

# Notes on Jutish Art in Kent between 450 and 575

*By the late* E. T. LEEDS

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## INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER was written by E. T. Leeds shortly before his death in August, 1955. It was designed as a friendly rejoinder to Professor C. F. C. Hawkes's essay on 'The Jutes of Kent', which he had seen when he read the page-proofs of *Dark-Age Britain*, the volume of studies compiled in his honour. Unfortunately, this last paper of Leeds's was never completed, being left as a manuscript without conclusion, footnotes or illustrations. Its interest is such, however, that although both style and content are somewhat uneven in quality, as is only to be expected in a preliminary draft, it has been decided to publish it, as the last word of the Grand Master of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology on the subject which had so constantly occupied his mind, the problem of Kent. When, therefore, I was asked to do so, I gladly agreed to prepare the manuscript for publication.

Except for a few minor cuts and emendations made to improve the sense or the presentation, my policy has been to leave the text more or less untouched. Illustrations have been chosen as far as possible according to indications in the text, but as these were few, others have been added where they seemed needed. For the rest, comments and modifications have been confined to the footnotes, for which I alone am responsible.

'Notes on Jutish Art in Kent' is in some respects the logical culmination of Leeds's trends of thought during the last ten years of his life. In it he develops more fully than ever before his reasons for rejecting his first theory of a settlement of Franks in Kent, in favour of one of strong initial impulses from South Jutland. This paper is, then, a natural sequel to 'Denmark and Early England', published in *Antiq. J.*, XXVI (1946), 31 ff., and 'Anglo-Saxon Exports, a criticism', in *Antiq. J.*, XXXIII (1953), 208 ff. It is a pity that his health did not permit him to back up his arguments by a fresh first-hand examination of the material under discussion and so put his typology on a sounder basis and minimize the theoretical nature of the paper. Even with this obvious limitation, however, this last paper of Leeds's is vitally interesting. The extended theorizing on early contacts with Denmark, and on the problem of the Herpes cemetery, breaks new ground. The discussion of the D-bracteates, with which his arguments end, is a long overdue reply to Mackeprang's dating of the gold bracteates, and a very salutary lesson on the importance of the English evidence for the whole of Scandinavian chronology in the migration period.

PLS. I, B and II are reproduced by courtesy of the National Museum, Copenhagen; PLS. I, C, and III by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; PLS. I, D, and IV, B and FIGS. 2-4, *a*, *b*, which are by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse, M.B.E., by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum; PL. I, A, by courtesy of the Landesmuseum, Bonn; and PL. IV, A, by courtesy of the Maidstone Museum. FIGS. 1 and 4, *c* are by Miss Elizabeth Meikle, and were made primarily for my own forthcoming publication of the Finglesham cemetery being reproduced here by courtesy of the Ministry of Works. I am much indebted to Mr. D. B. Harden and Mr. D. M. Wilson for their kind cooperation in arranging for drawings and photographs to be made. I should also like to thank Dr. Ole Klindt-Jensen (PLS. I, B, and II) and Mr. A. Warhurst (PL. IV, A) for the loan of

photographs, and the former for information about several brooches in the Copenhagen Museum. To Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford I wish to express my warmest thanks for the help and advice he has given on so many occasions.

S.E.C.

## NOTES ON JUTISH ART IN KENT

ANY exposition of the cultural history of Kent in early Anglo-Saxon times, as that history is expressed in the jewellery and other ornaments recovered from cemeteries, is beset by certain anomalies and problems, which, if paralleled at all in other parts of the country, do not appear in anything like so sharply defined a form. In the first place, it is generally recognized that there is a marked difference between eastern and western Kent, areas well-nigh coterminous with those which popularly belong to the Men of Kent and Kentish Men, the dividing line corresponding roughly with the course of the Medway.<sup>1</sup>

The western area was thinly occupied in the pagan period and has only furnished a sparse material, which, where it does occur, for example at Northfleet,<sup>2</sup> is admittedly Saxon in character and indistinguishable from relics found in the cemeteries of Surrey farther up the Thames.

The eastern area presents a very different picture. Its early stages can perhaps best be illustrated by part of the collection of finds (unfortunately not in grave-groups) once preserved in Bifrons House.<sup>3</sup> Among them is a curious assemblage of objects which seem to have derived from a variety of north continental sources—just the kind of material one might expect to be associated with the early arrivals called in by Vortigern as *foederati* to assist in repelling other Teutonic invaders and

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913), pp. 115-16; G. J. Copley, 'The tribal complexity of the early Kentish kingdom', *Archaeol. News Letter*, V, no. 2 (1954), 24-8.

<sup>2</sup> *V.C.H. Kent*, I, 386; *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, III (1847), 236 (part of the collection at Maidstone Museum, part at Gravesend Public Library). The other major cemeteries of this area include Higham, Strood, *Archaeol. Cantiana*, XXVIII (1909), p. xcl (Rochester Eastgate Museum): Horton Kirby, *Archaeol. J.*, XXIV (1867), 281; XXV (1868), 94 (Maidstone Museum). The cemetery at Risely, Horton Kirby, *Trans. Dartford and District Antiquarian Soc.*, VII (1938), 14 ff. (Dartford Borough Museum), shows affinities with the same Thames valley sites, but appears, at least in part, to be of somewhat later date.

<sup>3</sup> After treatment and exhibition at the British Museum, this collection is now in Maidstone Museum, as a gift from Major F. W. Tomlinson. The circumstances of the discovery are obscure, but the objects would appear to have come from a group of graves found by Lord Conyngham's gamekeeper at the time of the Kent Archaeological Society's excavations. They are probably the graves referred to by Godfrey Faussett (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, X (1876), 299): 'A few such graves have also been lately found on this same Patrick'sbourne Hill, near Lord Conyngham's Keeper's Lodge, and nearly opposite Patrick'sbourne Church.' From this description it would appear that the Tomlinson collection's graves were several hundred yards from the main Bifrons cemetery and we may even have here two adjacent cemeteries. Certainly the Tomlinson collection contains some very early material. Some of the objects were illustrated by Leeds in *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pl. xii. It is difficult to be sure what exactly is meant by the *foederati* material in question. The generally accepted definition refers specifically to metalwork such as that found in the Dorchester graves (*Oxoniensia*, XVII-XVIII (1952-3), 63 ff.). Similar metalwork has been found in Kent in Germanic contexts at Horton Kirby and Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Maidstone Museum), but the Tomlinson collection contains only one small, much worn, D-shaped buckle-loop with horse-head decoration like that at Dorchester, but of a type also found in late Roman levels and in early Saxon graves. Another buckle with an exact parallel at High Down, Sussex, grave 25 (*Archaeologia*, LIV (1895), pl. xxvii, 5) appears to be a copy of types found on the *limes*. Both these buckles could be early-fifth-century in date but the horse-head type probably antedates the Hengest phase, originally. Of the rest of the material, I venture to suggest that there is very little that can have been imported around 450, although much of it is comparatively early in date.

thus to bolster up the shaky tenures of post-Roman princelets.<sup>4</sup> Other parts of the large Bifrons cemetery, carefully recorded,<sup>5</sup> produced objects comparable to these. There is also material of a different complexion, indicating a folk living in better circumstances and, from a typological comparison of form, possessing jewellery of a better quality and in a changing style, but still earlier than the types made familiar by the products of the Kingston Down and other upland settlements.<sup>6</sup> It may here be emphasized that these settlements belong essentially to the period of the circular Kentish brooch. I do not profess wholly to understand what caused the widespread adoption of the round brooch in east Kent in place of elongated shapes, whether cruciform, radiate with semicircular headplate, or square-headed (large and small), but unquestionably these types in particular, as well as others, disappear entirely in the latter half of the sixth century.

There are thus three distinct periods:

1. Mixed Anglo-Saxon, rather poor in quality and rather indeterminate in origin, but here and there showing some endeavour to produce a local style.<sup>7</sup>
2. An east Kentish period, marked by signs of increasing prosperity and steadily increasing technical ability, and showing traces of trade with western Germany.<sup>8</sup>
3. Solidly established prosperity with affinities with Frankish culture, rather that of France than of Germany, but with a very pronounced Kentish individuality.<sup>9</sup>

The present essay is concerned with the second period—its origin, growth and emergence into the third.

Historically the newcomers in Kent were Jutes and the natural assumption is that they came from Jutland. On various grounds, however, including the known history of Hengest,<sup>10</sup> and the linguistic and ceramic evidence, great stress is laid upon a recorded settlement of Jutes in north Friesland, almost as if this were something more than a half-way house for the invaders. The earliest Kentish relics are of a very miscellaneous character; the early cruciform brooches point at once to Angles; in England the type has an Anglian connotation, but they could

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* I, xv; Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 449. Discussion and references in C. E. Stevens, 'Gildas Sapiens', *English Hist. Rev.*, LVI (1941), 352-73; J. N. L. Myres, 'The Adventus Saxonum', *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond; Essays presented to O. G. S. Crawford* (1951), pp. 221-41; C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The Jutes of Kent', *Dark-Age Britain; Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (1956), pp. 91-6.

<sup>5</sup> Godfrey Faussett, 'The Saxon Cemetery at Bifrons', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, X (1876), 298 ff. and XIII (1880), 552 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Bryan Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), pp. 35-94; see also Sibertswold, *ibid.*, pp. 101-134; Barfriston, *ibid.*, pp. 125-143; Chartham Downs, *ibid.*, pp. 160-176.

<sup>7</sup> The reference here seems to be both to the early Bifrons material and to that from the west Kentish cemeteries.

<sup>8</sup> The period of the great square-headed brooch, best seen at Bifrons, Sarre, Howletts, Bekesbourne, Finglesham and Ash.

<sup>9</sup> The 'circular brooch' period of Kingston, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Assuming that the Hengest who became overlord of Kent is in fact the Hengest of the Finn episode in *Beowulf* (1071-1159) and the *Finsburgh Fragment*; C. L. Wrenn, *Beowulf* (1953), pp. 180-1, and discussion, pp. 52-3; H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (1907), pp. 44-50.

perfectly well come from Denmark. For, though the known Danish finds of this type are far from numerous, they exhibit the same signs of local development among Jutes who stayed at home as the same brooch-form did after its arrival in Britain. It is rare and early in Kent;<sup>11</sup> its life in Denmark is also brief. It is by no means impossible that a few of the Kentish specimens were made in Jutland, and others in Kent, and I venture to suggest that some of the square-headed brooches illustrated by Åberg,<sup>12</sup> from Bifrons (grave 64), Stodmarsh and Richborough, could be original imports, even though to some extent they differ considerably from the main group of fine examples from Denmark.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, the most amazing feature of early Kentish jewellery is the rapid transition from dull, rather muddled and clumsy productions, like the group of brooches just mentioned above, to the neat, skilful and distinguished work of the second period. It seemed impossible to believe that the artificers could be one and the same people. Much of the new work exhibited a luxury previously unknown, and the apparent, more recently admitted, *Fyndknaphed* (scarcity of finds) in Jutland,<sup>14</sup> during the period in question, seems to demand a search elsewhere for the inspiration responsible for the new archaeological period. Naturally one turned to a Frankish source, whence parallels could at once be cited for many of the luxury-goods found in relatively contemporaneous graves in Kent and the Isle of Wight. Such were brooches with garnet cloisons; silver perforated spoons, also decorated with garnet cloisons; and gold- and silver-mounted crystal balls, to mention but a few of the most striking objects, as well as brooches of a humbler type that could be equated with Frankish material. In short, there seemed to be a revival of a trade with the Low Countries and the Rhineland that had been active throughout Roman times, and that so extensive that, instead of the Anglo-Saxon hand-made pottery, examples of wheel-turned wares including typical bottles of Rhenish fabric are found in Kentish cemeteries.

Actually, the trade was not extraordinarily lively; the quantity of imported Frankish material is not great. Take one class alone, what the Germans call *Bügelfibeln*, as examined by Professor Herbert Kühn.<sup>15</sup> His list of these from Germany (mainly Rhineland) and north-eastern France is enormous; within it he is able to include barely two dozen pieces from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, mostly in Kent, that could actually be of continental manufacture. They cover a period extending from 500-600. If there was any continuing trade in luxury-goods, it seems to have been in glassware.<sup>16</sup>

As a whole, the parallels with Germany and the idea of an influx of Frankish settlers, which in 1913<sup>17</sup> I felt might serve to account for the remarkable change,

<sup>11</sup> N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), pp. 29 ff., figs. 32-41.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 138-40; Leeds, *A Corpus of early Anglo-Saxon great square-headed Brooches* (1949), A1, nos. 4 and 5 (but see note 33 below).

<sup>13</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, S5 and S6; N. Åberg, *Den Nordiske Folkvandringstidens Kronologi* (1924), figs. 54, 58-60.

<sup>14</sup> J. Brøndsted, *Danmarks Oldtid*, III (1940), 281 ff.

<sup>15</sup> H. Kühn, *Die Germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in der Rheinprovinz* (1940).

<sup>16</sup> D. B. Harden, 'Glass vessels in Britain, A.D. 400-1000', *Dark-Age Britain; Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (1956), pp. 132 ff., especially p. 148.

<sup>17</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 1, pp. 126-38.

which at some point fairly early in the sixth century so strongly marks the history of the work of Kentish artificers, must be discarded. Another interpretation of the facts is required.

It would seem that it must lie in the archaeological *Fyndknaphed* of Jutland. Danish savants have given us reason to believe that the westwardly advance of the *Δουλιώνες*<sup>18</sup> from south Sweden, after gradually absorbing the islands, eventually impinged on the Jutland peninsula. Possibly their entry into the mainland led to a considerable emigration of Jutes, not merely adventuring *foederati* like Hengest and his kind, but a solid part of the Jutish population, who carried with them a technical knowledge and skill, which, as proven by the known material of an earlier period, must have stood at a high level. This access of craftsmanship found the new occupants of Kent fully prepared to seize their opportunity to combine their innate powers with the fresh ideas offered by closer contact with western Europe.

What did they actually bring from Denmark? Firstly, gold bracteates, mostly of the latest class—examples of their capacity for design and neat workmanship: no more than examples, because they found no gold supplies to carry on this particular craft. Secondly, a good acquaintance with Teutonic zoomorphic ornament, which was just at this period beginning to develop widely throughout Scandinavia and the continent. Its early stages were already no novelty in Britain, whether introduced through such media as the Saxon equal-armed brooches or the Gallo-Roman style of the Aisne cemeteries. I have already, on the basis of the absence of zoomorphic decoration, maintained that some, at least, of the Haslingfield corpus B1 type of great square-headed brooch may have been made in Denmark,<sup>19</sup> though admittedly proof is lacking. It is all the more essential to mark down, apart from the bracteates, any pieces of evidence that definitely point to a Danish origin. Two of these are the square-headed brooches from Finglesham, Kent<sup>20</sup> (FIG. 1) and Barrington, Cambridgeshire<sup>21</sup> (PL. I, c).

About the Finglesham brooch there can be no question whatever. The fact that it was found in association with D-bracteates, as was another example from Agerskov, Jutland<sup>22</sup> (PL. I, b) is in itself sufficient to refute the idea that it is an English product and served as a prototype for the similar brooch from Engers, Hessen-Nassau<sup>23</sup> (PL. I, a). The evidence as it stands is two examples associated with D-bracteates, one of them found in Jutland, against a single specimen with no associated objects from a site stated to be Engers, but actually with no proof beyond its passage through a dealer's hands. In any event, there is no valid reason why it, like the Finglesham piece, should not have reached the Rhineland directly

<sup>18</sup> Leeds, 'Denmark and Early England', *Antiq. J.*, XXVI (1946), 31.

<sup>19</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, pp. 111-14.

<sup>20</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, XLI (1929), 121, grave D3; Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 50, pl. xiv; *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 12, A1, no. 1, p. 7; Kühn, *op. cit.* in note 15, pl. lxxxi, no. 14, 1, pp. 166-7; Hawkes, *op. cit.* in note 4, pl. xiii.

<sup>21</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 11, fig. 98; Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, III (1915), pl. xxxix, 4.

<sup>22</sup> M. Mackeprang, *De Nordiske Guldbrakteater* (1952), pl. xxii, 4.

<sup>23</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, S1; *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 3, fig. 13, b, p. 49; Kühn, *op. cit.* in note 15, pl. ix, no. 66, p. 395.

from Jutland. It is worth while reviewing afresh the contents of the Finglesham grave D3:

i. Bracteates, unquestionably of Jutish origin, and, since the design is a little more broken up than on similar pieces actually found in Jutland, not impossibly, though improbably, struck by a Jutish jeweller in this country.<sup>24</sup>

ii. A single square-headed brooch with signs of hard wear by which the flat circular device on the bow (so well preserved at Engers) has been abraded away almost beyond decipherment. On this brooch there is an entirely novel artistic motive: the pair of biting beasts drooping from the top of the bow, already firmly established in Scandinavian usage, is replaced by a beast facing inwards and climbing upwards from the shoulder of the foot-plate.

iii. A pair of radiate, semicircular-headed brooches of Kühn's type 11, either imports from a Frankish source or Kentish copies.<sup>25</sup>

iv. A pair of bird brooches. These are not the usual eagle as found in grave 41 at Bifrons, and which is so frequent in the Rhineland, but are more naturally drawn. They are probably not a continental import<sup>26</sup> and are thus a charming fantasy of the fast approaching new epoch of Kentish art.

Now take the Barrington brooch. If it is laid alongside those from Engers and Finglesham, the close kinship of the three pieces can at once be detected in the bow, which (as pointed out in *Antiq. J.*, XXXIII (1953), 206) is of a type and length quite foreign to normal Anglo-Saxon work; it is, however, decorated in a manner which persists in other early brooches of Kentish origin such as that from Bifrons grave 63,<sup>27</sup> or the well-known Suffolk brooch.<sup>28</sup> The Barrington brooch has also seen hard wear; on the headplate the edges of the coupé circles of its circle-and-triangle border are heavily abraded. It has, like Finglesham and Engers, in the middle of the footplate, a whirligig device. This, whether as a whirligig or in cruciform style, recurs frequently on early Scandinavian brooches and supplies the motif which, adopted in Sussex for the adornment of

<sup>24</sup> Actually, two of the Finglesham bracteates can be placed among the earliest and finest of Mackeprang's Jutland Group I class. The third example is certainly not more degenerate than several pieces from Denmark and Frisia figured on his pl. 16, but it is true that most of the Kentish specimens, in particular those from Sarre and Bifrons, show a more marked degree of stylization and disintegration than the majority of the Jutland ones. It is, therefore, just possible that they were produced in Britain and copied from imported Jutland types. On the other hand there is no evidence that there was sufficient gold available at this date. The jewellery in the early to middle sixth century is of bronze or silver, even in Kent, and gold does not appear to have been current much before the seventh century.

<sup>25</sup> Kühn, *op. cit.* in note 15, pl. lxxvi, 11, 10. These are almost certainly imports from the Rhineland. They come from the same mould as a pair of identical brooches from Basel, Kleinhünigen, grave 94 (Kühn, 11, 12).

<sup>26</sup> This type of bird brooch is exceptionally rare. Gertrud Thiry, *Die Vögel-fibeln der germanische Völkerwanderungszeit* (1939), a corpus primarily of Rhineland examples, does not illustrate anything like them. Parallels do exist, however; a pair, apparently unpublished but found near Arras, is in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye (no. 46646), and particularly interesting is an exact parallel from the Herpes, Charente, cemetery which appears to be from the same mould as one of the Finglesham pair (Delamain, 'Le cimetière d'Herpes', *Bulletin Soc. archéol. de la Charente*, 1890-91, pl. xv, p. 96). The distribution is too sparse to be very informative but a Kentish origin is possible in view of the lack of Rhenish examples. A very similar brooch was found at Chessel Down (B.M. 1867, 7-29, 36).

<sup>27</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, A1, no. 2, p. 8; Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 11, fig. 122; *Archaeol. Cantiana* XIII (1880), 553.

<sup>28</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, A3, no. 13; Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 11, fig. 123.

# JUTISH ART IN KENT

II

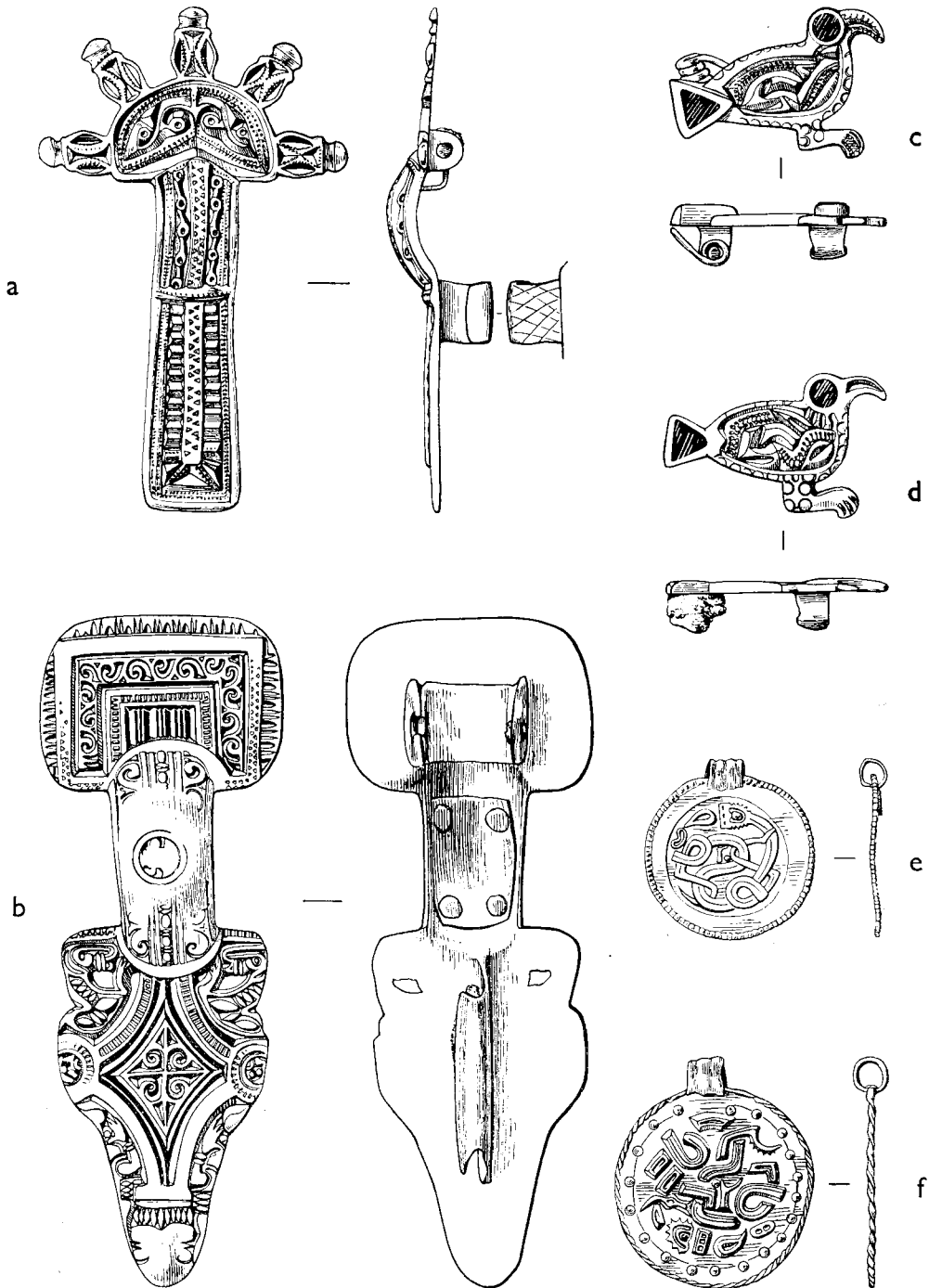


FIG. 1

Jewellery from Finglesham, Kent, grave D3 (p. 9f). 1

saucer-brooches, served to originate a series of patterns, traces of which persist down to the close of the known history of the saucer-brooch itself.

It is essential at this point to re-emphasize the criticism I expressed<sup>29</sup> in regard to early Anglo-Saxon exports of jewellery to the continent. As far back as 1912 E. Brenner<sup>30</sup> wrote of 'nordisch-englisch' (Scandinavian-English) square-headed brooches found in south Germany. Some of these pieces have since then been transmuted into imports, or copies of imports, from southern England. Thus, Joachim Werner in 1935<sup>31</sup> speaks of 'the runic brooch from Engers of southern-English origin, and the equally English brooch from Kleinhünigen'. And, because these brooches bear a human mask on the oval, flattened top of the bow, similar to those on the Kentish brooches illustrated by Nils Åberg in *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, figs. 138-140, the relationship is regarded as so close 'that only an import from England can be envisaged'.<sup>32</sup> Herbert Kühn in *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln* follows the same line and even names his type 14 'the Finglesham type'; this being the brooch from which both the Engers and Kleinhünigen examples have in his opinion been copied. Mögens B. Mackeprang in *De Nordiske Guldbrakteater* strongly supports the foregoing views. What, however, strikes the English student in all these utterances is the failure to appreciate the wide gulf, both from an artistic and technical standpoint, that lies between the so-called 'English model and the very second-rate early productions of the settlers in Kent.

The first arrivals in Kent came as fighting men with sword, spear and shield, and if as *foederati* they brought any women-folk with them, these would be wearing their native jewellery. It is remarkable how very few ornaments, especially brooches, of Roman or Romano-British type have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves; the penannular type of pre-Roman ancestry and the annular type, a British form, are here excluded. The few found in Kent are either the property of 'Sabine' women or loot pure and simple. The newcomers in any event probably had little time for the luxuries of life, but what women did come must have possessed brooches like Åberg's figs. 138-39, with flattened decorated discs on a bow of hemicylindrical section.<sup>33</sup> Later, an urge to further embellishment inevit-

<sup>29</sup> *Antiq. J.*, XXXIII (1953), 208-10.

<sup>30</sup> *VII Bericht der Römisch-Germanische Kommission* (1912), p. 299.

<sup>31</sup> *Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde*, pp. 47-8: 'Der Sudengland hergestellten Runenfibeln von Engers und der gleichfalls englischen Bügelfibel von Kleinhünigen grave 74.'

<sup>32</sup> 'Das nur an englischen Import gedacht worden kann.'

<sup>33</sup> At this point a desire to put the innovation of the rampant beast after that of the down-biting beast has led to an indefensible piece of chronology, as Leeds must surely have seen had he been given the time to consider it in all its implications. There is nothing in the grave-groups, in which the Bifrons 64 brooch and the Stodmarsh brooch were found, to suggest a date in the fifth century. Bifrons 64 contained a late D-bracteate and a crystal ball in silver slings of standard type. The Stodmarsh barrow contained the curious square-headed brooch of Åberg, fig. 146, and a silver spoon with garnet inlay in the usual Kentish tradition. There can be no question of dating the deposition of the groups before 550. In addition, both brooches are decorated with devolved Style I animal ornament that from a typological standpoint must put them later than both the Finglesham D3 and Bifrons 41 square-headed brooches. The Bifrons 41 brooch is in its turn typologically later than the Finglesham and Engers brooches, as a comparison of the zoomorphic ornament of the three brooches will demonstrate. In fact it is necessary to reverse Leeds's order of development, but this will not alter his thesis very drastically or affect the question of Danish influences. The rampant and down-biting beasts can very easily have been in vogue at the same time, and indeed the comparison Leeds has drawn between the Finglesham and Barrington brooches proves the point.



ably led to overloaded examples like those from Richborough and Bifrons grave 41 (Åberg, figs. 140 and 141).

While this phase was in progress, fresh arrivals of Jutish *émigrés* brought brooches like Finglesham D3 with the same hemicylindrical bow and flattened disc very similar to Åberg, fig. 138. Moreover they must have brought other brooches of similar pattern, unless we are to be satisfied with a single model, for an entirely new feature, a pair of rampant beasts, appears in place of the older, long established, biting heads. This novel motif at once attracted attention, and so in Bifrons grave 63 (Åberg, fig. 122) the artificers have run riot with it as they did with the older motif. The imperfect brooch from Market Overton<sup>34</sup> may be based on one of these early blunders that found its way far afield.

This bizarre phase faded out and there ensued one in which a quieter and more ordered style was evolved. In it the rampant beast plays a dominant role. Thenceforward until c. 575, when the square-headed brooch in Kent passed entirely out of fashion, the rampant beast held the field in the proportion of four to one; so much so that, even in some of the miniature examples from Bifrons, Chessel Down, Howletts and Ash, the beast<sup>35</sup> has left its mark in the sharp, pointed wing on each side of the bow, as it did on the large brooches in the eastern counties and the east midlands,<sup>36</sup> though in some cases an outwardly facing eye indicates that the older adjunct to the brooch was not wholly forgotten.

For a time the zoomorphic style continued in use, but in the same quieter and ordered fashion, as on two brooches from Chessel Down and Milton-next-Sittingbourne<sup>37</sup>—the kind of models which spread their influence far out into the eastern counties and beyond.

Given this somewhat dull background established by the early arrivals, what caused the emergence of an epoch of increased wealth accompanied by an artistic renaissance? Before they quitted Denmark the Jutes had been well acquainted with wealth and luxury, even if, compared with that of the islands, their actual share was modest. The rich gold-hoards are accumulations from the gold-stream flowing into Scandinavia with the returning Goths, and in times of uncertainty banked with Mother Earth, the most trustworthy strong-room of those days. The Jutes, however, carried little of the gold to Britain, and so for a time had to content themselves with a meagre stock of materials. Not that they were unacquainted with high-class jewellery; the gold tells us that much: but to make some of it they must already have had access to the commodities of the caravan-trade, which was bringing from India to the west garnets cut and polished for cloison insets in jewellery, like the amazing examples from Szilagy Somlyo and other places in Hungary and South Russia.<sup>38</sup> Some artificers in Jutland availed themselves of

<sup>34</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, B1, no. 61.

<sup>35</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 11, figs. 132-6.

<sup>36</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, A3, nos. 16-18—brooches from Fordham, Market Overton, and West Stow.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, A1, no. 6, S3.

<sup>38</sup> Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* in note 21, IV, pl. cxliv; N. Fettich, 'Der zweite Schatz von Szilagy Somlyo', *Acta Archaeol.*, VIII (Budapest, 1932).

these contacts in the early days of the migration to produce brooches with garnet cloisons like those from Elsehoved and Skodborg<sup>39</sup> (PL. II, A, B).

These two brooches have a peculiar interest for Anglo-Saxon archaeology, notwithstanding that the date of the deposition of the two hoards in which they were associated has been a matter of considerable controversy. The reasons for it are not easy to understand. The brooch from Elsehoved consists of portions of a dismantled large square-headed brooch originally decorated with filigree and stone settings. The headplate is almost intact, having lost some of the settings, but the footplate has been stripped of all its embellishments. Associated with the brooch are eight (originally at least ten or twelve) looped *solidi* of five Roman emperors ranging from Valentinian III (423-455) to Anastasius (491-518). The loss of some of the *aurei* suggests the possibility of rough handling at the time of discovery. Nevertheless the hoard gives every impression of being a jeweller's or bullion hoard, which, owing to the fine condition of the latest coins, could not have been deposited much after 518. Sune Lindqvist<sup>40</sup> prefers an earlier date before or soon after 500. The hoard from Skodborg was composed of a brooch of the same form with cloisonné and filigree decoration, some beads, and in addition four bracteates, one of late B class and three early examples of class D. The brooch has suffered some damage; an oval cloison frame of a stud affixed to the bow has fallen apart and both headplate and footplate lack some of their jewelled settings. This is probably a personal hoard, and cannot have been deposited before the date (whatever that may be) of the D-bracteates.

Because Lindqvist draws a comparison between filigree on the Elsehoved brooch and an S-shaped cloison-brooch from Schretzheim, Bavaria, which Joachim Werner<sup>41</sup> dates to early seventh century, M. B. Mackeprang,<sup>42</sup> if I understand him rightly, seems to insist that the two brooches must also be of that date. This line of argument entirely overlooks certain important facts. The first is the shape of the brooches. Even in Scandinavia Åberg does not suggest or figure in *Den Nordiska Folkvandringstiden Kronologi* (p. 46) any survival of a square-headed brooch of large size beyond the sixth century. The second point is the trefoil knobs on the headplates. Possibly this feature can be overstressed, but it is remarkable that in addition to the Skodborg and Elsehoved brooches this form of knob appears on other brooches from Danish sites in Jutland, Kjellersmose, Ringkjøbing<sup>43</sup> and Nørre Trander, Aalborg.<sup>44</sup> The form is rare elsewhere; Kühn in *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln* only figures a very few examples, and one of them with good cloison-decoration comes from Howlets, Kent;<sup>45</sup> it is also used on a brooch from Little Wilbraham, Cambs., grave 10.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> S. Lindqvist, *Vendelkulturens Alder och Ursprung* (1926), pp. 73 ff., fig. 88; J. Brøndsted, *op. cit.* in note 14, fig. 259; Mackeprang, *op. cit.* in note 22, pl. xxiii, 8 and 17; E. Nissen Meyer, *Bergen Museums Aarbok* (1934), p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> S. Lindqvist, *Uppsala Högskola och Ottarshögen* (1936), p. 225.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 31, p. 51.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 22, pp. 73-4.

<sup>43</sup> *Aarbog for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1892), p. 317; E. Nissen Meyer, *op. cit.* in note 39, no. 19; Mackeprang, *op. cit.* in note 22, pl. 22, 5; Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 13, pp. 22 and 79, no. 43.

<sup>44</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 13, fig. 97.

<sup>45</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LIII (1940), pl. 11, 142.

<sup>46</sup> R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies* (1852), pl. 9.

Another noticeable feature of early Danish brooches is that many of them, like those from Elsehoved and Skodborg, have three circular lobes on the foot-plate,<sup>47</sup> all dated by Åberg to before 500, and exceptional later. The square-headed brooch in England can only originate from a Scandinavian source, and it is worth noting that one of the largest groups in England (B1) consistently retains three circular lobes and in most cases plates them. There is no model in Britain either for the brooch-form or for this style of decoration. Archaeologists in this country have to look beyond their shores at every turn. Only in the early Danish brooches can any inspiration be sought; pieces like Elsehoved and Skodborg point to the trends of form at the time of the migration. That they were executed in a more elaborate technique merely proves, as shown by earlier groups of Danish jewellery, that the immigrants already possessed a close acquaintance with the garnet trade, which, after settlement here, they developed to such good purpose in Kent and Suffolk. One further small point: not only must the brooch from Nørre Trander have been the casing for cloison or filigree ornament, as was the Skodborg brooch, it also has the same trefoil knobs and finally the flat-topped bow that is so characteristic of Agerskov, Finglesham and Engers, the last of which can have served as the model for Kleinhünigen.<sup>48</sup>

To return to the garnet trade, migration for a time checked supply, but once established in Kent, new sources of materials afforded scope for fresh exercise of their skill. Already the west had acquired some knowledge of the eastern source of supply. Certainly the wealthy lady buried at Airan, Normandy,<sup>49</sup> before 409, when the Vandals and their allies set out on their march towards Spain, must in her lifetime have attracted wide notice with her pair of gold brooches set with red and green cloisons and linked by a gold chain across her bosom. Such splendour would create more than a nine days' wonder and would long be kept in folk-memory. Again, when Childeric was buried at Tournai in 481, he was equipped with a sword,<sup>50</sup> its guard and scabbard-mouth enriched with garnet cloisons, a weapon held to be of south Russian workmanship, as also would be a set of garnet-cloisoned bees. Hardly less precisely dated is the hoard of jewellery from Picquiny, Dept. Somme, in Sir John Evans's collection, presented in 1908 by Sir Arthur Evans to the Ashmolean Museum<sup>51</sup> (PL. III). Conspicuous among several gold ornaments is a crystal ball slung in gold mounts, like humbler silver-mounted pieces from Chatham Lines and other sites both in Kent and the Rhineland. Two brooches call for particular notice: the first is a radiate, garnet-cloisoned type with trefoil knobs. The second, in some respects more important, is the little five-knobbed silver brooch in the upper right corner of the plate. It is an example of a rare class (Type 2) of six pieces decorated with what Kühn names 'genuine

<sup>47</sup> Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 13, figs. 31, 33, 36, 38, 48, and 49.

<sup>48</sup> *Jahresb. der Schweizerische Ges. für Urgeschichte*, XXV (1933), pl. viii, grave 74; E. Nissen Fett, 'Relief Fibeln von nordischem Typus in Mitteleuropa', *Bergen Museums Aarbok* (1941), pl. 1, no. 3; Kühn, *op. cit.* in note 15, pl. 81, 14/4.

<sup>49</sup> E. Salin, *Altgermanische Thierornamentik* (1904), figs. 353-55.

<sup>50</sup> K. Böhner, 'Das Langschwert des Frankenkönigs Childeric', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1948; H. Arbman, 'Les Épées du tombeau de Childeric', *Meddel. från Lunds Universitets Hist. Museum*, 1948.

<sup>51</sup> H. Arbman, 'Verroteries cloisonné et filigrané', *Meddel. från Lunds Universitets Hist. Museum*, 1950, p. 150, figs. 10-11.

chip-carving' (Echtkerbschnitt),<sup>52</sup> reproducing in casting some of the more spontaneous feeling of the Roman use of the technique. He contrasts it sharply with the similar decoration employed on a much larger group (Type 6) executed in a less lively and more stereotyped fashion. The former group he dates from 475-500, the latter from 500-550. In this latter group he includes as 6/86 the brooch found at Howletts, Kent.<sup>53</sup> Unlike most of the 124 examples in the group it has a row of oblong garnet cloisons down the length of the foot. It also has trefoil knobs with garnet settings. As shown above from the history of the square-headed brooches the Jutes in the homeland made frequent use of this shape of knob. There is no reason to suppose that the form was not retained in their artistic repertory after their arrival in Kent.

One point here that calls for consideration is the route by which the Kentish craftsmen obtained their supply of garnets. The reopening—if indeed it was ever entirely closed—of the trade with the Low Countries and the Rhineland had, as noticed above, resulted in the export to Kent of Frankish brooches, glass and possibly some of the *objets-de-luxe* found in Kentish graves, such as perforated spoons and purse-mounts ornamented with garnet-filled cloisons well-known from Rhineland cemeteries. The survey of grave-finds in Kühn's work includes a wide variety of objects on which garnet was used, but the impression gained is that the use of garnets is rather limited to quite small, circular brooches, buckles, pin-heads and the like, and that in large mass such use is more conspicuous in Belgium. Later, presumably after the consolidation of the Frankish empire under Clovis, garnet-cloisoned jewellery becomes a striking feature of west and south German finds. The impression that there was an earlier shortage of material is heightened by one fact. In Kühn's system, his Type 6 in Germany dated 500 to 550 (*gleichbreiter Fuss mit Ranke und Meander*) shows no use of garnet down the middle of the bow and foot although it occurs elsewhere. This is reminiscent of the early Aquileia Type 4 with scroll ornament and a very restricted use of garnet, a type diffused across Europe from the Crimea to the Balkans, Italy and the Rhineland and north-eastern France. The five examples from the two last-named areas must be among the last arrivals on a march which is reckoned to fall between 450 and 550. Its distribution is attributed to the Ostrogoths who began to leave Italy about 489; it can, however, only have got to Germany by trade, not by personal intervention. Not until the appearance of Type 12 (Hahnheim) does garnet become a regular decoration on the rays and other excrescences of this brooch-type, an essentially Frankish production dating from 500 to 550.

By that time garnet had become quite familiar in northern France, and in the light of the abundant evidence of commerce from Syria and Egypt flowing to southern France, mainly through the port of Marseilles, whereby silks, textiles, spices, glass beads and even papyrus were being traded chiefly by Jewish dealers in exchange for western products including slaves, cut garnet may well have been included in this trade. Such commerce, reaching England through northern Gallic ports, must later have been more firmly established by the marriage of

<sup>52</sup> *Op cit.* in note 15, p. 87, pl. 62.

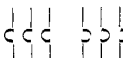


<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111, pl. 71.

Aethelbert (560-616) with the daughter of Charibert, king of the Franks (561-567/8), leading eventually to the coming of Augustine (596) and the coincidental renaissance of British Christianity through Rome.

The early days of what may be called a Jutish renaissance can be illustrated by such works as the three identical brooches from Milton-next-Sittingbourne<sup>54</sup> (PL. IV, B), on which the full flower of early zoomorphic ornament is fully manifested. Two pairs of animals climb upwards to meet at the top of the panel; the rampant beast has been rescued from the muddle in which it had lost itself at Bifrons (p. 13); it has now gained a well-defined shape. The cowering animals along the lower edges of the foot-plate still stand out clearly.

As yet, however, the artificer cannot spare or does not possess material to fill pseudo-cloisons on the head-plate and foot; the jewels are merely indicated by engraving. This, however, was the model which diffused northwards and was seized upon by the Anglian jewellers (e.g. on the Suffolk brooch, A3, no. 13). They soon evolved the typically Anglian portrayal of the rampant beast with its pronounced crest as it appears on the large cruciform brooch from Soham.<sup>55</sup> The brooch from Chessel Down (A1, no. 6)<sup>56</sup> gives a good example of the beast in its Kentish guise.

As the material becomes more plentiful, almost all the finer jewels and their imitations have settings with one or more garnets or foil-backed glass. On the head-plate these tend to thrust the zoomorphic ornament into a subsidiary position as a surround to a gemmed setting, while on the foot, the designers were content with travesties of the rampant and cowering beasts, so long as they had a centre and excrescences for a possible setting.

The technical skill called for in the insertion of a flat or cabochon gem is not great, but other work attests craftsmanship of a very high order. I can cite the very fine pair of square-headed brooches found at Lyminge, Kent.<sup>57</sup> It is the cloison work which is quite remarkable. It consists of sections divided by bars having a semicircular bend at their middle point. These cloisons are arranged counterwise to produce a  pattern on the bow of the brooch. An exact parallel occurs on a jewelled purse-mount from the cemetery at Herpes, Charente,<sup>58</sup> the material from which will be discussed later. It is quite normal to find in ornaments of a later period cloisons cut to take a stepped garnet as , a task of no great difficulty. The beating out of the -shaped cloison bar may be simple enough; the cutting of the minute projecting half circle on the edge of the garnet is another matter entirely.

The products of this period may be said to be the work of jewellers, rather

<sup>54</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, S3; Åberg, *op. cit.* in note 11, fig. 127, pl. 75.

<sup>55</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, pl. xxii.

<sup>56</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 12, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> A. Warhurst, 'The Jutish Cemetery at Lyminge', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, LXIX (1955), 28 ff., pl. xii, grave 44.

<sup>58</sup> Delamain, *op. cit.* in note 26, pl. v, fig. 17.

than of designers, as is clearly shown by the gradual fading out of zoomorphic ornament; the pattern of the Milton-next-Sittingbourne brooches left only two places for jewels. The first to go are the lateral and terminal masks on the foot-plate; they are replaced by rounded or ovate lobes, all capable of receiving a setting. The terminal mask can even be replaced by a small oblong appendage with one or two settings. Next, the zoomorphic border of the panel on the head-plate is broken up by the insertion of lentoid garnets in the upper angles, as at Chessel Down (Åberg, fig. 126). On imitative, cheaper work as Sarre 4 (Åberg, fig. 125) the garnets are omitted; a mere bar does the same work; other jewels are merely indicated.

Throughout this essay much use has already been made of square-headed brooches. That indeed is inevitable, as any student of contemporary continental cultures knows only too well. They are the backbone of Salin's great work. These brooches, being objects almost exclusively of feminine use, are the principal field in which one can carry out an examination of the art of two centuries and more, and of the changes which took place during that period. Eastern Kent almost more than any English area of equivalent size has yielded a rich harvest for study. The material is large enough to offer an opportunity not only to reach a fairly exact comprehension of the lines of development pursued, but even to hazard an arrangement of the constituents of the group from the standpoint of relative chronology, always remembering that the measure of the life of the square-headed brooch in Kent is strictly limited by what is known of later archaeological developments.

At least six sub-groups can be placed within the second period; those of

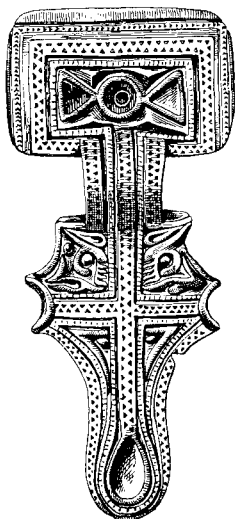


FIG. 2

Square-headed brooch  
from Howletts, Kent, in  
the British Museum  
(p. 20).  $\frac{1}{2}$

Period I have already been passed in review. By this time it must be recognized that the biting head and the rampant beast are interchangeable adjuncts of the square-headed brooch in Kent, with the rampant beast in the van. In the following schedule, references in round brackets are to Åberg's figures in *The Anglo-Saxons in England*; where reference is only possible to his list in tab. II, pp. 195-202, the number is italicized. References in square brackets are to my *Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon great Square-headed Brooches*. These, then, are the second period sub-groups:

1. Successors to brooches of Period I; zoomorphic design still prevalent: Milton-next-Sittingbourne [S3; PL. IV, B]; Suffolk [A3, no. 13]; Chessel Down [A1, 6]; Herpes (Å.128): also introductory to sub-group 2, Ickham (Å.88); Kent (Å.89).
2. Brooches with a rectangular terminal to the foot; on the head-plate a design closely following that of Kvarmløse, Jutland [S7], or retaining partial reminiscences of that design; lateral lobes on the foot, triangular, round, ovate or squarish: Lyminge (p. 17; PL. IV, A); Chessel Down (Å.126;



FIG. 3

Square-headed brooches in the British Museum

(a) Stowting, Kent (p. 20); (b) Chessel Down, I.O.W. (p. 20); (c) Faversham, Kent (p. 20). 1

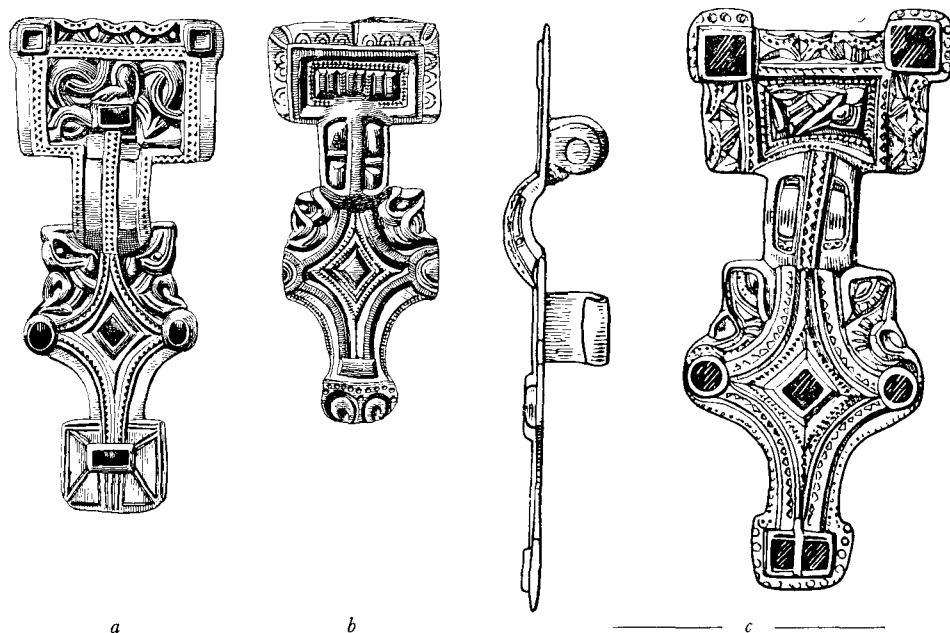
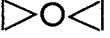


FIG. 4

Square-headed brooches in the British Museum

(a) Chessel Down, I.O.W. (p. 20); (b) Howletts, Kent (p. 20); (c) Finglesham, Kent, grave E2 (p. 20). 1

- FIG. 3, *b*); Chessel Down (Å.129; FIG. 4, *a*), Chessel Down (Å.143); Ash (Å.136); Ickham (Å.125); Howletts (*Brit. Mus. Quart.*, XI, pl. xv, 12); Stowting (Å.144; FIG. 3, *a*); Stowting (Å.142); Howletts (Å.132; FIG. 4, *b*): also, with plain head-plate, Herpes (Å.87).
3. Brooches with a zoomorphic panel, containing a loosely-drawn gradient beast, anticipating that used to decorate the simplest and commonest variety of the circular keystone brooches; border of couped ring and triangle on head-plate; rectangular terminal on foot: Herpes; Finglesham (Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 56, pl. xvi, *a* and *b*; FIG. 4, *c*).
  4. Brooches with zoomorphic design round a jewelled centre; border of masks, full-face or profile; square settings at corners; ovate lobes on foot: Herpes [B4, no. 83]; Sarre [B4, no. 84], Duston [B4, no. 85]; Linton Heath [B4, no. 86]; Tuxford [B4, no. 89]; and Laceby.
  5. Brooches with  design on the headplate, cruciform division of foot; lateral lobes, ovate or couped circular; terminal lobe, ovate: Howletts (Å.145; PL. I, D); Bifrons 42 (Å.135); Bifrons 41 (*Archaeol. Cantiana*, X (1876), p. 313, fig.); also, a hybrid of 4 and 5, Hythe (Å.126); Howletts (*Brit. Mus. Quart.*, XI, pl. xv, 9; FIG. 2).
  6. Brooch with head-plate bordered with triangles surmounted by circles; square settings in upper corners; grooved bow; circular lateral lobes; animal-head finial; panel decoration on footplate with chip-carved triangles around a central rectangle; very debased biting heads: King's Field, Faversham (Å.97; FIG. 3, *c*).

Two of these brooches may be regarded as archaeological landmarks, delimiting the frontier beyond which the Kentish square-headed brooch was destined not to pass. First, the Howletts brooch (Å.145) in group 5. Affixed to its bow is a circular three-keystone brooch of the earliest pattern. This could, of course, be a secondary embellishment, but its presence indicates that the cruciform division of the foot is quite a late development on the square-headed brooches. Moreover this type displays the continued use of niello ornament, which seems not to have been extensively adopted before group 2. Secondly, the brooch from Faversham (Å.97). It is the one English example of the complete ring-and-triangle border on the head-plate, so well-known in Scandinavia and particularly well exemplified by the fine pieces from Gummersmark and Vedstrup [S5 and 6]. The latter piece, like the Faversham brooch, has decorated square settings at its upper corners. Is the Faversham example, therefore, to be regarded as an early piece, even an import by the secondary Jutish immigration? Possibly, for the device decorating the panel curiously resembles the two confronted heads separated by a vertical bar on a slender square-headed brooch from Filholm Mose, Tise sogn, Hjørring Amt, N. Jutland.<sup>59</sup> The Faversham device seems to have profile heads turned away from the middle, and in that respect the whole device with its middle elements is much more akin to the second-commonest device on three-stone circular brooches, for example Howletts, grave 7,<sup>60</sup> associated with a

<sup>59</sup> *Bergen Museums Aarbok*, 1934, no. 18.

<sup>60</sup> *Brit. Mus. Quart.*, XI (1937), pl. xv, 6.



pair of square-headed brooches of group 2 (as Åberg, fig. 136). In that case the Faversham brooch in spite of its animal-head terminal is probably the latest square-headed brooch of any size in the Kentish cabinet. This brooch is regarded by Kühn as the prototype of a small group (Type 39) called King's Field type dated 550-600 with only two Frankish examples, but including the Barrington brooch, which, however, unquestionably dates from the early sixth if not the late fifth century.

Group 3 calls for some comment. It is not only very different from the rest, but has more affinity to the West Saxon brooches with their fringe of masks. The design on its panel is that found on a large series of buckles distributed widely from Kent and occasionally imitated; it also appears on the unusual garnet-cloisoned brooch from Finglesham E2 [S2]. The type can hardly be earlier than 550, but it rapidly found copyists, in Kent itself at Sarre [B4, no. 84], which also had added to it studs of meerschaum,<sup>61</sup> a large disc of which material increases the odd appearance of the Finglesham brooch just mentioned. Meerschaum is certainly one of the new notions that seem to have been introduced by the secondary immigration. Though occasionally used during this period, it was employed with great effect in the third period, particularly on some of the larger circular brooches.

#### KENT AND THE CHARENTE

The close parallelism of many of the relics recovered from graves in the cemetery of Herpes, Dept. Charente,<sup>62</sup> with those from cemeteries in Kent and the Isle of Wight has long been recognized; but little attempt seems to have been made to analyse that parallelism and thus to discover its archaeological limits, and by that means, to obtain some idea of the dates at which it began and ended, or finally to assess the causes which led to this mysterious emigration. That there was an emigration is incontestable, but no emigration has ever taken place without a good reason of some kind or other behind it, and certainly not an emigration from early Anglo-Saxon England to western France. The problem can be approached from various angles.

First, its date. This can from the outset only be relative, and has to be examined from the standpoint of the archaeology of Kent reviewed in the foregoing pages. The Herpes material comprises representatives of almost every shade in the evolution of the square-headed brooch, with one marked exception. There is no known example of the late zoomorphic style in Group 1. There is, however, a notable reminder of it in the fine piece illustrated by Salin, in his figure 139,<sup>63</sup> which manifestly belongs to or anticipates Group 2, with its rectangular finial on the foot, while exhibiting a half-hearted attempt to reproduce a zoomorphic design on the head-plate after the pattern of the Milton-next-Sittingbourne

<sup>61</sup> The results of recent research on this subject have discredited the term 'meerschaum'. In 'The white material in Kentish disc brooches', *Antiq. J.*, XXXI (1951), 197, Miss V. I. Evison summarizes research on the use of white inlay on the sixth-century, or Kendrick's Style B, disc-brooches, showing that it was some form of white paste of varying composition. The Finglesham E2 brooch should belong to this group. The more exotic brooches of Kendrick's A class contain imported shell inlay (R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Pectoral Cross', *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (1956), pp. 310-11).

<sup>62</sup> Delamain, *op. cit.* in note 26; Baron J. de Baye, *Le cimetière visigothique d'Herpes*.

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 49.

brooch. The artificer had no feeling for zoomorphic ornament; he is merely a copyist. Among the owners of the Herpes jewellery there was no one who could claim to have lived in the years when Group 1 style was still in fashion. To judge from the number of known changes and the rapidity of the eventual disappearance of the square-headed brooch in Kent, we can estimate that within the period 500 to 575 Group 1 had faded out by 525, by which time new fashions were already on the market. The presence of examples of Group 2 at Herpes thus supplies an approximate date for the adult age of the oldest women *émigrées* at Herpes as c. 525. Once again it must be insisted that Anglo-Saxon women were buried with their personal possessions, an observation amply and repeatedly confirmed by the successive types, particularly of brooches, found in any cemetery.

What then it is important to know is the stage at which the parallelism between Kent and Herpes closes down; in short, when the women at Herpes began to base their wear on models derived from some other quarter than Kent.

So far as I have been able to judge without a fresh personal examination of the material scattered between Saint-Germain, the British Museum and Berlin, the following answer may be given. All the groups after Group 1 are represented, some of them such as Groups 3 and 4 by finer examples at Herpes than in Kent. That may, of course, be only chance, but Herpes can show no piece like the Lyminge brooch, though it can produce a purse-mount executed with the same amazing skill. Even the questionably latest type (Group 6) is to be seen at Herpes. If it should be placed earlier (see p. 20) the square-headed brooches stop at Group 5.

There is another angle from which the date of the emigration can be studied. That is Kühn's list of Frankish *Bügelfibeln*, both radiate semicircular-headed and square-headed brooches, found at Herpes. First of all, neither England nor the Charente appears to have produced any example of his Type 4, a five-knobbed variety with parallel-sided foot dated 500-550. Type 5, as earlier noted, is wrongly dated to the same period; it must belong to the early half of the fifth century. Both Kent and the Charente can show examples of Type 6,<sup>64</sup> dated 500-550, and Kent has examples of Types 7 and 9,<sup>65</sup> dated 525-550. Type 10 is only known from Germany and north-east France. Of Types 11 and 12, examples are listed both from Kent and Herpes.<sup>66</sup> Types 17-20 are again continental. A Thuringian variety of Type 18 has been found at Bifrons.<sup>67</sup> Of Types 21 to 28 (omitting 23 and 24), dated from 550-600, England can show examples from Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, and Lyminge and Faversham, Kent,<sup>68</sup> while thirteen are known from Herpes.<sup>69</sup> Thereafter, Herpes has yielded five examples from Types 23-4, but they are unknown in Kent. Type 42, has examples at Searby, Lincolnshire, and

<sup>64</sup> Kühn, *op. cit.* in note 15, Herpes, pl. 70, 6/67-68; Howletts, pl. 71, 6/86; Kent, pl. 71, 6/87.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Bifrons, pl. 74, 7/19; Howletts, pl. 75, 9/16 (a pair).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Finglesham, pl. 76, 11/10 (a pair); Howletts, pl. 77, 11/25-6; Herpes, pl. 77, 11/29 (a pair), 11/30, pl. 78, 11/40, pl. 79, 12/24; Chatham Lines, pl. 80, 12/26.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Bifrons, pl. 82, 18/10.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Little Wilbraham, pl. 85, 21/53; Faversham, pl. 89, 22/54 (a pair); Lyminge, pl. 89, 22/55.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, Herpes, pl. 85, 21/39-41, pl. 88, 22/38-39, pl. 91, 25/5-6 (a pair), pl. 91, 25/10, pl. 93, 26/10 (a pair), pl. 94, 28/5 (a pair).

Herpes,<sup>70</sup> and seems to be purely continental, as is Type 43,<sup>71</sup> which is figured by Delamain in his account of the Herpes cemetery.

A study of the list of types in tabulated form strongly suggests the possibility that examples of Types 5-12 could have been exported to England and subsequently carried by emigrants to the Charente. This could also apply to Types 21 and 22. But that hypothesis ceases to be valid later; brooches of Types 25 to 28 at Herpes were traded directly from Frankish sources. This deduction fits in well with the Jutish material found at Herpes.

There still remains one question calling for an answer, the cause of this emigration to western France; for, to treat it as an expedition without any explanation is hardly reasonable. No emigration in those times, whether it were of Goths or Vandals, arose from purely arbitrary reasons, any more than that of British who fled overseas to Brittany before the advancing Saxons. Kühn describes it in the following words:<sup>72</sup> 'The settlement at Herpes in the Charente is that of a colony of immigrants which included Franks and Anglo-Saxons; the inhabitants undoubtedly reached this remote province by sea.' This is a very summary dismissal of a most interesting episode.

Emigrations set forth under various impulses: (i) external pressure; (ii) internal pressure; (iii) adventure, or, (iv) religion.

(i) It has to be fully appreciated that the emigrants to the Charente were of the same standing as the stay-at-home Jutes in Kent. The jewellery of their women in both areas is initially the same. Only later does the Herpes cemetery yield objects or types, rare in Kent, but fairly common in the Frankish territories. The Herpes cemetery was very rich in finger-rings, which are a rare adjunct of Anglo-Saxon graves, and when found usually of poor quality. But these and other signs of increased wealth are the result of time. When the emigrants first set out they were as well-to-do as the people they left behind them. There can be no question of pressure such as set the Gothic tribes in motion, nor of the land-hunger that seems to lie behind the Anglo-Saxon invasions.

(ii) Internal pressure? Hardly. Why should a large portion of a people by this time enjoying a stable culture suddenly elect to depart overseas? Some political or dynastic cause may be suspected, but the historical records give no indication of any disturbance of that nature. Nor can the movement be ascribed to overpopulation, since at the time emigrants left England, the uplands of Kent were only beginning to be occupied. The pages of Bryan Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*<sup>73</sup> give ample proof that that occupation did not begin before the second half of the sixth century. Even so, there must have been space enough in Kent for an increase of population, if by the middle of the seventh century the Cantwaras could be assessed at 5,000 hides in the Tribal Hidage.

(iii) Adventure? This, the spirit that thrusts men onward to seek their fortune

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, Searby, pl. 105, 42/6; Herpes, pl. 106, 42/7.

<sup>71</sup> Herpes, pl. 106, 43/9.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 15, p. 15: "Die Kolonie Herpes im Charente ist eine Auswanderung-Kolonie die Frankisches und Angelsächsisch verbindet; die Einwohner sind sicherlich zur See in dies ferne Kolonialgebiet gezogen."

<sup>73</sup> See note 6.

farther afield, leaving the lotus-eaters behind them, may be the reason. They must have known that the Visigoths in south-western Gaul had been struck a severe blow by Clovis at Poitiers in 507, so much so that their territory in Poitou had been seriously depopulated, leaving room for other occupants; or simply, there may have emerged from one class in Kent a feeling of overcrowdedness generating an urge to find a more congenial dwelling-place in a sixth-century Kenya.

(iv) Religion? This cannot be left out of consideration, even though admittedly hypothetical. Kühn asserts<sup>74</sup> that all graves in west Germany in the sixth and seventh centuries are those of Christians, and that there is no question of paganism. Whether of Arian or Catholic persuasion, the people evidently had no inhibitions against burying personal belongings with their dead. The successful expansion of the Frankish territory as far as the Loire he ascribes as being largely due to Clovis having personally abjured Arianism and having brought over the whole of his people to the Roman view, which was then long established in Gaul. His campaign against the Visigoths seems to have been an act of religious fervour, since, while limiting his kingdom at the Loire, he apparently did not colonize the outer portions of his domain, but, archaeologically speaking, confined it to the area between the Rhine and the Seine.

What then was the position in Kent? The Jutes, Angles and Saxons were all known worshippers of Odin, Thor and the whole cycle of Teutonic deities, and persisted in their native belief for varying lengths of time after their arrival in Britain. Before long, however, a latent Christianity began to show signs of blossoming out again. Never dead, the tree had evidently been carefully watched. Aethelbert's marriage with the daughter of Charibert, the Christian king of France, and the mission of Augustine were culminating episodes in the conversion of Kent. It is not impossible that the secondary wave of Jutish immigrants coming from a country which remained in pagan darkness for long afterwards, conscious of the change which loomed ahead, chose to venture forth once again to seek a land where they might practise their ancient beliefs undisturbed.

Whatever the reasons may have been that prompted this further emigration, one thing is certain. The secondary immigrants from Jutland, bringing with them talents of skill and craftsmanship, created an entirely new phase in Kent's art-life, and shared it with their forerunners, who, as their relics show, were relatively deficient in artistic qualities. Within little more than half a century, however, a considerable body of Cantwaras elected to leave the country and seek a new home in Gaul. There in due time they acquired Frankish tastes, so that their subsequent art-history runs in new channels. Behind them they had left in Kent a fellow-people imbued with a new spirit and fully trained in a craftsmanship that eventually led to the masterpieces of the seventh century. The parting of the ways between the two bodies is sign-posted by the disappearance in Kent of an old inherited, but newly modified class of jewellery, and its replacement by another that characterizes the remainder of the rich material found in Kentish graves.

Earlier a suggestion has been made in regard to the time covered by this remarkable artistic advance in Kent, and thus also for a *terminus ante quem* for the

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 15, pp. 144 ff.

migration to Charente. There is no intention here of entering into a discussion of the widely differing opinion on matters of dating held by continental archaeologists. It is, however, essential to present the problem from an Anglo-Saxon aspect, one by no means negligible. Here that aspect seems to be out of focus with the dating of one class of material known from both Denmark and England, the bracteates. In the latest pronouncement on this subject Dr. M. Mackeprang distinguishes three periods, early sixth, late sixth and early seventh century, over which the range of B, C, and D types can be followed. Of D type he writes:<sup>75</sup> 'The first bracteates date, at the earliest, from the last part of the second period or perhaps more probably from the beginning of the third'. That is to say, he is reluctant to place the earliest examples before the seventh century.

Now in the past it has been held that the introduction of the round key-stone brooch and the disappearance in Kent of the radiate and square-headed types (the *Bügelfibeln* of continental archaeology) could be placed about the middle of the sixth century. That dating, however, hardly allows sufficient time for the overlap of the mixed types associated in grave 4 at Sarre,<sup>76</sup> which contained two (Groups 2 and 5) square-headed brooches and a pair of the earliest variety of round key-stone brooch. If Dr. Mackeprang's view is accepted, the grave must be dated at earliest to very late sixth and preferably to early seventh century, and from the bracteate aspect that is possibly acceptable. The case is far otherwise with Finglesham D3. There the grave-group begins with a brooch that cannot be dated much, if at all, later than A.D. 500. It and the Engers and Agerskov examples are all Danish and of one group; and on the outer borders of the Agerskov brooch are crouching animals in exactly the same style as those along the edges of the equal-armed brooch from Nesse, Kr. Wesermünde, Hanover, which Roeder dates to c. 500.<sup>77</sup> The owner of the Finglesham brooch after her arrival in Kent acquired a pair of radiate brooches of the middle sixth century, two bird brooches that cannot be much later, and finally, three D-bracteates of the earliest accepted design. If Mackeprang's dating of the D-bracteates is accepted then this and all other English groups, in which they occur, were deposited in the seventh century.

This dating, however, would seem totally to ignore the Anglo-Saxon evidence, for in England a *terminus ante quem* of a conclusive kind is provided by the Sutton Hoo ship burial, which Mr. Bruce-Mitford assigns to Anna who died in 654.<sup>78</sup> Most of the jewellery in the treasure represents a fully developed phase of Style II, and that is well represented also in Kent. The Sutton Hoo jewellery, moreover, was not made in a day, nor is it likely to have been buried immediately upon manufacture. It can probably be dated to a period between 620 and 645. If, therefore, the bracteate burials can hardly be dated before 600, there remains little more than half a century within which to crowd the tail end of Period II

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.* in note 22, p. 57: 'Typens Forekomst i de Brakteatfundesynes at vise, at den tidligst er opstaaet i Slutningen af 2. Periode eller maaske snarest Begyndelsen af 3. Periode.'

<sup>76</sup> *Archaeol. Cantiana*, V (1863), 301 ff., pls. i and ii; Leeds, *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 109, fig. 21.

<sup>77</sup> F. Roeder, 'Neue Funde auf kontinental-sächsischen Friedhöfen der Völkerwanderungszeit', *Anglia*, LVII (1933), pl. xxxviii.

<sup>78</sup> 'The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Archaeol.*, XXV (1949), 41.

and the whole of Period III as it is known from Anglo-Saxon graves. In the light of this, Mackeprang's dating is clearly completely untenable, and the date of the D-bracteates must be put well back into the sixth century.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The paper breaks off at this point leaving the argument for the dating of the English material incomplete. In the form in which it was left the final paragraph was, by reason of its unfinished state, extremely confusing. It has consequently been rearranged and partially rewritten here to read more conclusively. For Leeds's views on the dating of the bracteates reference should be made to his paper on 'Denmark and Early England', *Antiq. J.*, XXVI (1946), 31 ff.