SUSSEX, KENT, AND THE CONTINENT IN EARLY SAXON TIMES

By A. E. WILSON

RECENT archaeological, historical, social, and economic researches have tended to soften the sharp distinctions previously drawn between Kent and Sussex in early post-Roman times. In doing so several writers have pointed to strong Gallo-Roman and Frankish influences at work throughout the whole of the south-east of England. Mr. E. T. Leeds, F.S.A., in his *Early Saxon Art and Archaeology* brings out vividly three main phases of post-Roman pagan Kentish archaeology: (1) the Jutish phase, *c.* A.D. 450 to 500; (2) the Frankish phase—the sixth century; (3) the Kentish phase from the late sixth century onwards. In the first of these periods he insists on the similarity of the grave-goods from Kent to those found throughout the whole of the south-east. There is a strong sub-classical influence partly from Britain, but mainly from Gaul. In the second period Kent still had close links with the rest of the south-east of England, more especially with the Isle of Wight and south Hampshire, but to a certain degree with Sussex also. The main continental influence for these years came from the Franks as they moved from their home in the Middle Rhine valley to conquer Gaul. During the third period Kent, then a fully organized kingdom and the main route for commerce from the Continent to England, developed the magnificent gold jewellery so distinctive of the county, though it must be admitted that the Sutton Hoo burial unexpectedly yielded the finest examples of 'Kentish' jewellery yet found.

This article applies these conclusions to the jewellery found at Alfriston and Highdown and compares the results with other evidence of the early Saxon settlers in Sussex. In last year's *Collections* there was shown a Romano-Celtic penannular brooch from Highdown which was typical of similar finds in early Saxon graves throughout the whole of the south-east of England from Yorkshire to Wiltshire. From this essentially British type the incoming Saxons

developed the annular brooch found in great numbers in the same area. The craftsmen of Kent and Sussex created a peculiar local type, half-way between the penannular and annular.[1] Moreover, the brooches of this type, whether found
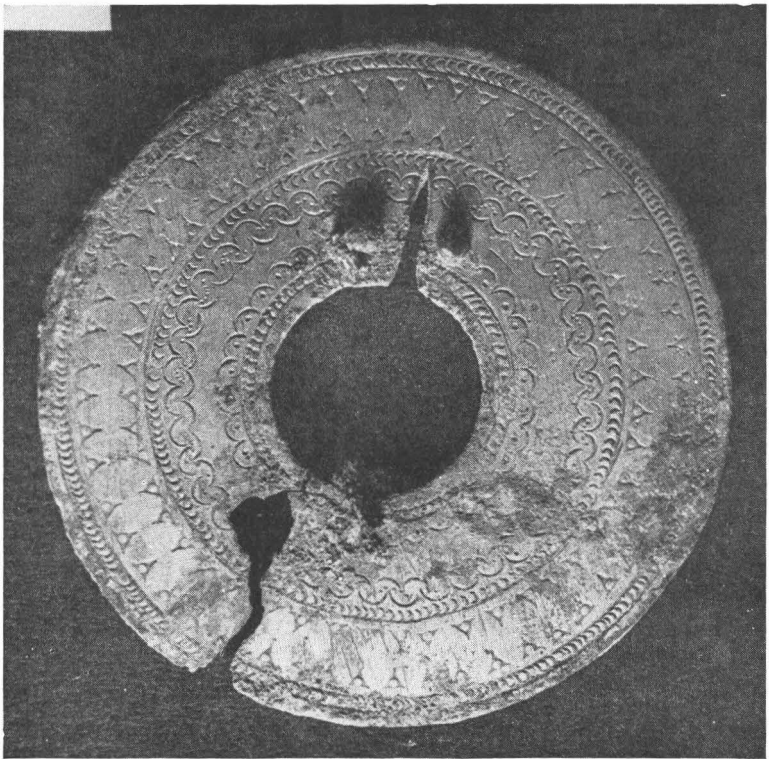

FIG. 1. DEVELOPED TYPE OF PENANNULAR BROOCH FOUND IN KENT AND SUSSEX

at Alfriston, Highdown, Howletts, or Sarre, all bore designs derived from classical sources which were well represented in the Gallo-Roman warrior's grave at Vermand. The confronting animal design on the Sarre and Howletts brooches is found on a buckle plate and tab from Alfriston and, in a different form, on a belt plate and buckle from Highdown. More frequent in the Sussex graves was the vine-scroll design, with or without the bird pecking grapes, and later conventional designs derived from it.

[1] Fig 1.

During this same early or 'Jutish' phase some other settlers brought with them to Sussex, Surrey, and north-western Kent (on the estuary of the Thames) the early forms of saucer brooches decorated with a spiral design in chip-carving technique.[1] These resemble brooches from the Saxon cemetery of Westerwanna near the mouth of the Elbe so closely that some of them must have belonged to the first settlers. Apart from Sussex, Surrey, and north-west Kent, they were plentiful in the south Midlands.

Another early form of brooch, the cruciform type with detached knobs, so prevalent in the south Midlands, the Eastern Counties, and Kent, has not been found in the Sussex cemeteries. Thus in the first phase of settlement Kent had much in common with the rest of England and nothing distinctive of its own.

At the beginning of the sixth century the Franks, under the leadership of Clovis, moved rapidly to the conquest of Gaul and gained the mastery after the decisive victory over the Visigoths at Vouglé, near Poictiers, in A.D. 507. A cemetery at Herpes, Charente, eighteen miles from Angoulême, which could not have come into use until after that date has yielded a whole range of grave-goods, of Frankish type, strikingly similar to those found in Kent, Sussex, the Isle of Wight, and parts of Hampshire. Mr. Leeds enumerates the Frankish element in Kentish graves as the throwing-axe or francisca, the pilum and angon; the biconical pottery vessels decorated with roulette stamps, the bottle-vase and minor forms of Kentish pottery; certain types of glass-ware, especially the conical beaker, the concave-sided beaker with rounded base, the round-bottomed cup or tumbler, the lobed beaker; small circular quatrefoil with garnet settings, bird and animal brooches, brooches with a semi-circular head plate with three or more radiating knobs and a straight-sided or oval foot; large square-headed brooches with zoomorphic design derived from rampant beasts and smaller square-headed brooches modelled on them. To these I would add a certain type of bronze bowl, and draw attention also to the prevalence of chip-carving technique at this time throughout the Frankish homeland and the areas affected by it.

The Sussex cemeteries do not yield examples of all these
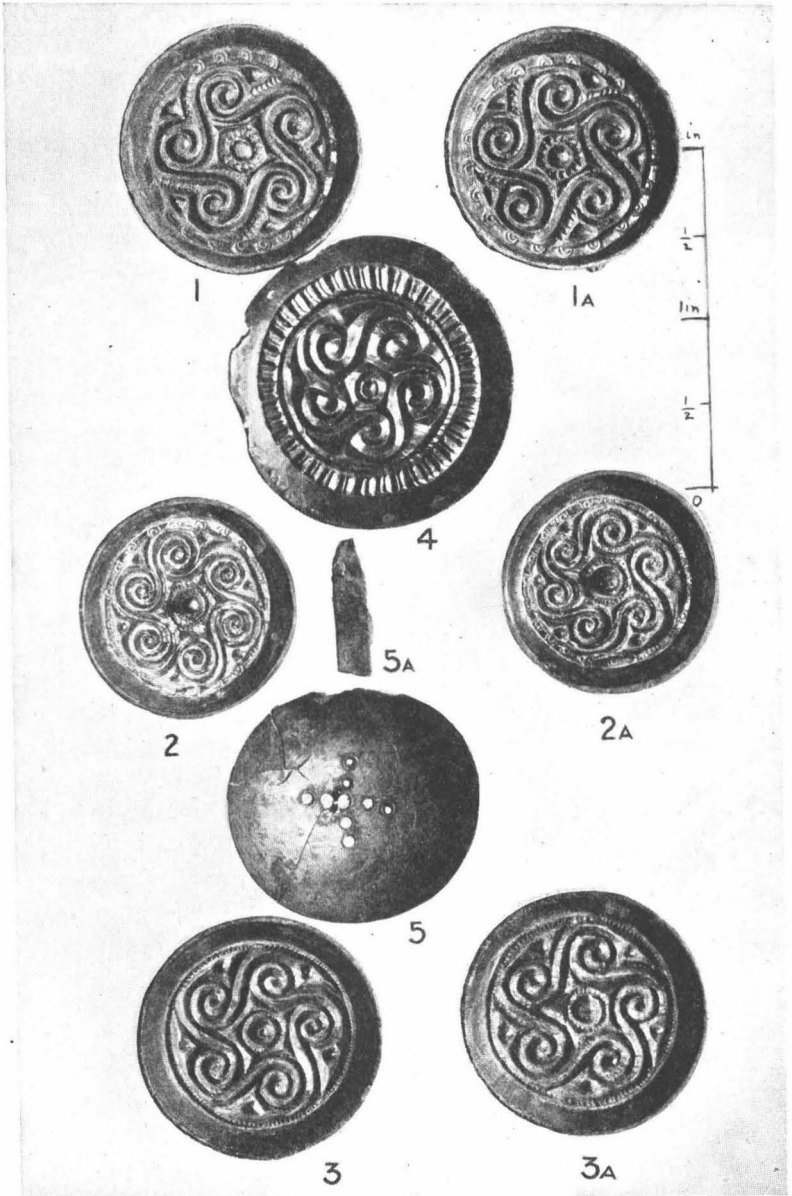
[1] Fig. 2.

I

FIG. 2. SAUCER BROOCHES WITH 'CHIP-CARVING' TECHNIQUE

Frankish types, but there are some very significant simi-
larities, especially at Alfriston. Highdown has a single
example of an angon, Alfriston of a francisca. Neither
cemetery yielded any wheel-turned purely Frankish pottery,
but some of the Highdown pots seem to be modelled on
certain Frankish rather than the more usual Anglian types.
Both Alfriston and Highdown have produced fine examples
of Frankish glass-ware, especially bowls, beakers, and tum-
blers, which compare favourably with similar types from
Chessel Down, Isle of Wight, from Kent, Herpes, Belgium,
and the Rhineland.[1]

Though Sussex and the Isle of Wight have yielded none of
the early cruciform brooches, they have examples of the
plain square-headed ones with triangular or shovel foot
which date to the same period[2] and to which the Frankish
designs were transferred from the large square-headed
brooches.[3] It is at this stage that Kent and the south-east
began to part from the east and Midlands. The East
Anglian large square-headed brooches develop on entirely
different lines. Mr. Leeds has pointed out the essential facts
for dating the arrival of the large Frankish brooches in Kent.
They appear only with the earliest forms of simple cloison
circular brooch at the early cemeteries of Bifrons, Howletts,
Sarre, and Ash, and in the west Jutish area of Hampshire and
the Isle of Wight, and at Alfriston, which, though it has no
cloison circular brooches, has the contemporary garnet in-
laid buckles. They do not appear at the later cemeteries
with the rich gold jewellery.

These large brooches betray their origin in the details of
their decoration—the rampant animals flanking the top of
the lozenge-shaped foot. This style differs essentially from
that of the northern Teutonic series, which has a median bar
down the length of the foot. In the Frankish series *either*
there is no median bar *or* it is accompanied by a cross-bar.
The crouching animal along the sides of the lower edges of
the lozenge-shaped foot is practically unknown in northern
examples and does not appear at all on purely Scandinavian
examples. It is, in fact, the animal of Gallo-Roman ornament
which figured frequently on the penannular brooches and
buckle plates of the early Jutish phase in south-east England

[1] Fig. 3.
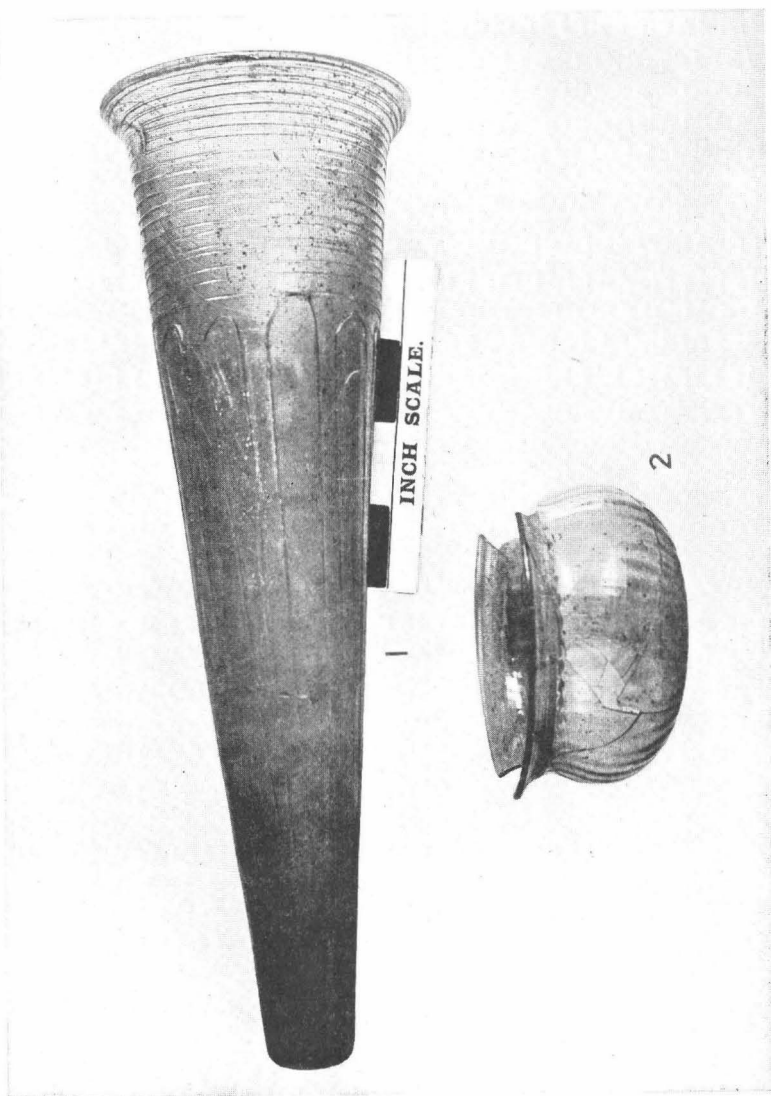[2] See *S.A.C.* LXXXII. 51, fig. 4c. Ibid., p. 54, fig. 7.
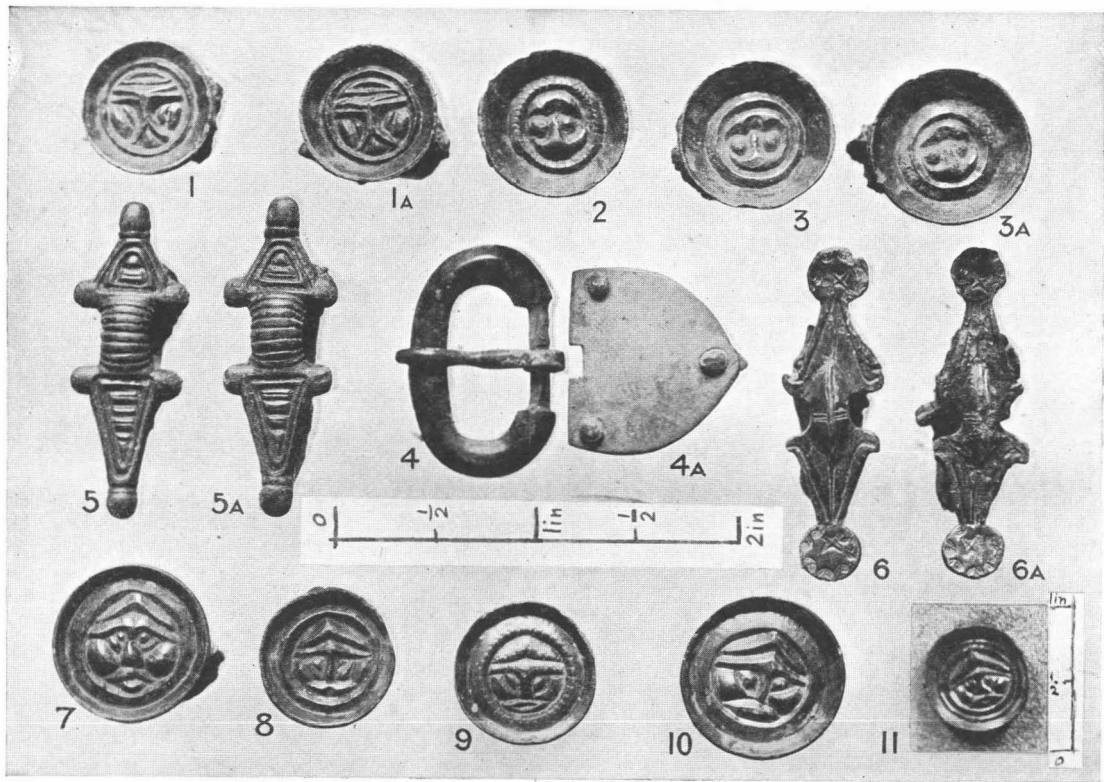
FIG. 3. GLASS VESSELS FROM ALFRISTON

FIG. 4. BUTTON AND OTHER BROOCHES FROM ALFRISTON

and in the contemporary culture of northern Gaul before the Frankish invasions.

In England it is seen in its purest form on a large square-headed brooch from Bifrons which has a flattened roundel on the bow decorated with the representation of the full-faced
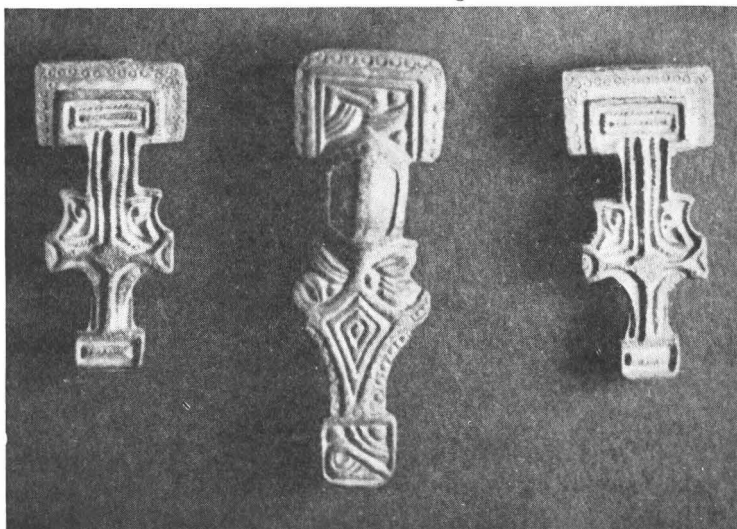

FIG. 5. SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES (1) WITH LOZENGE FOOT; (2) WITH TWO CROSS BARS

human mask, found also at this period on the small button brooches which are confined almost exclusively to Kentish and Sussex graves.[1] This combination of animal ornament and roundel on bow links the Bifrons example to the Frankish homeland at Engers, Hessen-Nassau. Other evidence, especially at Howletts, fixed these large square-headed brooches with animal ornament to the earlier part of the sixth century, when the same archaeological elements appear in the Rhine valley, northern Gaul, Herpes, the Isle of Wight, and Alfriston, Sussex.[2] One of three examples from Alfriston very closely resembles one from Bifrons; one from Sarre seems to come from the same workshop as another from Herpes. In a slightly different style, with garnet insets, there are three remarkably similar brooches from Herpes, Finglesham, and Chessel Down, Isle of Wight.

At a slightly later date this type of animal decoration in a

[1] Fig. 4.　　　　　　[2] Fig. 6, central brooch.

more decadent zoomorphic stage was transferred to the smaller plain-square-headed brooches prevalent in south-east England.[1] Some of these have the lozenge-shaped foot without bar; others have the two bars forming a cross on the
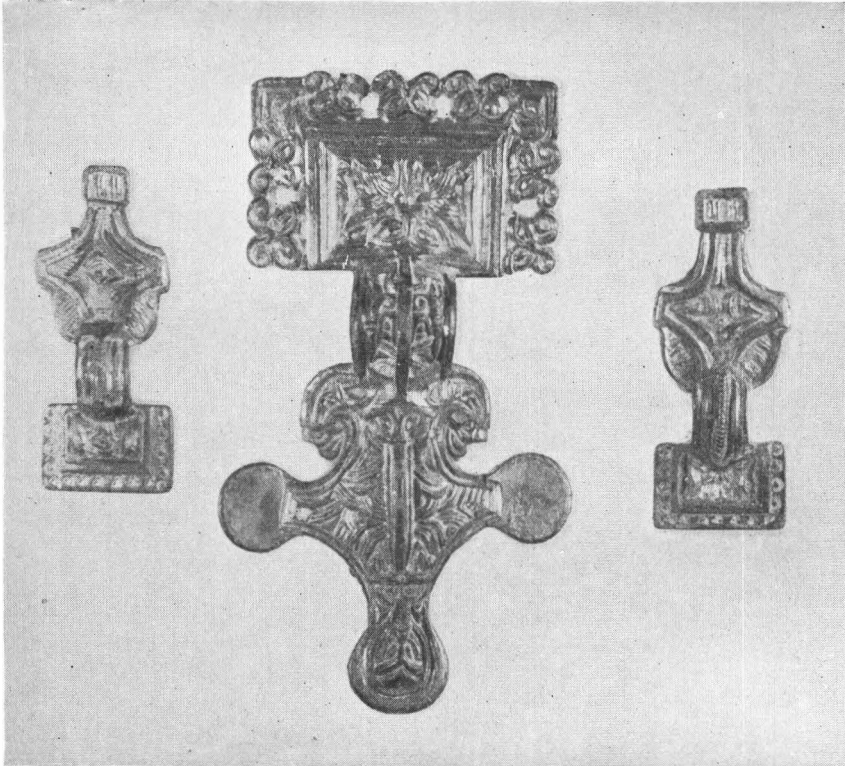

FIG. 6. LARGE SQUARE-HEADED BROOCH WITH ZOOMORPHIC DESIGN, AND TWO SMALLER BROOCHES WITH SIMILAR DESIGN

foot.[2] They are quite numerous at Bifrons, Alfriston, Highdown, Chessel Down, Droxford (Hants), and Herpes; though it must be remembered that they do not necessarily represent many burials, as often one grave contains at least three of the small ones as well as a large one. All these cemeteries yielded jewelled buckle plates with zoomorphic design in chip-carving technique. Alfriston has an example

[1] Figs. 5 and 6.
[2] None in Kent, Sussex, or the Isle of Wight have the single median bar. Fig. 6 shows examples, from Highdown, of small brooches with lozenge foot and with both bars. In Fig. 4 the brooches at the side are examples from Alfriston of the lozenge foot.

of a bronze bowl with embossed decoration on the rim which is rare in England.[1] Another example comes from Stowting, Kent. Several were found at Herpes, Charente, and Lindenschmidt notes the wide distribution of this type in Frankish and Alammanic territory. Both Highdown and Alfriston have yielded odd examples of other items in Mr. Leeds's list of the Frankish style of brooches—the pair of bird brooches from Highdown and the small brooches with lozenge-shaped foot and small semi-circular plate with three diminished knobs from Alfriston which are similar to some small brooches at Chessel Down and some Kentish cemeteries.

Thus in the second phase Sussex has many things in common with both Hampshire and Kent, though Alfriston and Highdown did not receive any of the small cloison circular brooches. It must be remembered that Highdown is in the centre of the area that, as we shall see later, Mr. Jolliffe claims to be the Saxon core of Sussex, and that Alfriston lies on the border of the Saxon and Jutish (Frankish) area. From the area which, according to Mr. Jolliffe, came more fully under Frankish influence, no large pagan Saxon cemetery has yet been found. Certainly neither Alfriston nor Highdown has yielded any of the magnificent jewellery which belonged to the third (or Kentish) phase when Kent forged ahead of the other settlements under the House of Aethelberht.

As long ago as 1915 Dr. H. L. Gray in his study of the English field system had shown that the only area in the south-east of England to have the typical common field system of the nucleated village was the Sussex coastal plain between the Downs and the sea from the Cuckmere to the borders of Hampshire. Elsewhere in Kent, east Sussex, mid-Sussex north of the Downs, the Meon valley, and the Isle of Wight there were signs that the original dominant system was the hamlet system with the single 'great' fields held by one man or *socii*. In Sussex there was a mixed or neutral area which became more purely a hamlet area in east Sussex near the Kentish border. In 1905 Mr. Salzman had called attention[2] to two features of pre-Domesday Sussex which differed from the normal Saxon type. Some sixty or seventy manors had in the time of King Edward the

---

[1] *S.A.C.* lvi, pl. xiii, fig. 1.
[2] *V.C.H. Sussex*: Introduction to Domesday Survey. Cf. *S.A.C.* LXXII, 20–9.

Confessor outlying estates sometimes as much as twenty miles from the main settlement. The Sussex grouping of hides did not add up to the 100-hide 'Hundred' but to an 80-hide unit akin to the Kentish 80 sulungs.[1]

Mr. Jolliffe, in his *Pre-Feudal England*,[2] developed these and other points to contend that Kent, much of Sussex, and parts of Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, were essentially Jutish and that this Jutish element in the south-east was of Frankish origin. He showed that forty Sussex manors had forinsec (detached) woodland in the Weald in the Kentish fashion. Two of the forty (Alciston and Berwick) which can be shown to have been villages of the Saxon three-field nucleated village type, lie on the edge of the admittedly Saxon coastal area of Sussex.

The contrast between the Jutish and Saxon type of holding is well seen by comparing two manors belonging in post-Norman times to Battle Abbey. Alciston, except for its outlying forest, belonged essentially to the Midland type of three common fields worked on the strip system, with each man's holding scattered throughout the fields. Buckstepe belonged to the Jutish hamlet type, with each tenement named and its boundaries well defined.

Entries in Domesday Book concerning the forinsec forest holdings were practically confined to the rapes of Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings. The rape of Hastings with its 160 hides or 80 sulungs at the time of Edward the Confessor was thoroughly Kentish in its organization. Pevensey and Lewes rapes seem to have grown out of the union of smaller units based on the 80-sulung area; for they were assessed at 640 and 800 hides respectively. In Sussex the small Kentish virgate of less than 20 acres held instead of the 30-acre unit of most Saxon England. The Battle Abbey Custumal gives the equations 1 sulung equals 4 iuga equals 16 virgates.

In spite of the subdivision of territory in late Saxon times it is still possible to trace remnants of the large holdings based on the *villa regis*. At the time of the Conquest, and for two centuries beforehand, Mallinges hundred, assessed

[1] Ibid. and LXXIV, 214–25. This 80-hide grouping apparently applies to West as well as East Sussex.

[2] The editor has reminded me that many students do not accept Mr. Jolliffe's views. In this article I have not attempted to criticize those views, but only to summarize them and place beside them other evidence of the close connexions which existed between parts of Sussex and Kent (and also Frankish Gaul) in Early Saxon times.

OUTLYING FOREST HOLDINGS - 1086

■=Settlement.
●=Outliers.

Scale of Miles.
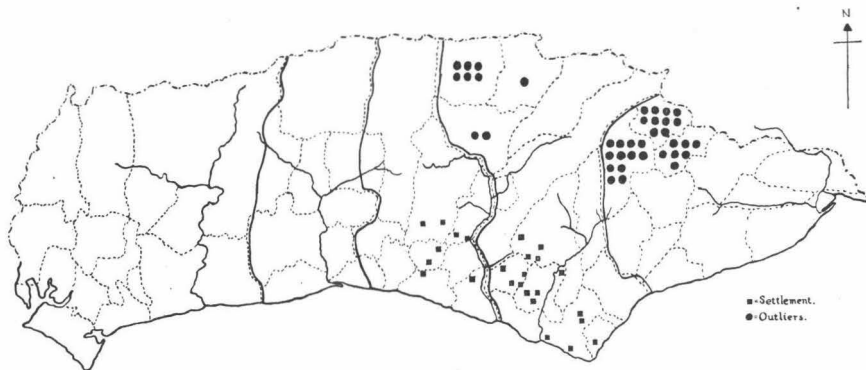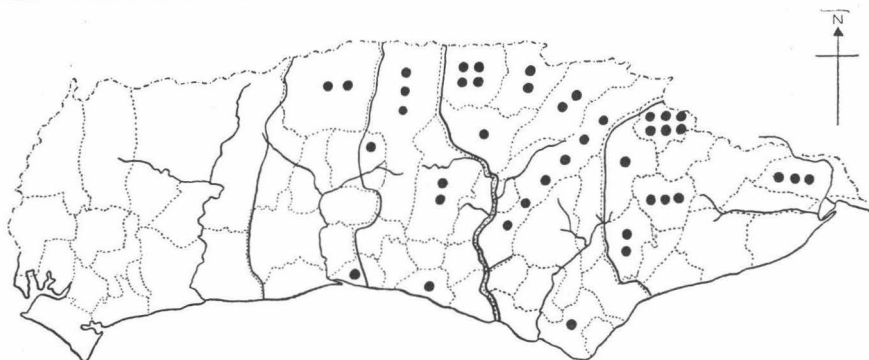
SAXON PLACE NAME ELEMENT - denn.

Scale of Miles.
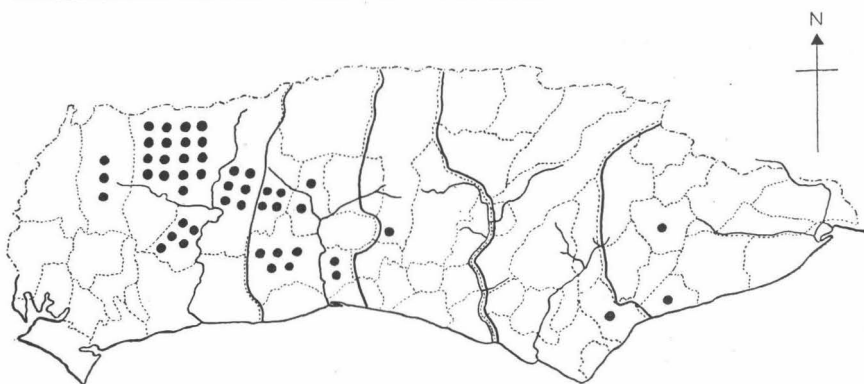
SAXON PLACE NAME ELEMENT - fold.

Scale of Miles.

at 80 hides, had belonged as one unit to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and included not only the main settlement across the river from Lewes but a strip of the forest up to the Sussex–Kent border. In the Hawkesborough, Shoyswell, and Henherst hundreds lay outlying forest areas from settlements situated at the foot of the scarp of the South Downs between Lewes and Eastbourne.[1] The occurrence of the outlying forest holdings from Eckington, Ripe, Willingdon, West Firle, &c., in more than one forest hundred strongly suggests an earlier economic and social unit larger than the hundred and points to a system like the Kentish lathe. The Sussex rape of Norman times may well be a survivor of this earlier social organization, possibly dependent on the royal manor of Beddingham. East Grinstead hundred contained many stretches of outlying forest for Ditchling, Falmer, Wooton, Bevendean, Allington, and Waningore, and even for East Lavant. Westward of this there appear to be no other outlying forest stretches surviving at the time of Domesday except two in Riston hundred from Hamsey and Balmer which may in earlier times have belonged to the same unit as those in East Grinstead—a unit which centred round the *villa regis* of Ditchling.

These outlying forest estates have certain features in common with similar pieces of *silva communis* in Kent. They are 'outside the rape' and 'have not paid geld'. These phrases are used in Domesday Book of the area which are said to 'belong to' (*jacuit ad*) Ditchling, Allington, &c. Mr. Jolliffe contends that these and other similarities point to a Jutish (Frankish) settlement of the whole of the south-east where the original unit of settlement was a province. Later these provinces were administered through the King's Reeve at a *villa regis* which was the centre of an economic as well as a governmental unit. The services were light and differed from the tenures of Saxon England. In Kent itself gavelkind prevailed. In the Hastings rape the partible tenure surviving in early charter and manor rolls was 'Kentish gavelkind in all but name'. Farther westwards in the county Borough English was the type of custom

---

[1] In *Hawkesborough*: Beddingham, West Firle, Arlington, Laughton, Eckington, Ripe, Tilton, East Dean, Willingdon, Sessingham, West Dean, and Ratton. In *Shoyswell*: Chalvington, Sherrington, Alciston, Ratton, Winton (in Berwick), Willingdon, Ripe, West Firle, Eckington, Laughton. In *Henherst*: Eastbourne, Berwick, Ratton, Willingdon, Eckington, Alciston, West Firle. See Map 1.

one would expect to arise from the imposition of Saxon custom on top of the earlier Jutish (Frankish) type.[1] Traces of this system of dependence on a *villa regis* remain in the Domesday Book entries not only for Ditchling but also for Beeding and Steyning. 'King Edward held (Beeding) *in firmam suam.*' Though it was only assessed for 32 hides in the time of King Edward, it rendered one night's ferm and was worth £95. 5s. 6d. 'Harold held (Steyning) at the end of the reign of King Edward and it was assessed for 81 hides and there were in addition 18 hides and 7 acres outside the rape which have never paid geld.' These appear under the name of William de Braose, where we learn that 'King Edward held it as part of his ferm'.

A study of the place-names of Sussex and Kent suggests that the earliest post-Roman settlers in the two counties used certain place-name elements not found elsewhere. In the introduction to the Sussex volume the editors remark that 'much of it (The Weald) appears as swine pasture appurtenant to the villages of the more habitable south of the shire and its nomenclature is of a race of herdsmen living in scattered settlements and preserving in their isolation names of which many must descend from the seventh if not the sixth century'. One such element (*denn*, a clearing) appears only in Kent and Sussex. Moreover, the distribution of the Sussex examples strongly supports the conclusions of Mr. Jolliffe. There are no examples in west Sussex. There are two (Denne and Oakingdean) near the Adur valley. It is most frequent in those areas which have the outlying forest attached to villages at the foot of the Downs.[2] As west Sussex is as heavily forested as east Sussex or Kent, the occurrences of this name in east Sussex and Kent only must point to either a different group of settlers or to a different method of settlement.

Of special significance for these 'swine-clearing' names is Palinga schittas, mentioned in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* 898. The second element *scydd*, combined with the genitive singular of an *-ingas* name, gives the meaning 'the sheds or swine-cotes belonging to the people of Poling'—a very early form. This element is found only in Sussex and

---

[1] For arguments in support of this contention see Jolliffe, op. cit. 79–81.

[2] Hammerden, Mapleden, Ringden, Witherenden, Broomden in Shoyswell hundred. Cowden, Riselden, Sharnden, Hawkesden, Sandyden, Barnden in the Mallinges holding. Hackenden, Standen, Hazelden in East Grinstead. See Map 2.

Kent. Citangaleahge, the OE. form of Chiddingly wood in West Hoathly, is another primitive form similar to Kentish forest names—the clearing or woodland of Citta's people. West Hoathly itself contains the OE. *hap* found also in Kent and common in ME. field-names in mid and east Sussex. The Place-Name Survey gives fourteen examples all east of the Adur.[1] Other elements rare outside Kent and Sussex are *geselle*,[2] and *snad*[3] and *dael*.[4] Two other elements found this time in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight as well as in Kent and Sussex are *scora*, in Shoreham in Kent and Sussex, Shorwell (Isle of Wight), and *ried* common in Sussex and Kent with single examples in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. In contrast it may be noticed that *fald* belongs essentially to *west* Sussex and Surrey. Of some fifty examples in the county thirty-two belong to the rape of Arundel and seven to the Bramber rape.[5]

As already noticed, Mr. Leeds holds on archaeological grounds that it 'is in Frankish territory that the origin of most of the Kentish culture must be sought—within a triangle at whose corners now stand the towns of Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Trier'. Mr. Jolliffe, on the ground of law, custom, and economic organization, argues for a similar origin for the 'Jutish' settlement of much of the south-east of England including all east Sussex and mid-Sussex north of the Downs. He bases much of his argument on the essential differences between the Saxon and Jutish systems which arise from the fact that in Wessex and part of Mercia the basic unit (of land tenure) is the yard or *virga*: 'the tenement marked off by the customary number of such yards is the yardland or virgate'. . . . 'The Kentish system is not strictly a land measure but one of labour. At its base is the unit of land covered by a day's ploughing, the day-work or *diete*—and it is built up into the normal tenement of the *jugum* or yoke of two oxen and the full ploughland or *sulung* of eight.'

On the Continent German historians have shown that the

---

[1] *The Place-Names of Sussex*, ii, p. 543.

[2] Found in Buxshalls near Lindfield; Drigsell in Salehurst; Bemzells (Herstmonceux) and Breadsele (Battle).

[3] Snathurst Wood near Brede; cf. Snodhurst, Kent (B.C.S. 370 Snadhyrst). B.C.S. 208 has Tattingsnad in the bounds of Icklesham.

[4] Dael, found in Kent and Sussex, but not in South or South Midlands, Summersdale (New Fishbourne), Dale Park, Daleham (Fletching), Hendal (Withyham), Hendall (Buxted), and Holmdale (Rye).   [5] See Map 3.

measure by 'yards' is roughly Saxon and is confined to north-west Germany. If this test is valid the Jutes did not come from north-west Germany but from central western Germany, where there existed a system similar to the Jutish. Here in the district occupied by the Franks the 'morgen' or acre is estimated as a day's work for the plough and the term *jugerum, yoke, joch* is used. For a larger unit the term common in Kentish documents—*terra aratri*—appears as a Rhenish land unit. Moreover, it is an area not of open fields but of enclosed settlements (*hoba, cum casulis, pratis, sylvis*), corresponding to the Jutish hamlet.

The same fundamental agreement exists between Jutish and Frankish customary law. Both have the threefold wergeld for the noble and not the sixfold of Wessex and Saxony. The early Frankish 'gau', as a district, corresponds to the early lathes of Kent and the provincial units which underlie the Sussex rapes. The rules of inheritance in early Frankish law indicate a transition from joint family holding to a partible tenure something akin to gavelkind. The obligations under *Lex Salica* and *Lex Ripuaria* are remarkably similar to those of Kentish law. Frankish deeds are full of such phrases as *Mansi* with *silva ad eundum locum pertinens, cum silva ibidem aspiciente, cum foresta sua*. Thus the south-east of England owes much of its custom as well as its art to Frankish influence.

In 1940 Miss Deanesly read a paper before the Royal Historical Society[1] on 'English and Gallic Minsters' in which she drew attention to an alleged charter of Æthelberht from Canterbury Cathedral archives. She proved that the later transcript was based on an original drawn up under strong Merovingian influence. Moreover, the witnesses showed that Æthelberht's court was arranged on a Frankish model with signatories who not only held positions similar to those of a Merovingian Court but whose names were themselves Frankish—one of them contained the Frankish element *gisela*. She summed up by saying: 'it is hardly possible to doubt in view of this list of witnesses that Æthelberht had a court and officials on the Frankish model . . . and that the introduction of writing in Kent came with the copying of Frankish methods of government before the coming of Augustine; it would be needed in connexion with the King's landed pos-

---

[1] Proceedings of Royal Historical Society, 1941.

sessions, the equivalent of the Frankish fisc, and with tribute.'

In the same article Miss Deanesly calls attention to the coin finds at Sutton Hoo, where the magnificent jewellery unexpectedly marks, though in Suffolk, the peak of Kentish jewellers' art. All the coins were struck in Merovingian mints. This point, in its turn, directs attention to an appendix of Mr. Derek Allen to the monograph on the Richborough hoard of 'radiate' coins found in 1931 and reported on by Messrs. Mattingly and Stebbing in 1938. The authors of the main monograph give convincing reasons to show that the hoard was not deposited till post-Roman times. The art of some of the later examples which have a copy of a third-century radiate on the obverse with a late-fourth-century reverse finds numerous parallels in Merovingian silver coins and Saxon sceattas. Mr. Allen elaborates this point and shows that certain designs on sceattas and thrymsas are clearly derived *indirectly* from Roman models *through* the designs on some of the Richborough hoard. He illustrates the appendix with twenty examples of gold and silver Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins which show close relationship to some of the hoard. The similarity is so great as to suggest that the artist who struck the sceattas must have handled the Richborough type of coins. He holds that there is no evidence that the coins should have been struck nearer A.D. 500 than the time of St. Augustine. Thus the Richborough hoard shows that some of the people settling in Kent in the sixth century had been in close contact with the Franks.

All this varied evidence tends to strengthen Mr. Leeds's original suggestion of a strong Frankish element in the second stage of the settlement of Kent—the phase he calls the Frankish phase during the sixth century. The only Sussex cemeteries which have yet yielded much material for this period are Alfriston and Highdown. As yet no significant discoveries have been recorded in the Hastings area, where on social and economic grounds Frankish influence should be most marked. A comparison of the grave-goods from Highdown and Alfriston, however, provides some interesting relevant facts. Highdown, which is in the admittedly Saxon area of Sussex, shows three phases of settlement—the early phase of the penannular and derived brooches with strong

Roman influence common to Alfriston and Kent. It has yielded more of these early goods than Alfriston. Probably contemporary with these, or at any rate not much later, are the solid saucer brooches with scroll design and rich gilding found in both cemeteries and in the north-west corner of Kent.

During the second or Frankish phase of the sixth century Alfriston was more influenced than Highdown. It has a fair number of the small square-headed brooches, three large square-headed brooches, and the bronze bowl and some glass. At Highdown small brooches are well represented, but there are no large brooches. Highdown is rich in glass and, like Alfriston, has a little Frankish work in buckles, but neither has any cloison round brooches.

In a third phase Highdown seems to become more Saxon than Alfriston. It has numerous examples of the later Saxon brooch apparently absent from Alfriston. On these, in addition to the typically Saxon five-pointed star decoration, are several varieties of late zoomorphic design. At Alfriston such design is present only on a pair of solid saucer brooches. Thus it would be fair to say that Highdown shows the Saxon element asserting itself more decisively than at Alfriston. This is in keeping with the evidence put forward by Mr. Jolliffe in *Pre-Feudal England* and with a study of certain of the early place-names. It would seem that in the late sixth or early seventh century the Saxon rulers of the coastal plain, either alone or in conjunction with the Saxon rulers of Wessex, began to assert their power over a wider area and grafted on to an existing Jutish custom, derived eventually from the Frankish Rhineland, their own Saxon customs, derived from the north-west of Germany, to found the Kingdom of Sussex.

Acknowledgements