

# A Survey of the Anglo-Saxon Cruciform Brooches of Florid Type

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*THIS short study of the English cruciform brooches in the latest and most elaborate phase of their development was left practically completed by E. T. Leeds before his death in 1955. My best thanks are due to Mr. P. D. C. Brown of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, who told me of the existence of the manuscript (now in the Ashmolean Museum) and who suggested that I edit it for publication. Leeds's text is printed substantially as he left it apart from several minor alterations and corrections. I have provided the introduction, postscript, and footnotes. (M.P.)*

## INTRODUCTION

By Michael Pocock

THE fairly numerous examples of cruciform brooches discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves of the 5th to the 7th century display a rich morphological development which is particularly receptive to typological analysis. The only detailed classification available is that provided by Nils Åberg,<sup>1</sup> in which the English cruciforms are distributed into five groups, ranging from the simple forms of groups I and II (5th and earlier 6th century), through the 6th-century forms of groups III (distinguished from the preceding groups by the appearance of scroll-shaped nostrils on the animal-head foot) and IV (with lappets flanking the upper part of the foot-plate), and ending with the elaborate forms of group V (later 6th and into the 7th century). Leeds<sup>2</sup> subsequently proposed a sub-division of Åberg's group IV. Brooches of this group exhibit variety in the treatment of the upper knob; those retaining the simple half-round knob of earlier groups, decorated, if at all, with a slight nipple, were placed in sub-group IV a, while the remainder (including several examples of Åberg's group III) on which an excrescent ornament appears on the tip of the upper knob, either in the form of a small moulded

<sup>1</sup> Nils Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (Cambridge and Uppsala, 1926), pp. 28-56 and 184-94. Several brief, general surveys have been published, notably those in H. Shetelig, *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (Bergen, 1906), which includes a sketch of the development of the English series; G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III (London, 1915); and [R. A. Smith,] *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic Antiquities* (British Museum, 1923).

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Leeds, 'The distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered', *Archaeologia*, xc1 (1945), 69-73.

mask with flanking bird-heads or of a flat crescentic or rectangular plate (with, in many instances, a parallel addition of plate excrescences to the side-knobs), were assigned to sub-group IV b. In group V Åberg included both true cruciforms and several examples of Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches. To the former, Leeds gave the name 'florid' cruciforms; the latter, while closely related to the florids, are excluded from the present survey, since Leeds has already analysed their development in his earlier study of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches.<sup>3</sup> The distinctive feature of the florid cruciforms is the development of the excrescent mask and bird-heads on the IV b brooches to the point at which, much expanded and enlarged, this motif connects directly with the head-plate (the original knob disappearing), and this treatment is also applied to the side-knobs.

The development of the English cruciforms outlined above provides a framework within which series of stylistically-linked brooches may be distinguished. In this way it is sometimes possible to follow the evolution of regional variant forms and to trace the borrowings of ideas between the various centres of production, while, on occasion, it is possible to see in several brooches, all very similar, the work of an individual craftsman. This approach is particularly profitable in the brooches of Åberg's groups III to V since these, by reason of their increased elaboration of form, provided greater scope for individuality of design. Leeds briefly studied the florid cruciforms in this light in his Rhind Lectures,<sup>4</sup> where he outlined four sub-groups, expanded to twelve in his more detailed analysis printed here.<sup>5</sup> The florid type is shown to have developed in East Anglia or south Cambridgeshire, and to have spread rapidly into the east midlands in the later 6th and early 7th century. In the midlands, variant forms evolved and the type seems to have retained popularity well into the 7th century. In East Anglia, however, at a fairly early stage in its development, the florid type was replaced by a special form of the great square-headed brooch (Leeds's type C 2),<sup>6</sup> itself a development from the florid cruciforms of about the stage of evolution reached by the example from West Stow, Suffolk, in sub-group V(f). Similarly, in Cambridgeshire no florid cruciforms are known of a later stage than that of the brooch from Linton Heath in sub-group V (h).

Underlying Leeds's conclusions in the present study are the interpretations he presented in the Rhind Lectures.<sup>7</sup> There, in his discussion of the relations between East Anglia, the midlands, and northern England, Leeds argued that a strong East Anglian influence appears in the grave-goods from mid-Anglian burials of the 2nd half of the 6th and the earlier 7th century. He associated this

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches* (Oxford, 1949).

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 81-3.

<sup>5</sup> Brief notes by Leeds on individual florid cruciforms have been published at different times in *The Antiquaries Journal*. For the Islip brooch in V (a) see Leeds, 'Two cruciform brooches from Islip, Northants.', *Antiq. J.*, xxi (1941), 234-6. The imperfect brooch from Partney, Lincs. (V (e)) is discussed by Leeds in F. H. Thompson, 'Anglo-Saxon discoveries at Partney, Lincolnshire', *Antiq. J.*, xxxiv (1954), 230-1. The brooches from St. Ives, Hunts. (V (g, ii)) and Linton Heath, Cambs. (V (h)) are discussed in Leeds, 'Two seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches', *Antiq. J.*, xxxv (1955), 88-90. For the two brooches from Laceby, Lincs., in V (a) and V (c) see Leeds in F. H. Thompson, 'Anglo-Saxon sites in Lincolnshire: unpublished material and recent discoveries', *Antiq. J.*, xxxvi (1956), 186.

<sup>6</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, pp. 79-82.

<sup>7</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 4, pp. 79-95.

cultural influence, in its later phase, with the supremacy of Raedwald. Leeds also noted that throughout this period the archaeological material from the Cambridgeshire cemeteries and from the midlands shows the persistence of strong mutual links, despite the East Anglian pre-eminence, and he suggested that mid-Anglia held the status of 'a sort of buffer-state, drawing upon its neighbours, but preserving a limited degree of cultural independence.'<sup>8</sup> The East Anglian influence was severely checked by the rise of Penda's power, and Leeds did not exclude the possibility that 'the archaeological evidence, more especially that of the latest material which brings Warwickshire (Mercia) into the picture, reflects temporary connexions created by Penda's conquest of East Anglia' and by 'his establishment of his son, Peada, as his representative in mid-Anglia'.<sup>9</sup> Different aspects of these interpretations will doubtless require modification in the light of recent finds and research. However, the typological sequences which Leeds was so adept at perceiving in individual series of objects retain much of their original validity, and the following study is therefore printed to supplement Leeds's comments on the florid cruciforms given in the Rhind Lectures.

## SURVEY OF FLORID CRUCIFORM BROOCHES

*By the late E. T. Leeds*

In 1935 in the Rhind Lectures<sup>10</sup> I discussed the evolution of the cruciform brooch in England, and in 1945<sup>11</sup> I drew particular attention to the middle stages of its development, insisting on the need for a division of Åberg's group IV into IV a and IV b, the latter sub-group being characterized by variation in the form of the knobs. A re-examination of the later material, which I have usually designated the 'florid' type, has seemed to call for a more detailed analysis of the brooches themselves and for consideration of the technical and historical implications to be gathered from such a survey.

The transition from the middle stage, group IV b, is apparently rapid, for the number of brooches with florid knobs within that group is not large, and on most of them it is only the upper knob which exhibits the novelty. At first it is little more than a pair of up-curved lateral excrescences, which tend to become larger and wider as the original knob loses its round moulded form, to be replaced by a flattened crescentic knob which is a common feature of this group. The title 'florid' is perhaps a misnomer, because actually the floriation consists of two moulded loops, which have little definite significance, but which in accordance with the artistic trend of the time soon incline to receive a zoomorphic form. The insertion of a small pimple within the curve of the loop at once transforms the loop into the eagle-head profile so familiar in early Anglo-Saxon art. Similarly, the lappets below the base of the bow begin as simple excrescences, rectangular, rounded,

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-3.

<sup>11</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 69-73.

looped, or hooked, from which last form they rapidly assume an aquiline profile. The process is to be well seen on brooches from graves 16, 79 and 58 (PL. I, A) in the cemetery at Holywell Row, Suffolk.<sup>12</sup> In the last-named instance the development of the eagle-head has been augmented by an additional purposeless coil. But so long as the body of the brooch was executed as a half-round casting, these new features remain unpretentious.

The later pagan period, however, witnessed an obvious growth of prosperity, resulting in an increasing demand for luxury goods. Almost in a night, as it were, there springs into being a new twofold class, (a) still with well moulded body, but bolder in form and execution, or (b) a more flattened form, wherein the older satisfying moulded strength was sacrificed to an increase of surface capable of receiving more extensive decoration, sometimes chased and gilded. How far these exotic pieces were contemporaneous with the more extravagantly square- or crescentically-knobbed examples in group IV b is hard to decide; some may have been, if only by reason of their size. At the same time, the rich cemetery at Nassington, Northants.,<sup>13</sup> yielded a remarkably good range of cruciform brooches, some of huge size with square-headed knobs, yet failed to supply more than one predecessor in group IV b of the florid-knobbed variety.<sup>14</sup> It did, on the other hand, produce an imperfect brooch with oversize crescentic knobs (FIG. 3, b),<sup>15</sup> which apparently duplicates an example from Woodstone, Hunts.,<sup>16</sup> from which site, as will be seen later, came one of the latest examples of group V. Extravagance of form is perhaps a better criterion of relative age than mere detail; there must have coexisted less pretentious pieces alongside the more elaborate expressions of the type.

The brooches of group V may advantageously be arranged into sub-groups, which, though it is impossible to postulate any hard and fast limits to such minor divisions, will be found to allow a clearer pointer towards the time and place at which they were produced. For distribution-maps of the sites and the sub-groups see FIGS. 1 (sub-groups (a) to (h)) and 2 (sub-groups (i) to (l)), p. 24f.

V (a). Head-plate with wide ornate knobs; bow and upper part of foot with reasonably good mouldings; usually simple lappets; detail of foot uncertain owing to imperfection of specimens, but apparently development of up-curved moustaches into a plate with bird-head finials.

The creation of these ornate pieces must have been rather rapid and abrupt, for it is remarkable how little has come down to us out of which can be traced an ordered sequence between the relative simplicity of brooches of group IV b and anything that must fairly be assigned to group V. The predominant feature of group V is the passage from a small round knob to a complicated, almost flat cas-

<sup>12</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk* (Cambridge Antiq. Soc., 4to publ., n.s. III, 1931), fig. 6, no. 1 (gr. 16); fig. 16, no. 1 (gr. 79); fig. 15, no. 2 (gr. 58).

<sup>13</sup> E. T. Leeds and R. J. C. Atkinson, 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Nassington, Northants.', *Antiq. J.*, xxiv (1944), 100-28.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvi, 31.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii, 32.

<sup>16</sup> *V.C.H., Hunts.*, I, fig. 19, no. 8.

ting. In group IV b the new motive is the transformation of the nipple at the end of the knob into a human head facing upwards or outwards and flanked by two eagle-heads. This adornment gradually increases in size with the chin or snout of the mask becoming more triangular and wider, well illustrated by brooches from Little Wilbraham, Cambs., grave 171,<sup>17</sup> and Holywell Row, Suffolk, graves 58 (PL. I, A), 79 and 16.<sup>18</sup> In this last example the upper nipple has become a flattened casting 2.8 cm. wide. But when we come to group V the original knob has disappeared, except for the neck where it adjoins the head-plate, and the rest is replaced by a wide casting of the ornamental detail, 2.6 cm. at Haslingfield, Cambs. (PL. I, F), 3.7 cm. at Sporle, Norfolk (FIG. 4, a),<sup>19</sup> and Upton Snodsbury, Worcs.,<sup>20</sup> and 4 cm. at Islip, Northants.<sup>21</sup> The lappets vary from plain rectangular at Sporle, a doubtful form at Upton Snodsbury, to indefinite eagle-heads at Haslingfield, and over-developed heads at Islip. At the end of the foot the Islip brooch has fully formed bird-ended moustaches, only indicated on the flat plate of the Haslingfield piece.

V (b). Head-plate with large knobs composed of a pair of opposed eagle-heads in arched frame-mouldings with an intervening crescentic element; bow, ridged; lappets, eagle-heads; foot, very formal head terminating in a rectangular panel, from which eagle-heads upturned serve as moustaches.

The group is a small one: Sleaford, Lincs., grave 169 (PL. I, B), a fine production; a brooch lacking the lower part of the foot found on the site of the Union at Colchester, Essex,<sup>22</sup> with its eagle-heads apparently schematically presented; an example from Ruskington, Lincs.,<sup>23</sup> a crude, flat casting with vertically-ribbed panel above and below the bow, all the eagle-heads poorly designed; a brooch from North Luffenham, Rutland,<sup>24</sup> lacking the entire foot, otherwise a well-made piece.

V (c). Head-plate with flat, wide knobs, exhibiting, as do the lappets, an entire misunderstanding of the eagle-heads; bow, flat with median band or rib; foot, with flattened animal-head terminating in drooping moustaches with eagle-head ends and, below, a large crescentic or triangular finial.

Four examples: Exning, Suffolk (PL. I, c), Sleaford, Lincs., graves 95<sup>25</sup> and 143,<sup>26</sup> and Market Overton, Rutland,<sup>27</sup> are markedly similar; Sleaford, grave 116,<sup>28</sup> is much poorer.

<sup>17</sup> R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies Illustrated* (London, 1852), pl. 8, no. 171.

<sup>18</sup> Lethbridge, *loc. cit.* in note 12.

<sup>19</sup> J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (London, 1855), pl. xl, no. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* in note 1, pl. xlv, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Leeds in *Antiq. J.*, xxi (1941), pl. li.

<sup>22</sup> A drawing of this brooch is included in an album of Colchester antiquities which was compiled in the 19th century by William Wyre and which is now in the Colchester and Essex Museum. Information through kindness of Mr. D. T.-D. Clarke.

<sup>23</sup> *Archaeol. J.*, ciii (1946), pl. x, d, 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Reports of the Associated Architectural Societies*, xxvii (1903), pl. iii, 3.

<sup>25</sup> British Museum; acc. no. 83.4-1.160.

<sup>26</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 84.

<sup>27</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, pl. s.8.

<sup>28</sup> British Museum; acc. no. 83.4-1.207.

V (*d*). Head-plate with flat, wide knobs, characterized in its advanced stage by the lengthening of the intervening triangular element down to the bar adjoining the head-plate; eagle-heads on knobs and lappets poorly executed; animal-head on foot with triangular finial flanked by upturned eagle-heads(?) with curled 'tail' behind (best seen on an example from Haslingfield, Cambs.).<sup>29</sup> On one piece from grave 82 in the Barrington B, Cambs., cemetery<sup>30</sup> the knobs on the head-plate are closely akin to those of V (*b*) and V (*c*), but the presence of the animals flanking the foot stamp it as an early representative of V (*d*).

Beside the above, examples occur at Kenninghall, Norfolk (two) (PL. I, G); North Luffenham, Rutland;<sup>31</sup> Churchover, Warws. (PL. I, E);<sup>32</sup> and Newnham Croft, Cambridge (a pair).<sup>33</sup>

V (*e*). Head-plate rather small, with over-weighted but well-cast knobs composed of crested eagles flanking an outwardly turned mask; upper knob with rectangular appendage, lateral knobs with triangular appendage notched at its base; head-plate with undecorated panel; bow with faceted knob, topped with a small disc; geometrical lappets; foot with heavily moulded head and widely expanded triangular appendage in the curved sides of which are eagle-headed animals mounting upwards. A very fine brooch from Soham, Cambs. (PL. II, C).

Allied to this must be the imperfect brooch (head-plate and knobs missing) from Partney, Lincs.<sup>34</sup> Bow as at Soham; lappets, eagle-headed outward-facing beasts, with one leg presented; foot with heavy mask passing into a very wide crescentic terminal on which are cast two rampant beasts with chains of scroll-work between and below them; between the chains are disjointed zoomorphic elements.

V (*f*). Head-plate large with wide knobs akin to those of V (*a*) but all cast in one piece with the rest of the brooch; lappets, eagle-headed beasts; foot, narrow animal-headed, passing directly into a wide, heavy mask with curled hair and side-locks, downwardly curled moustaches and crescentic appendage in place of chin.

One example, from West Stow, Suffolk (PL. II, E).

V (*g, i*). Head-plate, wide and panelled; medium-sized knobs with eagles flanking a narrow mask with prominent eyes; bow, flat, vertically panelled and in some cases with bands of transverse ribbing; foot, narrow animal-head passing into a heavy mask flanked by eagle-headed beasts; appendage bluntly curved or trapezoidal; lappets, climbing beasts.

Examples from Kenninghall, Norfolk,<sup>35</sup> and Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham,

<sup>29</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 4, pl. xxii, *a*.

<sup>30</sup> Cyril Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923), pl. xxix, no. 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Reports of the Associated Architectural Societies*, xxvii (1903), pl. iii, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Ashmolean Museum; acc. no. 1935.619.

<sup>33</sup> *Proc. Cambridge Antiquar. Soc.*, xxxviii (1937), pl. v, *a*.

<sup>34</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* F. H. Thompson in *Antiq. J.*, xxxiv (1954), pl. xxv, *a*.

<sup>35</sup> Ashmolean Museum; acc. no. 1909.360.

Suffolk<sup>36</sup> (from same workshop); West Stow, Suffolk,<sup>37</sup> and Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham (PL. II, B; apparently from same workshop as preceding two, but with prominent crests on eagle-heads); Lakenheath, Suffolk<sup>38</sup> (a variant of the first pair, but with bow as on the second pair).

V (g, ii). Head-plate, knobs and bow, with median band and circular flat knob, closely follow those of the brooches from West Stow and Mitchell's Hill, V (g, i), and are certainly inspired by these Anglian models. But there, except for a panel immediately beneath the bow, the resemblances cease. In the first place this panel is flanked, not by the climbing beasts of V (g, i), but by the older type of lappets, eagle-heads, badly drawn and with a pronounced tuft or crest. Foot (upper part) in the tradition of V (a), but the animal-head of the flattened type of V (b); foot (lower part) terminating in a large appendage, e.g. large flat hammer-head or triangular with additional upturned eagle-heads and a small crescent-edged finial.

Two examples: one from St. Ives, Hunts. (PL. II, A),<sup>39</sup> (discovered in 1954); the other from grave 50 at Sleaford, Lincs.,<sup>40</sup> which is 16.8 cm. long and the largest cruciform brooch up to this stage of development.

V (h). Head-plate square with frame-border decorated with punched bull's-eye circlets, enclosing a panel decorated with a species of cellular ornament composed of two opposed bands of pentagons arranged in contrasted order round a square, chamfered boss. Three large knobs, the uppermost rather smaller than the lateral ones, but similar in design, a wide, squat mask with heavy, up-curved locks parted at the middle, and heavy, downwardly curved moustaches flanking a flat sub-triangular chin. Short, wide bow with square boss. Misunderstood eagle-head lappets on either side of a squarish panel decorated with a border of punched bull's-eye circlets. Foot composed of a large mask with bulbous eyes and heavy, drooping side-locks with up-curved ends. Heavy drooping moustaches with reminiscent traces of eagle-head terminals, flanking a sub-triangular, axe-head chin.

At present known only from one example, from grave 40 at Linton Heath, Cambs. (PL. II, D).

The subsequent sub-groups (FIG. 2) exhibit a considerable increase in size and more lavish decoration.

V (i). Head-plate panelled with zoomorphic design; knobs large with transversely barred strip or panel behind the mask; square or round knob on bow; zoomorphic panel below; lappets rectangular and usually undecorated; mask with triangular nose; large, zoomorphically-panelled appendage flanked by upturned eagle-heads.

Examples from Brooke, Norfolk;<sup>41</sup> St. John's cricket ground, Cambridge (a

<sup>36</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 4, pl. xxii, b.

<sup>37</sup> Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

<sup>38</sup> Fox, *op. cit.* in note 30, pl. xxix, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Leeds in *Antiq. J.*, xxxv (1955), pl. xxiii, a.

<sup>40</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 86.

<sup>41</sup> British Museum; acc. no. 70.11-5.10.

fragment from an urn);<sup>42</sup> an unknown source;<sup>43</sup> Rothley Temple, Leics.;<sup>44</sup> North Luffenham, Rutland (PL. III, A);<sup>45</sup> and Market Overton, Rutland.<sup>46</sup>

There is a second brooch from Market Overton<sup>47</sup> that can be added to this sub-group. Viewed alongside the other it is patently a copy in most respects, but the execution is distinctly poor and fussy. In the mask on the foot the copyist has clearly misunderstood the cheeks on the older piece. The second brooch also has certain additions which link it up with V (*k*). To the edge of the upper knob and to the lower edge of the foot small decorated appendages have been added; also, in the decoration of the head-plate the diagonal lines marking the four angles of the framework of the panel have been transformed into lenticular motifs.

V (*j*). Head-plate, probably with very large knobs; zoomorphically decorated panels above and below bow; large rectangular lappets with pair of eyes and nose in *basso-relievo*; animal-head with triangular nose; large triangular appendage, panel filled with zoomorphic design, as on an example from North Luffenham in V (*i*), flanked by misunderstood upturned eagle-heads.

Known from three imperfect specimens: Baginton, Warws. (PL. III, E), lacking all its knobs; the other two fragmentary, Brixworth, Northants. (PL. III, D),<sup>48</sup> its square studs in panel of head-plate and on bow set with garnets, and Saltburn-on-Sea, Yorkshire, N.R.,<sup>49</sup> with zoomorphic panels.

V (*k*). Head-plate, panelled with very large knobs; zoomorphic panel below bow; lappets with 'eye' ornament, much as in V (*j*). The upper knob is enlarged, as also the appendage of the foot; the style of the mask and other details of the foot are changed.

These last changes are best seen on the huge brooch from Duston, Northants.<sup>50</sup> The animal-head has no relation to the original type, but has become a squat, round-eyed face with large triangular nose and round looped ears. At the base of the triangular appendage the eagle-heads are replaced by large discs. On a third brooch from Market Overton<sup>51</sup> the upper knob is castellated; on the foot the looped ears are imperfect, as also are the discs lower down, but the eagle-heads are still complete. The brooch from Stapleford, Leics. (PL. III, B), exhibits the mania for size and embellishment at its worst. The brooch closely follows that from Market Overton in the details of its decoration, even to the line of three barley-corns across the upper side of the head-plate; the loop-eared mask is the same, while the zoomorphic decoration of the triangular snout is a better production of the same pattern. When the Stapleford brooch is shorn of its absurd arches joining up the knobs

<sup>42</sup> Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

<sup>43</sup> British Museum; acc. no. 78.11-1.283.

<sup>44</sup> *V.C.H., Leics.*, I, coloured pl. facing p. 222, fig. 3.

<sup>45</sup> *V.C.H., Rutland*, I, fig. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXII (1911), pl. lxxi, 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. lxxi, 6.

<sup>48</sup> Northampton Museum; acc. no. D14/1955-6.

<sup>49</sup> *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, xxii (1912), fig. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 4, pl. xxii, d.

<sup>51</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXII (1911), pl. lxxi, 5.

above and the lappets and eagle-heads below, it would seem that the Duston brooch may be the latest of the three.

Finally to be included in this sub-group is the execrable brooch from Longbridge, Warws.,<sup>52</sup> which is a bad attempt to reproduce the salient features of the sub-group, but definitely has been lured away by the absurd embellishments of the Stapleford example. In our present knowledge this brooch must perhaps be regarded as the latest cruciform brooch that has come down to us.

V (*l*). Head-plate: frame of three members, the middle one punch-decorated, pointed, oval ornaments at each corner, at middle a small panel containing a  $\Xi$  motif; upper knob very large with crested eagle-heads, the intervening mask of horned-owl appearance, flanked by  $\infty$  scrolls; lateral knob, smaller with all elements correspondingly reduced; bow, plain with median bar and square knob; lappets, a misfired presentation of eagle-heads, the crest of which has been tilted upwards (the impulse towards this treatment may be seen on Sleaford, grave 50, and Partney); mask, square and flat, with forehead wrinkles strongly indicated; drooping moustaches with curled ends; very large triangular snout with a balanced zoomorphic design round a small central triangle.

Two examples: one from Newnham, south Northants. (PL. III, c),<sup>53</sup> with small moustaches; the other from Woodstone, Hunts., with larger moustaches, panelled with zoomorphic design. The two brooches so closely resemble one another as to certify that they come from one workshop, if not from the same hand.

The above number of twelve sub-groups may appear excessive within a class of material which in the nature of things cannot have had a very long existence. The division does, however, serve to mark out the steps of gradual change within the life of these ornate brooches and to allow a clearer appreciation of the source of those changes.

The decorative features which lie behind the history of the whole range of the cruciform type have, as noted above, derived from an impulse for more elaboration, but the form, especially in regard to the knobs, was unquestionably inspired by the stage in the development of the trefoil type of small-long brooch at which the crescentic lobes began to be notched. The result is the combination of decoration and width seen in V (*a*). Once set in motion, the movement can easily be followed to its end. So far as is known trefoil brooches of my types *e-f* originated in south Cambridgeshire,<sup>54</sup> and that seems to hold good for most of the small-long brooches. The provenience of the brooch mentioned in *Archaeologia*, xci (1945), 14, is St. John's cricket ground, Cambridge. Measuring 11.5 cm. in length, with its three knobs composed of pairs of outward-looking bird-like heads, it points clearly to the line along which the artificers of brooches of V (*a*) were moving and in view of the brooch from Sporle and the reappearance of a similar cluster of

<sup>52</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 87. The curious square-headed brooch from Kilham, Yorks., E.R. (Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, no. 129), may in part represent an attempt by a Deiran craftsman to copy the openwork effect of the foot, as on Stapleford and Longbridge.

<sup>53</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 4, pl. xxii, c.      <sup>54</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 8-14.

knobs on the brooch in V (f) from West Stow, Suffolk, it is to East Anglia that this development should be conceded. On the other hand it seems more probable that the characteristic pair of arched eagle-heads on brooches of V (b) is an invention of the south Cambridgeshire designers. No example is on record from cemeteries of the Lark valley group.

V (c) brooches may perhaps be regarded as Anglian interpretations of V (b) models, though one or two of the poorer pieces from Sleaford can be Lincolnshire attempts to reproduce the fine specimen of V (b) found in the same cemetery.

There can be little question that V (d) is a modification of V (b) mainly connected with south Cambridgeshire and diffused from that source.

Of the fine piece from Soham in V (e) I can only repeat what I said in my Rhind Lectures in 1935,<sup>55</sup> that it is an adaptation of a Kentish loan, but, as I now think, by craftsmen in south Cambridgeshire rather than East Anglia. In any case the Partney brooch was inspired from the same source.

The brooch in V (f) has already been mentioned.<sup>56</sup> I have implied elsewhere<sup>57</sup> that at a certain stage, represented by this brooch, the Angles in the Lark valley appear to have discarded production of the cruciform brooch and to have turned their attention to the production of a special square-headed type, C 2, which is found widely distributed from Norfolk to the Tyne. It would seem that to all intents and purposes the Saxons in south Cambridgeshire pursued the same course, unless some parallel to the Linton Heath brooch—V (h)—comes to light. Linton Heath is certainly an attempt at novelty, since it contains numerous features which are nowhere to be met with on other florid cruciform brooches from the Cambridge region. In the first place the knobs on the head-plate bear masks with heavy moustaches and up-curved locks, these latter derived from the eyebrows of earlier representations of the human face. In this case they are no more than natural semicircular arches, but at a later period of pagan Anglo-Saxon art the ends of the eyebrows take an upward, questioning turn, which in due course easily passes into curved locks. The midway stage can be well seen on late examples of B 1 square-headed brooches, such as 64 Nassington<sup>58</sup> or the B 2 brooch from Alfriston 28,<sup>59</sup> or again on a saucer-brooch from Aston, Berks.<sup>60</sup> The full development occurs on B 8<sup>61</sup> and C 3<sup>62</sup> square-headed brooches, on the large jewelled saucer-brooch from Prittlewell, Essex,<sup>63</sup> and on another of particularly fine workmanship from Nassington, Northants.<sup>64</sup> Another new feature is the decoration of the head-plate. It looks as if it had been prompted by a sight of some fine, late cloisonné design surrounding a central cabochon setting.

That the brooch comes from a Cambridge region workshop is indicated by the lappets which still retain the form employed on earlier examples from the

<sup>55</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 4, pp. 81–2.

<sup>56</sup> Its claim to a special grouping rests upon the widely-expanded treatment of the knobs.

<sup>57</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 80.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 64. <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 66.

<sup>60</sup> J. de Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1893), pl. vii, 5.

<sup>61</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, pp. 67–73.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82–3.

<sup>63</sup> *Trans. Southend Antiquar. and Hist. Soc.*, II (1932), coloured pl.

<sup>64</sup> Leeds and Atkinson, *op. cit.* in note 13, pl. xxiii, a, o.

region, but by this time long discarded by the Angles in favour of a little eagle-headed beast with a curly tail.

As for the foot, here again the mask differs from that evolved by the Angles for their C 2 class of square-headed brooches, while all its elements can be clearly detected on the C 3 square-headed brooches diffused from Cambridgeshire to mid-Anglia.

Purely Anglian is V (*g*), confirmed by the new style of mask and lappets and by frequency of occurrence in the Lark valley area. Note also a new style of flattened bow with median ridge, usually with central knob. The pieces assigned to V (*g*, ii) from Sleaford and St. Ives may well be of local fabric; they seem to have borrowed ideas including the new style of bow from almost the whole range of sub-groups already mentioned.

The remaining sub-groups are almost entirely connected with the east midlands, so much so that in V (*i*) a brooch found at Brooke, Norfolk, would seem to have reached that place in reverse of the usual trend of distribution. It is imperfect, but is built on the same lines as the two pieces from Market Overton. The brooch from an unknown provenience is akin to that from Rothley Temple. None reaches the high level of the fine brooch from North Luffenham.

The imperfect brooches of V (*j*) again belong to a midland school. The zoomorphic design on the foot of the Baginton piece occurs again on the brooch in V (*k*) from Stapleford, Leics., and is also badly reproduced on the Duston brooch in the same group. The foot-plate and mask come through from a south Cambridgeshire tradition.

Only in V (*k*) does Anglian influence appear once more in the loop-eared mask and the replacement of eagle-heads at the base of the foot by discs, as at Stapleford and Market Overton. The loop-eared mask is that of East Anglia's latest known pattern of the great square-headed brooch, a C 2 type widely diffused to Leicestershire, Yorkshire, and farther north.

The V (*l*) type, whether earlier or contemporaneous with V (*k*), is closely linked with south Cambridgeshire, where the C 3 group of great square-headed brooches furnishes the parallels to the style of the foot-plate with long curling side-locks and drooping moustaches ending in eagle-heads; the side-locks on the two Nene valley brooches have been dropped to a lower position on the foot-plate. The C 3 brooch from Haslingfield, Cambs.,<sup>65</sup>—omitting its head-plate—comes very near to the structure of many of the late midland cruciform pieces.

As already mentioned; the Nassington cemetery<sup>66</sup> points to a strong East Anglian infiltration into the east midlands before and during the early 7th century. It received a severe check with the rise of Penda's power, but the influence thus gained never entirely vanished; products and influences of East Anglian art are still recognizable down to the close of the archaeological material obtained from pagan burying-grounds.

<sup>65</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, no. 139. [A brooch from Holkham, Norfolk, known only from a drawing by William Stukeley, provides a relatively simple East Anglian counterpart to these elaborate C 3 creations. The drawing is to be published by me in *Antiq. J.*, forthcoming. M.P.]

<sup>66</sup> Leeds and Atkinson, *op. cit.* in note 13, p. 127.

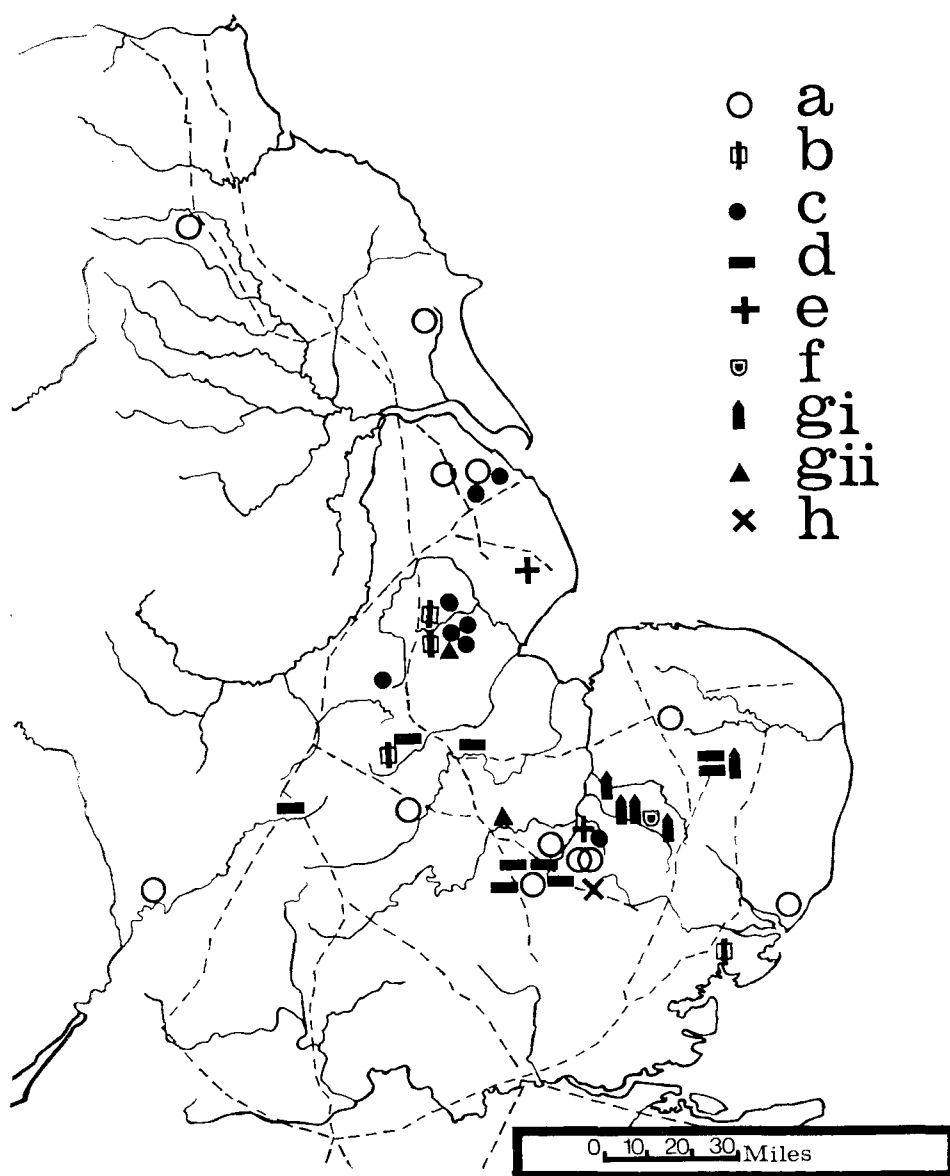


FIG. 1

DISTRIBUTION OF ANGLO-SAXON FLORID CRUCIFORM BROOCHES OF SUB-GROUPS  
V(a) to (h) (pp. 16ff.)

In general, however, as comes out quite clearly from a close study of a large series of distribution-maps,<sup>67</sup> the east midlands was from the outset closely connected with the Anglo-Saxon settlers in south Cambridgeshire. Throughout its

<sup>67</sup> See, in particular, the works by Leeds cited in notes 2, 3 and 4.

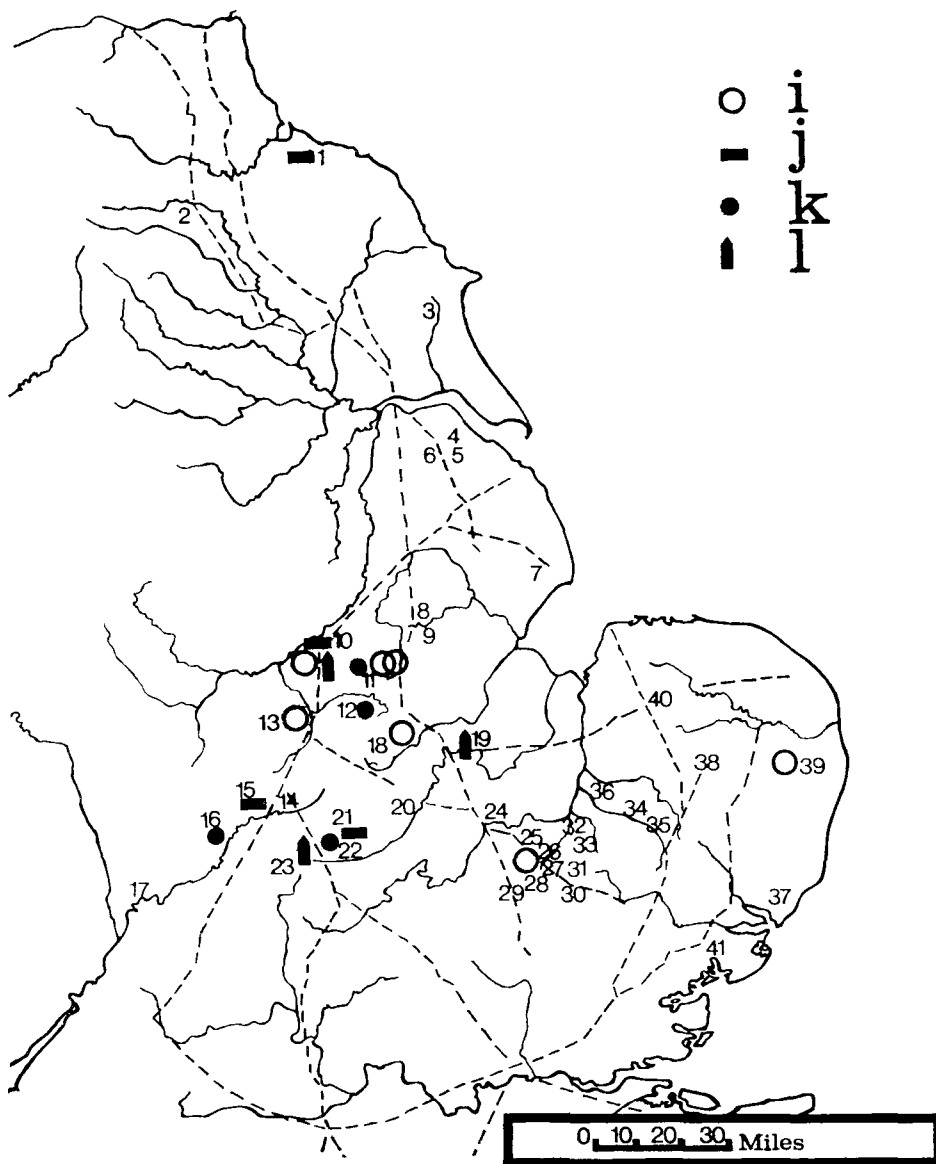


FIG. 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ANGLO-SAXON FLORID CRUCIFORM BROOCHES OF SUB-GROUPS V(i) to (l) (pp. 19ff.).

and key-map of sites yielding florid cruciform brooches of all sub-groups, V (a) to (l)

- | <i>Index of sites</i>               |                             |                              |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Saltburn-on-Sea, Yorks., N.R.    | 12. Stapleford, Leics.      | 27. Newnham, Cambridge       |
| 2. Catterick, Yorks., N.R.          | 13. Rothley Temple, Leics.  | 28. Haslingfield, Cambs.     |
| 3. Driffeld, Yorks., E.R.           | 14. Churchover, Warws.      | 29. Barrington, Cambs.       |
| 4. Laceby, Lincs.                   | 15. Baginton, Warws.        | 30. Linton Heath, Cambs.     |
| 5. Welbeck Hill, Lincs.             | 16. Longbridge, Warws.      | 31. Little Wilbraham, Cambs. |
| 6. Fonaby, Lincs.                   | 17. Upton Snodsbury, Worcs. | 32. Soham, Cambs.            |
| 7. Partney, Lincs.                  | 18. North Luffenham, Rut.   | 33. Exning, Suff.            |
| 8. Ruskington, Lincs.               | 19. Woodstone, Hunts.       | 34. Icklingham, Suff.        |
| 9. Sleaford, Lincs.                 | 20. Islip, Northants.       | 35. West Stow, Suff.         |
| 10. Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts. | 21. Brixworth, Northants.   | 36. Lakenheath, Suff.        |
| 11. Market Overton, Rut.            | 22. Duston, Northants.      | 37. Felixstowe, Suff.        |
|                                     | 23. Newnham, Northants.     | 38. Kenninghall, Norf.       |
|                                     | 24. St. Ives, Hunts.        | 39. Brooke, Norf.            |
|                                     | 25. Girton, Cambs.          | 40. Sporle, Norf.            |
|                                     | 26. Cambridge               | 41. Colchester, Essex.       |

archaeological (early Anglo-Saxon) life its impulses marched forward by a clear road along the Via Devana to Godmanchester and onwards to Alconbury from which point one road led rapidly west to the middle Nene, while another branching beyond the Nene at Castor gave direct access either to the important settlements in Rutland or due north to south Lincolnshire.

## POSTSCRIPT

*By Michael Pocock*

A number of finds of the florid cruciform type are to be added to those surveyed by Leeds. First, however, it is necessary to discuss several leading sub-groups among the cruciforms of group IV b,<sup>68</sup> since they make more intelligible the steps which led to the more elaborate forms of group V. The five sub-groups listed here do not include all the cruciforms of group IV b, but they are among the most clearly defined within that group.

IV b (a). With moulded excrescent mask flanked by bird-heads on tip of upper knob;<sup>69</sup> bow without stud; examples both with and without lappets; collar of two transverse bands above animal-head; forehead of latter always with central furrow; scroll nostrils above sub-triangular tongue; surface of examples often embellished with several channelled circlets, in origin intended to contain inlay. Clearly a sub-group originating in East Anglia, comprising four examples from Suffolk; three from Norfolk; one from Cambridgeshire; one from Northamptonshire; one from Rutland; one from Leicestershire; three from Nottinghamshire; one from Yorkshire, E.R. The brooch from Holywell Row, Suffolk, grave 58 (PL. I, A), is of this sub-group.

IV b (b). The feature characterizing this sub-group is the addition of a crescentic plate to the upper or all three knobs. Two main stages in the development of this feature may be distinguished:

i. The crescentic plate moderate in size. Early in the series is a group of brooches on which the plate is added to the upper knob; in most instances, the side-knobs are missing but were probably plain; the main body of the brooch is much as on IV b (a). An East Anglian innovation which developed *pari passu* with IV b (a), comprising two examples from Suffolk; one from Rutland; one from Nottinghamshire. At the head of the series are the brooches from Holywell Row, Suffolk, grave 22,<sup>70</sup> and Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (FIG. 3, a).

Still with crescentic plate moderate in size but now added to all three knobs is a further group of brooches; the body of the brooch often shows signs of late development, the nostrils frequently having lost scroll form. Two especially well-designed productions from East Anglia indicate that the inspiration for the

<sup>68</sup> A wider survey by me of the cruciforms of Åberg's groups III and IV will appear elsewhere.

<sup>69</sup> Of the type of Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 70, no. 8.

<sup>70</sup> Lethbridge, *op. cit.* in note 12, fig. 7, c, 1.

type continues to derive from that area. The group comprises two examples from Suffolk; one from Norfolk; six, cruder examples from Cambridgeshire; two from Northamptonshire; one from Huntingdonshire; one from Nottinghamshire; one from south Lincolnshire; and a pair from Yorkshire, E.R. Early in the group is the brooch from Brooke, Norfolk.<sup>71</sup>

ii. The crescentic plate much enlarged. The focus of this series with over-sized knobs is now mid-Anglian. One example from Suffolk; one from Cambridgeshire; two from Northamptonshire; four from Huntingdonshire. The brooches from Nassington (FIG. 3, *b*) and Woodstone mentioned above by Leeds (p. 16) belong to this stage of development.

IV b (*c*). With excrescent mask flanked by bird-heads on upper knob, akin to that on IV b (*a*)<sup>72</sup> but more delicately modelled; bow with stud; all examples with lappets; forehead of animal-head is broad and domed, and, with one exception, without furrow; the brows of the animal-head are curved around deeply-set eyes and pass into a prominent nasal ridge; the tongue on early examples is quite small. Two fine examples from the vicinity of Cambridge indicate that the sub-group is an innovation of that region, providing a mid-Anglian counterpart to IV b (*a*). Three examples from Cambridgeshire; three, more evolved examples from Suffolk; one from Northamptonshire; one from Nottinghamshire. Very early in the series must be the fine production from Girton, Cambs. (FIG. 3, *c*).<sup>73</sup>

IV b (*d*). With rectangular or sub-rectangular plate on upper knob and, in many instances, on side-knobs; bow with stud; all examples with lappets; collar, on early examples, of prominent transverse ridge flanked above by low band and below by groove, these features being simplified on later examples; broad domed forehead much as on IV b (*c*); the style of the lower foot is notably different from that of other sub-groups, the nose-piece of the animal-head being cast in relief and the flanking scroll-nostrils with markedly vertical stems (contrasting with the outwardly angled stems found on other sub-groups). Two main stages in the development of the sub-group may be distinguished:

i. The details on the early examples very carefully modelled; the nose-piece terminates in a small, narrow projection. At the head of the series stands the fine brooch possibly from Toddington, Beds. (FIG. 3, *f*);<sup>74</sup> if this provenience is correct, this brooch must have passed south from craftsmen working in the vicinity of Cambridge, to whom the innovation of the sub-group is to be ascribed. In addition to Toddington, there are two examples from Cambridgeshire; two from Northamptonshire.<sup>75</sup>

ii. Marked by deterioration in presentation of detail; the foot develops an elongated, crescentic tongue. The distribution is widespread: five examples from Cambridgeshire; two from Suffolk; one from Essex: one from Northamptonshire;

<sup>71</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 80.    <sup>72</sup> Of the type of *ibid.*, fig. 70, no. 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 78.    <sup>74</sup> *Med. Archaeol.*, XIII (1969), fig. 61.

<sup>75</sup> Three examples from Nassington, Northants., exhibit a local development of this stage: Leeds and Atkinson, *op. cit.* in note 13, pl. xxvii, 28, M and B.

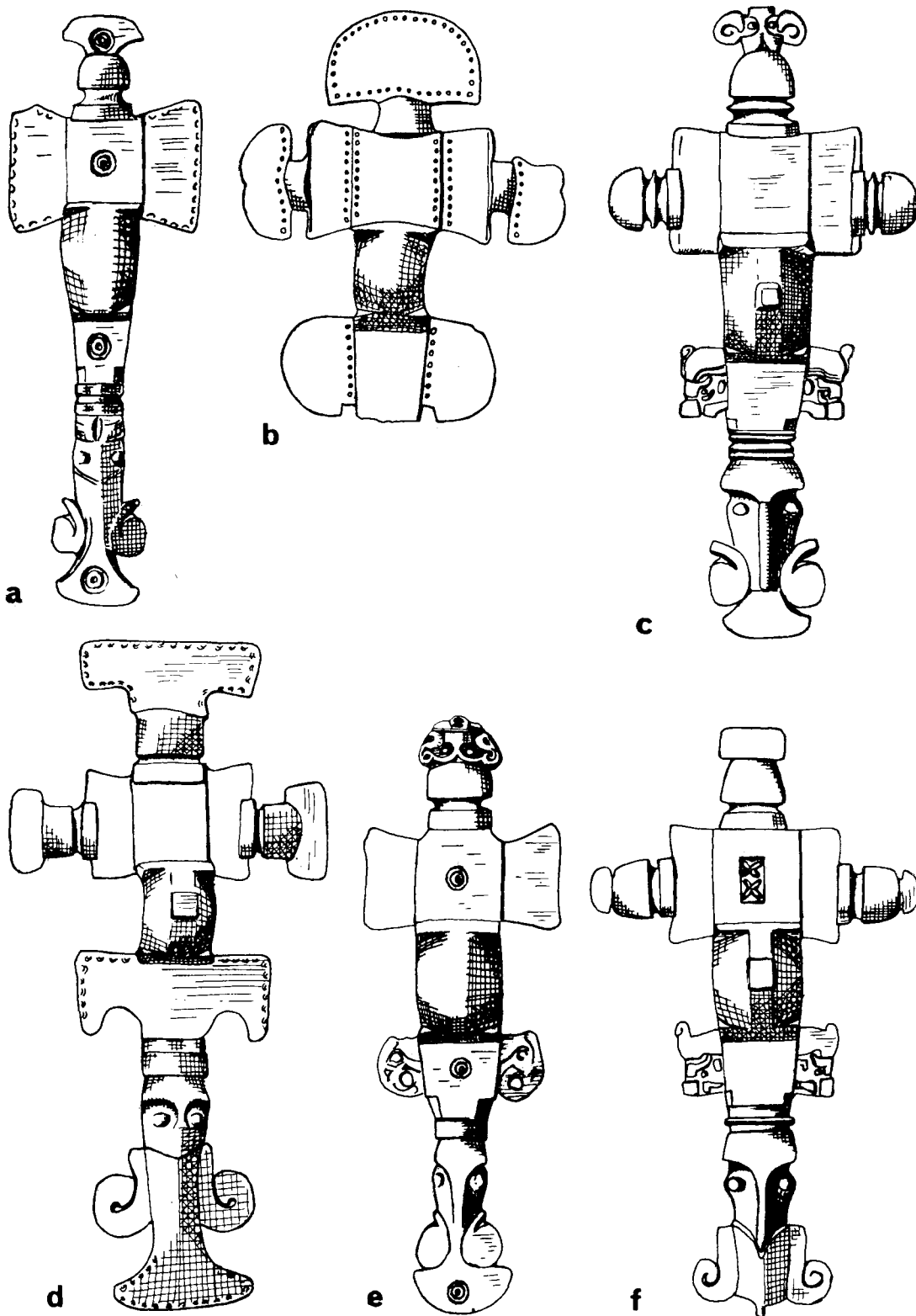


FIG. 3. ANGLO-SAXON CRUCIFORM BROOCHES OF GROUP IV b. Sc. c.  $\frac{8}{9}$   
*a.* Bury St. Edmunds (p. 26); *b.* Nassington (pp. 16, 27); *c.* Girton (p. 27); *d.* Barrington (p. 29); *e.* Little Eriswell (p. 29); *f.* Toddington? (p. 27)

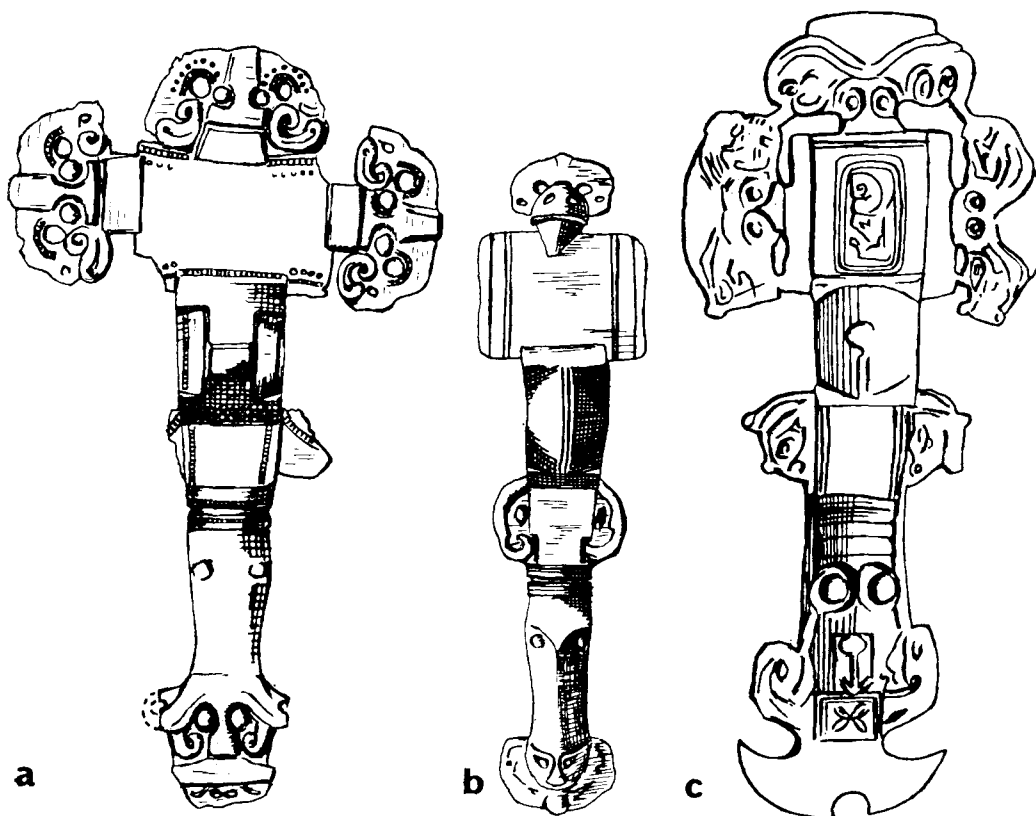


FIG. 4

## ANGLO-SAXON CRUCIFORM BROOCHES OF FLORID TYPE, GROUP V

a. Sporle (pp. 17, 30). Sc.  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; b. Holdenby (p. 30). Sc.  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; c. Catterick (p. 31). Sc.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

<sup>76</sup> E. T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1913), fig. 13, lower row, extreme right.

<sup>77</sup> *Proc. Cambridge Antiquar. Soc.*, LIX (1966), pl. i, grave 9, (1).

one from Huntingdonshire. Barrington, Cambs. (FIG. 3, d),<sup>76</sup> must be the latest and most elaborate example known of this stage.

IV b (e). With floriated moulding on upper knob, but distinct from the forms included in IV b (a) and (c).

The excrescent mask flanked by bird-heads on upper knob is in the tradition of IV b (a) and IV b (c), but the mask has now suggestions of curled ends to its eyebrows and a small plate with a double loop superimposed in relief has been added to the tip of its nose; scroll-nostrils are moderate in size above expanded crescentic tongue. Known from one example: Little Eriswell, Suffolk (FIG. 3, e).<sup>77</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Finds of the florid cruciform brooches which can now be added to those

surveyed by Leeds bring the total known to sixty-nine.<sup>78</sup> The largest accession is to Leeds's sub-group V (a).

V (a). At least ten additional examples are known and suggest that four sub-divisions may usefully be made among the material belonging to this stage of development:

i. Upper knob still a half-round moulding but with the whole convex surface turned into a mask by the superimposition of two 'eyes'; a bird-head excrescence added to the tip of the knob; on the foot, a simple animal-head surmounts a long nose-piece which terminates in a secondary, cat-like mask, the cheeks of which are flanked by upturned bird-head finials. One complete example from Holdenby, Northants. (FIG. 4, b).<sup>79</sup>

Two fragments contained in a cremation-urn from the cemetery at Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk,<sup>80</sup> may well come from the foot of a cruciform similar to Holdenby and, if so, indicate an East Anglian origin for this sub-group. The style of terminal mask assumed by the brooches in this first sub-section of V (a) closely anticipates that on the great square-headed brooch of Leeds's type C 2 from Kenninghall, Norfolk, and also that on the florid cruciform from Haslingfield, Cambs., in V (a, iii). In Cambridgeshire the motif of upturned bird-head finials became especially popular on the florid cruciform sub-groups originating from that area. The form taken by the upper knob on Holdenby is one stage before that of the fully evolved florid type as seen on Sporle, Haslingfield and Girton.

ii. *The Sporle type*. Sporle (FIG. 4, a) is now closely paralleled by finds from Felixstowe, Suffolk, and Great Carbrooke, Norfolk.<sup>81</sup> These three brooches form a distinctively East Anglian type, with features which are absent on other florid cruciforms in V (a), but which reappear on later florid sub-groups originating in East Anglia. The panelling on each side of the bow is repeated on Exning and derivative forms in V (c), and the presentation of both a simple animal-head on the upper foot and a secondary terminal mask looks back to the earlier form of V (a, i) and forward to West Stow in V (f) and the East Anglian series in V (g, i). In place of the upturned bird-head finials which appear on V (a, i), the terminal mask on V (a, ii) has evolved curled ends to its eyebrows and side-locks, and, beneath the nose, a further extension with a double loop superimposed in relief flanked by small curls; this treatment of the mask, which is hinted at on the upper knob of group IV b (e), is further developed in V (f) and V (g, i).

<sup>78</sup> Included in this total, but not assigned to any sub-group, are two fragmentary knobs, from different brooches, contained in a cremation-vessel in the cemetery at Loveden Hill, Lincs. Their condition makes it difficult to be sure of their relationships, but the long, rectangular and transversely barred snout of the mask on one of the knobs is reminiscent of those which appear on several of the East Anglian brooches in V (g, i) and on the St. Ives piece in V (g, ii). I am grateful to Dr. K. R. Fennell for details of his Loveden Hill finds and for permission to refer to them here. Also included is what may be a single knob of florid type found in the cemetery at Bidford, Warws.; it compares, in the stage of its development, with the members of V (a) but it has no close parallels (*Archaeologia*, LXXIV (1925), pl. lvii, fig. 1, h).

<sup>79</sup> *J. Northampton Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xi (1901), pl. x, fig. 10. This brooch is not marked on FIG. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Castle Museum, Norwich; acc. no. M 33.

<sup>81</sup> Felixstowe: Ipswich Museum; acc. no. 962.145. Great Carbrooke (not marked on FIG. 1) is known only from a drawing in the British Museum (D. Turner, Drawings, etc., II (B.M. Add. Ms. 23054), fol. 9).

iii. *The Haslingfield type*. Haslingfield has knobs less flatly treated than those of the Sporle type and with simple collars at the junction with head-plate in place of the rectangular panels which appear on the East Anglian brooches. The foot has the terminal mask of the type which appears on group V (a, i), although more flatly treated and with emphasis given to the upturned bird-head finials; the simpler, upper animal-head which appears on V (a, i) and V (a, ii) is omitted. An imperfect brooch (foot missing) from Laceby, Lincs.,<sup>82</sup> has knobs very similar to those on Haslingfield and these, in turn, offer a close parallel to a single knob from Driffield, Yorkshire, E.R.<sup>83</sup> A pair of brooches from Little Wilbraham, Cambs.,<sup>84</sup> has knobs in the tradition of Haslingfield, but very coarsely designed; foot with simple animal-head on upper part, spiral lappets, and bird-head finials on termination of foot but without terminal mask.

iv. *The Girton type*. The Islip brooch listed by Leeds is unusual in that the masks on the knobs face inwards instead of looking out as on other florid cruciforms. The source for this type is provided by the fragment of a knob very similar in design to Islip, but much finer in execution, from Girton, Cambs. (PL. I, D). The later history of this essentially mid-Anglian type is provided by a find from Catterick, Yorkshire, N.R. (FIG. 4, c).<sup>85</sup> This is closely modelled on Islip, though much coarser in presentation of detail: head-plate with panel of garbled zoomorphic ornament, and broad crescentic tongue in place of the spade-shaped terminal on Islip. The small, plain rectangular panel between the upturned bird-head finials on Islip reappears on Catterick, but with quatrefoil ornament added; the panel thus decorated and the finials on Catterick duplicate those on the Ruskington, Lincs., brooch in V (b). An incidental implication of Catterick is that, although the foot of Islip is now separate from the upper part of the brooch, it was nevertheless always part of that brooch and not, as Leeds suggested,<sup>86</sup> a substitute replacement taken from another brooch in antiquity.

A brooch from Fonaby, Lincs.,<sup>87</sup> may generally be assigned to V (a), but surface corrosion obscures its detailed relationships.

V (c). Four additional examples. Of these, the brooch from Ruskington, Lincs.,<sup>88</sup> is particularly similar to Market Overton. An example from Laceby, Lincs., has been discussed by Leeds elsewhere;<sup>89</sup> typologically it stands between Sleaford, grave 95, and Sleaford, grave 116. A third addition comes from Welbeck Hill,

<sup>82</sup> Leeds *ap.* F. H. Thompson in *Antiq. J.*, xxxvi (1956), pl. xi, c, 3.

<sup>83</sup> The Yorkshire Museum; acc. no. 272. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Neville, *op. cit.* in note 17, pl. 4, no. 105.

<sup>85</sup> The brooch was among a small group of finds associated with several Anglo-Saxon burials discovered in 1939 at the R.A.F. Station at Catterick. The burials were within a Roman structure, the latter apparently derelict when the burials were made (*Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, xxxviii, (1953), 241-5). The Anglo-Saxon grave-goods have not been published and their present whereabouts are unknown to me. I owe knowledge of the brooch to a drawing and photograph lent to Professor R. J. Cramp by Mrs. M. Chitty; I am grateful to Professor Cramp for telling me of this material and much indebted to Mrs. Chitty for kindly allowing me to publish the drawing of FIG. 4, c, which I have based upon her drawing and photograph.

<sup>86</sup> Leeds in *Antiq. J.*, xxi (1941), 234-6.

<sup>87</sup> Scunthorpe Museum.

<sup>88</sup> City and County Museum, Lincoln; acc. no. 12-56.

<sup>89</sup> Leeds *ap.* F. H. Thompson in *Antiq. J.*, xxxvi (1956), pl. xi, c, 1.

Lincs.,<sup>90</sup> and the fourth, apparently unprovenienced, has been brought to my notice by Mr. P. D. C. Brown. It was recently sold at Sotheby's (Sotheby and Co., sale catalogue, 12 July 1971, lot 7 and pl.). A fine production, it is closer in style to the better examples of this sub-group from the NE. midlands than to the distinctive Exning brooch.

V (d). An additional example from Woodstone, Hunts.,<sup>91</sup> closely resembles the Barrington brooch with, as on the latter, knobs in the style of V (b) and V (c), a small stud on the bow, and a treatment of the 'tails' of the animals which is slightly different from those on Haslingfield and Kenninghall.

V (f). As Leeds has shown, the brooch from West Stow in this sub-group is both closely derived from the East Anglian florid cruciforms of V (a, ii) and also, in the form of its head-plate, is but a short step away from that which characterizes the great square-headed brooches of Leeds's type C 2. An interesting brooch,<sup>92</sup> regrettably of unknown provenience, which is preserved in the collection at Alnwick Castle, exhibits a stage in the development of the head-plate intermediate between that of West Stow and that of the fully evolved C 2 type, as on the brooch from Kenninghall, Norfolk. On West Stow the much-expanded knobs have begun to connect at the upper corners of the head-plate; on the brooch at Alnwick they have fused sufficiently to provide a rectangular outline to the head-plate, but perforations left in the border preserve the contours of the knobs. Lappets, mask and garbled animals flanking the lower foot-plate are very poorly depicted versions of the types which appear on the complete C 2 brooch from Darlington, co. Durham.<sup>93</sup>

An interesting link appears between the C 2 type in its later development and several cruciform brooches, including the florid type, from south Lincolnshire. Leeds was able to cite eight examples of the C 2 type: one from East Anglia, one from Leicestershire, and the remainder from Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland. Four additional examples of the type—from Benwell, Northumberland,<sup>94</sup> Sewerby, Yorkshire, E.R.,<sup>95</sup> Catterick, Yorkshire, N.R.,<sup>96</sup> and Fonaby, Lincs.<sup>97</sup>—further reflect the special popularity of the type in the Humbrenian areas, although, as Leeds stressed, the fine brooch from Kenninghall must stand at the head of the series and indicates that the C 2 form of head-plate was an East Anglian innovation. Closely related to Kenninghall is the Deiran piece from Staxton, Yorkshire, E.R.,<sup>98</sup> linked not only through the basic similarity of head-plate but also by the telling repetition of several decorative features which appear on Kenninghall (for example, the panel of disconnected zoomorphic limbs). In

<sup>90</sup> For details of which I am grateful to the excavator, Mr. Gordon Taylor.

<sup>91</sup> *V.C.H., Hunts.*, 1, fig. 13.

<sup>92</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities . . . at Alnwick Castle* (privately printed, 1880), p. 75, no. 291, fig. It is illustrated and discussed by me in *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, XLII (1970), 407–9, pl. i, a.

<sup>93</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, no. 135.

<sup>94</sup> *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 4 ser., xxxv (1957), pl. vi.

<sup>95</sup> For details of which I am grateful to Mr. P. A. Rahtz.

<sup>96</sup> Illustrated and discussed by me in *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, XLII (1970), 407–9, pl. i, b.

<sup>97</sup> Scunthorpe Museum.

<sup>98</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, no. 131.

important respects, however, Staxton is changed: the lappets have become rampant, beaked animals and a large panelled nose-piece has been evolved beneath the mask on the foot. The majority of the northern C 2 brooches follow Staxton (Benwell; Hornsea, Yorkshire, E.R.;<sup>99</sup> Sewerby; Driffield, Yorkshire, E.R.;<sup>100</sup> Whitehill Point, Northumberland).<sup>101</sup> The closest parallels to the foot-plate of this type come, not from East Anglia, but from south Lincolnshire, where they occur on an elaborate cruciform of group IV b (*b*, ii) from Ruskington and on the florid cruciform from Sleaford in V (*g*, ii), the latter being especially similar to Staxton.

Leeds noted that, alongside the Staxton type, were two C 2 brooches with differing foot-parts: Wigston Magna, Leics.,<sup>102</sup> and Darlington, co. Durham. The garbled animals flanking the lower foot of Darlington, and perhaps dimly remembered on Wigston Magna, are paralleled on the C 2 square-head from Fonaby, Lincs., as well as on the brooch at Alnwick. This Fonaby piece, almost certainly from the same workshop as Darlington, testifies to the close links between the settlers in Lindsey and those living north of the Humber. Finally, Catterick, Yorkshire, N.R., presents in many ways an individual appearance. The head-plate is of C 2 type, but the lappets depart from the beaked-animal type of Staxton and are, perhaps, garbled versions of the type which appear on, for example, the florid cruciform from Market Overton in V (*c*); and the highly stylized but unusually substantial animals which rest on each side of the spreading tongue are reminiscent of the disposition of the much finer creatures on the florid cruciform from Partney, Lincs., in V (*e*).

The links between the south Lincolnshire material and the forms of the C 2 type in the north may suggest that the sources of the latter were more diverse than Leeds allowed for.

V (*i*). One additional example, from Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts.; details coarsely depicted.<sup>103</sup>

V (*j*). Fragments of one additional example, from Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts.<sup>104</sup>

V (*l*). One additional example, from Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts.; particularly similar to the Woodstone member of the sub-group.

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In general, the additional finds of the florid cruciform type listed above serve to reinforce the patterns of distribution and interpretation outlined by Leeds. The sub-division suggested among the material of V (*a*) indicates more clearly the regional varieties present within that sub-group: in particular, V (*a*, iv) illustrates

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 132.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 133.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 137.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 136.

<sup>103</sup> M. J. Dean, *The Excavation of the Anglian Graveyard at Broughton Lodge, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts., May–September, 1964* (Nottingham, 1965), p. 12 and fig.

<sup>104</sup> I am grateful to the late Mr. M. J. Dean for details of this and of the brooch listed below in V (*l*) from his excavations at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds.

the strong links, also demonstrated by *inter alia*, the earlier cruciforms of IV b (c) and IV b (d, i), which existed between the Cambridge region and the east midlands (in particular, the Nene valley), while V (a, ii) provides an important link in a distinctively East Anglian stylistic tradition which extends from the earlier cruciforms of IV b (e) and V (a, i), through V (a, ii) and into the later florid sub-groups of V (f) and V (g, i).

No evidence has appeared to suggest other than that the florid cruciform sub-groups of V (f), V (g, i) and V (h) were the latest to originate in East Anglia and Cambridgeshire and that all the subsequent sub-groups (V (i) to V (l)) were innovations of craftsmen working in the midlands. The good range of florids of midlands type yielded by the cemetery at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts., marks that area as the most northerly in which the later florid type occurs in any quantity. Notably, the florid cruciforms known from the south Lincolnshire finds continue to be restricted to the earlier sub-groups directly inspired from East Anglia and Cambridgeshire and no example of V (i) to V (l) has yet appeared among the south Lincolnshire cemeteries.

From north of the Humber the evidence for the florid type is limited. Leeds was able to cite only the imperfect brooch from Saltburn, Yorkshire, N.R., but, although the florid cruciforms known from the north remain few, they warrant a brief comment for the contribution they make to the history of the northern settlements at the obscure period in the 6th century which saw the emergence of the historical kingdoms.

From Deira, in addition to Saltburn in V (j), there is now to be listed the single knob from Driffield, E.R., in V (a, iii) and Catterick, N.R., in V (a, iv). A context for these finds is suggested by my recent study of the total corpus of grave-goods from inhumation-graves discovered north of the Humber. The paucity of such finds in Bernicia is well known and practically all the evidence of this type comes from Deira and, in particular, from cemeteries discovered in the East Riding. Important guidance in the dating of the graves is provided by the occurrence of several leading brooch types, notably those of the great square-headed and cruciform types. Comparison of the northern examples of these types with their more southerly counterparts from East Anglia, mid-Anglia, Mercia, and, much closer to hand, Lindsey, seems to point to the presence of several contrasting groups among the northern material. The first, although not large, shows signs of direct inspiration from, and stylistic links with, comparable forms known from East Anglia and Cambridgeshire. The brooches can be ascribed, on typological grounds, to the period preceding or centring upon the mid 6th century. The second group, which is typologically later and belongs to the 2nd half of the 6th century and the earlier 7th, is more localized in character and, where stylistic links occur south of the Humber, they tend to be concentrated in the east midlands and Lindsey (with which the links are especially strong), in contrast to the more southerly links of the first group.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> These remarks refer, of course, to no more than two aspects of a corpus of material which needs to be discussed at greater length elsewhere. For several relatively early small-long brooches from Catterick, Yorkshire, N.R., which reflect widespread contacts, see my note in *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, XLIII (1971), 187-8.

These remarks may be illustrated from several finds from the cemetery at Londesborough in the East Riding.<sup>106</sup> Londesborough has yielded two great square-headed brooches: one of Leeds's type A 4, the other a hybrid of Leeds's type B 1.<sup>107</sup> Leeds's analysis of the square-headed series shows that both are clearly inspired from East Anglia, and were very possibly made there, and that both are unlikely to date later than the mid 6th century. Of the cruciform brooches from the cemetery (all of group IV a), two have neat, small scroll-nostrils which point to an early date within the group. One, from grave 9,<sup>108</sup> is generally reminiscent of a pair of cruciforms recently published from Mucking, Essex.<sup>109</sup> The other, from grave 10,<sup>110</sup> is closely linked through the form of its lappets and other details to a tightly-knit stylistic group of early group IV a cruciforms known from five finds in East Anglia and Cambridgeshire.<sup>111</sup> A contrast to these brooches is offered by a third cruciform, from grave 7,<sup>112</sup> which is coarsely designed and late in appearance. Such parallels as exist are northern (for example, similar lappets on a brooch from Darlington, co. Durham).<sup>113</sup>

The development of distinctively Humbrenian sub-groups in the later 6th century is well illustrated by the late group IV a cruciform from Laceby (in Lindsey),<sup>114</sup> which is paralleled by some five other finds, of varying quality, from northern sites. Group IV b forms are notably rare in the north and the inference is that the lapse in direct contacts with East Anglia and Cambridgeshire must have occurred before the development in the latter areas of the IV b sub-groups. The subsequent spread of the C 2 type of great square-headed brooch from East Anglia into the north points to growing links between the main regions of Anglian settlement in the 1st half of the 7th century; but, even so, the contrasts already noted between, on the one hand, Kenninghall (the sole C 2 representative from East Anglia) and, on the other, the distinctive and eclectic Humbrenian interpretations of the type, known from so many finds, all suggest that these cultural connexions between north and south remained, for the time being, relatively limited.

It is the second, later group of Humbrenian material which provides the context for the Deiran florids, two of which show very little direct relationship with the East Anglian and Cambridgeshire florid cruciforms. Catterick, although belonging to a variety of V (a) which originates in the Cambridge region, is, nevertheless, clearly circuitously derived from an intermediate east midlands version, as the Islip brooch in V (a, iv) shows. Saltburn is straightforwardly a midlands type; the zoomorphic panel on the head-plate is similar to that which appears

<sup>106</sup> M. J. Swanton, 'An Anglian cemetery at Londesborough in east Yorkshire', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, xli (1964), 262-86.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 7, nos. 1 and 2; Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, nos. 35 and 59.

<sup>108</sup> Swanton, *op. cit.* in note 106, fig. 6, no. 3; *Trans. East Riding Antiquar. Soc.*, xiv (1907), pl. viii, 6.

<sup>109</sup> *Antiq. J.*, xlviii (1968), 220, fig. 3, a. These are linked, through the form of their lappets, to several more developed East Anglian examples: Little Eriswell, Suffolk (*op. cit.* in note 77, p. 9, fig. 6, a, 1) and Northwold, Norfolk (Shetelig, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 125).

<sup>110</sup> Swanton, *op. cit.* in note 106, fig. 6, no. 2.

<sup>111</sup> With lappets of the type of Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 1, fig. 70, nos. 30-1.

<sup>112</sup> Swanton, *op. cit.* in note 106, fig. 6, no. 4.

<sup>113</sup> Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* in note 1, iv, pl. clviii, 8.

<sup>114</sup> Leeds *op. cit.* F. H. Thompson in *Antiq. J.*, xxxvi (1956), pl. xi, c, 2.

on members of V (i) but the disposition of the zoomorphic limbs on the lappets is clearly intended to simulate the decoration of the lappets on the brooches of V (j), the nearest example of which comes from the cemetery of Willoughby-on-the-Wolds in the middle Trent valley. The single knob from Driffield is very similar to that on the V (a) brooch from Haslingfield but, significantly, a close parallel is available much nearer to hand on the brooch from Laceby, also in V (a, iii).

If the mid 6th century in the north seems to have been followed, in the archaeological record, by a period of relative isolation from developments in the southern Anglian areas, it also apparently witnessed important events in the political structure of the region. The series of cremation-urns known from several sites in Yorkshire testify to the presence there of an Anglo-Saxon element in the population from the 5th century onwards—very possibly first arriving as ‘federate’ contingents, as Myres has shown in the course of his study of early Anglo-Saxon pottery<sup>115</sup>—but the emergence of the royal dynasties of Bernicia and Deira known to us from the historical records seems to have followed over a century later. The arrival of Ida in Northumberland and the inception of his dynasty is ascribed by Bede to 547, while the accession of Aelle, ‘the first securely dated and well-attested king of Deira’,<sup>116</sup> followed a few years later in c. 560. It is tempting, though obviously conjectural, to see in the first group of northern brooch forms, showing marked links with East Anglian and Cambridgeshire counterparts, evidence for some movement of settlers from these areas into the north during the 6th century, augmenting the Anglian element already present, and perhaps led by the families who subsequently established themselves as the royal dynasties of Bernicia and Deira. At all events, the struggles of these royal dynasties both with the British and among themselves in the 2nd half of the century must have impeded regular contacts with the south; and the development of more localized connexions with adjacent territories, which the archaeological material reflects, finds an apt context in such a period of strife and consolidation of frontiers.

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<sup>115</sup> J. N. L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>116</sup> D. P. Kirby, *The Making of Early England* (London, 1967), p. 22. Kirby has shown that Bede may have dated Ida’s arrival in the north too early and that it may have taken place in 558. In addition, he indicates the possibility that the accession of Aelle may also have occurred in 558, with the consequent implication of a greater connexion between the origins of Bernicia and Deira than was hitherto supposed (‘Bede and Northumbrian chronology’, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXXVIII (1963), 514–27).