI, 195-6. This helmet has recently been treated and studied in the British Museum Research Laboratory, and Dr. Plenderleith's work on it has revealed it as a unique piece, presenting both germanic and Celtic attributes. The use of enamel which is inferred from certain features of the boar shows the adoption of a native technique (a parallel to the adoption of millefiori inlays in the Sutton Hoo jewellery) but the Ger-

Again, apart from Sutton Hoo, only one sword quite possibly later than the Sutton Hoo one has been found in England with clips on the grip resembling those illustrated on Plate XI²⁶² and none with a gold cloisonné pommel,²⁶³ or with circular scabbard-bosses such as those found on the Sutton Hoo sword and illustrated on the Vendel XIV helmet.²⁶⁴ With the possible exception of the sword, I have not been able to find in Anglo-Saxon archæology any background to suggest that the distinctive forms of the three pieces under discussion could be an original insular evolution independent of any Swedish influence which subsequently came to be transferred to Swedish soil. The uncertainty of the dating of the Swedish royal cremations at Uppsala and the Swedish boat-graves and their related culture makes the matter more complicated, but at present I can visualise only two likely explanations of the sword, shield and helmet at Sutton Hoo. Either they were made in Sweden and brought here; or they were made here by craftsmen who must have been fresh from Sweden when they made them.

There are notable differences between the Sutton Hoo shield and helmet and any Swedish examples yet found, for instance the solid neck-guard and elaborate mask of the Sutton Hoo helmet, as compared with the iron slats and mail curtains of Swedish ones;²⁶⁵ and the arm-strap of the shield, with its two small associated bosses, placed at one side,²⁶⁶ (in Swedish shields small subsidiary strap-bosses occur at the top). The raised rim round the edge of the Sutton Hoo shield is not known on Swedish examples; also these Sutton Hoo pieces are richer and finer in quality than any Swedish ones yet found. These differences may be due to differences in date

manic character of the helmet is established by the boar's eyes, which are cabochon garnets in gold settings with a 'collar' of beaded gold filigree, and by the construction of the boar, which is built up of hollow sheet-bronze tubes riveted together, and is quite unlike the solid castings of the small statuary of Roman Britain, or the series of early British boars, like that from Hounslow. (*British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, Fig. 172).

²⁶² From Cumberland. (*British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, Plate VII. Behmer *op. cit.* Taf. II, 3.

²⁶³ Though the existence of a Kentish silver pommel showing imitation step-pattern cloisonné work in niello (Åberg, *Anglo-Saxons in England*, 144, Fig. 274) and parallel with similar continental imitation cloisonné pommels (Behmer, *op. cit.*, Plates XLIV, 3, LX, 1-4 etc.) should be noted.

²⁶⁴ Nerman, *op. cit.* 75, Fig. 12. Stolpe and Arne, *op. cit.* Plate XLI, Fig. 4. The gold cloisonné stud from Wickham, Kent (Åberg, *op. cit.* Figs. 270 and p. 141) should however not be overlooked. Its form and ornamentation suggest that it might well be a scabbard-boss.

²⁶⁵ S. Lindqvist, *Vendelhjälmarna i ny rekonstruktion*, *Fornvännen* h.1, 1950, 1-24, Figs. 1-4; p. 9 and 10 (note 4). Greta Arwidsson, *Valsgårde 6*, Uppsala 1942, p. 33, Fig. 127.

²⁶⁶ H. Maryon, *The Sutton Hoo Shield*, *Antiquity* XX, 1940, Plates II, III. In Sweden they occur in the same alignment as the grip and its ornamental extensions, as is shown by recently excavated shields from Valsgårde.

and social level. The boat-graves of Vendel and Valsgårde are those of 'yeoman-farmers'.²⁶⁷ Contemporary royal inhumations have not been found; but the closeness of the parallels already noted in the Royal cremations at Uppsala to items in the Sutton Hoo grave (*cf.* Plates X *b* and XIV *d*) suggest that the arms and armour in these and other Royal burials may have been closer in some respects to the Sutton Hoo examples than those from the Swedish boat-graves are; and helmets and shields from the royal graves would presumably have been richer and finer than those from the humbler boat-graves. The divergent elements in the design of the Sutton Hoo shield and helmet, then, when compared with similar Swedish finds at present known, do not necessarily imply that they are of non-Swedish origin.

In examining the bases of Professor Nerman's theory, we have reached the conclusion that the manner of the Sutton Hoo burial is not typically Swedish. Indeed we have seriously to consider whether it is not a Christian monument; and it seems certain that it is a cenotaph. As Professor Lindqvist has said ²⁶⁸ we cannot yet be positive that boat-burial is a Swedish custom in origin, and that it could not have been evolved in the Anglian milieu. We agree however that the probability is, as Nerman claims, that the sword, shield and helmet are genuine Swedish pieces, though it is possible that they might have been made here by immigrant Swedish craftsmen. Whichever is correct, a connection with Sweden is implied and it may be taken as certain that in the Sutton Hoo grave we meet pure Scandinavian elements in the Anglian milieu, as we do in Beowulf. How are we to explain this connection, the presence of these Swedish pieces?

The first thing to understand is that the situation is a good deal more complex than Nerman suggests. For instance the sword in his opinion is 'certainly Swedish'. Hitherto I have agreed without qualification, to avoid introducing complications prematurely. But swords of the period are often composite affairs. For instance the pommel of the Sutton Hoo sword may have been made in Sweden, but the blade was not. It was made in the Rhineland. X-Ray examination shows that it is pattern-welded (damascened),²⁶⁹ and there can be little doubt that such blades were manufactured

²⁶⁷ *Vendel i fynd och forskning* (Ed. Oskar Lundberg), Uppsala 1938, 78-80.

²⁶⁸ *cf.* Lindqvist, *Fornvännen* 1948, 106-7; *Antiquity* 1948, 138.

²⁶⁹ English archaeologists prefer Mr. Herbert Maryon's newly-coined term 'pattern-welding'—an exact description of the method—to the unsatisfactory expressions, such as damascening or false damascening, more properly applied to different processes. See H. Maryon, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, XLI, 73-6, 'A Sword of the Nydam type from Ely Fields Farm, near Ely, Cambridge.'

in Rhenish factories.²⁷⁰ X-Ray technique has not yet been systematically applied to the sword-blades of the period, most of which are coated with rust or concealed within scabbards in which they are inextricably fixed by corrosion. Thus information about pattern-welded blades and their distribution patterns in time and space is too incomplete for broad inferences to be drawn. Recent X-Ray work in the British Museum Research Laboratory however suggests that pattern-welded blades are quite as common as plain ones in Saxon England in the 5th-7th centuries. The swords found in both the Broomfield and Taplow barrows, rich 7th century graves parallel with Sutton Hoo, have pattern-welded blades. The blade of the Sutton Hoo sword may have been imported from the Rhineland into Sweden, and the sword made up there; but the earliest pattern-welded blade of the Vendel period so far claimed in Sweden dates from the eighth century.²⁷¹ On the other hand it is not impossible that a Swedish-made pommel, or a Swedish-type pommel made over here, could have been fitted to a Rhenish blade in England, where such imported blades were common in the 6th and 7th centuries. Again, the filigree clips of the Sutton Hoo sword-grip (Plate XI) find most parallels as to shape and general ornamental character (e.g. the use of filigree) in Sweden, though at a later date. But the filigree braids, scrolls and hooks on the Sutton Hoo clips are absolutely typical of English, especially Kentish work, and there is no reason at all to suppose that these clips were made outside England. The resplendent scabbard-bosses of the Sutton Hoo sword (Plate XI) are certainly English, as has been shown²⁷² particularly because of their cruciform designs. The marvellous pyramids that decorated the sword-knot (Plate XI) are English too, as their millefiori enamel inlays show. The design of the scabbard-bosses further suggests, as has been indicated above,²⁷³ that the man for whom these trappings for the sword were made was a Christian. Indeed almost all the gold pieces found in the Sutton Hoo grave, apart from the purse, belt-buckle and epaulettes, were we believe made for the leather harness on which the sword was worn and suspended; and they are all demonstrably of insular manufacture and appear to be appreciably later in date than the pommel. The picture to be derived from the Sutton Hoo sword is thus not that of a simple import, but if Swedish at all, of a treasured, no doubt ancient, Swedish weapon for which at an appreciably later date goldsmiths in Anglo-Saxon England provided a resplendent, indeed a regal, sheath and baldric.

²⁷⁰ For 'damascening' of sword-blades see Baldwin Brown.

²⁷¹ From Valsgårde 6, a burial dated *c.* 750. Greta Arwidsson *op. cit.* 47, Figs, 41, 42. I cannot personally distinguish any signs of pattern-welding on these published photographs.

²⁷² pp. 32-40 above.

²⁷³ *ibid.*

Again, the intimate relationship between the 'man and monsters' scene that appears twice on the Sutton Hoo purse and the Torslunda plate that bears the same scene has been demonstrated (Plate VIII *a* and *b*). But which is the copy, and which the model? If, as Bertil Almgren has well argued,²⁷⁴ and as Lindqvist and Nerman would in all probability agree, the Torslunda plates are to be dated to the 5th century, or about 500, the Torslunda scene clearly has priority over a 7th century version in Suffolk. But even if the Torslunda plates are to be dated as late as the first half of the 7th century the Swedish version must I think, be the source. The Sutton Hoo purse occurs in a context where strong Swedish influence is otherwise apparent, though this does not mean that influences did not pass in the reverse direction. But in addition to this the fact is that the Torslunda scene is not an isolated thing, but one in a long series of similar representations in the Vendel art of Sweden, and is unlikely to have been so completely assimilated into the art cycle to which it belongs as a solitary disconnected element from an outside source. Finally, the mechanical means for its transference from the Swedish to the Anglian milieu is at hand. A Swedish-type helmet, of the kind for whose decoration these plates were designed, has been found in Suffolk. It is most unlikely to have been the only one to have come across. We must therefore regard the scenes on the Sutton Hoo purse as translations of a Swedish scene into Anglo-Saxon jewellery. The translation, with certain modifications discussed above, is careful and accurate. A specifically Swedish element is thus it seems prominently incorporated into the design of 'one of the most sumptuous trappings that a Teutonic grave has ever given to us',²⁷⁵ made in Suffolk.

Again, the great gold buckle is without doubt the finest Germanic buckle known. It was the first object in the find in which Swedish characteristics were recognised.²⁷⁶ The interlace on the loop closely resembles that on certain rectangular plaques from

²⁷⁴ Bertil Almgren, *Römerska drag i nordisk figurkonst från folkvandringstiden*, *Tor* 1948 (Meddelanden från Uppsala universitets museum för nordiska fornsaker) especially pp. 85-87.

²⁷⁵ T. D. Kendrick, *Antiquity* XIV, 1940, 29.

²⁷⁶ T. D. Kendrick in *British Museum Quarterly* XIII, 1939, 135: 'Still more significant is the evidence of the big gold buckle for this, though it is vaguely Frankish in form and bears decoration that might pass as a variant of the South German 'Style II' in animal-pattern, really finds its closest analogies in Vendel Grave 12, so much so that its picture would not seem incongruous if it were inserted among those of the objects found in that famous Swedish ship-burial. Yet this buckle was certainly made in England; for the little animal between the mouths of the two beasts at the end of the plate is of an established Anglian type and closely resembles the beasts on a silver mount from Caenby, Lincolnshire (*British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, Fig. 102)'. See also Provisional Guide, 53-4 and Fig. 15.

Vendel, grave I,²⁷⁷ while the animal ornament at the sides of the upper plate forms a surging animal progression like that seen on a long mount from Vendel XII,²⁷⁸ on which the same spotted inlays in the linear elements of the pattern may be seen, and animal heads comparable with the two at the foot of the Sutton Hoo buckle. The spotted interlace and animal heads on the Vendel XII shield-boss²⁷⁹ also provide an analogy. Yet the buckle is certainly not Swedish. It is disowned by both Nerman²⁸⁰ and Lindqvist,²⁸¹ and as Mr. Kendrick has correctly said, it was certainly made in England.²⁸²

Finally, the shield. Here in all probability is a purely Swedish piece. Before it came to be buried it was, as is well recognised, in a very dilapidated condition. Of twelve cast bronze animal heads that decorated the raised rim around the perimeter of the shield, (of two kinds used alternately)²⁸³ nine had been lost. A good part of the lappet at the back of the bird's head above the boss, and the terminal pair of wings, and upper wing of the penultimate pair, of the flying dragon below the boss, were missing. The long ornamented strip to one side of the boss must also have been deficient, or defective. All these parts were replaced, except the strip, in plaster covered with thin gold foil. Now the shield *may* have been brought from Sweden freshly renovated, just before the burial took place. But the probability is that it was an heirloom,²⁸⁴ such as are so frequently referred to in early literary sources, which fell into disrepair in England, and that it was taken down from the wall and made good for the occasion of the great funeral. The indications are that the restorations were all effected at one time. The shield had certainly been carefully brought into a completely restored condition when buried, and some of this work was of a fragile non-enduring character, suggesting that the work was intended to fill a temporary need. If the above explanation is correct, these repairs were carried out in England, probably in the year of the burial. But both in scale and ornamental detail the plaster replacements for the peripheral heads are identical with the originals. Either the two moulds used for casting the original heads were still available, or fresh moulds were taken from the surviving originals for the occasion. In the case of the long ornamental strip on

²⁷⁷ Stolpe and Arne, *op. cit.* Plates VIII, Figs. 1, 6 and 8; IX, Fig. 12 (border), Fig. 2, etc.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.* Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 6: *Vendel i fynd och forskning*, Fig. 13, left.

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2.

²⁸⁰ *op. cit.* 70.

²⁸¹ *Antiquity* 1948, 135 and Note 8; *Fornvännen* 1948, 100.

²⁸² See note 276 above.

²⁸³ H. Maryon, *op. cit.* Pl. III. Provisional Guide, Fig. 5.

²⁸⁴ On heirlooms see Lindqvist, *Antiquity* 1948, 137; *Fornvännen* 1948, 105.

the Sutton Hoo shield, however, the position is different. Nerman describes this strip incorrectly as consisting of gilt bronze,²⁸⁵ no doubt visualising it as being the same as on Vendel shields, especially that from Vendel XII. On this shield the ornamentation on one of the strips is virtually identical with that at Sutton Hoo,²⁸⁶ and Nerman has suggested that the bosses of the two shields came from the same workshop.²⁸⁷ No doubt the original strip on the Sutton Hoo shield *was* of the same character as that on the Vendel XII shield—a bronze strip, covered with stamped and gilt bronze foil bearing ornament. But the strip actually found on the Sutton Hoo shield consisted of an extremely thin stamped sheet of pure gold foil mounted on a piece of leather. This must be considered too fragile an arrangement to have been an original feature of a great war-shield, and it strongly suggests that the strip found was a temporary affair, in fact part of the 'making-good' of the dilapidated shield. Since it would hardly be possible to take a cast from the original foil strip which must have been either badly damaged (involving replacement) or lost, we must suppose that either the original die was still available or that a different die, and one extremely close to that used on the Vendel XII shield, was employed. This implies that armourers possessed of Swedish stock-in-trade (moulds and dies) were to hand. Thus the shield was not an isolated import, but Swedish craftsmen came with it, and brought their stock-in-trade.

What picture do we derive from the foregoing examples? It is that the Swedish element at Sutton Hoo is not confined to the presence of certain pieces (sword, helmet, shield) made in Sweden, *but actively permeates the Anglo-Saxon milieu*. A resplendent jewelled harness and fittings are made by East Anglian goldsmiths in honour of an old Swedish sword (if Swedish origin be conceded), and the man for whom the work was done, who carried the sword, is a Christian. English-made regalia has Swedish subject-matter and iconography incorporated in its design. English-made metal work (the belt buckle) bears the impress of Swedish style. A short while ago it was said that the Sutton Hoo funeral arrangements seemed to indicate a Swedish custom modified by the Saxon milieu. Now we seem to see the Saxon milieu in turn modified, indeed powerfully affected, by Swedish influences. It is clear that the Swedish elements present in East Anglia are of a positive, not a negative, kind: that Swedish-trained craftsmen operated in East Anglia; that the

²⁸⁵ *op. cit.* 81.

²⁸⁶ Stolpe and Arne, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXV, Fig. 1.

²⁸⁷ *loc. cit.*

man who commissioned the Sutton Hoo jewellery, with its Swedish traits, was a man who could command in Suffolk the services of the finest goldsmith in the whole Germanic world. A foreign raider, or solitary visitor, or any episode, will not explain these phenomena. The Swedish elements in East Anglia indeed seem deeply entrenched, and the fact of boat-burial elsewhere than at Sutton Hoo suggests that they were entrenched on a broad front.

CONCLUSION

It has been urged (by Professor Chadwick and by myself) with a bulk of evidence that seems unchallengeable that the Sutton Hoo ship-burial is a king's; and the question we set out to answer in the latter part of this paper was—is the king, for whom the monument was made, English or Swedish?

A foreign king who died on a visit, or fighting as an ally, can hardly be visualised as staying long enough, or having power, to modify the arts of the country as we have seen that they were modified; or to commission regalia²⁸⁸ which must have taken years to make,²⁸⁹ even if we allow that he might have stayed long

²⁸⁸ If (as I have argued) the purse and great gold buckle show concessions to Swedish taste and interests and most of the rest of the gold jewellery was made as a suspension harness for a Swedish heirloom sword, this would indicate that the gold jewels are not objects of unadulterated Saxon origin given to a foreign visitor, but that they were made for (commissioned by) someone with Swedish tastes and ideas. I have always felt that the jewelled outfit—including the purse, epaulettes and great gold buckle—a complete and elaborate harness transcending anything yet found in a Germanic grave—was not meant for everyday use but must have been an official outfit worn on ceremonial occasions. It may be considered along with the standard and sceptre as demonstrating royal authority, perhaps deriving ultimately from the 'purple belt and gold ornaments' of the Dux Britanniarum and other high Roman officials and officers and analogous to the gold belt worn by the Welsh prince Cunedda as a symbol of his power and office (Deanesly, *op. cit.* 135). Whether this be so or not, it remains a royal outfit and this and the above considerations explain the description 'regalia'. If this outfit can be accepted as regalia the concessions apparent in the outstanding pieces to Swedish tradition and taste and the making of most of the rest to honour a Swedish heirloom sword can hardly fail to be suggestive in the matter of the origins of the dynasty to which these regalia belong.

²⁸⁹ A professional lapidary (gem-cutter) after a close study of the Sutton Hoo jewellery, has estimated that the simpler (flat) garnets would each take one day to cut and finish, using modern equipment; that the more complex ones, *e.g.* the faceted stones on the edges and upper corners of the pyramids, would take two and three days each, assuming that the stones did not break whilst being worked (garnets are brittle and the wastage is usually considerable). Over 4,000 individual cut garnets were employed in the Sutton Hoo jewellery. This makes it possible to form some estimate of the time taken in making these pieces.

enough to alter his burial customs and change his religion. A foreign king, visiting or joining in a campaign, would presumably have his own affairs and kingdom to get back to, and would not become entrenched. But the archæological evidence is of an entrenchment of foreign elements. The Snape boat-grave also indicates, if boat-burial is to be taken as a sign of foreign influence, that this influence is not to be localised to the burial of one individual—a king who happened to be on a visit—or (the other Sutton Hoo barrow included) to the burials of one particular party or group. The foreign influence is on a broader front.

Of the situations visualised by Nerman, the only one that might account for the circumstances we have discussed would be that of a Swedish conqueror who established himself with his followers and ruled as king for a substantial period, commanding the wealth of East Anglia and the finest native craftsmen; becoming to an appreciable extent absorbed in the milieu and accepting Christianity. But as we have already seen, it is wholly against the substantial body of historical evidence that such a thing could have happened in East Anglia at the relevant time—during the third quarter of the 7th century. If there had been such a conqueror he could not have stayed long; for Aethelhere's son Aldwulf certainly attained the East Anglian kingship. (Fig. I and Plate V).²⁹⁰ The hypothetical conqueror's reign could hardly have been more than a violent and precarious interlude, hardly the setting for a great flowering of native craftsmanship. Still less can we imagine any foreigner of lower status—neither a conqueror nor a king—having such an impact on the East Anglian milieu.

Accordingly it seems to me that none of Dr. Nerman's explanations fits the complete archæological picture or is historically plausible.

If we now consider the view that English archæologists and historians have steadily maintained, that the monument is that of an East Anglian king²⁹¹ we have to account for the presence in an

²⁹⁰ In the 9th century genealogy (Plate V) Aldwulf is shown as the son of Ethilric. For the equating of Ethilric with Aethelhere and arguments on this point see *Handbook of British Chronology* (Ed. F. M. Powicke) 1934, 20, (under Aldwulf).

²⁹¹ cf. Sune Lindqvist, *Fornvännen* 1948, 99; *Antiquity* 1948; 134: 'If we are to look for the owner of the Sutton Hoo grave amongst the East Anglian royal family, which I too consider natural, but by no means certain. . . .' The case for identification of the burial with an East Anglian royalty strongly made by Chadwick has been developed since Lindqvist wrote (*e.g.* 'Saxon Rendlesham', 230-234 and in the present article.) and, if the grave is not to be a Swede's, I cannot see any doubt on this score. As an argument against the possibility that the burial might commemorate a visiting king from one of the other Saxon kingdoms, or from foreign parts, other than the Swedish peninsular, we may now add the use of a boat and the various Swedish elements. These show that the burial is a true expression of the milieu (East Anglia) where the Swedish indications are found concentrated.

East Anglian king's cenotaph of Swedish objects that were ancient when buried. We have to explain the active Swedish influences at work as revealed in the regal East Anglian grave-goods; and the following of Swedish usage for the funeral rites of an East Anglian king—if it be allowed, as it must be, that boat-burial may be a Swedish element.

It seems to me that there could be one simple explanation, which would explain everything, and is positively suggested by the archæological evidence as we have it at present. All the phenomena in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial that we have discussed are perfectly explicable if we suppose that Nerman's Swedish conqueror established his control over East Anglia not at the period of our burial—mid 7th century—but a good deal earlier—in fact that he was the man who founded the East Anglian dynasty in the mid 6th century. What we find in the burial would then be Swedish heirlooms (sword, helmet, shield) treasured as symbols of the origins or history of the royal house, and, in things that were made in East Anglia for Wuffinga patrons, traces of Swedish ideas and influences that would naturally spring from such roots. But by 650-670 A.D., the time of the Sutton Hoo burial, the dynasty having been established for a hundred years or some four generations, would have become wholly absorbed in its Western European milieu and an integral part of Anglo-Saxon civilisation. Hence the perfect manner in which the burial as a whole fits into its insular setting. Once such a family link had been established between East Anglia and Sweden, we may suppose that contacts were from time to time renewed.

The statements in the sagas, of which Nerman has reminded us in connection with the Sutton Hoo burial,²⁹² which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be applied to 7th century England, that the Swedish king Ivar Widefathom conquered (a fifth part) of England (described as Northumbria)²⁹³ would, if our interpretation is correct, be seen to have some sort of generalised basis in historical fact, even though the achievement might have attached itself to the wrong individual, and come to be referred to the wrong part of England.

The theory of Swedish origins outlined above is quite compatible with what we know of the Wuffingas.²⁹⁴ The accession dates given in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*²⁹⁵ (Eorpwald 624, Redwald 599, Tyttla 577) suggest *c.* 550 as a reasonable date for

²⁹² *op. cit.* 90, 91.

²⁹³ *cf.* also Birger Nerman, *Sveriges första storhetstid*, Stockholm, 1942, 86, 91; and the same author's *Sveriges rikets uppkomst*, Stockholm 1941, 195-6.

²⁹⁴ See F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 50 and Chadwick, *op. cit.* esp. 78-9.

²⁹⁵ Chadwick *op. cit.* 79.

the establishment in East Anglia of Tyttla's father Wuffa, the probable founder of the dynasty,²⁹⁶ or *c.* 525 for the accession of Wehha, who, if the evidence of Nennius is to be preferred, was the first king 'who reigned in Britain over the East Angles.'²⁹⁷ Nothing is known of the origins of this ruling family, and there is no reason why they should not have come from Sweden.

It must not be forgotten that the Torslunda plates were found in Öland (Fig. 5); that the pommel from Hög Edsten, for which I have suggested a Suffolk origin, was found in Bohuslän, the province on the West coast of Sweden immediately north of Gothenburg; that Professor Lindqvist considers that the Sutton Hoo shield could have been made on Gotland;²⁹⁸ and that a boat-grave dating from the 8th century has been found in Skåne in the extreme south-west of Sweden.²⁹⁹ It is possible that future excavations may substantially change the present picture of Swedish archæology in the 7th century. Nevertheless, boat-burial in the 6/7th centuries is at present only known in Uppland, where it is well established at the time; and the concentration of close parallels in Uppland (suggesting most probably Uppland workshops for the Sutton Hoo helmet and shield), and in particular the intimacy of the links between the Sutton Hoo graves and the royal mounds of Old Uppsala,³⁰⁰ strongly suggest that, if the Wuffingas came from Sweden, they were an off-shoot of the Royal House of Uppsala, the Scylfings.

Professor Lindqvist has tentatively suggested the possible equating of Wehha with Weohstan,³⁰¹ a Scylfing prince and father of Wiglaf, the faithful and heroic companion who went to the aid of Beowulf in his last fight, with the Dragon. I am not qualified to pass any comment on this tentative suggestion, but this seems an appropriate place to publish in facsimile and in a new transcription (Plate V *b, c*) the best genealogy of the Wuffingas. This genealogy is included in British Museum MS. Vespasian B VI, and is part of a document comprising genealogies and lists of bishops and written between A.D. 811 and 814.³⁰² I am greatly indebted to my friend and colleague Dr. C. E. Wright, of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, for help in deciphering the

²⁹⁶ Stenton, *loc. cit.*

²⁹⁷ *ibid* also Chadwick *loc. cit.*

²⁹⁸ *Antiquity* 1948, 136. *Fornvännen* 1948, 102.

²⁹⁹ See O. Montelius, *Svenska Fornsaker*, Stockholm 1872, Figs. 423, 429, 430.

³⁰⁰ Allowing for the difference in burial-rite (cremation and inhumation) the connections of the Sutton Hoo burial are in many ways much closer with the royal mounds at Uppsala than with the boat-graves of Vendel and Valsgärde.

³⁰¹ *Antiquity* 1948, 139: this suggestion was included in the text submitted for the English translation, but does not appear in the Swedish version in *Fornvännen* 1948.

³⁰² See *The Oldest English Texts*, edited by H. Sweet, (Early English Text Society, original Series No. 83, London 1885; Reprinted 1938), 167.

early names in the genealogy which Sweet was unable to read, or read incorrectly.³⁰³ The MS. has been re-scrutinised both in natural and in ultraviolet light and the photograph (Plate V c) is taken by ultraviolet light. That a complete transcription has been possible, and in particular the reading of the name Tyttmaning, is due to Dr. Wright. It will be noted that only the direct descent of Aelfwald is given in the genealogy, which must be supplemented by the table in Fig. 1 to get the complete picture of the dynasty and of the succession.

The explanation of the Sutton Hoo burial here offered is, it will be noted, the same as that cautiously suggested by Professor Lindqvist in his paper *Sutton Hoo and Beowulf* already referred to; but I had reached it independently and have felt able to put it forward less tentatively, and on a broader ground and a closer analysis of the insular setting. Once it is conceded that the burial is that of an East Anglian king I find it difficult to visualise any other explanation; but, apart from this, the theory receives some direct support if the evidence is considered not in breadth, as it has primarily been in this paper, but, as Lindqvist has considered it, in depth.

Earlier on³⁰⁴ I expressed the view that the great ship-burial must be the latest of the eleven burials so far recognised in the Sutton Hoo grave-field. If it is an Anglo-Saxon burial place, and not that of a group of foreigners, this must be so, for it is hardly possible to conceive any burials of this sort, in an old pagan burial place, in Christian East Anglia, after 650-670. It was even necessary to seek an unusual explanation of the great ship-burial to account for its extraordinary lateness. Now one of the other barrows in the Sutton Hoo grave-field contained a boat, and the surface indications suggest that some at any rate of the others did as well.³⁰⁵ In the Swedish boat-grave fields, the boat-burials are only accorded to the heads of the family and they are accordingly strung out in time, about a generation apart.³⁰⁶ If the analogy with the Swedish boat-grave fields is to be pressed, the likelihood is that, if other boat-graves do exist, some of them will be appreciably older than the great ship-burial. If boat-burial is a Swedish custom, its introduction into England would thus have taken place considerably before 650-670.³⁰⁷ This would imply that the contact with Sweden goes back into an earlier period.

³⁰³ *ibid.*, 171.

³⁰⁴ p. 44 above.

³⁰⁵ See Lindqvist, *Antiquity* 1948, 138. *Fornvännen* 1948, 106 and note 5.

³⁰⁶ *Vendel i fynd och forskning*, 42 and 83.

³⁰⁷ The few objects (unpublished) recovered from the robbed boat-grave excavated in 1938 certainly indicate a 7th century date for this burial but in my opinion include nothing that necessitates a date for the burial as late as 650. The two other mounds excavated in 1938 did not produce any material upon

Again, a number of the subsidiary gold cloisonné buckles and mounts in the ship-burial were repaired, in some instances extensively, and they must have been of some age when buried. If as analysis suggests they are all English pieces, and made, or brought together, to form a harness for a Swedish sword, this would imply a Swedish cause operating an appreciable time before the Sutton Hoo burial which I have estimated took place in 654 or 655 (or the earliest weeks of 656).³⁰⁸

We have already discussed the dilapidated condition of the shield when buried³⁰⁹ and I would agree with Lindqvist's date for its manufacture, *c.* 600 A.D. or earlier. The chances are that it fell into disrepair and dilapidation over here—it would hardly have been brought from Sweden in that condition. If so, it again must, if Swedish, represent Swedish contacts much earlier than the date of its burial.

We may also note in this connection Lindqvist's date for the manufacture of the Sutton Hoo helmet—'not much later than the Anastasius dish' (491-518 A.D.)³¹⁰ a dating that agrees exactly with Nerman's dating of the East Mound (Odens hög) at Old Uppsala, identified by him as the burial of Aun (*d.c.* 490-500)³¹¹ (see Plate, X *b*), and receives support from Bertil Almgren's dating of the Torslunda plates³¹², although Åberg and others would date all these much later.³¹³ Whether this very early dating be accepted or not (and it must be regarded as no more than a strong body of opinion) it seems to me clear that this helmet, which certainly stands typologically closer to late Roman prototypes than any of the Vendel or Valsgärde helmets, and which has also suffered some damage and been repaired, must be at any rate at least as old as the date suggested for the shield (*c.* 600 or earlier). If it did not arrive here earlier it most likely came with the shield, and if so this again implies Swedish connection at a date much earlier than the Sutton Hoo burial. In these ways the archæological evidence conveys the impression not only of a pervasive Swedish influence at the highest social level, but of such influence extending back into the earlier days of East Anglia and its royal house. From what we know of the dynasty, much the most probable time for the introduction of such an influence would be at its inception.

which reliable conclusions as to the dating of these burials (to within anything less than 100 years) can be based.

³⁰⁸ p. 43 above. See also Provisional Guide, 43, note 5.

³⁰⁹ p. 70 above.

³¹⁰ *Antiquity* 1948, 136. *Fornvännen* 1948, 103.

³¹¹ *Sveriges rikets uppkomst*, 1941, Fig. 34. ³¹² p. 69 above.

³¹³ For the latest discussions of the divergent views on this subject see Nils Åberg, 'Uppsala högars datering', *Fornvännen* 1947, 257-289, and Sune Lindqvist's reply with the same title, *Fornvännen* 1949, 33-48.

At this point we must recall the warning given earlier.³¹⁴ It is too early to draw final conclusions on the interpretation of the Swedish connection. If I have been definite at the end of this article it is partly because a degree of firmness seems justified and partly to invite criticism, which must help to formulate the final solution. It is also very much to be desired that the implications of the historical situation revealed by the Sutton Hoo burial should be investigated and illuminated now by literary, genealogical and place-name specialists and by general historians; and that as many archæological and other issues as possible should be crystallised and ideas aired, in the near future. Not only will this assist current research on the material, but it will ensure that the excavation of the rest of the Sutton Hoo grave-field, which must not be long delayed, is carried out with the fullest possible sensitivity to the needs and possibilities of the investigation. The need to precipitate such queries is the best justification for what may perhaps seem to some of the more critical observers in other disciplines to be somewhat premature theorising. For this is not a problem condemned to eternal tossing about in academic argument, but is very much alive. We are only at the beginning of a process of revelation. As has already been said, even if most or all of the seven remaining barrows at Sutton Hoo prove to have been robbed, enough information should still be recoverable by skilled excavation to reveal the history of the grave-field and to make the broad interpretation in English history of the phenomena discussed in this paper certain. Further excavations on other sites in East Anglia and also in Sweden are bound to throw increasing light on the problems we have discussed.

Since the issues raised by the Sutton Hoo ship-burial are manifestly of prime importance to Dark Age studies over a broad field it cannot be overstressed that the story that is emerging is entirely the product of what is in this country by far and away the most neglected branch of Dark Age studies. It is an archæological revelation without a shred of direct documentary support. It is perhaps not the least significant thing about the Sutton Hoo ship-burial that it provides a salutary illustration, and at the psychological moment, of the great potentialities of modern archæology, not only through its field techniques but also and equally through its indoor techniques of definition and analysis.

³¹⁴ pp. 43, 44 above.