

Salin's Style I

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THE following paper was delivered as a lecture to the Society at its annual general meeting in 1972, and is printed here in an edited form. In it Professor Haseloff examines the origins of Salin's Style I, tracing it back to motifs found in late Roman art. He goes on to differentiate four phases within Style I itself. Finally he considers a group of Style I brooches to which he attributes a Jutlandic origin.

WHEN Bernhard Salin¹ published his fundamental book *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik* in 1904 he defined three consecutive styles, which since then have been known in archaeological literature under the terms Salin's Style I, II and III.² Despite further detailed studies, particularly by Åberg³ and by Lindqvist⁴ and his school, nothing has been changed fundamentally in the scheme of development established by Salin. This is particularly true of Style I.

In this paper on Style I, I should like to discuss three points: the first concerns the origin of Style I; the second is about the classification of Style I in to four different phases of development; and the third centres on a group of brooches which, in my opinion, originate in Jutland, and which present us with the first example of Style I spreading outside its southern Scandinavian place of origin, to England and to the continent.

THE ORIGIN OF STYLE I

The question of the origin of Germanic zoomorphic ornament has been of considerable concern to researchers. There are still two radically different opinions, of which the first⁵ sees the origin in late Roman art, while the other⁶ considers it to

¹ Salin (1904). For abbreviated references see p. 15.

² Salin (1904), 214 ff.

³ Åberg (1924), 70 ff., Abb. 173-9; Åberg (1922), 166 ff.

⁴ Lindqvist (1926).

⁵ C. Schuchhardt, *Alteuropa* (3 ed., Berlin, 1935), 302 f.; M. I. Rostovzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (1922), 206 ff.; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (1913), 259; J. Strzygowski, *Heidnisches und Christliches um das Jahr 1000* (1926); G. V. Merhart, *Bronzezeit am Jenissei* (Wien, 1926), 161; J. Brøndsted, *Congressus secundus Archaeologorum Balticorum* (Riga, 1930), 187 ff.; H. Shetelig, 'The Origin of the Scandinavian Style of Ornament during the Migration Period', *Archaeologia*, LXXVI (1927), 107 ff.; N. Fettich, 'Der Schildbuckel von Herpály. Sein nordischer Kunstkreis und seine pontischen Beziehungen', *Acta Archaeologica*, 1 (Copenhagen, 1930), 221 ff.; J. Werner, *Die beiden Zierscheiben des Thorsberger Moorfundes* (Berlin, 1941), 48 ff., 54 n. 1, 57, 60 n. 65; H. Shetelig, *Classical Impulses in Scandinavian Art from the Migration Period to the Viking Age* (Oslo, 1949); K. Jettmar, *Die frühen Steppenvölker. Der eurasiatische Tierstil* (Baden-Baden, 1964), 204 ff., bibliography 258 f.

⁶ Salin (1904), 128 f., 206 ff.; S. Söderberg, 'Om Djuvornamentiken under Folkvandringstiden', *Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, XI:3 (1905), 15 f.; Lindqvist (1926), 30 f.; Åberg (1924), 15; N. Åberg, 'Nordische Ornamentik in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit', *Mannus-Bibliothek*, XLVII (1931), 64; Holmqvist (1955), 16 ff.; Werner (1935), 47; W. Holmqvist, 'Christliche Kunst und germanische Ornamentik', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo*, 1968, 349 ff.; Bakka (1958), 5 ff.

lie in the art of the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppes. In my opinion only the thesis of the development of Germanic zoomorphic ornament from late antique Roman art can claim support from the facts, as I shall attempt to demonstrate in the following paper.

THE DECORATION OF LATE ROMAN CHIP-CARVED BELT FITTINGS

A large number of metal objects dating from the second half of the 4th century have been found on the Roman frontiers of the Rhine and Danube. These served as ornaments and fittings for leather belts, which were worn by members of the Roman army. These belts were fitted⁷ with several metal mounts, two of which were used to strengthen the ends of the broad leather belt. The others served to secure a narrow supplementary strap, which was fastened with a buckle. A strap-end was fixed to the end of the small strap. Because of their characteristic decoration in chip-carving technique the mounts have been termed 'belt fittings in chip-carving technique' or more simply 'chip-carved bronzes'.⁸ The distribution map published by Mrs. Hawkes⁹ shows clearly that these chip-carved bronzes are found in a relatively high concentration on the Roman side of the Rhine and Danube frontier. They reach as far to the E. as Pannonia, while beyond that only isolated examples are to be found. It appears that the frontier between the E. and W. Roman empire also was of importance for the distribution of chip-carved bronzes. The highest concentration is found in the area between the Rhine and the Seine, from which it may be concluded that this was their actual place of origin. Only a few specimens of the bronzes reached Britain; they are to be found particularly in Kent, in the Roman fort of Richborough and on the river estuaries. It is reasonably certain that the chip-carved bronzes found in Britain came to this country as a result of Roman troop movements; few, if any, were actually made here.

The surface of the belt fittings is decorated with rich chip-carved ornament, in patterns which consist of geometric and plant motifs. The geometric patterns include the *tongue* and the *bead-and-reel*, which are used particularly on the borders of the fittings. The main surfaces are decorated with motifs which originated as plant forms. Of these the most important is the *spiral-tendril*, which appears as an undulating line with alternating left-handed and right-handed spirals; despite linear and geometric stylization, the character of the undulating line may be recognized clearly. The undulating line may take the form of the *laufender Hund* ('the running dog'), in which the spirals do not alternate but run in a wave-like fashion. The next main form is the *palmette*, which consists of a central leaf with a spiral on either side. If the palmette is enclosed by a circular or heart-shaped line, then it may be called a *circumscribed palmette*.

The composition of the design on the late Roman chip-carved bronzes is never random; on the contrary, the different patterns are arranged according to

⁷ Ypey (1969), 90, Abb. 1; 91, Abb. 2; 92, Abb. 3; 98, Abb. 7; 112, Abb. 14.

⁸ Behrens (1930), 286; Bullinger (1969); J. Werner, 'Spätromische Gürtelgarnituren in Keilschnitt-Technik aus Niederösterreich', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*, xxvi (1930), 53 ff.; Riegl (1927), 291 ff.; Ypey (1969), 89 ff.

⁹ Hawkes (1961), 1 ff., 12 with fig. 3; Ypey (1969), 118-19, Abb. 20 and 21.

definite rules of symmetry. The spiral-tendril is used exclusively to decorate narrow border-areas. For larger areas the palmette is chosen; it appears in diagonal or crosslike groupings of four, arranged in circular or square spaces. The latter is one of the favourite decorative motifs of the bronzes, since it is suited particularly to the decoration of larger areas, often repeated in composite groupings. All the patterns are arranged in areas that are separated clearly from each other by dividing lines. In this way the clarity and definition of the decorated surfaces is maintained.

Having considered the patterns used to decorate surfaces, attention may be turned to the decorations of a different type that are found on the edge of the mounts. These decorations represent *animals* in a crouching position. For example, a mount from *Aquileia* (PL. I, B),¹⁰ on the Adriatic, is decorated with two lions with open jaws, between which there is a circular disc. Unlike the chip-carving technique of the surface decoration, the lions are worked with a more plastic, rounded surface, and their effect is naturalistic. The mane, for example, is characterized by individual curls, and the fur of the body is represented by punch marks. It is surprising, however, to see the tail of the lion terminate in a dragon's head; for this shows that it is not a true lion but a mythological creature (PL. VII, a).

The mythological character of the animals becomes clearer if one looks more closely at other chip-carved bronzes. On one of the belt fittings from *Enns-Lauriacum* (PL. I, D),¹¹ on the Danube, there are two animals on either side of two griffin-heads. The front half of each animal is portrayed as a four-legged beast. It has a head with eye, ear and open jaws. The mane on the neck is clearly picked out; it was therefore intended to be a lion, even though the stylization of the animal is far advanced. The front leg lies on the ground. The hind part of the animal takes a different form; it is rounded, coiled and terminates in a fish-tail. The whole animal is intended to represent a hybrid creature, half quadruped, half fish. On another, larger, belt from *Enns-Lauriacum* (PL. I, C)¹² there are very similar animals. The front part represents a quadruped, and, although the head is more like a dog than a lion, the mane indicates clearly that here too a lion is intended. The hind part is again fish-like; it has several coils and terminates in a fish-tail. Another fitting is shown on PL. I, E.

Animals that are hybrids between land and sea monsters are common in the art of Roman antiquity. For example, a 2nd-century mosaic from the baths in the Roman port of Ostia¹³ shows in the centre Neptune or Poseidon with four hippocamps harnessed as if to a chariot. The forequarters of these hippocamps are represented as horses, and the hindquarters as sea creatures. Surrounding the central group are numerous sea monsters, amongst them tritons that are half man and half fish. Motifs of such derivation became common on late Roman chip-carved bronzes. For example, a belt fitting from *Ptuj/Pettau* in Yugoslavia¹⁴ has on the

¹⁰ Riegl (1927), 298 with Abb. 82; Bullinger (1969), Taf. xvi, 1.

¹¹ Bullinger (1969), Faltafel B.

¹² *Ibid.*, Taf. xxxvi, 1 and 2.

¹³ G. Becatti (ed.), *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e Pavimenti*, iv (Rome, 1961), pl. cxxiv, 70.

¹⁴ H. Zeiss, 'Das Heilsbild in der germanischen Kunst des frühen Mittelalters', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-Histor. Abteilung*, 11:8 (1941), 29, Taf. 5, 1; Haseloff (1973), 439 with Abb. 48.

edge two sea-lions and between them there is a bearded head in front of a shell. Clearly these represent Poseidon between his emblems, the sea-lions.

LATE ROMAN CHIP-CARVED MOUNTS FOUND BEYOND THE IMPERIAL FRONTIER

One late Roman mount made of silver was found at *Fosse* in southern Norway.¹⁵ The surface is decorated with typical spirals, tongue-pattern and bead-and-reel. On the edge are two sea-lions with coiled fish-tails, and between them is a human mask. Here again there seems to be represented a divinity between its accompanying emblems. Of particular interest is another late Roman mount, also found in Norway, at *Svenning* near Trondheim.¹⁶ On this mount are two dolphins the bodies of which interweave. The last two examples, the pieces from *Fosse* and *Svenning*, are particularly important because they demonstrate that late Roman ornaments of the kind that have been considered crossed the frontiers of the Roman empire and reached Scandinavia.

The frontiers of the Roman empire in Britain and on the Rhine and Danube had lasted for more than four hundred years. This situation changed, when the Visigoths under their king Alaric threatened Italy in 402. The administrator of the western empire, the Vandal Stilicho, recalled the troops stationed in Britain and on the Rhine and Danube in order to defend Italy. The result of this exposure of the frontiers was that the Germanic tribes were able to invade the unprotected Roman provinces and to occupy land there. If they did not settle in what was formerly Roman territory, they returned to their home-land richly laden with loot. Both the Roman objects from *Fosse* and *Svenning* in Norway may have reached Scandinavia in this manner.

DISPLACED ROMAN CRAFTSMEN AMONG THE SAXONS

The most important of the tribes who attacked the coasts of the continent and of Britain were the Saxons. Not only did they loot the country, they also must have taken whole *ateliers* of craftsmen from the Roman provinces back to their home-land, where these craftsmen must have had to work for their new masters. There is no explanation otherwise for the well-known Saxon equal-armed brooches;¹⁷ these are typical objects produced among the Saxons of the region between the Weser and Elbe estuaries, but their decoration is similar to that of the late Roman chip-carved bronzes. A brooch from *Anderlingen*¹⁸ is decorated on the surface with

¹⁵ H. E. Lund, 'Undersökelse av jernalders gårdsanlegg på Fosse og Grødheim i Time prestegjeld, Høg-Jaeren', *Stavangers Museums Arshefte*, XLIX (1938-39), 35 ff. with Abb. 7; Haseloff (1973), 420, fig. 21 and Abb. 7.

¹⁶ E. Bakka, 'A Roman Bronze Mount from Trøndelag', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, II (1969), 94 f., Abb. 1 and 2.

¹⁷ F. Roeder, 'Typologisch-chronologische Studien zu Metallsachen der Völkerwanderungszeit', *Jahrbuch Provinzial-Museum Hannover*, n.f., V (1930), 59 ff.; *id.*, 'Neue Funde auf kontinentalsächsischen Friedhöfen der Völkerwanderungszeit', *Anglia, Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*, LVII (1933), Taf. xxvi-xxix; A. Genrich, 'Über Schmuckgegenstände der Völkerwanderungszeit im nordöstlichen Niedersachsen', *Neues Archiv für Niedersachsen*, XXIII (1951), 1 ff.; *id.*, 'Die gleicharmigen Fibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit im Gebiet der unteren Elbe', *Hammaburg*, VIII (1952), 181 ff.; *id.*, 'Über einige Funde der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Brangravern des gemischtbelegten Friedhofs bei Liebenau, Land-Kreis Nienburg/Weser', *Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte*, XXXIII (1964), 24 ff.

¹⁸ Behrens (1930), Abb. 11.

the well-known Roman spiral design. On the two long sides it has the bead-and-reel. The inner borders are decorated in the Roman manner with freestanding animals, which take the form both of quadrupeds and also of sea monsters with coiled fish-bodies. This suggests that the ornament which had its home in the late Roman artistic milieu was being produced by craftsmen who had been schooled in Roman workshops, but who now were working for new Saxon masters between the Weser and the Elbe.

This development did not continue amongst the continental Saxons; production ceased when the majority of the Saxon population migrated to England. The emigrant Saxons took brooches with them, as the well-known finds from Haslingfield and Little Wilbraham or the new find from Mucking show; but they did not continue to manufacture them in the new land.

THE QUOIT-BROOCH STYLE

Nevertheless, the style of late Roman art did influence local craft in England, albeit in a completely different way. The recently found five-piece belt set from *Mucking*¹⁹ is a perfect example of this. Its stylistic origin lies unmistakably in the chip-carved bronzes, as is evident from the form of the individual pieces. The decoration corresponds to a great extent with the Roman forms of spiral- and meander-pattern. The border animals also occur here, sometimes on either side of a human mask. And yet it is quite different from the style of the late Roman chip-carved bronzes. This is particularly clear in the border animals and the mask, which do not possess the same rounded, sculptured quality as the chip-carved bronzes; rather the details are shallowly engraved on the surface. This is a style, which is found only in England, in particular in Kent, where it occurs mainly on the quoit brooches (from which it takes its name, 'quoit-brooch style').²⁰ It is, I think, neither Anglo-Saxon nor Jutish in its stylization, but is permeated by a strong British element, and must be termed sub-Roman; production must have taken place in workshops of the indigenous population. The Anglo-Saxon invasion led to the decline of the quoit-brooch style.

THE NYDAM STYLE

The real successor to the style of the late Roman chip-carved bronzes can be observed only in southern Scandinavia, where the important finds from the bogs at *Nydam*²¹ and *Ejsbøl*²² give us precise knowledge of the Nordic craft that suddenly blossomed so abundantly in these areas. An example of the close relationship to Roman craft is provided by a strap-end²³ from the find at *Ejsbøl* which might be thought Roman if its provenance were not known. The decoration with a star-pattern formed by two triangles overlapping, the silver-gilt chip carving and the use of niello correspond very closely to Roman models, such as the frag-

¹⁹ Evison (1968), 231 ff., pls. liii and liv.

²⁰ Bakka (1958), 9; Evison (1968).

²¹ Kjaer (1902), 181-96.

²² Örsnes (1963), 232 ff.

²³ Örsnes (1963), 245 with Abb. 18.

ment of a silver chip-carved buckle²⁴ from the find made at *Coleraine* in Ireland, which is decorated with the same star-pattern executed in the same technique. This adoption of exactly the same Roman motifs and techniques of decoration, in my opinion, can be explained only by the movement of craftsmen from the former Roman provinces into the region that is now Denmark.

The material from the so-called second Nydam find shows in its decoration the same adoption of Roman motifs, although there is already a stronger Nordic feeling for form. An example is provided by the chape (PL. II, A),²⁵ which is executed in openwork with a large number of different motifs. The two human heads with arms and hands and with outstretched thumbs are related directly to gold medallions of Roman emperors. Also the birds with a ball in their beak have parallels in Roman art. On the lower part of the chape there are very strange hybrid animals with fish-bodies: at one end are huge dolphin-like jaws with characteristic curvature; at the other is a bird of prey's head with a beak. This incorporation of two different animals in one is also commonly met with in Roman art.

The magnificent brooch from *Skerne* (PL. II, B),²⁶ in Denmark, is purely Nordic in form, but to a large extent follows Roman principles of decoration; that is, the main fields of the brooch are covered with spiral ornament in chip-carved technique. However, the clearly defined arrangement of the individual decorative elements has been abandoned, and the whole has acquired a more dynamic character. On the foot plate palmette designs flowing into heart-shaped borders are used, but in an arrangement not at all typical of Roman art. The animal ornament is restricted, as in Roman art, to the edges; there are two animals with coiled bodies and long curved jaws, exactly like the Roman dolphins which served as prototypes.

Another beautiful brooch from the Danish area, from *Stjernede*,²⁷ is decorated on the foot plate with deeply engraved chip carving, taking the pattern of a two-strand interlace. Here too the animals are restricted to the edges, and again are hybrid creatures. The forepart represents a quadruped, with a red stone as its eye, long beak-like jaws, and front legs. From this is produced a fish's body, which is coiled up in the typical manner. The whole animal is a type of hippocamp of Roman origin.

The Nydam style reaches its climax with a brooch from southern Norway, which was found near *Lunde, Lista* (PL. IV, A).²⁸ Here may be seen clearly the adoption and transformation of Roman prototypes. Typically Roman is the decoration of the bow; it has a finely carved meander-pattern, in chip-carved technique, of a kind which can equally well be found in Roman contexts. The head plate, however, in its decoration has moved slightly away from Roman style and composition; for now within the main field appear a human mask and two animals, whereas in Roman art only spiral decoration and palmettes would have been permitted in such a context. But, before considering in detail this decoration of the main field, attention may be turned to the animals which surround the head

²⁴ H. Mattingly and J. W. E. Pearce, 'The Coleraine Hoard', *Antiquity*, XI (1937), 39 ff., pl. iv.

²⁵ Kjaer (1902), Taf. xxx; Jenny (1940), Abb. 72.

²⁶ Bakka (1958), 27 with Abb. 18.

²⁷ Holmqvist (1955), Taf. 3, Abb. 7.

²⁸ Hougen (1936 and 1967), Abb. 24.

plate on three sides. The pair of animals on the top edge crouch opposite each other with heads turned back. They are moulded in rounded relief and in this correspond to the Roman principles of style. One could easily consider them to be of Roman workmanship. Returning to the main field on the head plate of the brooch, it may be seen that the human head has a long beard, which flows out on either side in a great curve. On either side of the head the two animals are seen in profile: they have pointed ovoid eyes, curving jaws, long protruding tongues and small but distinctly characterized ears; the bodies are curved in an s-shape. What are these curious animals? On a Roman buckle from *Hontheim*²⁹ on the Moselle may be seen the favourite Roman motif of Oceanus between two dolphins. In the centre is the bearded head of Oceanus full face; he is flanked by two dolphins in profile, whose bodies have the characteristic s-shaped curve. There cannot be any doubt that on the brooch from Lunde, Lista, we are concerned with the adoption of the Roman motif of Oceanus between the dolphins. But despite its debt to the Roman prototype the effect of the Germanic representation is quite different. The reason for this is that the artist who made this brooch did something unknown in Roman art; he transferred figurative ornament to the internal fields which, according to Roman laws of composition, were reserved for spiral and palmette ornament. The Roman influence on the artist was, however, sufficiently strong for him to execute the surface ornamentation in chip carving. Both the head of Oceanus and the two dolphins are executed not with rounded modelling, but with chip carving, and thereby achieve a quite different effect. Side by side on the head plate, therefore, are the animals on the outer edges in rounded relief and the decoration of the inner field in chip carving.

The foot of the Lunde brooch is also of particular interest, for it has a large animal head surrounded by several creatures. The two largest beasts have big animal heads with the beak of a bird of prey; they have two front legs with feet and toes; the bodies are executed in chip carving and have the characteristic coiled tails. The animal is clearly a sea monster, more particularly a sea griffin, such as is found often in the art of antiquity, represented as a quadruped with the head of a bird of prey.

STYLE I

The brooch from Lunde, Lista, shows the development of the Nydam style to a stage at which the Roman border animals are transferred to the inner fields and are transposed into the chip-carving technique. At this point the discussion must move on from the Nydam style to Style I. The first characteristic example to be considered is the fragment of an equal-armed brooch from *Galsted* (PL. III, A),³⁰ in northern Schleswig. The brooch is reminiscent in many ways of the Roman tradition, particularly in the spiral decoration of the surfaces; yet it also diverges from its Roman ancestry. This is seen in the way in which the Germanic craftsman divided the largest field into a number of squares, each square containing a

²⁹ P. La Baume, 'Römisches Kunstgewerbe zwischen Christi Geburt und 400', *Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitätenkunde*, xviii (1964), 250, Abb. 234.

³⁰ Salin (1904), 166 with Abb. 394; Jenny (1940), Abb. 70.

spiral. Nonetheless, he was capable also of executing palmettes in a good Roman tradition; the bands on the lower corners of the plate show this clearly.

The animal ornament of the Galsted brooch is of particular interest. Again there occurs the motif of a central human mask flanked by two animals in profile, and if this is compared with the Roman buckle from Hontheim, with its motif of Oceanus between the dolphins, it becomes clear that there is a direct relationship between the Roman motif and the Germanic representation on the brooch from Galsted: and yet there is a fundamental difference. The two animals flanking the central mask have retained in their attitude the s-shaped line of the dolphins; but here they are no longer sea creatures, but actual quadrupeds with fore and hind legs. The front thigh is clearly defined and the foot rests on the edge of the inner plate; the rear thigh lies on the ground, as if the animal were represented kneeling, and the leg with the foot is raised behind its body. By this arrangement the s-shaped attitude of the dolphins, on which the design is based, is retained. As a result, it may be concluded that, in the transition from the Nydam style to Style I, sea creatures disappear to be replaced by *quadrupeds*.

The second fundamental development in the transition from the Nydam style to Style I is the introduction of *contour-lines*, which from now on surround not only the external outline of the animals but also all the limbs, such as front and rear thighs. On the Galsted brooch the body of the animal is surrounded at times with one, at times with three contour-lines, and the thighs are both enclosed by two lines. This is a new and fundamental characteristic of Style I which can be considered as a key feature of the style. In the Nydam style there are no contour-lines.

The *rounded relief* of the animals is to a large extent retained in the initial phase of Style I. This may be seen particularly clearly from the thighs of the Galsted animals; the body of the animal is covered with various patterns including a bead-and-reel of Roman ancestry. If a comparison is made between the Galsted animals and the animals on the chape from Nydam it is clear that the ornamental device of the bodies has taken on a new character; this also is to be regarded as a key trait of Style I.

Finally it may be asked what the wearers of these brooches felt to be the meaning of the motif of a mask flanked by animals. During the floruit of the Nydam style, which is characterized by sea monsters, it is not known exactly what significance these symbols had for their wearers. With the transition to Style I it is possible to recognize a radical change: sea creatures suddenly disappear and in their place are found quadrupeds. At this moment the animal world of antiquity has been reinterpreted by the Germanic peoples in accordance with their own religious and mythological ideas—as is also the case with the bracteates.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STYLE I

In the development of Style I in its Scandinavian home-lands there can be distinguished four different stages, which I have termed style phases A to D. I wish to stress, however, that these are not concerned with a chronological development, even if the development does seem to proceed in this alphabetical order.

STYLE PHASE A

At the beginning of Style I lies style phase A, characterized by the rounded relief of the animals, and showing in this a direct continuity with the Nydam style. A good example of this phase is a small fragment of a brooch from *Hardenberg* (PL. III, C),³¹ on the Danish island of Zealand. On the head plate of the brooch there are two mythological creatures, consisting of an animal body with a human head. I have called these figures in German *Tiermenschen* which may be translated as 'animal-men'; they play an important role in Style I, as will be seen later. With reference to style phase A it is important to note that not only the bodies but also the thighs of both animal-men exemplify this rounded relief. There occur here also the punch marks, so often found in the Nydam style. But the contour-lines which surround the figures and the thighs, and even the feet, make it absolutely clear that they belong to Style I.

The brooch from *Gummersmark* (PL. III, B),³² on the island of Zealand, is another good example of style phase A. Its animals show the rounded relief in the treatment of the bodies; and they are bordered by the contour-lines, characteristic of Style I. The key features of this stylistic phase are expressed particularly clearly in the border animals on the lower edge of the foot plate.

A further example is provided by an impressed plate, which was used to repair a glass beaker,³³ from the rich grave of *Snartemo V* in southern Norway. It shows a human figure whose body is treated in rounded relief; it is, however, surrounded by contour-lines.

STYLE PHASE B

The most famous representative of style phase B is a brooch from *Vedstrup* (PLS. IV, B, VII, *f-g*),³⁴ Zealand. The animal ornamentation on this has taken over the surfaces completely and filled them; and this is one, but not the most fundamental, feature of style phase B: the decisive factor is once again the treatment of the animal bodies. Whereas the animal bodies in style phase A were modelled in rounded relief, they now become flat, and what is lost in rounded relief is replaced by closely set parallel ridges. This trait is the characteristic feature of style phase B. Such decoration is in accordance with a tendency, which becomes increasingly important in Style I, towards treating the decoration as a flat surface. In this respect style phase B may also be considered as a progressive development.

A further example of style phase B is represented by a brooch from the find made at *Grönby*,³⁵ in Skåne, which equally belongs to an early stage of Style I. On each side of the foot plate is a man and an animal, whose bodies are filled in with the closely set parallel ridges characteristic of style phase B.

A final example may be provided by a sword pommel from the find made at

³¹ Voss (1954), 214 f., Abb. 28.

³² Salin (1904), 62 with Abb. 134; Bakka (1958), 24 with Abb. 16.

³³ Hougen (1936 and 1967), Abb. 30a.

³⁴ Salin (1904), 226 with Abb. 519; Bakka (1958), 29 with Abb. 19.

³⁵ Salin (1904), 210 with Abb. 495; Alenstam (1949), 185 with Abb. 1, 2; Åberg (1924), Abb. 63.

Grimeton,³⁶ in Sweden. Here are to be seen two three-dimensional animals with the characteristic ridges.

It appears that style phase B is distributed particularly in the Baltic region. This is demonstrated by the presence of Nordic brooches³⁷ of style phase B among the Gepidae of Hungary. The Lombards too, who met Germanic animal ornament of Style I during their stay in Pannonia, were only familiar with style phase B,³⁸ which they took with them to Italy.

In the North Sea area, particularly in western Denmark and Norway, the ornament soon developed in a different direction, which led to style phases C and D.

STYLE PHASE C

Style phase C demonstrates a tendency quite distinct from that of phase B; its prime feature is to stress the contour-lines. An example of this is provided by a small silver mount from *Sjörup* (PL. VI, D).³⁹ It shows a crouching animal with a hind leg raised vertically. The body is formed of double contour-lines but there is no attempt to represent the body itself; the same is true of the front thigh, which has only the contour-line (PL. VIII, i).

The brooch from *Overhornbaek* (PL. V, B),⁴⁰ in Jutland, has four animals on the edges of the head plate those at the sides being of particular interest (PL. VIII, a-d). One of the animals has a body which is formed basically of three parallel lines, and in contrast to this, the hind leg shows two pairs of contour-lines; the space between them would have been occupied in former style phases by a rounded thigh. On the brooch from *Skrautval* (PL. V, A),⁴¹ in southern Norway, may be seen amongst other things an animal, whose neck consists of two pairs of contour-lines, whereas the body is made up of three ribbon-like lines (PL. VII, b).

It may be seen that style phase C is essentially a transitional phase, during which the body of the animals is suppressed and the contour-lines, mainly in pairs, become the dominating feature. This tendency led necessarily to a development in which the contour-lines moved increasingly closer together, and finally formed a ribbon consisting of several (usually three or four) parallel lines.

STYLE PHASE D

An animal⁴² on the *Skrautval* brooch demonstrates the development from style phase C. It has an elongated ribbon-like body, of which one end terminates

³⁶ Stockholm Statens Hist. Mus., no. 14843 Halland.

³⁷ E.g. the equal-armed brooch from Szentcs-Nagyhegy, Hungary, grave 84 [see D. Csallany, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden im Mitteldonaubecken (454-568 u. Z.)* (Budapest, 1961), 61, Abb. 12; H. Arbman, 'Stildrag i Folkvandringstidens Konst', *Fornvännen*, XL (1945), 98 f., Abb. 12-13], or the brooch of Scandinavian type from Szolnok-Szanda, Hungary [see I. Korvig, 'Die Germanen' in B. Thomas (ed.), *Archäologische Funde in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1956), 308, Taf. S. 309].

³⁸ E.g. Bezenye/Pallersdorf, grave 8 [see J. Hampel, *Die Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, III (Braunschweig, 1905), Taf. 58; Boná (1956), 192, Taf. xlv, 1-2; J. Werner, *Die Langobarden in Pannonien* (München, 1962), 70, 102, Taf. 64 and Taf. 42, 1], or Tamasi, grave 7 [unpublished, information kindly supplied by I. Boná], or Kajdacz, grave 2 [unpublished, information kindly supplied by I. Boná].

³⁹ Salin (1904), 234 with Abb. 529.

⁴⁰ Åberg (1924), Abb. 66; Mackeprang (1952), Taf. 22, 7; E. Munksgaard, 'New Bracteate Finds in Denmark', *Acta Archaeologica*, xxxvi (Copenhagen, 1965), 246 with Abb. 9; Salin (1904), 239 with Abb. 536.

⁴¹ Salin (1904), 231 with Abb. 525; Hougen (1936) and (1967), Abb. 22.

⁴² Salin (1904), 232 with Abb. 526.

in an animal head and the other in a human head; the undulating body consists of three or four parallel lines. This form of ribbon-like body is the essential feature of style phase D. Animals with ribbon-like bodies are distributed particularly in the North Sea area, and are found both in England and on the continent. The Alamannic peoples in SW. Germany also adopted this particular form, as an example of which may be taken a brooch from the Alamannic cemetery at *Nordendorf*.⁴³ On the foot plate of this brooch there are two animals executed in style phase D. This is the first independent adoption of Style I in the SW. Germanic area.

A JUTLANDIC BROOCH GROUP

In the last part of this paper I should like to turn to a group of brooches which must be considered as including some of the earliest examples of Style I, and which played a particular role in England, as well as on the continent. These are brooches the provenance of which has been a matter of controversy, and which have been considered most recently by Mrs. Hawkes⁴⁴ and by E. Bakka.⁴⁵ I should like to say at the outset that in my opinion the only view that can be supported by the evidence is that these brooches originated in Jutland; which is why I have called them a Jutlandic brooch group.

Mrs. Hawkes grouped them under the term 'Jutish style B', while Bakka attributed them to his 'Kentish Master', whom, however, he considered to be "a man . . . who had served his apprenticeship in Denmark".⁴⁶ Both Mrs. Hawkes and Bakka have stressed the Scandinavian, more precisely the Danish, background, without which the existence of these brooches could not be explained.

THE DECORATION OF THE BROOCHES

The first and earliest example of this Jutlandic group of brooches is that from *Galsted* (PL. III, A),⁴⁷ which has been considered already. The other brooches from the Jutlandic group may be divided into two groups, of which the first—stylistically earlier—is represented by the brooches from *Finglesham*, *D* 3,⁴⁸ in Kent, and *Engers* (PL. IV, C),⁴⁹ near Koblenz in the Rhineland, by the brooch-fragments from *Agerskov* (PL. VI, A)⁵⁰ and *Skonager*,⁵¹ in Jutland, and by the pair of brooches from *Basel-Kleinhüningen*, 74 (PL. VI, B, E)⁵², in Switzerland. The common feature is that

⁴³ Salin (1904), 298 with Abb. 642; M. Franken, *Die Alamannen zwischen Iller und Lech* (Berlin, 1944), Taf. 3, 5.

⁴⁴ Chadwick (1958 a), 45 ff.

⁴⁵ Bakka (1958), 28 ff.

⁴⁶ Bakka (1958), 28.

⁴⁷ See above n. 30.

⁴⁸ Chadwick (1958 a), 15 with fig. 9 b, pl. ii; Bakka (1958), 21 with Abb. 14.

⁴⁹ Salin (1904), 294 with Abb. 634; Chadwick (1958 a), pl. v, e; Bakka (1958), 21 with Abb. 13.

⁵⁰ Mackeprang (1952), Taf. 22, 4; Leeds (1953), 210; Leeds (1957), 9 ff., pl. i, b; Chadwick (1958 a), pl. v, c; Bakka (1958), 50 with Abb. 42.

⁵¹ Mackeprang (1952), Taf. 22, 3.

⁵² K. Keller-Tarnuzzer, 'Die Kultur des frühen Mittelalters', *Jahresbericht der Schweizer Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte*, no. 25 (1933), 124 ff. and Taf. 8, 8; H. Kühn, *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in der Rheinprovinz* (Bonn, 1940), 168, Taf. 81:14, 4; E. Nissen-Fett, 'Relieffibeln von nordischem Typus in Mitteleuropa', *Bergens Arbok* (Historisk-antikvarisk raekke Nr. 5, 1941) Taf. 3, 3; Bakka (1958), Abb. 43; Chadwick (1958 a), 45 f.; R. Moosbrugger-Leu, *Die Schweiz zur Merowingerzeit* (Handbuch der Schweiz zur Römer- und Merowingerzeit, Berne, 1971), 183 ff., Taf. 48, 14.

the head plate is either completely or predominantly decorated with ornament of Roman origin. As an example may be taken the head plate of the brooch from Fingelsham, D 3, which is decorated with a spiral-hooked pattern which Salin had called *Acanthus-Haken*, literally 'acanthus-hook'; this is characteristic of the Sjørup style. In the main field of the head plate there are groups of lines which are also of late Roman origin, and on the border occurs a tongue-pattern. The head plate of the brooch from Engers is decorated in a very similar way.

On the brooch-fragment from Agerskov there is additionally a frieze of border animals composed of two animals and two animal-men. The fact that it was found in Jutland is particularly important. The head plate of the brooches from Basel-Kleinhüningen, 74, is very similar.

The bows of the brooches from Finglesham and Engers have an interesting decoration consisting of a bead-and-reel of purely Roman character, on either side of which is the acanthus-hook already mentioned, which here occurs in raised form. On the brooch from Engers is a pelta-like composition of two acanthus-hooks, but on the brooch from Finglesham, D 3, the hook motif appears singly. The only parallel I know for the use of the Roman bead-and-reel on the bow of a brooch is provided by the fragment from Skonager, the bow of which is entirely decorated with parallel rows of bead-and-reel; in between there are single animal heads which can scarcely be distinguished because of heavy wear.

The second—stylistically further advanced—group consists of the brooches from *Donzdorf*, 78 (PL. VI, c),⁵³ in Württemberg, *Bifrons*, 41,⁵⁴ *Gilton*, 48,⁵⁵ and *Richborough*,⁵⁶ in Kent, *Pompey* (PL. VIII, g),⁵⁷ near Nancy, and *Tranum Klit*,⁵⁸ in Jutland. These brooches are distinguished from those previously mentioned by the decoration of the head plate, where there occurs a new motif: a human mask between two animal-men. There can be no doubt that this motif should be traced back to the Galsted composition, but here it has been completely absorbed into the mythological scheme of the Germanic peoples. Thus what started as the motif of

⁵³ E. M. Neuffer, 'Der Reihengräberfriedhof von Donzdorf (Kreis Göppingen)', *Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg*, II (1972), 15 ff.; Abb. 5 A; Taf. 22, 1 and 2; Taf. 23, 1 and 2; Taf. 59; Taf. 60; Taf. 61. H. Jänichen, 'Neue Inschriften aus alamannischen Gräbern des 7. Jahrhunderts', *Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, n.f., xviii:1 (1967), 232-8.

⁵⁴ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, x (1876), 313; Salin (1904), 323 and Abb. 700; Baldwin Brown (1915), pl. 34, 7; Åberg (1926), 82 ff., 201 and Abb. 141; Leeds (1936), 48 ff.; Werner (1935), 47 with Anm. 3; Leeds (1949), 8, 12, 20, pl. 3; Leeds (1953), 208 ff.; C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The Jutes of Kent' in Harden (1956), 102 ff., pl. 12, d; Leeds (1957), 13, 17; Chadwick (1958 b), 53 f.; Chadwick (1958 a), 45 ff., pl. v, d; Bakka (1958), 20, 28, 32, 34 ff., 39 ff., 46 f., 49 ff., 53 f., 60, 65, 69, 71 f., Abb. 15.

⁵⁵ B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale, an Account of some Antiquities* (1856), 17 and pl. 8, 3; *Archaeologia*, xxx (1844), 134 and pl. 9, 1; Salin (1904), 325 f., Abb. 704 and 704, a; Baldwin Brown (1915), pl. 65, 3; Åberg (1926), 85, 201; Leeds (1949), 9, 46, 108, pl. 4; Chadwick (1958 a), 47, 49; Chadwick (1958 b), 53 f.; Bakka (1958), 42, 47, 51, 71, Abb. 45.

⁵⁶ *Archaeologia*, xxx (1844), 132 and pl. 11, 1; Baldwin Brown (1915), pl. 65, 2; Åberg (1926), 82 ff., 201 and Abb. 140; Leeds (1949), 9, 46 and pl. 5; Chadwick (1958 a), 47 ff.; Bakka (1958), 46, 57, 51 and Abb. 44.

⁵⁷ E. Salin and A. France-Lanord, 'La Fibule "Anglo-Saxonne" du "Champs des Tombs" à Pompey', *Gallia*, iv (1946), 246 ff., Abb. 40, 1; Chadwick (1958 a), 46; Bakka (1958), 51 and Abb. 46.

⁵⁸ Th. Matthiassen, 'Et udvalg af Aarets Mosefund, *Fra National-museets Arbeidsmark* (1942), 14 ff. and Abb. 10; H. Geisslinger, 'Horte als Geschichtsquelle, dargestellt an den völkerwanderungs- und merowingerzeitlichen Funden des südwestlichen Ostseeraums', *Offa-Bücher*, xix (1967), 147 f.; H. Vierck, 'Zum Fernverkehr über See im 6. Jahrhundert angesichts angelsächsischer Fibelsätze in Thüringen. Eine Problemskizze', in K. Hauck, *Goldbrakteaten aus Sievern. Spätantike Amulettbilder der 'Dania Saxonica' und die Sachsen-'Origo' bei Widukind von Corvey* (München, 1970), appendix xi, p. 372.

Oceanus between the dolphins has now developed into a Germanic character between two animal-men, whose significance is unknown.

The foot plates of the brooches in both groups have a certain uniformity. In the middle is a central field, which is almost never decorated with animal motifs; Finglesham and Engers have here a palmette composition, while on the Donzdorf brooch the foot plate is decorated with filigree and garnet.

Another feature common to all brooches of the Scandinavian type is the so-called 'hanging animal heads'; those of the Jutland group of brooches have an unusual shape. Finglesham and Engers show erect animals which represent a further development of the Galsted animals. The brooches from Basel-Kleinhüningen, from the Martyrs' Field in Canterbury⁵⁹ and from Tveitane⁶⁰ in Norway have the so-called 'Vimose-head'. Finally the brooches from Donzdorf, Gilton, 48, Richborough, Pompey and Tranum Klit have hanging human heads in profile. This last form is a unique one which to my knowledge is found nowhere else.

Of particular importance for the Jutlandic group of brooches and also for Style I are the animal shapes. On the Agerskov brooch may be seen one of the commonest types of the 'crouching border animal' in its classical form (PL. VII, *c*), not to be found so typically on any other brooch: it is an animal, defined by a contour-line, crouching with both legs on the ground. Of particular importance is the curious form of the head, which in profile is difficult to understand. If one compares the animal heads seen in profile with those seen full face, it is not difficult to see that the heads of the crouching border animals are simply full-face heads which have been cut in half. One can readily recognize the hair or the mane, which either flows in a curve or is represented by straight lines. The eye also is clearly visible, represented as a round point or as a circle. Next to it is the cheek, which usually has the same form as the eye. On many heads there are two transverse lines between the eye and the nostril, which are a characteristic feature of early Style I. The contour-line which surrounds the head seen in profile is merely the line of the nose. In such profiles a tongue may be added.

Apart from such animals, which are characteristic of the Jutlandic group of brooches, it is the animal-men who play a dominant role. They are represented as crouching animal forms, but have a human head, seen in profile. These creatures are found on all the brooches in this group with the exception of those from Engers and Bifrons, 41. The animal-men of the brooch from Finglesham, D3, have in addition a human hand with outstretched thumb.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GROUP

This brief survey of some of the particular features of the Jutlandic brooches has shown, I think, that they belong together in a group, which must be considered as the earliest group of brooches in Style I. For their chronological position the evidence is slender, but four associated finds suggest that Basel-Kleinhüningen was buried probably in the first quarter of the 6th century, and Donzdorf in the second quarter. In my opinion the stylistically earlier brooches such as Finglesham,

⁵⁹ Chadwick (1958 a), 46, 49, 51, 53, 56 and pl. 5, a; Chadwick (1958 b), 52 ff., and pl. 10, a.

⁶⁰ Bakka (1958), 38 f., 46 ff., 51, 61, and Abb. 34 and 41; Hougén (1967), Abb. 72.

Engers, Agerskov and Basel-Kleinhüningen date from the last two decades of the 5th century, that is to say between the years 480 and 500. The brooches of the more advanced group, with the motif of the mask between two animal-men on the head plate, might date from the first two decades of the 6th century, that is between the years 500 and 520. These dates, of course, are hypothetical and should serve only as a point of reference, in order to establish their relationship on the one hand to the Nydam style and on the other to Style I.

It is my opinion that the Nydam style⁶¹ begins with the fall of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the 5th century, reaches its climax in the middle of the 5th century, around the year 450, and comes to an end around the year 475 with the beginning of Style I. This date of *c.* 475, which represents the end of the Nydam style, is marked by the sudden disappearance of all sea creatures, which up till then dominated Scandinavian ornament, and represents the beginning of the Germanic interpretation of the animal world.

THE PROVENANCE OF THE GROUP

The scarcity of finds in Denmark, where there are almost no grave-goods around this period, has obscured the picture of artistic development in southern Scandinavia. The few brooches or fragments that were considered above were found in sacrificial deposits together with bracteates. In England, on the contrary, the brooches were buried in graves, which is why Kent appears now to be richer than Jutland; and it is thus understandable that the brooches like Bifrons, 41, Finglesham, D 3, and Engers have been considered to be of Kentish provenance. Leeds⁶² was the only person as early as 1953 to recognize that these brooches must have their home in Jutland. In the meantime a new pair of brooches has been discovered: that from Donzdorf, in Württemberg. One of the brooches has a Runic inscription on the back, which Jänichen⁶³ and Krause⁶⁴ have interpreted as being beyond doubt Scandinavian and definitely not Anglo-Saxon. Furthermore, Dr. Arrhenius has suggested⁶⁵ that the decoration of the pair of brooches with filigree and garnet has its closest parallel in Scandinavian jewellery: these reasons lend support to the view that this group of brooches originated in Jutland. Without a single grave-find there are already four examples of this group from Jutland, and it is quite possible that the brooches from Gilton, 48, and Richborough are Kentish imitations of imported Jutlandic brooches.

The distribution map of comparable types of pottery from Jutland and Kent, prepared by Dr. Myres⁶⁶ for his book on Anglo-Saxon pottery may be relevant to the routes by which the brooches travelled. It is true that this map appertains to the middle of the 5th century, but in it are to be seen the same relationships that occur one or two generations later when the Jutlandic brooches were exported to Kent

⁶¹ Voss (1954), 176 ff.; Bakka (1958), 5.

⁶² Leeds (1953), 208 ff.

⁶³ Jänichen, *op. cit.* in note 53, 232 ff.

⁶⁴ W. Krause, 'Zur Runeninschrift von Donzdorf', in G. Haseloff, 'Die germanische Tierornamentik der Völkerwanderungszeit. Studien zu Salins Stil I', *Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen*, xvii (forthcoming).

⁶⁵ B. Arrhenius, 'Die Granateinlagen der Fibeln aus Donzdorf', in Haseloff, *op. cit.* in preceding note.

⁶⁶ J. N. L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (Oxford, 1969), 95 f., map 7.

and the continent. Jutlandic D-bracteates travelled at the same time as the brooches, also reaching Kent and the continent. The distribution of Scandinavian bracteates⁶⁷ found outside Scandinavia shows the same pattern as that of the Jutlandic group of brooches.

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⁶⁷ Mackeprang (1952), Abb. 19.