

# THE TYPOLOGY OF BROOCHES OF THE IRON AGE IN WESSEX

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It is now well over twenty years since La Tène I brooches found in this country were studied as a whole, and not a great deal has been done to tie these up with later types. Several major excavations have been carried out since 1927,<sup>1</sup> dealing with important Iron Age sites, and it seems to be time that some new discussion should take place on brooch types, their development, and their dating—wherever possible—within this period.

In the following paper an attempt has been made to give some typological order, along with suggestions of origin, development, and dating, for those brooches of the Iron Age found in Wessex, not only of La Tène I types, but right through and including La Tène III. Thanks are due to Professor Donald Atkinson and Professor C. F. C. Hawkes for their help during the writing of this paper.

## SECTION I. LA TÈNE I

Any discussion of the types of brooch in use in the Iron Age must first take into account the typological scheme and chronology put forward by Sir Cyril Fox for La Tène I brooches in 1927,<sup>2</sup> and the modifications which this has since undergone, mainly at the hands of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Professor Hawkes.<sup>3</sup>

Fox took Viollier's three-phase Continental dating of La Tène I types<sup>4</sup> (though himself pointing out at the time that this was probably too high in date for Britain), and into it fitted a purely typological scheme for British brooches. His Phase A, to correspond with Viollier's period c. 450–400 B.C., was for the brooch with foot turning back to form a rhomboidal space; and terminating in a knob or disc, but not joined to the bow. The spring of this type had four, or more rarely six, coils,

The following abbreviations are used in this paper :

<i>Ant. J.</i>	=	<i>Antiquaries' Journal.</i>	<i>H.F.C.</i>	=	<i>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club.</i>
<i>Arch. J.</i>	=	<i>Archaeological Journal.</i>	<i>P.P.S.</i>	=	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.</i>
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	=	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis.</i>	<i>P.R.</i>	=	<i>Pitt-Rivers: Excavations on Cranborne Chase, etc.</i>
<i>D.A.S.</i>	=	<i>Proceedings of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society.</i>	<i>S.A.C.</i>	=	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections.</i>
<i>D.N.H.A.S.</i>	=	<i>Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society.</i>	<i>S.A.S.</i>	=	<i>Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society.</i>
<i>E.C.A.</i>	=	<i>P. Jacobsthal, Early Celtic Art, 1944.</i>	<i>W.A.M.</i>	=	<i>Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine.</i>
<i>E.I.A.G.</i>	=	<i>British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities, 1925.</i>			

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 67, f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Maiden Castle Report*, R. E. M. Wheeler, p. 251, f, and numerous notes in *Ant. J.* by Professor Hawkes— notably *Ant. J.*, : xx,

p. 115, and p. 276, on brooches from Deal and Worth.

<sup>4</sup> Viollier : *Les Sepultures du Second Age du Fer sur le Plateau Suisse.*

which might be large, and occasionally had an inserted bronze rivet, with an external cord. Phase B type had a similar spring, but the foot had a terminal tongue-like projection, and sometimes this was shaped to fit close to the bow, with a hollow for a coral setting often apparent on the knob or disc. Fox dated this phase *c.* 400–325 B.C. The final phase, Phase C, occasionally had the cord internal to the spring, which was usually of small coils, and the foot met the bow high up, making a more triangular space; in some cases the foot was baluster-shaped. This phase is dated *c.* 325–250 B.C. Iron brooches occur only in Phase C.

Even at the time of the article by Sir Cyril Fox, the Cowlam (Yorkshire) brooch was a demonstrable misfit as regards this scheme. This is of Fox's Type A, but comes from a grave of the Yorkshire B culture, and thus cannot antedate the 3rd century B.C. (unless it is to be regarded as a Continental heirloom). This was first pointed out in connection with the Phase A brooch found with 3rd century Marnian pottery beneath the Romano Celtic temple at Worth (Kent).<sup>1</sup> Also, the discoveries at Maiden Castle made it further obvious that rigid typological division and dating of the brooches is extremely difficult; in Late Iron Age A levels there a brooch of Fox's Phase A appeared, and Phase C brooches occurred in Venetic 'B' levels there, i.e. in a 1st-century B.C. context.

While then the typological evolution as outlined by Fox for La Tène I types is doubtless a correct sequence, there is no reason to believe that his types are mutually exclusive as far as dating is concerned, and the lower limits at any rate of his datings are now to be questioned seriously. Sir Mortimer Wheeler made the point<sup>2</sup>—and on the evidence from Maiden Castle it seems most probable—that in Wessex, if not elsewhere, La Tène I brooch types continued in use until the 1st century B.C.,<sup>3</sup> that is to say, right into the period when La Tène III was well advanced and the development of the La Tène III brooch should already have taken place. Furthermore, Wheeler believed that the few La Tène II examples in Wessex did not provide any link in Britain between La Tène I and La Tène III in any evolutionary sense. This important point will be dealt with in a later section.

But the question which immediately arises is—when and by whom were the first La Tène brooches first introduced into Britain? Professor Hawkes, in connection with the Worth brooch, has suggested a 'mildly revolutionary theory' that the type may have been introduced by the Marnian invaders of the mid-3rd century. If this is the case, one has to believe that the La Tène I brooch was unknown in most parts of Britain until a later date still, and this although in Wessex it is obvious from the pottery that the Iron Age communities there had contact with La Tène cultures for at least a century before the Marnian invasions;

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. J.*, xx, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Maiden Castle Report*, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> Whatever dating one prefers to give the

beginning of the Venetic 'B' culture in Wessex, it can hardly precede the beginning of the 1st century B.C.

furthermore, brooches would doubtless travel more easily than pottery, and they would be unlikely to have any superstitions attached to their perpetuation, which may have been the case with some of the pottery types. Also, on the Marnian introduction view, one is faced with the question as to what the 'A' communities of Wessex used in lieu of brooches. The distribution of neither Swan's-neck nor Ring-headed pins is so thick in Wessex as to convince one that these types were used in the area for so long a period as the Marnian introduction of La Tène I types would imply. One would also have to believe that at a time when their pottery was becoming devolved and rather poor and their general level stagnant, the 'A' communities of Wessex took up an entirely new type of personal ornament to produce it with the gusto implied by any distribution map of the early types of La Tène I brooches (see map in All Cannings Cross Report, Pl. LIII). It seems that this theory of a Marnian introduction can only be supported by the assumption of an intensive Marnian settlement in Wessex in the 3rd century B.C., and for this we have no evidence.<sup>1</sup> As a theory it does not really improve on the original view put forward by the Cunningtons and Fox, that the La Tène I brooch was part of the equipment of the earlier Iron Age 'A' communities of Wessex.<sup>2</sup> As far as Wessex is concerned, the distribution of one particular Iron Age brooch type is significant. That is the type classified below as Type 1A, and the distribution list for this kind of brooch shows its heavy incidence in Wessex (see below).

Even if it is believed that some of the 'A' communities arrived in Wessex before they had absorbed any La Tène influence on the Continent (which is in any case not easy to prove), it is evident from their pottery that they did later absorb such influence, either by cross-channel intercourse, or by fusion with later but related arrivals in Britain, who had themselves a La Tène element in their culture, well before the Marnian raids. Furthermore, the very small numbers of La Tène I brooches in Sussex (Sir Cyril Fox cites four),<sup>3</sup> which we know to have received more Marnian settlers than Wessex did, really seems quite contrary to the Marnian theory as applied to all La Tène I types. The same objection cannot be raised to the theory that the brooches were introduced by the 'A' communities, for it is likely that the first 'A' people in Sussex, to judge by their pottery types,<sup>4</sup> arrived earlier than did those in Wessex, and so had less contact, if any, with the early La Tène cultures on the Continent.

There seems no reason, in fact, why the problem of the introduction of La Tène I brooches should not have varying regional answers. If this were so, the Worth brooch—which in any case has no typological

<sup>1</sup> Evidence on pottery types from Wessex favours the view that only a few Marnian settlers were responsible for the gradual infiltration of new types there—as at Little Woodbury, *P.P.S.*, xiv (1947), p. 1, f.

<sup>2</sup> *All Cannings Cross*, p. 190, and *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 84, f.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 106, Appendix L.

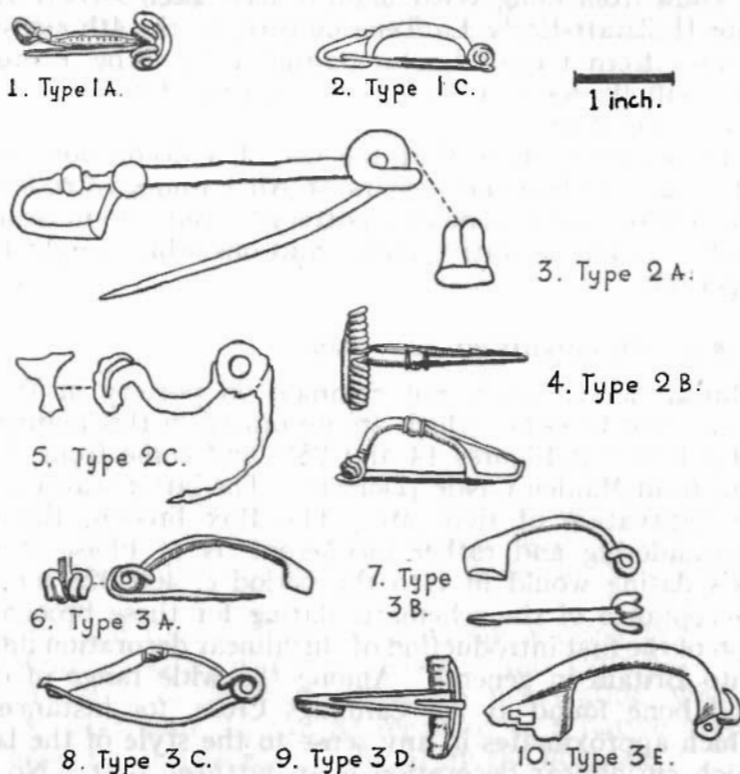
<sup>4</sup> *S.A.C.*, 87, p. 85.

connection with the main Wessex group—would have little significance west of the Weald. Furthermore, the late dating of the La Tène I brooches at Maiden Castle reduces the revolutionary significance of early brooches in a late context.

#### CLASSIFIED TYPES OF LA TÈNE I BROOCHES IN WESSEX

##### 1A. *Brooches with dot and line incised decoration* (fig. 1)

This group was noted by Fox, but with no significance in particular attached to it. Brooches of this type are of his Phase A or Phase B, and are ornamented with dot decoration and often with incised lines



Figs. 1-10. The drawings are taken, by kind permission, from the Devizes Museum Catalogue, Pt. II, 2nd Edition, and the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine. (1) Type 1A. W. Lavington. (D.M.C., Pl. LXIV, 1, p. 208); (2) 1C. Swallowcliffe Down. (W.A.M. 43, Pl. XI, c36, p. 83); (3) 2A. Cold Kitchen. (D.M.C., Pl. XXXVb, A., p. 126); (4) 2B. Spettisbury. (*Arch. J.* xcvi (1939), fig 2, p. 118); (5) 2C. Cold Kitchen. (D.M.C., Pl. XXXV, 1, p. 122); (6) 3A. Gt. Cheverell Down. (D.M.C., Pl. LXV, 2, p. 211); (7) 3B. Cold Kitchen. (W.A.M. 43, p. 328, Pl. III, c); (8) 3C. W. Lavington. (D.M.C., Pl. LXV, 1, p. 210); (9) 3D. Cold Kitchen. (W.A.M. 44, Pl. II, e, p. 140); (10) 3E. Cold Kitchen. (W.A.M. 43, Pl. II, a, p. 327).

along the length of the bow. Their distribution lies almost entirely in Wessex. Its connection with the first Iron Age 'A' settlers is not entirely without Continental support, for a brooch with dot decoration on the bow, and perhaps transitional between Phase A and Phase B



from La Gorge-Meillet on the Marne, is figured by Déchelette,<sup>1</sup> and belongs to his La Tène I.

At the same time, perhaps it is conceivable that the 3rd century Marnian invaders were still using brooches of this type, but if this is argued one may legitimately inquire why this type does not turn up on the Sussex sites, and why, with the exception of the Hanging Langford example, it is not a hill-fort type. It may be significant that both the All Cannings Cross brooches are of this type; at this site Marnian influence on the pottery is negligible. Outside Wessex this type of brooch occurs only twice, or perhaps three times; one example is from Berkshire,<sup>2</sup> (which we know from Long Wittenham to have been settled by a people with a Late Hallstatt-Early La Tène culture, in the 4th century B.C.<sup>3</sup>); another comes from Cambridgeshire,<sup>4</sup> and a La Tène I brooch from Icklingham, Suffolk, seems to be decorated with dots on the bow after the manner of this type.<sup>5</sup>

It is interesting to note that the use of a decoration exactly like that on this class of brooches occurs at All Cannings Cross on several kinds of objects of metal, bone and pottery.<sup>6</sup> But one must admit that it is a simple enough decorative motif, and one which might be popular over long periods.

#### 1B. *Brooches with curvilinear decoration*

Curvilinear decoration is not common on pottery in Wessex, and there are only two brooches which are decorated in this manner. These are cited by Fox (his Figures 14 and 25<sup>7</sup>) and come from Box (North Wilts.), and from Maiden Castle (Dorset). The latter was a stray found before the excavation of that site. The Box brooch, the design on which is meandering and rather incoherent, is of Phase B type, and under Fox's dating would fit into the period c. 400-325 B.C.

The acceptance of the schematic dating for these brooches ignores the question of the first introduction of curvilinear decoration into Wessex, or even into Britain in general. Among the wide range of designs on pottery and bone found at All Cannings Cross, for instance, there is nothing which approximates in any sense to the style of the later Celtic art, of which curvilinear decoration is an intrinsic part. No authority to date would put the introduction of Celtic art to Britain as early as the 4th century B.C., into which the Box brooch is put by Fox.

On typological grounds, Fox put the Maiden Castle brooch about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Now it cannot be regarded as an import (though this would appear to do away with the difficulty of its

<sup>1</sup> J. Déchelette, *Manuel, Second Age du Fer*: II-3, p. 124, fig. 533, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Oxoniensia*, ii, p. 1, f.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. J.*, 1939, p. 32, fig. 7. The Iron Age

in Norfolk and Suffolk: R. Rainbird Clarke.

<sup>6</sup> *All Cannings Cross*, Pl. XVIII, 5—a bracelet; Pl. XXXIV, 10—pottery; Pl. XI, 5—a comb.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 82 and 93.

isolated appearance), because its imitation four-coil spring and its involuted pin<sup>1</sup> fit very well into the pattern of British brooches in the Early Iron Age, which shows a great delight in experiment. The involuted brooch, which Fox points out as unknown on the Continent, is accepted in consequence as a purely British type. Jacobsthal entirely agrees with this view and says 'The only country where attempts . . . were made to alter the time-proved construction of the fibula is Britain; it seems to have been a British peculiarity to take an interest in the mechanism of these gadgets, and to experiment with their construction and decoration'.<sup>2</sup> Fox regarded the Maiden Castle brooch and the involuted type as connected, on the grounds of the experimental pin-hinging. His dating agrees reasonably well with that of Jacobsthal, who regards it as late in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

### 1c. *The Swallowcliffe Down type* (fig. 2)

This class of flattened bow brooch falls into two phases: (a) the phase where the bow is still slightly curving, and (b) the phase where the bow is more flattened, and in some instances absolutely level with the returned foot. There can be little doubt that (b) followed naturally from (a).

The primary type (a) occurs not only in Wessex, but at Deal (Kent),<sup>3</sup> and at Findon Park (Sussex).<sup>4</sup> The brooch from the latter site is particularly important, as it comes from a site where a noticeable 3rd-century Marnian influence has been recognised, and actually occurred in a pit with pedestal based pots of an early type.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the Swallowcliffe Down and Little Woodbury brooches are both from sites which show, more than most Wessex sites, signs of Marnian influence, although neither of these brooches were found in association with any particular pots.

The sub-type (b) is, however, a purely Wessex type. Both Meon Hill and Maiden Castle, where brooches of this type have been found, show slight signs of Marnian influence penetrating what remained basically 'A' sites, and (b) can be regarded as a native product copied from the new style brooches introduced by the invaders.

This class of brooch, then, may be regarded as very probably introduced by the 3rd century Marnians, and this view is supported by Sir Mortimer Wheeler's reference to similar types from the Marne, in his discussion in the Maiden Castle Report on the brooch of this type from that site.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jacobsthal regards this pin bending as intentional, and he equates it with the period of the involuted bow brooch, as a 'More moderate and compromising innovation'. See *Ant. J.*, xxv, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. J.*, xxv, p. 121, f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. J.*, xx, p. 276, f.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, p. 11, fig. G.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21, figs. 11 and 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Maiden Castle Report*, p. 256.

1D. *Brooches with coral or other similar material on the foot*

The decoration of Iron Age brooches with coral seems to have been a popular and widespread convention in Britain. In the Yorkshire 'B' culture graves several examples of extremely ornately coral-decorated brooches have been found, in some cases with the coral arranged in florets.<sup>1</sup> In Wessex, the use of coral is practically always confined to the foot.

It has usually been considered that the fashion of using coral came to an end only after enamel became popular and, if this were so, it may well have lasted until very late in the 1st century B.C. in Wessex, as there is no direct evidence for the use of enamel on brooches there.<sup>2</sup> But, in fact, Jacobsthal is of the opinion that coral work and enamel work are contemporary.<sup>3</sup> Brooches of various categories have coral settings, and it is therefore a fashion which cuts across typological differences. Apart from the Maiden Castle, Preston Candover and Box brooches, all the examples from Wessex are plain, with simple disc settings for the coral.

Arising from this class are the brooches with bows hollowed lengthwise to take a coral ornament; these occur in Wessex only at Preston Candover,<sup>4</sup> and perhaps at Maiden Castle.<sup>5</sup> The lengthwise insertion seems to be only an extension of the idea of foot decoration. It may be, however, that the long slug decoration on the foot has to do with the similar convention apparent on the ringhead pin from Danes' graves, which has coral inlaid in grooves round the ring head. If there is any connection, it may be that the Preston Candover brooch is indicative of Marnian influence.

It is interesting to note that the Harborough Cave, Brassington (Derbyshire), brooch<sup>6</sup> has not only a floret of coral centre and petals, but also a bow hollowed to take a coral slug, which provides a further link with the Yorkshire area, for the Harborough brooch seems to be closely connected with the Danes' graves and Arras types.

## SECTION II. LA TÈNE II

As far as Britain is concerned, the derivation and the dating of La Tène II brooches are vague. Mr. Dunning, in the Lydney Park Report,<sup>7</sup> made a study of the type, and he there dated them to fit in

<sup>1</sup> With Continental parallels: see brooch from Pleurs, Marne. *E.I.A.G.*, p. 68, fig. 62.

<sup>2</sup> The joint of the La Tène II brooch, regarded by Wheeler as an import, looks as if it might have been hollowed to take enamel rather than coral. Also, perhaps this is the case with the Ham Hill brooch—see *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 81, and *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, fig. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *E.C.A.*, i, p. 132, with reference to Henry, *Préhistoire* 2, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, fig. 11, cited by Fox as

from Winchester—see note by Hawkes, *Ant. J.*, xx, p. 278, showing that it came from Preston Candover.

<sup>5</sup> *Maiden Castle Report*, fig. 81, 4, seems to have a slight hollowing of the bow, which may put it in this class.

<sup>6</sup> *D.N.H.A.S.*, xxxi-ii, p. 103, fig. 4. (Shale armlets also came from this cave—perhaps imports from the Kimmeridge region.)

<sup>7</sup> *Lydney Park Report*, R. E. M. Wheeler, p. 68, f.

with and to follow on from Sir Cyril Fox's La Tène I scheme; that is to say, he dated them between c. 300 and 100 B.C. He was able to divide the brooches into three categories, type A, type B, and type C. Type A was regarded as the result of a line of development from the Swallowcliffe Down La Tène I type, type B from possible intrusive elements from the Lower Seine region, and type C as the result of late La Tène I experiments in design and technique.

As far as Wessex is concerned, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, in querying the application of Fox's La Tène I scheme, has implicitly denied both the derivation and the dating of the La Tène II types as put forward by Dunning, and Wheeler regards the La Tène II brooch on Maiden Castle evidence as intrusive, and quite outside the general pattern of British brooch development from La Tène I to III.<sup>1</sup> But, in fact, there is nothing inherently impossible in the view that the production of La Tène II brooches may have begun some considerable time before that of La Tène I types had ceased; nor would the discovery of imported examples of La Tène II types at some sites mean that there was no local development from La Tène I to II. If there was actually local development from La Tène I to II brooches in Wessex—and the sequence Swallowcliffe Down–Meon Hill–Dunning's Class A seems to imply that there was—it may have been the result of tentative experiment on particular sites. It is possible that the introduction of La Tène II types took place before the local communities had developed a secured foot for their brooches, and that it was thus that local craftsmen were stimulated by a small number of brooches to adapt the idea to their own types. The question then is—from where did the stimulus come? We have seen already that British La Tène I brooches may well have a regional genealogy, based originally on varying prototypes, and there is no reason, as will be shown, why this should not also be so for La Tène II brooches.

#### CLASSIFIED LIST OF LA TÈNE II BROOCHES IN WESSEX

##### 2A. *Dunning's Class A* (fig. 3)

The development of this type is thought to be derived from the La Tène I Swallowcliffe Down type, and, in fact, in Wessex it appears only on sites where this is found. An intermediary type was also found at Meon Hill.<sup>2</sup> Also, both types were found at Ham Hill (Somerset).<sup>3</sup> Only three others are known outside this main area, one from Warlingham (Surrey), one from Bridlington (Yorkshire), and one from Otford (Kent).<sup>4</sup> The distribution of the involuted brooch (see below, Dunning's Class C) shows that there was communication between Wessex and Yorkshire at this period, so that the Bridlington brooch may have been brought from Wessex, or copied from one so brought by the Jurassic route.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Maiden Castle Report*, p. 251, f.

<sup>2</sup> *H.F.C.*, n.s. xii, pt. 1, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. J.*, viii, p. 449, f.

<sup>4</sup> *Lydney Park Report*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 96.



If this type—connected as it is with the Findon Park (Marnian) brooch—is regarded as the result of Marnian influence, then this group can hardly be earlier than the 2nd century B.C. in Wessex. Indeed, it is difficult on pottery evidence to prove Marnian influence in Wessex before the 1st century B.C.

## 2B. *Dunning's Class B* (fig. 4)

This type has a highly arched bow, with the foot fastened to it either by wrapping over or by being secured with a collar. The spring is usually made of three or more coils on each side of the head, and the cord is either internal or external. The examples from Wessex are varied within the main type. The Dorchester<sup>1</sup> brooch has a wrapped foot, and it is the only one of the Wessex group to show this feature. With the exception of the Dorchester example, the distribution of the wrapped-footed variety is south-easterly, or connected with the south-east by the Thames (as the Lydney Park example). Both the two Glastonbury La Tène II brooches are of this class and both are collared; also the number of La Tène III brooches from the Lake village which show this feature in decorative vestiges indicate that the type must have been more popular with the inhabitants than a mere two actual examples would suggest—perhaps before they settled at Glastonbury. At the same time, the Glastonbury examples have multiple-turn springs, and furthermore, the multiple-turn spring was perpetuated there on a distinctively local La Tène III brooch, which seems to be typologically earlier than the Colchester multiple-turn spring La Tène III brooches (see below). This may mean that the collared La Tène II brooch reached Wessex from Glastonbury, or from the Glastonbury people on their movements—wherever from we do not know—to the Somerset sites, and not by direct import or by invasion from the Continent, as Dunning tentatively suggests.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the Maiden Castle La Tène II brooch is indeed quite unlike any other in Britain. In the first place, its large coil spring is not equalled on other La Tène II brooches here, and if it is to be regarded as of local manufacture, it can only be thought of as an exaggerated memory of some large coil La Tène I brooch. But its elegance seems to make its local manufacture unlikely. The collar of this brooch is also unique in the area, being hollowed on top and sides to take either coral or enamel studs; the hollowings show no sign of a central rivet.<sup>3</sup> Sir

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that in the *Glastonbury Report* (i, p. 189) it was pointed out that in fact the location of this brooch was unknown, although it is accepted by Dunning. The location was originally an assumption, because the brooch came with a collection from Dorchester.

<sup>2</sup> Although Dunning says that the type is not equally paralleled in the Marne region (*Lydney Park Report*, p. 71), he figures a brooch

from St. Remy-sur-Bussy, Marne (Hawkes and Dunning: *The Belgae of Gaul and Britain*, *Arch. J.*, lxxxvii (1930), fig. 11, 2), which seems to be very little different from the collared type of Class B. Nevertheless, in Britain, the collared type is essentially western.

<sup>3</sup> This may indicate that if the brooch held enamel studs, it was not of the earliest period of enamel work, when rivet holes, as in coral decorated brooches, would be expected.

Mortimer Wheeler regarded this brooch as an import, and indeed its only similarity to the Wessex La Tène II group is that it is collared, and not wrapped-footed. It might be an import direct from the region where the La Tène II collared brooch was originally derived.

The example from Cold Kitchen is unusual in that it has an imitation spring, and, in fact, the pin works on a ring head. This habit of experimenting had evidently not disappeared from the area at the time that this brooch was made. But a further feature of this brooch may well bring it down into the 1st century A.D. in date as a peculiar typological hybrid. It appears to have imitation side wings, grooved to look like spring coils, although in fact the ring of the pin hinges on to one of the side wings. This imitation can be derived from none other than the developed Colchester brooch.

Although Mr. Dunning is inclined to treat his Class B as a whole as intrusive as far as Wessex is concerned, what evidence there is points rather to the Glastonbury than to the Seine area which he favours. The only probable import in the Wessex group, i.e. import direct from the Continent, is the Maiden Castle brooch, which is tentatively connected with the Marne area by Wheeler, and this is very different from the rest. Further, the Marne comparisons are not very satisfactory.

What does seem to emerge is that there were two channels of introduction of the La Tène II types into Britain: the one a south-easterly one, introducing the wrapped-footed variety; the other a westerly one, introducing the collared type. It is interesting to note in connection with this that the two La Tène II brooches discovered at Richborough in Flavian levels were both of the wrapped variety, and therefore fall into the common south-easterly category. They do prove, furthermore, that whatever the date of the introduction of La Tène II types into Britain, they were still in use in the early part of the Roman period. These two brooches from Richborough also lack the multiple turn spring of the Wessex group, for their springs have only two or four turns.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2c. *Dunning's Class C. The involuted brooch*

Although there are no other involuted brooches in Wessex, and only the decorated Maiden Castle brooch seems to have any connection with the experimental and aesthetic processes which caused their evolution, the type is regarded both by Fox and Dunning as having originated in the Wiltshire-Oxfordshire region, and as having spread from there via the Jurassic route to Yorkshire. But it could just as easily have travelled in the reverse direction. However, the Wiltshire examples do seem to have the collar which appears on brooches of Class A and Class B in the Wessex area, and their hinging does recall that of the Maiden Castle decorated brooch. Leeds connects the evolution of the involuted brooch

<sup>1</sup> *Richborough Report*, iv, Pl. XXV, 1, 2.

with the use of the 'broken-backed' curve in surface ornament and quotes a similar (but of course quite unrelated!) happening in Italy nearly two thousand years before the event in Britain.<sup>1</sup> But although the Wessex Iron Age communities may have used the idea of the 'broken-backed' curve in their brooches, it seems unlikely that they were in fact the originators of the idea; possibly it may have reached them from the areas which were the centres of mirror manufacture—perhaps their neighbours the Dobuni. This would make the date of the involutioned brooch hardly earlier than the 1st century B.C.

### SECTION III. LA TÈNE III

#### *General typological development of brooches*

Once the principle of securing the foot of a brooch to its bow by a collar had been evolved, it was only a matter of time before the bow and foot became merged in one piece.<sup>2</sup> This appears to have taken place for the first time in Gaul, about 100 B.C., i.e. the conventional dating for the beginning of the La Tène III period there.<sup>3</sup>

After this development had taken place, the one-piece brooch could not undergo any further major alteration in technique, although additions such as hooks for the spring and side-wings could give strength to the structure. In consequence, many differing and in some cases perhaps simply local variations followed, all based on what was fundamentally the same structure.

Ignoring for the present the difficulties of chronological dating of brooches on purely typological grounds, it may be of use to draw attention to features of various types of La Tène III brooches which on evolutionary grounds may be earlier or later.

**The Foot:** This being the part of the brooch most altered by the new technique, it might be expected to be the most demonstrative of typological evolution. By construction, the foot of the La Tène I and the La Tène II brooches formed an open space. The principle of casting the foot in one with the bow being derived directly from the collared foot of the La Tène II brooch, an open catch-plate on a La Tène III is a typologically early feature. In the same way, imitation of the La Tène II collar on the bow of a La Tène III brooch is typologically early. Ideally, the degree of closeness of imitation, or the position of the decoration on the bow, either near to the junction of the foot and the bow, or further away near the bowhead, might provide some distinction. The illusion of the La Tène II type is heightened on some La Tène III brooches by the use of a grooved line which carries on from the fork of the foot up to the bow towards the vestigial collar decoration.

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 49–50.

<sup>2</sup> The evolutionary development from La Tène I–II–III has been illustrated frequently. Most recently, see Sir Cyril Fox, *Arch. Camb.*,

1927, p. 72, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> J. Dechelette, *Manuel, Second Age du Fer*, iv, p. 912.

On most La Tène III brooches the foot is a solid catch-plate, and this in itself is a typologically later feature than the open catch-plate. In fact, the solid catch-plate occurs to the end of the life of the La Tène III brooch, and on most of its numerous variations.

After the development of the solid catch-plate, its decoration with ornamental piercings, either by key patterns or simply groups of small round holes (usually in threes) followed. It is worth noting that the foot decoration which occurs commonly at Glastonbury seems to have originated quite differently. There the open work consists of narrow, decorative, solid bands, leaving much larger spaces open on the foot. The effect is rather of a fretwork decoration of an open foot than the piercing of a solid one. If this view is correct, then the kind of foot decoration found at Glastonbury is at least two typological stages earlier than the ornamental piercing of a solid catch-plate, which occurs primarily in the south-east of Britain.

Degeneration of these piercings occurred, the key pattern becoming in some brooches barely recognisable, and solitary holes are often a token decoration.

A knob-like projection on the end of a foot of an open catch-plate brooch from Notre-Dame du Vaudreuil<sup>1</sup> is interesting, but this feature is not common in Britain until it appears on various forms with solid catch-plates, obviously connected with the south-easterly Belgic areas, and not with Wessex.

The Spring: On the La Tène I brooch the cord of the spring was generally external, although internal cords are not unknown.<sup>2</sup> On the La Tène II brooch in Britain the cord was often internal, but the external cord had by no means disappeared. Concerning his Class B, Dunning states, 'the cord of the spring now usually passes inside the head', but of his list at least three brooches have external cords.<sup>3</sup>

Of the Continental examples of La Tène II brooches figured by M. Déchelette,<sup>4</sup> none has an internal cord, nor do the two figured by Hawkes and Dunning.<sup>5</sup> If these can be taken as a true picture of the Continental La Tène II examples, it might be that in Gaul at any rate an external cord could be an indication of an early date. Unfortunately for this idea, both internal and external cords appear on La Tène II brooches from Strasbourg<sup>6</sup> (furthermore, La Tène II brooches have been found as late as Augustan times there); also, internal cords are known on British La Tène II brooches, as shown above. It is therefore not at all certain how much importance, if any, can be given to the placing of the cord. Perhaps in the Belgic areas of Britain one can apply the criteria which hold for Belgic Gaul. In the non-Belgic areas of Britain

<sup>1</sup> Hawkes and Dunning, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, 7. Dated there about the end of the 1st century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1927, p. 88, fig. 19B, from Wallingford, Berks.

<sup>3</sup> *Lydney Park Report*, p. 68. The Spettisbury, Lydney, and Glastonbury brooches.

<sup>4</sup> J. Déchelette, *Manuel, Second Age du Fer*, fig. 535.

<sup>5</sup> Hawkes and Dunning, *op. cit.*, from St. Remy-sur-Bussy, Marne, fig. 11, 2; from Caudebec les Elbeuf, Eure, fig. 11, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Information from Professor Donald Atkinson.



it is perhaps better to consider that an external cord can only be taken as an indication of an early date when it is in conjunction with some other early feature, e.g. an open foot. Even so, the appearance of internal cords on open-footed brooches with vestigial collar decoration makes the use of these distinctions doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

Typologically, the development of some retaining device to secure the spring is later than the spring with free cord. It may take the form of a thickening of the bowhead over an internal cord, or a hook on the bow for an external cord.

Once the principle of providing some protection for the spring had been adopted, it could be carried further than the mere provision of a cord hook in the development of side-wings expanding to cover the turns of the spring, the wings on later examples having attached side discs.

The protection of side-wings was really a necessity for those brooches with an exaggerated number of turns to the spring, if they were to be utilitarian. Usually, the simple La Tène III brooches with open feet have springs with four coils only, as was usual in La Tène I and II examples (although springs with an excessive number of turns are not unknown in La Tène II times),<sup>2</sup> but a predilection for six to ten coil springs did manifest itself in La Tène III times.<sup>3</sup> Side-wings do not appear on brooches from Glastonbury, though small brooches with many spring turns do, and it seems on the evidence of the great numbers of the side-wing type from Wessex that the idea was introduced and developed by the south-eastern Belgae, and carried by them or from their area, where side-wing types are common, into Wessex.

#### CLASSIFIED LIST OF LA TÈNE III BROOCHES IN WESSEX

##### 3A. *La Tène III 'Safety-pin' Brooches* (fig. 6)

These brooches normally have a solid catch-plate and an internal cord, but the Fyfield one, one Cold Kitchen brooch, the Maiden Castle, and the Hengistbury examples, have open catch-plates (although the openings on the Hengistbury examples are small). They seem, typologically, to be a stage later than the supposed prototype of the Nauheim brooch, with its open catch-plate, and a stage earlier than the Nauheim brooch itself.

This type is not found frequently in the 1st century A.D. sites of the Belgic south-east, and it is no doubt the earlier equivalent of the simple and common 'poor man's brooch' frequent at Verulamium<sup>4</sup> and at Camulodunum.<sup>5</sup> Its extreme simplicity makes its dating difficult. The few examples with open catch-plates may perhaps be regarded as early. An example from Swarling, unlikely to be earlier than the first

<sup>1</sup> *Glastonbury Report*, i, Pl. XL.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkes and Dunning, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, 2, and p. 196. Also *Glastonbury Report*, i, Pl. XLIV, e. 57. Also Spettisbury, *Arch. J.*, 1939, p. 118, fig. 2, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Camulodunum Report*, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> *Verulamium Report*, p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> *Camulodunum Report*, p. 312, Type VII. Not earlier than the Roman conquest.

quarter of the 1st century A.D., has a pronounced angle to the bow.<sup>1</sup> This is unusual in the Wessex series, though it is a feature which the Fyfield and one of the Cold Kitchen brooches have. Generally, the bow is low and gently curving. The strong angles of the bows of the vestigially decorated brooches from Glastonbury may have been copied by the makers of the Fyfield and Cold Kitchen brooches.

But this being the simplest form of La Tène III brooch, for more utilitarian purposes, no doubt, than some of the more decorative developments, it would reflect only slightly other and current trends in brooch fashions. It may be assumed generally that it is earlier than the flattened bow brooch (Colchester Type VI), but it does occur in Roman contexts (e.g. Alchester).<sup>2</sup> It may be possible to compare the distribution of these brooches with that of Dumnonian bowls.

### 3B. *The simple flattened-bow brooch* (fig. 7)

This type of brooch, always with internal cord and solid catch-plate, was derived by imitation from the flat bowed Nauheim brooch. The development seems to have taken place in Gaul sometime in the second half of the 1st century B.C.,<sup>3</sup> but it is not usual in Belgic Britain before the Claudian period. At this time, however, it became very popular, and probably took the place of the simpler safety-pin brooch. The curve of the bow varies, and in a number of examples from Colchester has a noticeable angle about the head. Properly, there should be four coils to the spring.

This is not a common type in Wessex, and its introduction there is most likely to have been from the Belgic areas, at any rate, on grounds of pottery associations both at Rotherley and at Woodcuts. Only two brooches approximating to this type were found at Glastonbury.<sup>4</sup> There, the flat bowed brooch took a different form, having a spring of eight or ten turns, and with grooved decoration on the bow, and often also on the foot. Only one brooch of such a type occurs in Wessex.<sup>5</sup>

### 3C. *Brooches with vestigial decoration, imitating the La Tène II collar* (fig. 8)

According to Hawkes and Dunning,<sup>6</sup> brooches which retain vestiges of the La Tène II collar in decoration on their bows can be dated between 100 and 50 B.C. on the Continent. If this early dating is correct for Belgic Gaul, then it is not surprising that the type is not very common in Belgic Britain, and that it does not occur on such 1st-century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *Swarling Report*, Pl. XII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. J.*, xii, Pl. XVIII, 4, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Camulodunum Report*, p. 309, f.

<sup>4</sup> *Glastonbury Report*, i, Pl. XL, E. 20, E. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. J.*, 1939, p. 118, fig. 2, 1. Spettisbury: a transitional La Tène II/III type. It is interesting to note in connection with this that this and the other brooch from Spettisbury (a La

Tène II type) show the kind of bow angle common on early La Tène III types from Glastonbury, with a high arch above the bow-head, and a gentle slope to the end of the foot. The two together may thus indicate some influence entering Wessex from the Lake Villages.

<sup>6</sup> Hawkes and Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

sites as Colchester. The brooches from Deal, figured in the Swarling Report, but unfortunately without pottery associations, retain vestigial collar decoration, but it is really very unusual for this area.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, while only two La Tène II brooches were found at Glastonbury, as has been stated above, a large proportion of the La Tène III brooches from there retain decorative vestiges of the earlier type. There is other evidence from Somerset to suggest that transition from La Tène II to III took place there quite independently of the course of events in the south-east.<sup>2</sup>

It seems, on the face of things, not impossible that at least in the western parts of Wessex, particularly Dorset, any examples of this typologically early La Tène III type may have been introduced from the Lake Village area. The number of examples from the Belgic levels at Maiden Castle may be cited against this view, but when these are considered alongside the pottery evidence from this site, the stratification of them becomes less of an objection against the Lake Village theory. The abundance of Dumnonian bowls from the same levels, themselves of a type practically unknown in the Belgic east, seems to show that the Belgae of Maiden Castle were not averse to the adoption of local forms, or to the evolution of new ones.<sup>3</sup> Alongside the lack of prototypes for the brooches in the south-east, their association with an essentially western type of bowl makes plausible the theory of local adoption by the Maiden Castle Belgae.

### 3D. *Brooches with hook attachment for external cord* (fig. 9)

The earliest form of this type had a simple hook on the head to retain the external cord. The bow was usually flattened. This type is altogether rare in Britain, occurring on a few Kentish sites.<sup>4</sup>

The idea of the hook seems to have been brought into Britain by the Belgae, following its evolution in Belgic Gaul,<sup>5</sup> but the rarity of the simple form makes it likely that only shortly after the introduction of the type to Britain, side-wings were added to it, as further protection for the spring. By far the majority of the hooked cord type brooches in south-eastern Britain have side-wings, and only a few have the original four coils to the spring. The number of turns usually varies between six and ten. So frequent is the simple hook and side-wing brooch at Colchester that it goes by the name of the 'Colchester' brooch.

<sup>1</sup> *Swarling Report*, p. 43, Pl. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Ham Hill *Proc. S.A.S.*, 1910, fig. 1, for an Iron Age brooch imitating the wrapped La Tène II form. Also from Read's Cavern, Burrington, Somerset (*Somerset: County Arch. Series*, D. P. Dobson), two brooches, one with imitation collar and a decorated catch-plate, the decoration being of two curving projections meeting across the open space quite unlike the southern key pattern; the second is a flattened

bow brooch with open foot and four coil spring with internal cord. There is also a transitional La Tène II/III type from Wookey Hole, Cheddar, in Wells Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Fox: *Roman Exeter*, Distribution list, p. 82, f.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *Swarling Report*, Pl. XII, 5.

<sup>5</sup> See Dechelette: *Manuel, Second Age du Fer*, fig. 403, 1 and 2, and *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray*, Pl. XIV, 3. Also *Camulodunum Report*, p. 308, f.

But it is not a common type in Wessex, and usually when it occurs there it is already approaching the humped-up form that led eventually to the 'dolphin' brooch, and it approximates to the later developments at Colchester. These developments were as follows: the addition of side discs to the wings; the casting of the hook in one with the bowhead as a lug; finally, an extra lug was added to the end of the bowhead, an axial bar passed through it and through the disc ends of the side-wings, and on it the now separate spring was swung, with its external cord passed through the lug-hook<sup>1</sup>—this would replace any tendency to swelling of the bowhead, such as is apparent on the Woodcuts brooch.<sup>2</sup>

The hook and side-wing brooches are completely unknown from the Lake Villages, and there can be little doubt that this brooch type was introduced into Wessex either by the Belgae, or by trade from the Belgic area, some time not before the end of the 1st century B.C.

### 3E. *Brooches with ornamental catch-plates* (fig. 10)

Although ornamental decoration at the foot with open work was popular at Glastonbury, the piercing of an otherwise solid foot with key or circular patterns seems to be a Belgic convention. It occurs in Gaul, and on Belgic sites in Kent.<sup>3</sup> But by the time of the foundation of the Belgic city of Colchester, the convention seems to have reached a degenerate stage, and there is nothing from Wessex which suggests that it reached the area earlier than the period of those at Colchester. In fact, all the Wessex examples of decorated catch-plates are on brooches of the winged Colchester type, at one or other stage of development of that type.

TABLE OF LA TENE I BROOCHES

TYPE 1A.	Blandford,	Dorset.	} All cited by Fox, <i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1927, p. 106 f.
	Rotherley,	Wilts.	
	Upper Upham	"	
	Avebury,	"	
	West Lavington,	"	
	All Cannings Cross,	"	
	Hanging Langford,	"	
	Warminster,	"	
	West Kennet,	"	
	Silbury,	"	
	Bush Barrow,	"	
	Charnage, Mere,	"	
	Twyford Down,	Hants.	
	Micheldever,	"	
			<i>H.F.C.</i> , xvii, unspecified find spot within the parish. Its developed 'antennae' foot may make this later in date than the main group.

<sup>1</sup> *Camulodunum Report*, Pl. XCI, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *P.R.*, i, Pl. XIII, 11. Also Pl. XI, 7, with side-wings, a hook cast in one with the bow, as a lug, an axial bar through the spring, but not

secured to the bow.

<sup>3</sup> *Swarling Report*, Pls. XII and XIII—several examples.



TYPE 1B.	Maiden Castle,	Dorset.	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , R. E. M. Wheeler, p. 257, fig. 82.
	Box,	Wilts.	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1927, p. 106.
TYPE 1C.	Swallowcliffe Down,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 83, Pl. XI, c36.
	Russley,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 343, Pl. I, 3.
	Cold Kitchen,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 42, p. 67, fig. 2.
	Little Woodbury,	"	<i>P.P.S.</i> , 1945, p. 165. This brooch is not illustrated, having been mislaid during the war, but it is compared with the Swallowcliffe Down brooch cited here.
	Meon Hill,	Hants.	<i>H.F.C.</i> , xii, p. 129. The bow here is quite flat not raised above the level of the foot at all.
	Ham Hill,	Somerset.	<i>S.A.S.</i> , 58, p. 121.
TYPE 1D.	Avebury,	Wilts.	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> , 1927, fig. 9.
	All Cannings Cross,	"	All in Fox's list. Preston Candover cited as 'Winchester'.
	Swallowcliffe Down,	"	
	Box,	"	
	Preston Candover,	Hants.	
	Baydon,	Wilts.	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , p. 255, fig. 81, 1, 2, 3.
	Maiden Castle,	Dorset.	

## TABLE OF LA TÈNE II BROOCHES

TYPE 2A.	Swallowcliffe Down,	Wilts.	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 82, Pl. XI, c37.
	Cold Kitchen,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 327, Pl. IA, and p. 181, Pl. IIG, and Pl. IVA.
TYPE 2B.	Spettisbury,	Dorset.	<i>Arch. J.</i> , 1939, p. 118, fig. 2, 2.
	Cold Kitchen,	Wilts.	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 44, p. 140, Pl. IIF.
	Stockton Earthworks,	Hants.	A peculiar La Tène II brooch with a foot shaped to fit over the bow. The bow is flattened, as in Class Ic, La Tène I. Information from Mr. H. de S. Shortt. The brooch is in Salisbury Museum.
	Maiden Castle,	Dorset.	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , fig. 81, 7, p. 255.
	Dorchester,	"	<i>Glastonbury Report</i> , i, p. 189.
TYPE 2C.	Cold Kitchen,	Wilts.	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 44, p. 139, Pl. IA, and <i>W.A.M.</i> , 42, p. 67.

## TABLE OF LA TÈNE III BROOCHES

TYPE 3A.	Woodcuts,	Wilts.	<i>P.R.</i> , i, Pl. XI, 2, Pl. XII, 4.
	Rotherley,	"	<i>P.R.</i> , ii, Pl. CI, 6, 8, 9, all iron, XCIX, 7.
	Cold Kitchen,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 44, p. 139, Pl. IB, also <i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 182, Pl. IVc, B.
	Fyfield Down,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 51, p. 263, fig. 4, 1.
	Oare,	"	<i>Devizes Mus. Cat.</i> , Pl. XXXVIIIb.
	Great Cheverell Down,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 35, p. 389, f.
	Knapp Hill,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 37, no. 4 from ditch of enclosure 1, p. 62.
	Lidbury Camp,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 40, p. 34, Pl. IX, 14.
	Hengistbury Head,	Hants.	<i>Hengistbury Head Report</i> , Pl. XXIX, 2, 3.
	Gallows Gore,	Dorset.	<i>D.N.H.A.S.</i> , 70, fig. 12.
	Maiden Castle,	"	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , p. 259, fig. 83, 11.

TYPE 3B.	Rotherley,	Wilts.	<i>P.R.</i> , ii, Pl. XCIX, 8, IX, 2 ; XII, 2.
	Woodcuts,	"	<i>P.R.</i> , i, Pl. XII, 2.
	Cold Kitchen,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 181, Pl. IIIc, d.
	London Rd., Salisbury,	"	Information from Mr. H. de S. Shortt. In Salisbury Museum.
	Russley,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 343, and Pl. I, 5, and 6. Along with bead rim (Belgic) pots.
	Maiden Castle,	Dorset.	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , p. 259, fig. 83, 12, 13, and p. 263, fig. 85, 33, 34 (iron).
TYPE 3C.	Maiden Castle,	"	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , p. 259, fig. 83, 8, 9, 10.
	Hengistbury,	Hants.	<i>Hengistbury Head Report</i> , p. 61, Pl. XXIX, 1. Foot missing but moulding imitating collar high on the bow near the spring. Dated here as c. 100 B.C., but this is probably altogether too early.
	West Lavington,	Wilts.	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 35, p. 402, fig. 16. This has a solid catch-plate, and also half of the bow below the head is flattened and widened. This is more reminiscent of the Nauheim brooch, and it may be a later fusion of the two traditions.
	Easterton,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 35, p. 403, fig. 17, 18. Broadened bow as West Lavington brooch.
TYPE 3D.	Rotherley,	"	<i>P.R.</i> , ii, Pl. XCIX, 4.
	Woodcuts,	"	<i>P.R.</i> , i, Pl. XIII, 11, Pl. XIV, 10. Also Pl. XI, 7, with side-wings, a hook cast in one with the bow, as a lug, an axial bar through the spring but not secured to the bow.
	Rotherley,	"	<i>P.R.</i> , ii, Pl. XCVII, 7, simple spring, hook and side-wings ; also Pl. XCVII, 4, as Woodcuts, Pl. XI, 7.
	Oare,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 36, p. 134, Pl. IA.
	Cold Kitchen,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 327, Pl. IIA, with side-wings, with pierced end discs, hook and lug for axial bar.
			<i>W.A.M.</i> , 44, p. 140, Pl. IIE, with side-wings, end discs and hook cast as a lug on the bow head.
	Hod Hill,	Dorset.	Crawford and Keiller, <i>Wessex from the Air</i> , fig. 3c.
	Maiden Castle,	"	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , fig. 83, 14, 15. With hooks and side-wings ; both have decorated catch-plates.
TYPE 3E.	Cold Kitchen,	Wilts.	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, p. 327, f., Pl. IIA.
	Rotherley,	"	<i>P.R.</i> , -ii, Pl. XCVII, 4, with circular piercings.
	Oare	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 36, p. 134, Pl. IA.
	Hod Hill,	Dorset.	<i>Wessex from the Air</i> , p. 39, fig. 3c.
	Hanging Langford,	Wilts.	<i>Wessex from the Air</i> , p. 117, note.
	Stockton Earthworks,	"	<i>W.A.M.</i> , 43, Pl. I, p. 390.
	Maiden Castle,	Dorset.	<i>Maiden Castle Report</i> , p. 259, fig. 83, 14, 15. With circular piercings.