

THE EVOLUTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SOME
ANGLO-SAXON BROOCHES.¹

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Of recent years much attention has been given, especially in Scandinavia, to the large number of brooches which have come down to us from the Bronze and Early Iron Ages; and I propose to draw on some of this material, but shall not attempt more than a summary of the information now available with regard to the leading types of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. In a single paper more would be impossible; and though my treatment of the subject may appear elementary and commonplace, it will, I hope, be a convenience to have the characteristics of the principal types brought together and illustrated, if only to introduce a little system into their description and to range them in chronological sequence. In recognition of the ability and enterprise displayed by my friend Mr. Schetelig, of the Bergen Museum, in a recent treatise in English on the cruciform brooch,² I shall begin with that type, which is as common as any in England; but I shall, throughout, be also deeply indebted to several distinguished archaeologists³ who have worthily maintained the Scandinavian tradition and have brought the study of brooches to a fine art. I can do no more on the present occasion than apply their results to England, and furnish a few statistics as to the distribution of the types concerned in those parts of England colonised by the pagan English.

¹ Read before the Institute, November 6th, 1907.

² Haakon Schetelig, *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (Bergen, 1906).

³ The following works may be consulted with profit:

Dr. Hans Hildebrand, *Bidrag till Spannets historia*, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift for Sverige*, iv, 25.

Prof. Oscar Montelius, *Öfversigt*

ofrér den nordiska forntidens perioder, Svenska Fornminnesforeningens Tidsskrift, pt. 25.

Sven Soderberg, *Om djurornamentiken under folkvandringstiden*, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift for Sverige*, xi, pt. 3.

Bernhard Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, admirably summarised in review by T. J. Arne, *Nordisk Tidsskrift*, 1905, p. 69.

The term "cruciform" as applied to English specimens is open to misconstruction in more than one way, and I have generally substituted the term "long brooch" in describing this series to avoid ambiguity. In these days of flourishing archaeological societies, it is perhaps unnecessary to insist that cruciform has no reference, in this connection, to the Christian symbol, as these brooches were worn by, and buried with, the pagan Teutonic immigrants of the sixth century; but the term may prove a stumbling-block for another reason. Though there are obvious features common to figs. 1-7, and the cross can be recognised in figs. 2, 4, 6, 7, the remaining specimens cannot in their present condition be so described without qualification. In these cases, which include the majority of the English cruciforms, the knobs that represent the arms of the cross have disappeared, and the most striking characteristic of a brooch so wanting is its length, especially when contrasted with such circular forms as figs. 15-23. In Scandinavia, for reasons presently to be given, the cross-pattern is constant, and the term "cruciform" is generally accepted.

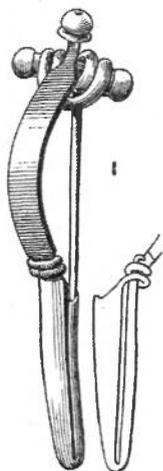


FIG. 1.
Bronze brooch
with returned foot,
Scania, Sweden ($\frac{2}{3}$),
about A.D. 350.

Till recently it was generally believed that the so-called "cruciform" brooch was derived from the Roman provincial "crossbow" type which was common throughout the Roman empire in the fourth century of our era; but it is now evident that the beginnings of the type are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, and the discoveries at Kertch in the Crimea have thrown a good deal of light on the history of the third century in Europe. About A.D. 200 a stream of influence if not of migration,¹ started from South Russia and passed first to Eastern Prussia, then west by the Baltic coast to Denmark, Sweden, and above all Norway, traces of the same movement being also found in Schleswig and

¹ For this route see Prof. Petrie *Migrations*, [20]; *Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxvi, 209.

the mosses of Jutland. In Kertch is found among other brooches a type with narrow arched bow and returned foot, the wire-like end of which is bound round the lower part of the bow (fig. 1). It is itself a derivative of the La Tène brooch-type which is found over a large part of Europe during the last four centuries, B.C. ; but this particular variety seems to be confined to an eastern area ranging from the Black Sea to the eastern Baltic. The

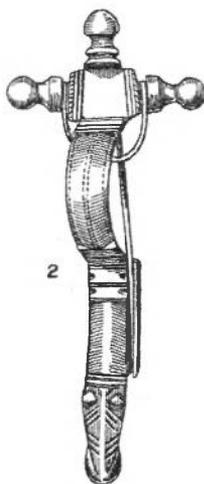
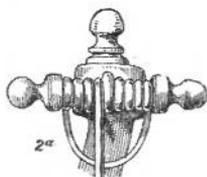


FIG. 2.

Primitive long brooch,
Oland, Sweden (3),
early fifth century
(2a, back of head).

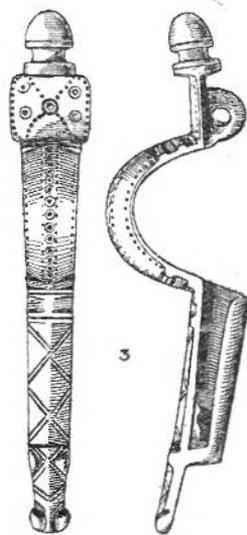


FIG. 3.

Bronze long brooch,
probably from England (3),
early fifth century.

spring is of the La Tène type, *i.e.*, a series of bilateral coils, but passing round a short cross-bar which terminates in knobs ; another knob is attached to the extremity of the bow, called the head of the brooch, and the essential features of this Crimean brooch can be traced all through the series (figs. 1-7).

The prototype is seen to have a foot almost as long as the bow, and to be provided with a long socket or catch

for the pin-head when in use. In the early stages of development this long catch is prominent (figs. 2, 3), but gradually shortens and moves away from the extremity of the foot, fig. 2 in this respect being more advanced than fig. 3, though the former best illustrates the transition from fig. 1, as the head is perfect. Before this brooch-type reached England it underwent changes due to Roman influence in Germany, and the facets so common on metal work in the late Roman period are shown in fig. 2 representing the coils seen at the junction of bow and foot in fig. 1; while another tendency of the period is visible in the animal-head termination of the foot. This ornament was of north German origin and may be best described as a horse's head seen from the front, the salient points being the eyes and nostrils, the latter rounding off the foot; while the eyes are separated from the bow by a bevelled surface, sometimes engraved, as in fig. 3. The bow is also bevelled and sometimes ornamented along the central ridges and edges, and the beginnings of the head-plate are well seen in fig. 2. This expansion of the bar that primarily continued the bow and held the central knob and cross-bar for the spring, was perhaps due to a desire to conceal the spring of the pin, but it incidentally gave scope for additional ornamentation, and grew larger and larger. Fig. 2A is a back view of the head, showing the spring coiled round a bar that passes through an eyelet attached to the head-plate, the chord that provides the tension being still visible from the front. The next specimen (fig. 3) has a somewhat earlier form of catch, but a decorated head-plate and more pronounced knob; and the side view shows the eyelet that once held the cross-bar which is now missing. Its original appearance can easily be inferred from fig. 2; and it is quite possible that fig. 3 was found in East Anglia. It was not, however, till the next stage was reached that specimens were at all common in England, and their appearance here in the fifth century points to a Scandinavian invasion long prior to the Viking period. It is, moreover, clear from a comparison of specimens, that during the fifth century the connection is with Denmark and the mouth of the Elbe, rather than with Norway or Sweden; and the main points of resemblance may here be enumerated.

English and Danish "cruciform" brooches are chiefly distinguished from contemporary specimens in Norway and Sweden by the manner in which the side-knobs are attached to the head-plate. They are not (at least, during the fifth century) cast all in one piece, but at first have the side-knobs quite independent of the head-plate, and later have the edges of the head-plate reduced by bevelling so as to fit into notches cut in the knobs that terminate the cross-bar of the spring. The result is that these knobs are generally missing altogether, as the bar was only of wire and peculiarly liable to decay, so that the knobs have generally been lost, as in figs. 3 and 5.

Further, on Danish and English specimens, the nostrils of the horse are a pair of semicircular, slightly convex wings, while the Norwegian brooches have instead two hemispherical knobs in that position. The English, and still more the Danish, examples have a flatter bow than those from the Scandinavian peninsula; and the head-plate is frequently bent concave at the back so as to give more play for the spring-coil.

The next illustration (fig. 4) shows considerable development and the peculiarly English tendency to broad flat forms, which at a later stage afforded space for animal ornament. The bevelled edges of the head-plate already mentioned are now no longer functional, as the side-knobs are not attached to the cross-bar but cast in one piece with the brooch, as commonly in Norway and Sweden; and the raised panel in the centre of the head-plate survive merely as an ornamental feature. This is usually the case with Norwegian specimens, and at this stage the connection between England and Denmark had evidently been interrupted, and relations established with the western coast of Norway. This new connection dates

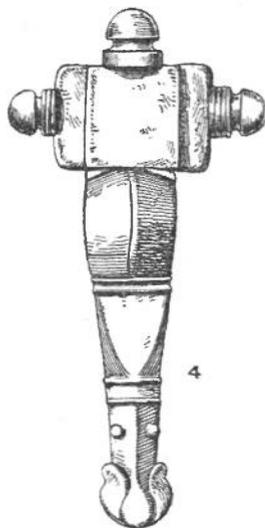


FIG. 4.
Bronze long brooch, Little
Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3),
early sixth century.

from the close of the fifth century, and lasted at any rate to the middle of the next, when the cruciform brooches of Norway came to an end, and England was left to continue their development or degradation. An increase of width is seen in the head-plate, the bow and the nostrils of the horse-head terminal, but the essential features remain the same, and fig. 4 may be regarded as a typical specimen of the early long brooch in England.

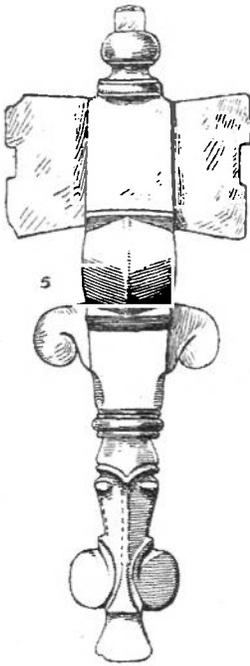


FIG. 5.
Bronze long brooch,
Kenninghall, Norfolk ($\frac{2}{3}$),
mid-sixth century.

During this period a peculiar notch in the moulding next the eyes of the horse, in the line of the main axis, is sometimes noticed. No explanation of this peculiarity is forthcoming, but it is confined to English specimens.

The decoration of the brooch is mainly executed in the casting, and consists of facets and mouldings at intervals along the foot; but simple punched patterns also occur, generally along the edges of the raised panel of the head-plate. The knobs, which have become part of the decoration, are no longer cast complete, but are flat or hollowed out at the back, to economise the metal as well as to have an even surface to rest on the clothing when in use.

The next specimen, illustrated in fig. 5, ushers in the later Anglo-Saxon series, though it happens also to have had the side-knobs attached in the primitive manner.

The notches in the head-plate show clearly enough where and how the knobs now lost were originally attached and recall specimens of the period before 500; but there are other features that show a new departure. The top knob has a projection that becomes more and more conspicuous in England, and there is an analogous extension of the foot, a wedge springing from between the nostrils, which are themselves more prominent than heretofore. Above

all, there are wings added to the foot just below the bow, a feature that may be conveniently held to mark the later period. These wings are not confined to this country, but occur on late and decadent examples in Norway (A.D. 500-550), where they would no doubt have had a parallel development if the series had not there been brought to an end sooner than on this side of the North Sea.

The Anglo-Saxon preference for broad effects and lavish ornament had now full play, and the somewhat severe forms of the early period were soon elaborated almost beyond recognition. With a view to getting the largest possible surface with a given weight of metal, the brooch was cast thinner and flatter than before, and all extremities extravagantly ornamented. It is at this stage that the term "cruciform" may most fittingly be applied to English specimens, for the knobs are now a permanent addition to the head-plate and have been flattened out to provide a surface for deep engraving, or rather for designs cast in that style. The wedge or fan-shaped projection from between the nostrils has been exaggerated, and similar forms have been added to the three arms of the head. The plain panel just below the bow certainly survives, but is flanked by engraved wings, and the corresponding space in the centre of the head-plate of fig. 6, bears an engraved swastika, while the bow has lost its central ridge and bears a raised panel at the top, which should be compared with that on the end of the foot of fig. 7.

In the history of Teutonic art, the sixth century is marked by the adoption of animal motives, which will be referred to in connection with other types of brooches, but may here be briefly described. It was more probably from the East, by way of South Russia, than from a classical source that the Teutonic artist derived the nondescript quadruped that figures on so many of the ornaments of northern Europe between A.D. 500 and 800. At first the animal is represented practically complete and in a recognisable form, but dissolution soon sets in, and the animal is dismembered so as to fit readily into any given space. The eye and snout are most often used, as on fig. 7, but the hind-leg is frequently seen, as fig. 6,

and is but seldom attached to the head by a ribbon-like body. The limbs are inserted without any regard to anatomy, and are often repeated in rows where it would not be easy to accommodate the remainder of the animal. The development of the forms is a vast and intricate subject, and a reference need only be added here to Dr. Bernhard Salin's masterly treatment of it in *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*.

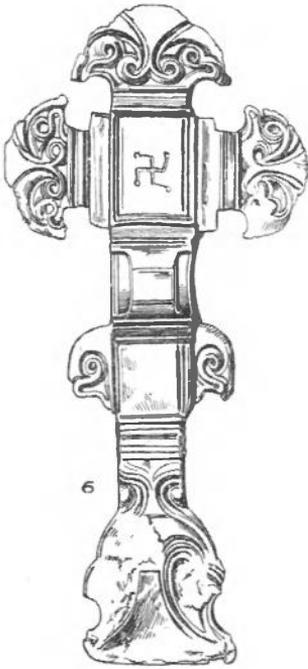


FIG. 6.

Bronze cruciform brooch, Sleaford, Lincs. (‡), late sixth century.

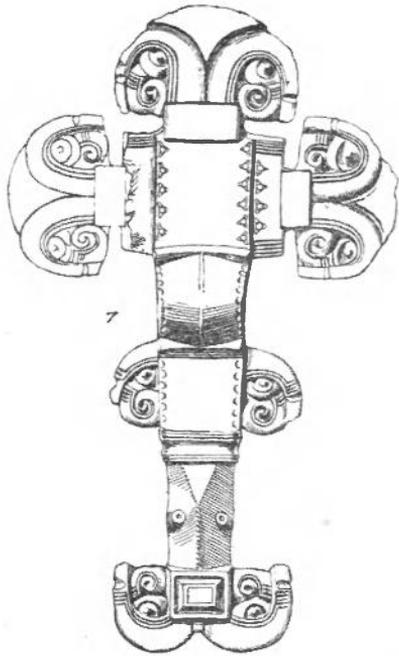


FIG. 7.

Bronze cruciform brooch, Sleaford, Lincs. (‡), early seventh century.

The particular form of animal head occurring in pairs on all the extremities of fig. 7 have been assigned to the second stage of animal-ornament (600-700), and the specimen illustrated may be regarded as the last stage in the development of the cruciform brooch. Comparison with fig. 6 will explain its grotesque appearance, and the blend of traditional and novel details is of interest. Stamped patterns, as of old, fringe the central panel of the

head-plate, the bow and adjoining plate of the foot; while the collars of the knobs are now replaced by oblong plates of silver, and an oblong garnet setting occupies the space between the nostrils, these in their turn being entirely metamorphosed. The decoration of this brooch was evidently influenced by the contemporary square-headed type that may conveniently be considered next.

The series of large square-headed brooches begins for our present purpose with a specimen from Denmark (fig. 8), which, like earlier examples of this type, is of silver. It can be traced still further back in Denmark and the countries between the Baltic and Black Sea, but at the stage here illustrated the type had acquired characteristics that are common to all the specimens in England. The square (or rather oblong) head-plate originally served to connect and screen two, three or more rods on which were wound spiral coils of wire as though to give tension to the pin, but only one was functional. The unnecessary coils

were soon omitted, and the bar that held the spiral spring passed through a single eyelet behind the head-plate, which at this stage is ornamented with semi-classical patterns, soon to be ousted by Teutonic animal-motives. The open-jawed heads of monsters make their appearance at this stage immediately below the bow and remain there throughout, though much conventionalised.

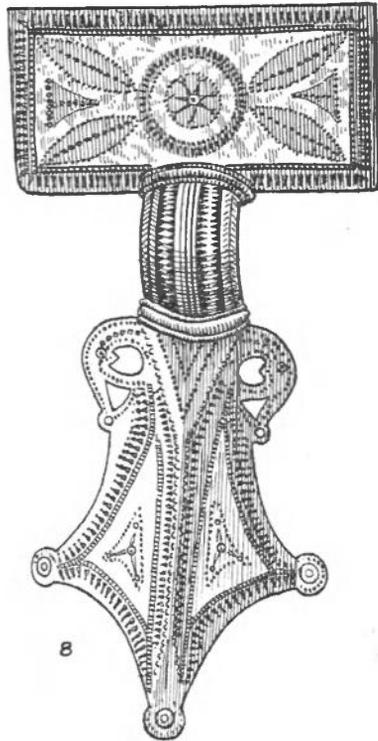


FIG. 8.

Silver square-headed brooch, Zealand, Denmark (3), fifth century.

Northern examples of this type generally have the greatest width of foot below its centre, while parallel specimens in central Europe have the foot widest above the centre, and possess other peculiarities that need not be detailed here, as the southern type is practically unknown from England. The specimen illustrated shows classical influence in the spaces left unornamented, and comparison with fig. 9 is



FIG. 9.

Bronze-gilt square-headed brooch,
Chessell Down, Isle of Wight ($\frac{2}{3}$),
mid-sixth century.

instructive as showing the contrast between the Roman and Teutonic ideas of decoration. While the triangular spaces in the middle of the foot become crowded with detail and reduced in size, the three round terminals of the foot increase in size, and, at least in England, become a leading feature. Animal-motives were adopted in the Teutonic world late in the fifth century, and fig. 9 is a late example of the style in vogue during the sixth century. A remnant of the running scroll common in the preceding period may be seen in the side-borders of the head-plate, and the essential features of the foot remain, though the

central rib has disappeared. The metal then in general use for brooches was bronze, and the present specimen is richly gilt. Round the edge of the head and the discs of the foot is a chevron pattern executed in niello and silver, the contrast of colours being very popular at that time; and the head and foot are crowded with dislocated limbs of the stock quadruped, that can only be recognised by the eye of faith. There seems

little doubt also that in the present instance the human face is represented in the side terminals of the foot. In some specimens these terminals are embellished with thin silver discs that contrast with the gilt surface of the brooch and recall the technique of the early stages of this type of brooch, when silver was plentiful.

A further stage is marked by fig. 10, which retains the midrib of the foot but has very decadent details. The animal ornament overflows onto the bow, and the outer rim of the head is filled with repetitions of a meaningless spectacle-like pattern, while the inner portion above the bow displays the last vestiges of animal forms. The head is no longer straight-sided, the curves being aided by projections from the angles, the upper pair of which are ornamented, like the end of the foot, each with a setting of purple enamel. The form, position and colour of these settings may be perhaps explained by reference to smaller square-headed specimens¹ found in the same Jutish

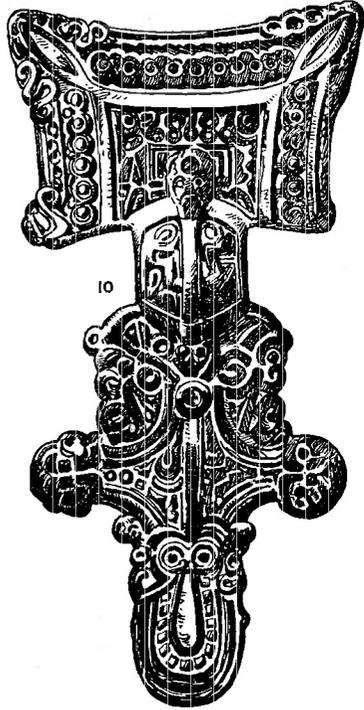


FIG. 10.

Bronze-gilt square-headed brooch,
St. Nicholas, Warwick (±),
late sixth century.

cemetery as fig. 9. This smaller series is evidently derived from the same prototype and makes up in ornament what it lacks in size. The gilt and nielloed surface is further enriched by garnet settings of oblong, lozenge, triangular and spindle forms, the last pointing to the upper angles of the head, and the oblong occupying the same position as on fig. 7.

¹ Figured in colours in *Vict. Co. Hist. Hants*, i, 388, fig. 2.

The decoration seems by this time to have lost all meaning, and the workmanship shows a great falling-off, there being as yet no signs of the artistic revival that took place in the Teutonic world early in the seventh century.

English examples of this type can be easily distinguished from the continental, the latter falling into two main groups which influenced each other to a certain extent, but evidently belong to different schools of art. Communication between the northern and southern streams of influence seems to have been by way of Hanover; and the brooches, above all, reflect the tribal migrations and affinities of the fifth and sixth centuries.

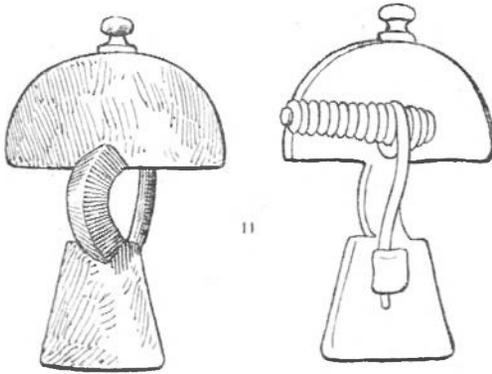


FIG. 11.

Bronze round-headed brooch, Kertch, Crimea (†). About A.D. 300.

It was about A.D. 400 that the northern stream from the Black Sea, already traced to the Baltic, ceased to flow, no doubt owing to the overwhelming migration of the Slavs into north Germany. At the same time a southern stream was directed from southern Russia westward up the Danube valley and eventually all over central and western Europe, though traces of this influence are clearest in southern Germany. The immediate cause of this penetration was pressure from the Huns, and during the whole of the fifth century there was hardly any connection between north and central Europe. About the year 500 contact was renewed, and it was then found that isolation for a hundred years had resulted in

an artistic development on widely different lines in the two areas. Though there followed considerable interchange of motives, the art products of north and south can usually be distinguished at a glance, and specimens of both styles occur in England. The south German artists were in closer touch with Roman provincial work and the debased classicalism of Italy, whereas the north was virtually destitute of such models, and

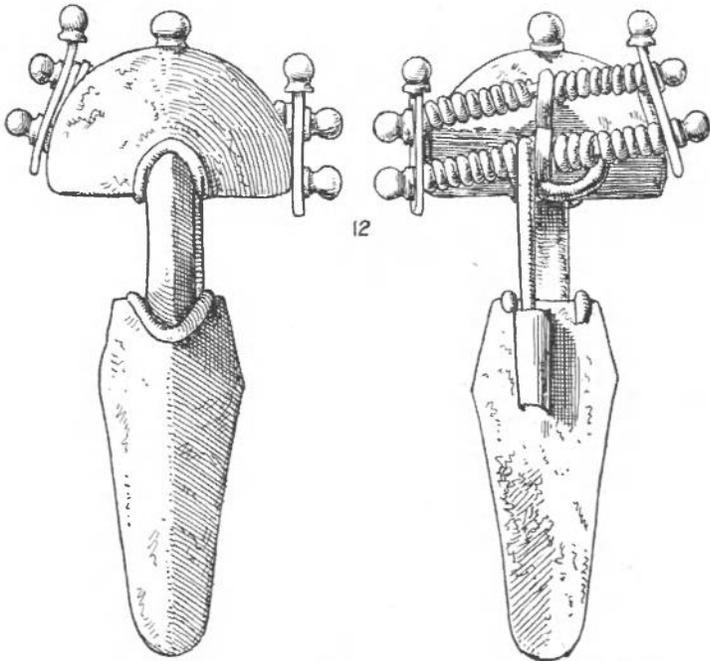


FIG. 12.

Bronze round-headed brooch, Kertch, Crimea (\pm). A.D. 350-375.

developed on original lines. It is to contact with the south that the spasmodic appearance in the north of plant and certain animal forms is due; but classical details were quickly obliterated by the Teutonic quadruped which travelled southward in its turn, and figures occasionally on specimens that bear marks of a central European origin.

It is again in the Crimea that the ancestor of the radiated brooch occurs. The characteristics of fig. 11 are

a semi-circular head, an arched bow and a spreading foot, with a blunt end that persists on certain varieties of this type (fig. 14). The spiral coil wound on an axis that passes through an eyelet behind the head gives tension to the spring, and is itself subject to extraordinary elaboration. In fig. 11 the knob at the top seems otiose, but when associated, as in fig. 12, with the terminals of the spring-axes, it becomes an essential feature of the decoration.

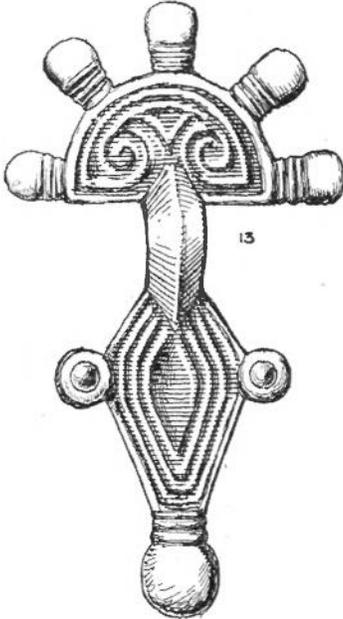


FIG. 13.

Bronze radiated brooch, Kertch, Crimea
(±), late fourth century.

Reference has already been made to the superfluous spirals, and fig. 12 not only illustrates this fashion adequately, but also suggests the origin of another form of radiated brooch, rarely found in Britain. Another Kertch example shows a later stage, when the knobs are no longer functional but cast in one piece with the head purely as ornament. The foot has become lozenge shaped, and while the terminal takes the form of a knob, the side-angles are furnished with projecting studs. The face is also incised with simple scrolls and series of lines parallel to the margins, now that bronze-casting had replaced the earlier wrought silver. Further developments took place in the fifth century, the knobs changing in form but retaining their position; and the foot, either of lozenge form (as fig. 13) or with parallel sides and blunt end (fig. 14), being further enriched with gilding, niello and engraving. Garnets were plentiful at this stage¹ and occur in fig. 14 on the radiating knobs of the head, the central rib in this case having triangular

¹ They are set in lavish profusion on brooches derived from fig. 12 in the famous Szilagy-Somlyo find (Hungary).

punch-marks filled with niello. The knobs and terminals frequently assume the shape of birds' heads, sometimes with garnet eyes, this nameless bird of prey being a common motive among the Gothic peoples, but apart from this it should be observed that no trace of animal ornament occurs on this type, which hardly survived the fifth century, and just overlaps with the square-headed type.

The circular form of brooch was also much affected by the Anglo-Saxons, and some of the main forms may be next considered. Of this number two types seem to be intimately connected and are sometimes found in the same cemetery, though the exact relation between them is at present obscure. They are sometimes called by the same name, but as there are essential differences between them, and one is not obviously derived from the other, it is advisable to distinguish them by name as the brooch with applied plate, and the saucer-brooch.

The title of the former is somewhat clumsy and might be replaced by composite saucer-brooch; but till more is known about them they had best be treated as independent groups. The "applied" brooch is composite, as being made up of a bronze disc-base, slightly dished and surrounded by a narrow vertical bronze band affixed at right angles to contain the cement which acts as a bed for an embossed disc of gilt bronze. The base has a hinged pin attached by two narrow slits in the plate

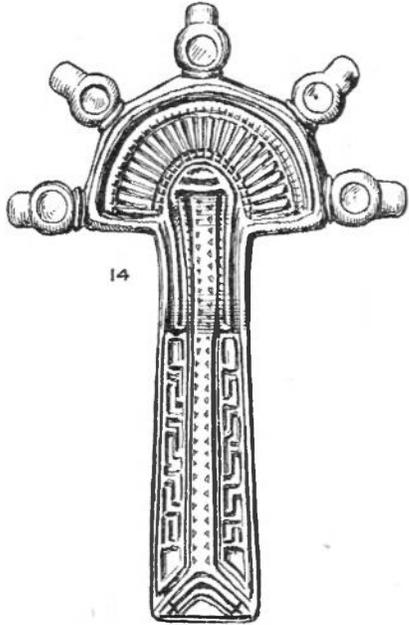


FIG. 14.

Silver-gilt radiated brooch, Suffolk (?),
late fifth century.

that are sometimes the only evidence that a detached disc has belonged to a brooch of this kind. A specimen (fig. 15) from Fairford, Gloucs., now in the national collection well shews the method of construction, as the applied disc is damaged and reveals the internal arrangements. The design is semi-classical, but the brooch-type does not recall any in use during the late Roman period, though perhaps we may regard this and some other early examples as Romano-British survivals in the early days of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. The plaited border is reminiscent of such Roman work as tessellated floors ;



FIG. 15.

Bronze "applied" brooch, Fairford, Gloucs. (4), late fifth century.

and the inner band round the hexagonal centre, though bearing a slight resemblance to a later degenerate form of the animal-motive, is in reality composed of the Amazon-shield pattern, and there is no trace of characteristic Anglo-Saxon work on this particular specimen. At Kempston, near Bedford, animal-motives occur on this type in a band surrounding a cruci-

form design with apparently human faces in each arm (fig. 16). Other specimens¹ from this site, which is the principal one for this kind of brooch, retain traces of the classical egg-and-tongue border that is well seen on what must be an early example found at Sigy, Neufchâtel, Seine-Inférieure.² Another, probably from Lombardy, with an eagle preying on a hare embossed on the plate, belongs to the late classical period and is now in the British Museum. These discoveries suggest intercourse between the southern Midlands, Normandy and Italy in the fifth century, but such sporadic examples cannot negative the

¹ Two are figured in colours in *Vict. Co. Hist. Beds.*, i, 180, figs. 11, 13, on plate.

² Figured in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 1st ser. iv, 237.

view that the "applied" brooch was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons from the romanised Britons or was manufactured by the latter for their new masters. There are other indications that the Kempston cemetery did not continue in use throughout the pagan period, and 500 may be fixed as its central date.

The "saucer-brooch," properly so-called, also exhibits at times some traces of classical design, and the egg-and-tongue border already mentioned is well seen on a



FIG. 16.

Bronze "applied" brooch, Kempston, Beds. (\pm), early sixth century.

specimen from Broughton Poggs, Oxon.¹ Kempston has yielded one with a purely cruciform pattern, and figs. 17 and 18 are also geometrical; but this type is often ornamented with the limbs of animals in the traditional Teutonic style (fig. 19). The construction of the brooch is constant and extremely simple: a stout bronze plate is dished and ornamented in the flat central space with what is called in German *Keilschnitt* or *Kerbschnitt*, a process of engraving derived from wood-carving and imitated by casting, the V-shaped incisions

¹ Figured in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 1st ser., iv, 73.

being afterwards finished off with the graving-tool and the whole of the interior water-gilt. The pin is attached as usual at the back, and works on a hinge as in the preceding type. The scroll-work seen on fig. 17 recalls bronze-work of the latest Roman provincial work; and the star-pattern (fig. 18), which also occurs on "applied" brooches, may also be comparatively early, but fig. 19 must be well on in the sixth century, to judge by the type of animal-head represented. The distribution of this type in England is of special interest (*see p. 87*), but no prototype can be found on the Continent, and it may



FIG. 17.

Bronze-gilt saucer brooch found in Oxfordshire ($\frac{1}{2}$), sixth century.



FIG. 18.

Bronze-gilt saucer brooch, Leighton Buzzard, Beds. ($\frac{1}{2}$), sixth century.

possibly be merely a variety of the applied type, reduced to its simplest form and more fitted to rough usage.

Other developments peculiar to England may be seen in the remarkable series of Kentish brooches, which require coloured illustrations to do them justice. Exceptional specimens, such as the Kingston Down brooch,¹ discovered by Bryan Faussett, cannot here be discussed, but the bulk of the round brooches made and worn by the Jutes can be conveniently divided into four classes, which are here illustrated. The commonest may be called the keystone brooch (fig. 20), from the form of the principal garnet settings, which radiate from the centre

¹ Figured in colours in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. i; *Vict. Co. Hist. Kent*, i, 347, pl. i, fig. 10.

like the keystone of an arch. The specimen illustrated has secondary garnet settings of oblong form, and in the band between them, semi-circles that represent the eye of the Teutonic animal, the rest of the body having been crowded out. A constant feature in this and other jewelled Kentish brooches is a central boss of what is probably ivory, but may be pearl shell, or even meerschaum. Garnets are often inlaid in the top of these bosses, and sometimes remain after the material of the boss itself has perished. Another feature common to many Kentish brooches, of circular and other forms, is the zigzag border of silver and niello, and the material



FIG. 19.

Bronze-gilt saucer brooch found in England ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.



FIG. 20.

Silver keystone brooch, Gilton, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.

of the brooch itself is generally silver, more or less pure, and occasionally of gold.

A cognate variety, but of much rarer occurrence, is represented by fig. 21, which is characterised by T-shaped garnets set in a band that is otherwise filled with animal patterns (generally of a decadent nature and difficult to recognise as such), and four circular settings that probably contained blue glass. The large central boss, an outer band of garnets (and perhaps blue glass), and a toothed border of silver complete the decoration.

A richer development of the bosses is seen in fig. 22, which may be regarded as characteristic of the type with filigree and bosses, though the cell-work (*cloisonne*) is

here an equally striking feature. The Kingston brooch is of this character, and the series, though somewhat overloaded with ornament, may be regarded as the finest work of the Kentish goldsmith. The step-pattern set with garnets and blue glass is here predominant, and narrow bands of gold filigree may indicate a slight connection with the frankish kingdom, but nothing altogether comparable is found on the Continent, and the step-patterns and other geometric designs are but poorly reproduced in the damascened (iron inlaid with silver) brooches of the middle Rhine, dating from the seventh century.

The remaining variety of jewelled brooches from Kent



21

FIG. 21.

Silver brooch with T garnets, Kingston Down, Kent (†), late sixth century.

(fig. 23) has features in common with figs. 21 and 22, but is distinguished by a star-pattern with bosses between the points, which are here three in number, but are frequently four. Filigree and niello help to fill the ground, and the animal pattern does not appear in the example chosen for illustration, but as the back of the Kingston brooch is ornamented with animal

heads in the style of the seventh century, it is probable that much of the Jutish jewellery dates from a period subsequent to the landing of Augustine (A.D. 597), though prior to the discontinuance of the practice of burying ornaments with the dead. This was due to the spread of Christianity and probably fell in the seventh century, but coins (or pendants modelled from coins) of the emperors Mauricius Tiberius (*d.* 602) and Heraclius (*d.* 641), as well as of Chloaire II, king of the Franks (*d.* 628), show that some of the richest burials may be as late as 650. If this were the case in Kent, it may well be that in other and more backward parts of the kingdom

semi-pagan burial-rites were observed throughout the seventh century.

Such are the main types of Anglo-Saxon brooches, which are conspicuous for their size and ornamentation, and so most useful for archaeological purposes, though something may yet be learnt from the smaller and more ordinary specimens that are numerous in certain districts. At the risk of repeating the obvious, I may here point out that the discovery of a brooch is generally an accident, and large numbers of the same type, or of different types, may be awaiting discovery on sites yet unexplored. It is therefore somewhat rash to found arguments on the absence of a particular type in any area; but, on the other

hand, the large number of accidents to which we owe our extant specimens must be allowed a cumulative value, and every fresh find of a particular type, to use a parliamentary metaphor, counts two on a division. It may not only confirm the view that a certain type is frequent in a particular area, but it also renders it less and less probable that another type not already found in that area will ever appear there;

hence there is some basis for tribal divisions in accordance with the distribution of brooches and other characteristic relics. Taking the types in the same order as before, we may assign approximate limits to the English examples of the "long" or "cruciform" brooch. Its occurrence south of the Thames is the rarest exception, and we may regard it as peculiar to the Anglian area, though small specimens more or less on the same lines are met with in Essex and in the old West Saxon area north of the Thames (p. 80), as at Kempston, Bedfordshire. Normal specimens are common in East Anglia, Cambridgeshire, Northants and Lincolnshire, all round the Fens, while



FIG. 22.
Gold brooch with cell-work and filigree,
Gilton, Kent (†), late sixth century.

several are known from Yorkshire, but the type cannot be said to be common further north. Westwards it hardly travelled further than Leicestershire till late in the sixth century, sporadic finds of that date having been noted in Worcestershire. Large and degenerate examples, to which the term "cruciform" may be applied without misgiving, occur chiefly in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, but eight other specimens are distributed among Lincolnshire, Rutland, Northants, Huntingdonshire, Suffolk, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, most of which came under the influence of Mercia before the middle of the seventh century.



FIG. 23.

Silver brooch with star centre, Barham Down, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$), late sixth century.

The distribution of the large square-headed type is more puzzling and does not seem to correspond to any tribal areas. A variety with a kind of crenellation round the head, representing an earlier fringe of knobs,¹ occurs in Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire, Northants, Gloucestershire and Berkshire, and the medium-sized variety

decorated with garnets already mentioned is apparently confined to the Jutish districts of Kent and the Isle of Wight. Typical specimens, complete or fragmentary, have been found most often in the counties of Suffolk, Northants and Leicester, but almost as many come from Cambridgeshire; three each from Norfolk and Yorkshire; two each from Warwickshire, Notts, Lincolnshire and Kent; and single examples from the counties of Huntingdon, Oxford, Gloucester and Bedford. They seem therefore to have been mostly worn by the East and Middle Anglians, and their presence in other districts may possibly be explained by the undoubted fact that they were articles of luxury, and as such procured from a distance by the wealthy, with whom they were buried.

¹ Examples from Denmark, Norway, and especially Sweden, are figured by

Salin, *op. cit.*, figs. 106, 128, 129, 130, 134.

The radiated brooch may some day be made to tell an interesting story, as it is the earliest important type that was naturalised here, and went out of fashion before some of the others appeared in England. Specimens with the lozenge foot are rare, only three having been found in Kent, where the blunt-footed form is fairly common.¹ Discoveries in other counties are very exceptional, and isolated specimens only have been found in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln and Warwick, all but the last county being on or near the east coast and most accessible from the sea. Both forms are also found in northern France, but the centre of dispersion in the fifth century was evidently the middle Rhine, whither the type had been brought by the southern stream of influence up the Danube. Other traces of a connection with southern Germany may be noticed in Kent, and it is important to observe the almost complete absence of Scandinavian forms in the Jutish area.

The track of the "applied" brooch across Europe may be eventually determined, but at present very few specimens are known outside England, and it must suffice to name the counties concerned without attempting to decide the connection between this and the succeeding type. Kempston, Bedfordshire, is the chief locality, but the Gloucestershire specimen should be earlier, and discoveries range from Berkshire to Rutland by way of Northants, thus approximately coinciding with those of the solid saucer type, but much less numerous.

The "saucer" brooch, properly so called, is plentiful in the southern Midlands, and remarkably scarce outside that area, though specimens have been found in Surrey, and on or near the coast of Kent,² that suggest a tribal migration up the Thames. A diminutive variety, sometimes called the "button" brooch, is practically confined to Kent and the Isle of Wight, though specimens are known also from the counties of Wilts., Sussex and Bedford. It is possible that the larger specimens were derived from the smaller, but in that case the folk who wore them must have migrated during the process, for

¹ *Vict. Co. Hist. Kent*, i, 380.

² Faversham, Horton Kirby and possibly Dover.

the saucer-brooch area is distinct. Its area includes all the counties in or bordering on the upper Thames valley, as well as those of Warwick and Worcester, Cambridge and Northants, while a few specimens have also been found in Sussex, and one (in a large cemetery) at Sleaford in Lincolnshire. Apart from this last exception, it seems clear that Dunsmore Heath (near Rugby) and Rutland form the northern limit of this type, and its entire absence from East Anglia and early Mercia strengthens the conviction that it was characteristic of the West Saxons who were dominant in the area indicated during the early part of the sixth century. It is remarkably scarce in Hants, which is generally considered to have been their headquarters and centre of dispersion. A large and coarse variety provided with a central stud is found in the counties of Cambridge, Warwick and Northants, and one has even been found in Leicestershire.

The distribution of the Kentish jewelled brooches fully justifies their name, but if regard be had to the extent¹ and prestige of the Kentish kingdom in the latter part of the sixth century, it will not be surprising to find Kentish work in other parts of south-eastern England. A keystone brooch has been found at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, and two more recently at Ipswich; other Kentish types have been discovered in the county, and jewellery of the same character in Norfolk. It is quite possible that certain gold brooches found in Derbyshire were also from Kentish workshops, and there can be little doubt as to the origin of two fine brooches from Abingdon, Berkshire. The jewelled brooches of Kent are the masterpieces of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship, and afford ample proof of a high state of art in an area noted since the days of Caesar for its superior culture.

¹ Bede says that Ethelbert had extended his dominions as far as the Humber (*Eccles. Hist.*, i, 25).