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ANGLO-SAXON JEWELLERY

A. THE KINGSTON BROOCH

(slightly enlarged)

ANGLO-SAXON JEWELLERY

by

RONALD JESSUP

F.S.A.

FABER AND FABER

24 Russell Square

London

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PREFACE

I thank the following authorities for permission to illustrate objects in their collections:

The Trustees of the British Museum; the Victoria & Albert Museum; the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, particularly for the loan of the blocks used in the colour illustrations of the Alfred and Minster Lovell Jewels which are reproduced from the Museum booklet published in 1948; the Curator of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral; the City of Liverpool Public Museums; the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace; the City and County of Kingston-upon-Hull Municipal Museums through Mr. J. B. Fay; the Curators of Abingdon, Canterbury and Maidstone Museums; the Committee of Gravesend Public Library; and the Council of the Kent Archaeological Society.

The Society of Antiquaries has given me permission to reproduce certain illustrations.

For access to their private collections some years ago, I was greatly indebted to Lord Braybrooke (Audley End), and the Duke of Northumberland (Alnwick Castle). To Lord Northbourne, Major F. W. Tomlinson and the late Dr. Harold Wacher I express my best thanks for permission to illustrate jewellery in their private collections; to Mr. E. T. Leeds for permission most readily granted to use one of his maps as the basis of my Figure 1, as well as for many other kindnesses.

I wish particularly to express my thanks to Dr. T. D. Kendrick and Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford of the British Museum; to Mr. D. B. Harden and Miss Joan Kirk of the Ashmolean Museum; and to Dr. Bushnell and Mr. T. C. Lethbridge at the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. Miss Tankard at Liverpool has most kindly allowed me ready access to the Mayer Collection under the present conditions which are difficult for the Museum authorities and visitors alike.

The blocks of the coloured illustration of the Kingston brooch are used by the courtesy of the Palatine Engraving Co. Ltd. of Liverpool, by whom they were produced for trade purposes.

It remains for me to say that it is not the purpose of this little book to give a detailed account of the Christian jewellery, and it is not intended to include the work of the Irish Golden Age. A limit had to be set, and there is no description, for instance, of the Tara brooch or of the Ardagh chalice, of the Cadboll brooch or of the famous Clonmacnois pin. The bibliography is frankly selective, but it is hoped that it will be of interest to the craftsman as well as to students and to the general reader.

The actual sizes of the objects figured are indicated in the Notes on the Plates.

Since this book was in the press, it has been announced that the Canterbury Cross (Plate XXXI, 2) was bequeathed by the late Dr. Harold Wacher to the City of Canterbury, where it may now be seen in the Royal Museum. Mr. Leeds has, at the same time, published his book noted on page 82 under the title of *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches.*

R. F. JESSUP.

London, W. 1.
Easter, 1950.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Jewellery is, above all things, a mirror to life itself.

It reflects the senses and beliefs, the skill, the leisure and material comfort and the aesthetic taste of its makers and owners, and helps us to place them in their proper perspective in the general historic scene.

It is moreover an exact and particular guide to the state of trade and commerce, to the spread of ideas and the trend of fashion, a criterion even of the nature and extent of folk movement and of the survival of ancient cultures. Its distribution and use may mark, still more, the incidence of peace and war. It is, with truth, a footnote to history.

Side by side with its interest for the archaeologist and the historian, Anglo-Saxon jewellery has a foremost appeal to the artist and the craftsman of today, who find in a contemplation of its design and technique the exercise of something more than a bare academic interest. To the practising jeweller especially its excellence needs no commendation, and to him it has often yielded an inspiration far from that of unalloyed sentiment.

And much to the point, we ought certainly to mark the pleasure and delight with which the ordinary reader becomes acquainted with the jewels of his early English forefathers, and it will be our wish in this Introduction to pay especial attention to his progress. His interest was strikingly evident at the sumptuous Exhibition of Art in the Dark Ages in Europe held in 1930 by the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and again at the small but highly commended Exhibition of Anglo-Saxon antiquities from Leicestershire and Rutland held in more recent times by the City of Leicester Museum. That it continues to be well-founded we may be assured in the admiration of visitors to the King Edward VII Gallery in the British Museum, and to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where some of our best Saxon jewels are now to be seen in attractive display.

The purpose of jewellery lies, of course, in its use of precious materials for personal adornment, but in this book we shall adopt a

wider viewpoint so as to include trinkets which are not in themselves precious either for their material or their workmanship. The plain and severe bronze cruciform brooch, the common ornament of the Anglian women, has for us an interest equal in degree with that of the sumptuous garnet-set brooches of gold. And to make our survey more complete we shall not hesitate to claim as jewellery such objects as the wrist-clasps and the well-known variegated sword-hilts set with jewels, which are essentially items of practical use rather than of personal ornament.

The introduction to any study of jewellery must primarily and inevitably be concerned with its use in personal decoration, but we shall do well at the outset to remind ourselves that the Teutonic peoples held their jewellery in special regard. It was, for man and woman, a badge of rank and dignity. For the warrior it counted as a reward for martial prowess when bestowed upon him by his chieftain, and so a bright advertisement of his military standing as well as some indication of his wealth and capital. That the chieftain's treasury, which was his war-chest, had been obtained by way of plunder did not in the least detract from its value, although we may note in passing that its origins often provide a tricky problem for present day archaeologists. At the same time it must not be overlooked that a considerable amount of jewellery did arrive in Britain by way of normal trade, although the bulk of it in its many and varied forms was certainly a home manufacture. The Teutonic peoples had also a predilection for the charms and amulets which they thought essential to the well-being of their lives, and of this matter we do no more here than make brief mention for it will fall to be considered in a later part of this Introduction.

It may be useful to start with a broad historical outline. The Roman occupation technically ended with the famous rescript of A.D. 410, in which the Emperor Honorius bade the British fend for themselves until adequate civil and military appointments could once again be made by Rome. The Empire itself was in difficulties, and there was no opportunity for assistance to be given to the army in Britain, which had been depleted by the latest usurper, Constantine, for his campaigns on the Rhine frontier and in Gaul. There was, it is now known, some sort of official re-occupation by Roman forces, but its effect was local rather than national and not easily to be estimated in

its character. For our present purpose therefore we may say that the year A.D. 410 marked the severance of Britain from the Empire.

We turn next to ask who were the Saxons. The generic name is popularly derived from *seax,* a short thrusting sword, and the Saxons, like the Franks, men who used the *franca* or javelin, on this ground took their name from their national weapon. They were in fact one of a Teutonic people which dwelt in the low plain of north-west Europe, particularly round the mouth of and on the lower reaches of the Elbe, and of which one portion, named by us Anglo-Saxons, conquered and settled parts of Britain. The Anglo-Saxons belonged to a loose confederacy of tribes which, perhaps, had little more in common than an insistent south-west spread in search of living space, and a maritime outlook. Their migrations took them westward along the Continental sea-board as far as Boulogne, the Roman *Bononia,* even to the Bessin, and many of those who arrived in Britain had sojourned by the way in the Rhineland and on the drowned coast of Holland and Belgium, then a territory of the Salian Franks.

The continental admixture of the Saxon stock is most familiar from the annals of the early chroniclers who set out the tribal elements of Angles, Saxons and Jutes in an attempt to relate the supposed areas of their homeland with the areas in which they were thought to have settled in Britain. The standard passage, that from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation,* which was completed about A.D. 731, must always be one starting point for the much-exercised attempt to understand the evidence of archaeological relics in the light of written history. Bede's account is not in its entirety at all clear (there is some reason to think that part of the passage was inserted during a revision), but it does state quite certainly that the tribes who came to Britain at the invitation of the British chieftain Vortigern were from three powerful Germanic peoples, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. The Saxons, Bede continues, came from (what he knew as) Old Saxony: the Angles from Angulus, a land lying between that of the Saxons and that of the Jutes. He then supposes that the people who settled in Kent, the Isle of Wight, and what is now southern Hampshire, were descended from the Jutes; that those in Essex, Sussex and Wessex came from the Saxon homeland; while the East Angles, Middle Angles, Mercians, and 'the whole stock of the Northumbrians'— that is, the inhabitants of the northern midlands and the north

and north-east coastal areas—emigrated from the homeland of the Angles.

It must at once be observed that such a simple and clear-cut course

Fig. 1

of the Anglo-Saxon settlement is not completely borne out by the evidence furnished by archaeology and by careful and authoritative researches in philology. The evidence can, however, be accepted as a

very broad working basis, and it is so used in the sketch-map (Fig. 1) of the historical and cultural divisions of England. To show some of the difficulties in interpreting the archaeological evidence it may be recalled that there was considerable interfusion between the three main tribes before they reached Britain, perhaps even during the migration; that the Saxons, for example, could regard themselves as of Anglian kinship, and that the Angles formed part of the Saxon federation. Interchange and development did not cease upon their making a landfall in Britain. There was still a mixture of cultures and, at the same time, a local evolution in those regions which were isolated and later developed into kingdoms.

Let us now consider the nature of the migration. It took place according to our traditional belief, which is based upon Bede, in A.D. 449, and the general body of literary and archaeological indications points to the years about A.D. 450 as marking the end of the intermittent marauding raids, and the beginning of serious land-takings.

The face of Britain, as in prehistoric and Roman times, again controlled the direction and force of the invasion and the nature of subsequent settlement. In the Lowland Region its general course was rapid, and a pagan period of annexation and colonisation was followed in the seventh and early eighth centuries by a remarkable cultural and political development. In the difficult Highland Region, accessible for the most part only along its valleys, Anglo-Saxon influence penetrated but slowly, and its story cannot be attempted here. In Wales, for instance, there always remained a Celtic civilisation; and the cultures of Scotland, complicated but provocative in their highly specialised interest, fall quite outside the scope of this summary.

For the first part of the period we have to rely almost entirely on the contents of cemeteries for evidence of the nature and spread of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, as well as for our knowledge of the people themselves and their way of life. There is a great mass of material, almost embarrassing in its bulk, which establishes a wide settlement in eastern England stretching roughly from Tees to Thames, penetrating deeply into the Midlands and the upper valley of the Thames, and in the south from Kent to the north of Hampshire and eastern Wiltshire. The Trent, the Ouse, the Thames and many smaller streams bore the boats of the invaders, but equally certain is the use of Roman roads in, for example, Yorkshire, Leicestershire and War-

wickshire. It was most probably the Icknield Way, as well as the Thames, which controlled the settlement of south-central England, but curiously enough there is no archaeological evidence to support the once generally accepted and historical route of the invasion by way

THE ARRIV ALL OF THE FIRST
Anceſtors of Engliſh-men out of *Germany* into
Brittaine.

FIG. 2

of Southampton Water. By the end of the sixth century a very great part of England was in Anglo-Saxon hands. Kent, East Anglia, Wessex, Bernicia, Deira and finally Mercia had developed into Kingdoms. By about 828 Egberht, that man of mysterious personality who had enjoyed in his exile the friendship of Charlemagne, was accepted

as overlord of England. He may or may not have been King of the English; there is some doubt as to the real significance of his title of Bretwalda, but there can be no hesitation in saying that his policy of territorial consolidation at least made easier the tremendous undertakings of his illustrious grandson, the greatest of English kings.

On the literary side, the ever-popular story of Hengest and Horsa is familiar enough in all its details, and in spite of later additions to the fabric of the legend there is likely to be at its core a fair piece of folk tradition which may have been first set down within living memory of the events which it depicts. The idea of a British tribal king, who was of something more than local standing, enlisting in his cause a band of continental mercenary adventurers is quite at one with our understanding of conditions in sub-Roman Britain. A fanciful woodcut from Richard Verstegan's book *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* . . . published first in Amsterdam in 1605 (Fig. 2 is from page 117 of the London edition, 1634), records the conventional story, and is in addition a timely reminder that its author was the first to attribute the badge of a White Horse to the leaders of the Saxons.

There can be no stronger contrast than that between the invasion campaign of the well-equipped Roman army with its efficient organisation and active intelligence service, and the coming of the Saxons. From first to last the German migrants depended on the enthusiasm and brisk liveliness of tribal leaders. There was no degree of mechanisation in their equipment, which in itself reflected the varying nature of their ethnic make-up, and no co-ordinated plan guided the direction of their long keels on the voyage. There was nothing like a mass invasion along a defined front: rather was it a discontinuous infiltration along rivers and roads by small groups which landed on the shores of Yorkshire, the Wash, of Thanet and the Lower Thames, winning a gradual but certain progress by the exercise of an adventurous spirit. It was, if you like, wholly in the English character.

We must now say a word about the state of Britain in the middle of the fifth century. It was left as a Province of Rome, not in its heyday certainly, and showing a marked decline in town and country life in face of the barbarian inroads, but still with some vigour and a civic responsibility. Between say 417 and 425 there was, as we have noted, some sort of renewed administration under Roman authority. But

after this the curtain falls, and Britain in the fifth century becomes Britain of the Dark Ages. One famous historian indeed has gone so far as to describe the fifth and the sixth centuries as the two lost centuries of British history.

There are many questions that at once spring to our mind. Was the Roman culture and all that it meant for Britain swept away and quickly forgotten? Did towns and villas fall into decay and then ruin, or were they taken over on a new basis of life by the Saxons? What sort of resistance did the Romano-Britons make; and what reliance can we place in the literary accounts of the period? Did manufactures and trade continue to progress, and what, we ask with special emphasis on our present enquiry, was the fate of the ubiquitous Romano-British provincial art?

Above all, we shall want to know what sort of a life the newcomers were able to adopt: what, in a word, were their circumstances and their hopes. An answer to these questions and to others which they in their turn will suggest would occupy far more space than this Introduction allows. We must again, and at the open risk of generalisation, confine ourselves to a note of the major points.

First as to conditions in sub-Roman Britain. Many controversial opinions have been aired, and sometimes with acute feeling, since the conclusions of the constitutional historians have been compared with the findings of the archaeologists.

There are still divergent views, but at the same time a conditional agreement on certain aspects. We no longer accept the view, for instance, that there was wholesale massacre and extermination of the native populace. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the country estates, the villas, which had been obliged by the prevailing economic situation to fall back upon their own self-supporting resources, were not inhabited or taken over by the Saxons. Few towns were sacked; the breaching of any walls still standing would be beyond the invaders' military skill and equipment, and many must have simply fallen into disuse although they continued to give shelter to some sort of life even, as at Rochester in Kent, to isolated bands of Saxons.

Life in towns which were natural trade-centres such as York, Canterbury, Winchester and Colchester, still existed, and the not inconsiderable early Christian communities were quick to see its advantages. There is, too, the evidence of place-names, in the competent

study of which there has been a notable advance in recent years, but it is notoriously difficult to elucidate. We merely as an instance quote the name of Leicester, the Roman *Ratae,* the form of which was altered completely to *Legorensis Civitas* although the town did, it is thought, survive. In this question of survival each place must be considered on its own merits, and chiefly in the light of the archaeological evidence, all too little in most cases, yielded by its site.

In the hill-side Romano-British villages there was (in general) no continuity of life, and the Saxon invader, used to a lowland existence, preferred when he settled to lay out his fields in the valleys. There were certain sites, but very few, where geographical considerations made for continuity, and we have only to look at the distribution maps of well-known areas such as the Cambridge Region and Salisbury Plain to see that desertion of the Romano-British villages was the general rule. But it seems clear from the anatomical records available that the low- and round-headed Romano-Britons persisted for some time in what was the highly-urbanised south-east of Britain before they were superseded by the long-headed invaders. Intermarriage must often have taken place, and in the Upper Thames and in Kent there is more than one instance of the two peoples dwelling together.

To sum up, we must return once again to the significance of the Highland and Lowland zones of Britain. In the Lowland Zone the invasion spread fairly easily and quickly, except in the densely wooded regions, replacing the Romano-British culture, while in the Highland Zone, the influence of the Saxons had little effect upon the bastions of Celtic resistance. It must be emphasised once more that generalisations tend to be dangerous. The Anglo-Saxons, and with them we include Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and the elements of Frisians, Franks, and other peoples who migrated to Britain, were not of a uniform culture, though they have some marks in common, and the problems of each region in which they settled must therefore receive a separate consideration. This is the basis upon which the modern archaeologist works in his study of the Anglo-Saxon period.

We ought now to make some enquiry into the social order which forms the wide background against which our Saxon jewels and trinkets are displayed, and as an introduction let us consider what is known of the nature and fashion of homes and dwellings, the domestic environment of our interest.

An obvious beginning may be made with the well-known heroic poems of which *Beowulf* is at once the most graphic and familiar. Here, scattered through the stirring narrative, are brief fragments of description which give us dramatic glimpses of the bright golden halls in which the northern lordlings passed their brave yet fear-haunted communal lives. The mightiest of halls, high and wide-gabled, is of golden-hued timber, with a towering roof and doors fast-bound with iron, cunningly fashioned. Towards it led a stone-paved way, and outward of the door were rests and racks for spear and shield. Within, on a fair-paved floor, were bench-boards for meals which with the addition of bolster and bed became the night's sleeping-place, a high table for the lord, and on occasion at least the walls were hung with tapestries broidered in gold. The story is a vividly poetic one, and to that extent uncritical, and nothing like the Hall of Heorot is as yet known from the northern homes of the Early English, still less from Britain. But although the story is legendary, there is no reason to doubt the detail of its structure, and for a counterpart in fact, though far removed in time from Heorot, we should readily point to such fine and lofty timber-framed buildings as the medieval barn of Court Lodge Farm at Godmersham near Canterbury. It is to this style and fashion of medieval timber building *(Plate I)* that we should look to reconstruct in our mind's eye the homes of some at least of the lords of Saxon England.

There is, however, another side to the picture, and the lord's man and sometimes, we may think, the lord himself lived under very different conditions.

From time to time since the middle years of the nineteenth century traces of what are most probably Saxon dwelling-places have been discovered in Britain. It is not at all easy to assess from the published accounts the true nature of the vaguely-described pits and ditches noticed during the digging of Saxon cemeteries at Alfriston, Sussex, and Barrington, Cambridgeshire, and while a prehistoric origin for these features cannot be excluded, there remains at least a strong probability that they were the traces of Saxon dwellings. Excavations reported from Standlake, Oxfordshire, in 1857 were, it is true, regarded from the many needles and bodkins of bone recovered from them as working-pits of a sort which would 'allow the artisans to sit comfortably round the outside, provided their legs were of moderate length',

but there is no doubt that they were the dwellings of a Saxon village. There must have been many other discoveries of a like nature which were recorded, if they were described on paper at all, on the evidence of their little understood and as yet unrecognised pottery, as 'Celtic' antiquities.

It was not until 1921 and the years immediately following that a Saxon village was explored with modern skill and thoroughness. In Berkshire, between Drayton and Sutton Courtenay, close to the bank of the Thames, Mr. E. T. Leeds excavated the foundations of some twenty houses, several of which had been uncovered by gravel-diggers, on a site which owing to its geographical advantages had already been settled in the Bronze Age.

The houses—it would be strictly correct to call them huts—were purposefully aligned in straight rows, and their situation showed some attempt at a rudimentary village plan. They were of irregular ground-plot but in the main rectangular in shape, the largest measuring about 16 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Usually there was one modest compartment which served for living, eating and sleeping, but in one instance the hut consisted of three rooms, and as fragments of the same cooking-pot were found in each room, it is likely that they were in contemporary use. From the large single post-holes found regularly at each end of the huts close to the wall we may reconstruct a pair of gable-posts which supported a horizontal roof-ridge reaching a height of about 11 feet. The walls were of rammed earth or possibly of mud and straw, for there was no trace of the more familiar wattle-and-daub.

And what of living conditions? The rather wretched aspect of the huts, which emphasises their midden-like character, each set of owners living above the covered-in debris of its predecessors, is a little redeemed by the fact that they were comfortably warm. The eaves of the pent-house roof reaching nearly to the ground provided an efficient watershed; the hut foundations were sunk well into the ground to secure additional warmth; folding doors of wood properly furnished with stone stops and adequate locks, together with windows or shutters, gave protection from draught; and judging from pottery fragments not otherwise easily explained there were charcoal braziers to supply heat additional to that thrown out by the domestic hearths.

The people lived well enough in a casual and ragged sort of way. For meat food, they ate venison, pork, mutton and beef, and extracted

marrow from the long bones of the ox. They were provided with a useful range of hand-made pots for cooking and eating; knives, chisels, pins and awls of iron; and pins, prickers, bodkins and combs of bone. A relic which occurs often is the annular ring of baked clay. It doubtless had several uses: perhaps as a fishing-net sinker, certainly as a pot-rest in the fire to prevent the flames damaging the fabric, and as a stand to hold pots newly removed from the fire so that wide contact with a cold surface should not crack the base. Such rings were also used in the process of weaving to keep the warp threads taut in an upright loom, and at Sutton Courtenay in one hut was found not only a large collection of these loom-weights, but also the post-holes which held the uprights of the loom, the stone seat of the weaver, and the very holes worn in the gravel floor by her heels as she bent forward to her work.

When we turn to the very small quantity of jewellery found in the village we find, not unexpectedly, that it reflects quite faithfully the comparatively poor and sombre state of existence already supposed on other evidence. There is an odd Roman brooch, a little bronze piece of the mid-second century, which together with fragments of glass vessels and other Roman relics on the site need cause us no surprise. There are several long iron pins, possibly from brooches, but no trace of the jewels themselves survives. A tantalisingly small piece of an ivory bracelet came from one house, and the ring of a simple belt-buckle from another. So poor in material goods were these Saxons, it seems, that they fastened their girdles with bone toggles in place of the more widely used common buckle of metal. Yet on the original gravel floor of the more substantial three-roomed house, and tucked away behind a gable post-hole where it had assuredly been put for safety, was a silver brooch of distinct interest, for it provided good evidence of the date of the village. This brooch, cast, chased and partly gilt, has two arms, one of which was broken in antiquity; both bear matching decoration in S-shaped scrolls confined in a derived egg-and-tongue pattern border, and on the inner edges of each arm are crouching animals, the whole being executed in a very competent chip-carving technique. It belongs to a series of what are generally known as 'equal-armed' brooches, a manifestly early class native to the region between the Elbe and the Weser. On typological considerations the Sutton Courtenay example, which has signs of considerable wear on its bow,

must have been deposited in its hiding place before the fifth century had closed, and there is every reason for thinking that it was worn by the women of one of the earliest of the invaders. By curious chance, the skeleton of the man himself survived on the floor of an adjoining room, where he had been buried with his knife and a double-toothed ivory comb, and Mr. Leeds tells us that he was well-built and of an athletic frame, and likely to have been in life a man of superior rank.

To render our enquiry more complete, a word may be added here to note one or two other examples of Saxon dwellings in Britain.

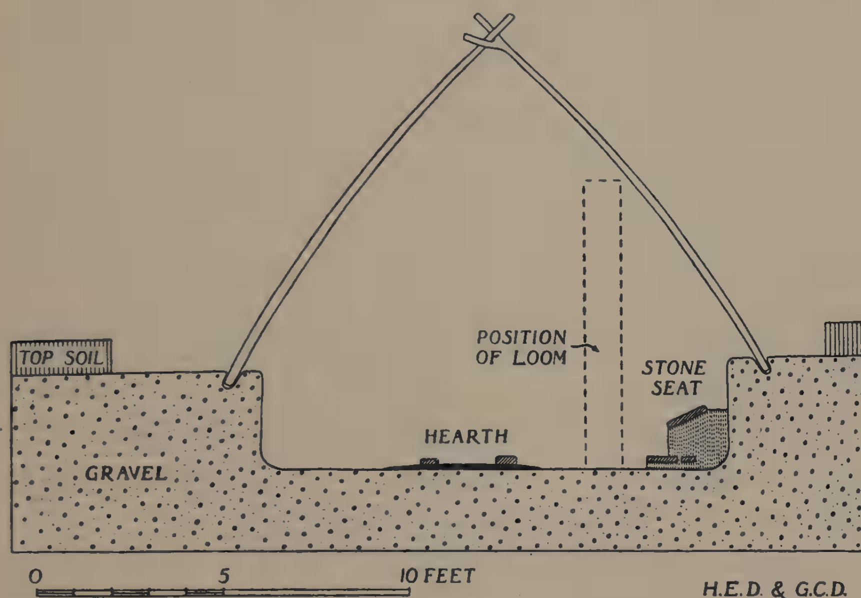

FIG. 3
SECTION THROUGH SAXON HUT, BOURTON-ON-THE-WATER

A Saxon weaver's hut excavated in 1931 by the side of the Fosse Way near Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire *(Plate II and Fig. 3)*, of oval shape, measuring 20 feet in length and 12½ feet in width, was and unlike most of the Sutton Courtenay examples, it had a conical roof which probably consisted of a circular group of pliant saplings thatched with turves or reeds. Among the hand-made pottery used by the weaver were cooking-pots, beakers and drinking-cups; there were also clay loom-weights and pot-stands, a saddle-quern for grinding corn, and an interesting pottery fragment which seems, on analogy with a similar piece at Sutton Courtenay, to be part of a charcoal

brazier. Here, too, were found the post-holes of a vertical loom, and the stone seat of the weaver. Both the Sutton Courtenay and the Bourton huts had modern descendants which were still recognisable until recent times: the former near Athelney in Somerset, where primitive wattle-and-daub structures were recorded in the middle of last century, and circular turf-covered huts with a conical pole roof were used by the charcoal-burners of Epping Forest in the early years of this century, and at least until 1918 the desolate remains of a similar sort of hut stood on a farm at Cobham in Kent.

But neither the Bourton hut nor others known at Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire (on the edge of the Car Dyke) or Thakeham near Pulborough, Sussex (perhaps even the original 'thatched homestead' from which the place-name may be derived), nor yet others, such as those on the site of the Savoy Palace in London and on the site of Syred's later Saxon building of stone at Chilham, Kent, postulated on archaeological evidence, have yielded much in the way of jewellery. A couple of beads, together with a bronze disc-brooch from Cassington, Oxfordshire, an ivory armlet and the silver disc of a square-headed brooch, both found on the Waterbeach site, make about the sum of it.

What might have been a very interesting discovery in this connection was made in 1785 near Rothley Temple, Leicestershire. A fine silvered and gilt cruciform brooch and a flat disc brooch of bronze were found together among rubbish and 'remains of buildings' some two feet below the surface of the ground. Roman coins (those of Constantine are mentioned) seem to have accompanied the brooches, and there can be little doubt that the Saxons had occupied the site of a Roman villa.[1] The cruciform brooch was presented to the Society of Antiquaries, where it is still preserved, and the discovery was recorded in the Society's Manuscript Minutes in 1788. We notice it here only to say that other discoveries of a like nature may have been made and passed over without record.

If the homes of the living yield only this meagre quantity of jewellery, it must be said at once that an extensive knowledge of jewellery has been derived from the care and reverence devoted by the Saxon to the homes of his dead. Like certain other pagan peoples he often furnished his dead with equipment appropriate to their rank and cir-

[1] Other discoveries nearby point to the cemetery of the Saxon inhabitants.

cumstance in life, the warrior with his weapons and the woman with her trinkets *(Plates III, IV and VI)*, the better to ensure their recognition and comfort in a future world. By far the greater part of the jewellery known to us has in fact been recovered from the graves of its owners. It is perhaps well to mention here that the deposition of jewellery and other relics with the dead did not cease with the advent of Christianity. Pagan custom died hard, and certain graves in Cambridgeshire and in Kent furnished with poor little scraps of jewellery are now generally recognised as belonging to the Christian period. But above all we see in the contents of the graves a clue to the life of the living, and in our technical discussion of a brooch, for instance, however successful we may be in determining its typological position and significance, we should never overlook the fact that the pin was capable of pricking its owner's finger.

The real problem which awaits us in our attempt to relate jewellery to its domestic setting we may state in terms of the archaeology of Kent and of East Anglia. Let us glance at the difficulties. Here are well-populated regions which quite early in the settlement show abundant evidence of a wealthy, cultivated, and aesthetically-minded people. The meridian of its taste is definitively expressed, in Kent, in the gem-encrusted gold jewellery, and by imports of table glass (Fig. 4) and other foreign luxuries. Here, if anywhere in Britain, we might expect to find the pagan and early Christian Saxon in his house. In point of fact, against the many hundreds of recorded burials, rich and poor, in both regions, we can set but a single dwelling.

It may not be possible within the present state of our knowledge to provide a completely satisfactory explanation of this circumstance, but there are one or two factors, a consideration of which will at least help to define the problem.

To begin with, it is likely enough that the early antiquaries gave nothing but a passing speculation to the homes of their ancestors. Digging was primarily undertaken to enrich the antiquarian cabinet, and structural features, except perhaps those prominently displayed in the burial-mounds, were destroyed unnoticed in the process. It is significant that scarcely once in the course of their explorations were the early antiquarians led to comment on the nature and location of the dwelling-places of those whom they exhumed with such thoroughness and rapidity. Houses are not likely to be found in Saxon grave-

yards, but there are indications that at both Sibertswold and Kingston, Faussett, whose work we shall later discuss, did come across features which may indicate the site of a domestic settlement.

It is further likely that such sites may well have been destroyed unrecognised by farmers, for much of the countryside concerned has been under the plough, if not permanently at least in the two outstanding periods of national food shortage. And on the classic site at

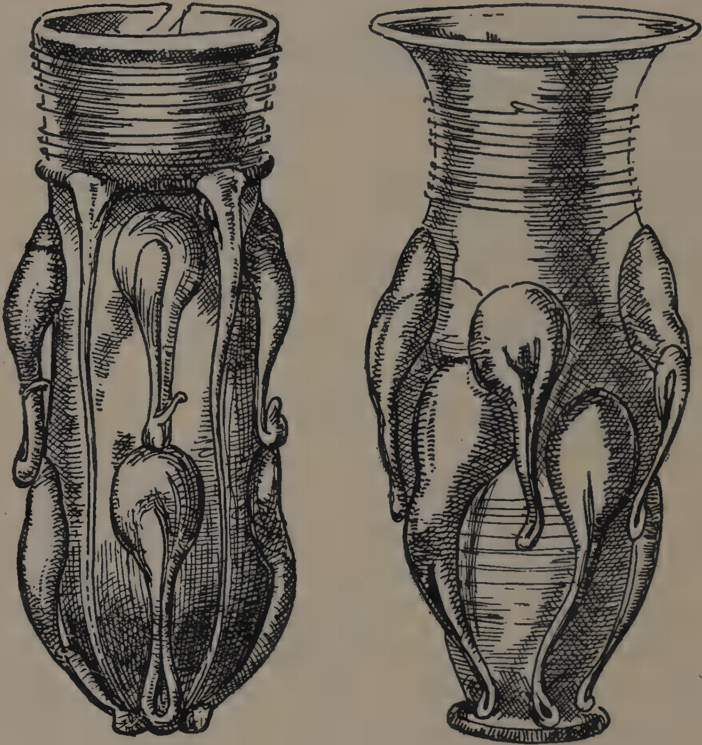

FIG. 4

BEAKERS OF AMBER-COLOURED GLASS, SARRE, KENT (½)

Kingston Downs in East Kent, as we can still see to-day, an eighteenth century racecourse played havoc with field antiquities.

The centre of the Kentish jewellery craft was at Faversham, and it is impossible to think that this rich and populous area would have yielded no sign of the homes of its inhabitants. It is of course true that at least from the opening years of the ninth century, the Royal ville of Faversham was being slowly split up and divided among powerful courtiers and churchmen. Of these grants there is sufficient documen-

tary evidence. But the ancient settlement could not have lost its character, and most certainly it did not disappear under the new ownership. The answer is surely to be found in the continuous occupation manifest through many centuries in this geographical transit-zone which has been dominated for all time by its great highway, the Dover Road. The timber-framed structures would easily perish by fire; and war, pestilence and famine would there find a mark, and as the years passed and stone hall succeeded thatched house and land-holdings developed into manors, there could be but little trace left of the earliest homes. For the Saxon domestic settlement, we should look under the houses of modern Faversham close to the Railway Station, and for the Saxon villages of East Kent, under such well-attested ancient and continuously occupied habitations as that, for instance, now represented by Ileden on Kingston Downs. In East Anglia, our search would take us, for example, to the Lark Valley, and especially to the neighbourhood of the river crossing at Lackford, the head village of the Hundred to which it gave its name. A pressing need exists for the excavation of Anglo-Saxon towns and villages not only in this populous quarter of Kent but elsewhere, even though they occupy the sites of settlements of to-day.[1]

There is thus no objective evidence; but it does seem reasonable to suppose that the jewels of the Kentish goldsmith were not lost to view in the quivering murk and the squalor of a cabin little better than a mud hut.

A problem of at least equal magnitude and importance is raised in East Anglia by the splendid relics from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial *(see Plates D., XXXIX and XL)*. At a date a very little more than two centuries removed from the earliest incursions of the land-takers, we find a Royal Treasure containing elements from Egypt and Scandinavia, as well as from sub-Roman or perhaps even Celtic Britain. Some of it may well have been antique when 'the treasure of earls they let the earth keep', much of it the result of pillage and raid, but there is nevertheless an almost unbelievably rich assembly of jewellery which surely must have been manufactured in East Anglia not long before it was buried. Of the homes of the East Anglian King, his goldsmith, his lordlings and his people, at present we know nothing. They may

[1] Such excavations are in fact now proceeding at Thetford in Norfolk, and in Southampton.

still await the turn of a spade below the bracken-covered heathland on the sea-edge of Suffolk.

We are now prepared to consider the more immediate setting of Saxon jewellery, and of the fascinating subject of costume we know, paradoxically enough, both much and little. The general trend of fashion is fairly clear, but its local applications show considerable variety, and so far as jewellery is concerned, these variations are sometimes a means of demonstrating the original homes of the invaders as well as the progress and extent of their tribal settlement in Britain.

Let us turn first to the archaeological evidence. There are in Britain no discoveries such as those from the Danish moors which were a popular and outstanding exhibit in the Schleswig-Holsteinisches Museum at Kiel. In the peat-moor of Damendorf in Schleswig, to cite an outstanding example, was found the body of a Jutlander, squashed almost flat by the weight of the peat above him but his skin, his hair, and his clothes all curiously preserved by the chemical action of the soil. Both here, and in discoveries of the early Migration period found in 1858-63 in Thorsbjerg moss, a woollen cloak and trousers, leggings, shoes and belt, completed the costume, the items of which were but little changed by their centuries of burial. The soil in those parts of Britain which attracted the pagan Saxons is less kind. Chalk and sandy and gravel subsoils, for these were the areas usually chosen for their very obvious natural advantages, are not conducive to the preservation of cloth, and nearly all that we can find, but that with some regularity, is the pattern of fabric reconstituted as rust from the mouldering metal equipment in the grave. There is no instance of a complete garment being recovered, but we may infer a good deal as we shall see later from the position of jewels and ornaments on the body.

A word may here be said about the textiles available to the early Saxon clothier. Wool is the fabric in most general use, but James Douglas, the eighteenth-century antiquary, found at Chatham and Greenwich 'on analysing, that the calyx of iron had permeated the cloth to that degree as left no room to ascertain whether it was silk, linen or woollen, but, from other specimens, I suspect it was linen'. He further begs his readers to be assured that whenever the quality of cloth is mentioned, 'the same has undergone an *analytical* experiment' to determine its nature. The fragments of rust-patterns preserved on the backs of brooches from the Kentish cemetery at Sarre indicate

both plain weaving and twill (technically a fabric in which the weft passes over one and under two or sometimes more threads of the warp, instead of over and under in a regular succession as in a plain weave), and a very bold and coarse herring-bone pattern, but there is insufficient pattern to determine more of its method of manufacture. In East Anglia, Mr. T. C. Lethbridge has recently recorded woven material of various qualities ranging in texture from that of Harris tweed to that of a modern flannel shirt. There are records of thread in a woman's workbox at Uncleby, Yorkshire, and of worsted and linen at Kempston, Bedfordshire, in a similar box, and other references to textiles found by the early explorers are not uncommon, but until proper laboratory examination of any remaining evidence is made, such identifications must be accepted with reserve. A piece of woollen cloth, perhaps a relic of a cloak, in a fabric of no particular quality, was recovered from the cemetery of the Saxon monastery at Whitby, set up in A.D. 657 at the instance of King Oswy. A find of rather more promise, although it seems that no personal clothing can there be represented, was the mass of decayed textile in the chamber of the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, and we shall await with interest a definitive account of this important product.

Still less do we know of colour and texture. Did the luxuriant garnet and gold jewels and their more modest counterparts in bright bronze flash resplendently on a sombre and plain homespun, or were they perhaps set against a background of green-dyed and fine wool, a harmony of colour? Or was the delicate brilliance of a silver brooch with its decoration picked out in niello entirely overwhelmed by the harsh pigment in the cloak which it fastened? We can but play with imagination. It is an entertaining and not idle speculation that the aesthetic effect of the highly polished bronze brooches may not have been unlike that of the same brooches, now weathered to a lustrous green patina, exhibited, as in many of our museum cases, on a panel of neutral coloured fabric.

There is also, as we should expect, some evidence of the relation between jewellery and costume to be derived from antique monumental sculpture. It is, however, small in bulk, for the main source, the Roman victory monuments, inevitably depict the conquered as barbarians and very often Romanised barbarians at that. The famous marble column of Marcus Aurelius on the Via Lata in Rome, for

instance, gives us many examples of the dress of the South German and Sarmatian adversaries, both of chieftain and of peasant, in the second century, but there is little enough of jewellery, and all that we can really point to in the whole of this sculpture is the classically-inspired round brooch which invariably fastens the cloak or chlamys on the right shoulder. The well-known early Continental ivories are equally lacking in this particular. Not even our own Franks Casket[1] in the British Museum, that intricate and delightful piece of Northumbrian narrative carving in whalebone assembled about A.D. 700, and a valued repository of costume detail, portrays a single form of jewellery apart from the disc-type cloak brooch. Without in any way stressing its chronological context, we may also notice here the prominent cruciform bow-brooch, worn point upwards, which is to be seen in the portrait medallion on the lid of the silver bridal casket of Projecta, found on the Esquiline Hill at Rome in 1793 and now in the British Museum.

Lastly, and for the later epochs, we have a certain amount of information in the illuminated books. There may also be one or two pieces of personal jewellery in the figure carvings of the later stone cross-shafts, but if so, they are not immediately apparent. It should be remarked that while the illuminated manuscripts are to be regarded as an authentic representation of contemporary costume, they must also be allowed to possess some value as antiques, and to this extent they may be accepted as guides to fashions of an earlier age. But here again we find but little in the way of jewellery, and that the almost universal cloak-fastening. As an example we may quote the disc-type brooch of gold with a central jewelled setting which fastens on his right shoulder the gold-embroidered blue cloak of one of the Magi approaching the Virgin and Child with his gift of gold in a Missal of St. Augustine, Canterbury, written in the eleventh century (*British Museum, Harley MS. 2908*). The short, dark green cloak of an ordinary civilian has a similar brooch but not set with a jewel; and with both men and women the brooch is sometimes in the middle of the chest so that the cloak falls over both arms; see, for example, in a tenth-century translation of the Pentateuch by Ælfric, Abbot of Malmesbury (*British Museum, Cotton MS., Claudius B.4*).

[1] The name perpetuates that of Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, First Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities, who, among other generous gifts of notable antiquities, presented it to the Museum in 1857.

We may glance very briefly at a generalised view of Saxon secular costume.[1] The ordinary man wore a short tunic, sleeved, and girded at the waist, which might have bindings of hide, particularly round the wrists, which were sometimes furnished with metal clasps. Over it he placed a cloak, fastened with a brooch on the right shoulder. He also wore breeches or leggings, usually close-fitting and reaching to the ankle, and over his long hair a Phrygian cap. Men higher in social rank bore ornamentation on cloak and tunic. Red, blue and green seem to be the most common colours.

The womenfolk dressed in long gowns with wide open sleeves, or in a gown covered by a short upper tunic or by a mantle, all of which might be in bright colours. A fairly constant feature was the hood, either large and voluminous or short and skimped, and this might be embroidered with gold. Cloth-of-gold was occasionally used as an apparel on other garments, both male and female. The fashions of brooches we discuss elsewhere in this Introduction.

When we turn to consider what is known of the Saxon jewellers themselves, we at once find ourselves face to face with one of the absorbing problems of the Dark Ages in Britain. In all the many discoveries made in the last century and a half, there is nothing which has shed any light at all on the conditions under which the jewellers worked, or on their position and status in the community. We cannot with certainty distinguish even one grave as that of a jewellery craftsman.

There are, it is true, certain graves which on the evidence of their contents might be assigned to goldsmiths or more probably to moneyers. They are characterised by the presence of pairs of small scales, the pans of which hang from the beam as in some goldsmiths' scales still in use to-day, and sets of weights, made usually from Roman coins and marked to indicate their relative value. A piece of touchstone was found in one of these graves at Gilton, Kent, and in each one there is record of spear, sword or shield, the weapons no doubt forming a very essential part of the stock-in-trade. But only in one such grave, that discovered at Ash, Kent, in 1771, the contents of which were assembled for illustration by James Douglas, do we find a noteworthy piece of jewellery, a fine garnet-set filigree disc brooch with a quatrefoil centre in dark green and white enamel, now to be seen in the

[1] For details of Norse and Viking costume, see H. Shetlig and H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (1937), Chapter XX. Brooch fashions are discussed on pp. 242, 276-7.

Ashmolean Museum. It was, in fact, in rather curious company, for other relics included a Coptic bowl, a bronze-bound wooden bucket, a bronze dish, a squat conical glass cup, and a Frankish *francisca* or throwing axe. The money-changers' graves yield no ingots or scrap precious metal, and no stocks of the garnets or amethysts ready for working up into jewellery (save two small pieces of garnet and a lump of crystal from graves in Kent) which we might perhaps expect had they been the burial places of the men who made jewellery. No women money-changers are known, but one woman at Kingston seems to have worn a piece of jewellers' touchstone in her necklace, but this cannot be stressed in the present context. Lastly, we must observe that if the Saxon moneyers, some of whom are well-known to us by name, did include the manufacture of jewellery in their trade, then the two departments of work must have been kept entirely separate, for in the earlier sceattas and the later pennies there is no suggestion of any design known in the jewelled brooches and pendants.

The smiths and sword-furbishers must inevitably have been important members of the community at the time of the land-takings, and their standing was well recognised in the law-books of a later date. In the Code of Kentish Laws made by Æthilberht shortly after the Conversion, a smith in the King's service bore a wergeld of 100 shillings, equal to the price set upon the life of an ordinary freeman; and in the law-books of the West Saxon King Ine, laid down about A.D. 690, the smith was included together with the reeve and children's nurse as one of the few persons of his household who could properly be moved by a nobleman upon change of his residence. There is no doubt that the smith was rated in law as a slave, although we may think that he stood very high in his master's regard in a society devoted to the practice and love of weapons, and that he enjoyed special privileges with perhaps a wide measure of freedom. Whether the goldsmith ranked with the weaponsmith is not certain, but while the law-books do not specifically describe the smith either as a weaponsmith or a goldsmith, the legal sense most often requires the former. A notable exception is made however in the Burgundian Codex, in which the wergeld of a slave who was a skilled worker in gold was considerably higher than that of certain classes of freemen.

We are left with some interesting speculations. The possession and contemplation of fine jewellery, as we may infer from the contents of

B. THE ALFRED
AND MINSTER LOVELL
JEWELS
(actual size)

their graves, was a seemly right of the aristocracy, and we are led to wonder whether each tribe or each lordling maintained domestic jewellers. There was sometimes a close connection between the goldsmith and his temporal lord, as we may read in one of the Old English poems in the Exeter Book; rewards of land to court goldsmiths are mentioned in the same poem, and there is in existence a grant of land at Winterbourne by King Eadgar (A.D. 959-75) to Ælfsige, his goldsmith. The influence of official craftsmen may well have been felt at an early date in the Saxon period, and it is difficult to conceive the production of such fine pieces as, for example, the Sutton Hoo cuirass clasps *(Plate XXXIX)* and the Kingston brooch *(Colour Plate B and Plate XXIV)*, unless by workers who had the leisure of many months to devote to their craft.[1] Such leisure could come only by patronage.

It may have been otherwise with the more ordinary jewellery, the many hundreds of cruciform and square-headed brooches. Was there some sort of guild of jewellers, and among them travelling craftsmen, founders and chasers, whose knowledge was to be purchased? Or can we suppose that the jewellery was made by exclusive craftsmen centred in a limited area, men who were permanent and professional craftsmen and who worked on something like mass-production lines whilst at times executing special orders? There is, too, a chance that the making of jewellery was but a secondary occupation in the lives of the ordinary farmers and spearmen who made up the bulk of the everyday population of Saxon Britain, but the possibility is not an attractive one.

The indications are that there was a local and cross-country trade in the less pretentious jewellery, especially in the southern and western midlands, though little can be said about its economic aspect, save that the River Avon and the Icknield Way are likely trade-routes. Here we can only give a few examples by way of illustration. A very fine and distinctive square-headed brooch, almost 7 inches in length, now in Dunstable Library, was found in 1925 in a cemetery at Luton, Bedfordshire; two badly fused pieces of a brooch from the same mould came from the cremation urn of an adult woman in the well-known cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire. An equally fine square-

[1] The Kingston brooch, it is estimated by a practical jeweller who has spent a lifetime in the Amsterdam trade, could not have been made, even by continuous work, in under eleven or twelve months.

headed brooch from the Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, cemetery has counterparts, similar in all major details, at Baginton and Offchurch in the same county and at Cherbury Camp, Pusey, Berkshire. And finally a pair of saucer-brooches having characteristic central quatrefoils within a zoomorphic border from the Abingdon cemetery and now in the Ashmolean Museum must have come from the same mould as a brooch from Bishopstone near Stoke Mandeville, Buckinghamshire, now in the Museum at Aylesbury. Anyone who was able to plot on a map the discoveries made in Europe of brooches cast from the same mould would make a first-class start on the fascinating problem of European economy during the Dark Ages.

A different story is told by the distribution of the Kentish garnet-set jewellery. In this work it is often possible to recognise jewels *(e.g., Plates XXII and XXIII)* which must by their style have come from the same school or perhaps even from the same workshop. Of 113 recorded discoveries, only eight come from outside Kent; and of the fine compact garnet-embellished jewels with filigree work in gold wire, the perfection of the goldsmiths' art *(Plates XXIV–XXVII)*, only two examples have been found outside the county. The significance of the development in Kent we discuss elsewhere, and it is here sufficient to note that there was a school of goldsmiths which must have worked under encouraging and comfortable conditions.

It remains for us to observe that the art of the goldsmith was among those fostered by the early church. The Abbey of St. Albans was well-known for the remarkable skill of its goldsmiths as well as for the beauty of its church, and indeed in the twelfth century one of its brethren practised his craft at the court of Denmark.

Perhaps the most famous of the English ecclesiastical craftsmen was the great St. Dunstan (*d.* A.D. 988) who is reputed to have made with his own hands a bell which was long kept at Canterbury, and the bells, organ and holy water stoup which he gave to the Abbey at Malmesbury. A ring which he made is recorded twice in lists of possessions of the English Kings, but the jewel itself has never been recognised. There is some confirmation that his knowledge was a practical one, for Edred gave him full charge of the Royal Treasure at Glastonbury. But the miracles of the Saint and his peculiar temperament, his successful administration and his achievements as a statesman, of necessity leave the biographers but little room for notice of the mecha-

nical skill of the priest-jeweller. His career, we note, touches at many points that of the equally famous St. Eloi, who in the seventh century was jeweller and moneyer to the Meroving rulers of Gaul.

There is one other matter, a consideration of which is of no little interest in this connection, and that is the problem of the survival of the Romano-British craftsman. There can be no doubt that he did still exist in sub-Roman Britain, that real Dark Age between the official break with Rome and the fair beginning of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, and especially in the south-east where there was a late military occupation, though the extent and pattern of urban survival is not thoroughly known. Here it is sufficient to call attention to such indications as the Saxon lathes which were soon, in certain districts, formed round the nucleus of Romano-British settlements; to the pre-eminent position of Canterbury, which even before the end of the sixth century was the residence of the Kentish kings; and to the possibility that the *laets* of Kent, the half-freemen mentioned in the Laws of Æthilberht, may have included men with a recollection of Romano-British goldsmiths' work. Such men as these may well have been employed by Saxon chieftains, and their repertory of design expanded by the inclusion of Frankish and other continental elements which came by way of trade.

This consideration of the survival of Romano-British jewelcraft inevitably leads us to ask whether there may have been included in its repertoire some lingering traces of pre-Roman art. That Celtic-looking art forms do often appear in a Saxon context is widely acknowledged, but there is no general agreement as to the way and meaning of their revival. This astonishing revival of a Celtic artistic tradition which, in the end, led to a complete renascence of the native spirit is especially to be noted in the well-known bronze hanging-bowls with their red, yellow and blue champlevé enamelled fittings. And further, in the way of jewellery, we can point to a typical Celtic brooch form, that of the penannular disc, which lasted throughout the Roman occupation and which the Saxon jeweller adopted on a widespread scale. Here, too, the significance of scraps of enamel work, as on the Cambridge cruciform and square-headed brooches *(Plates XII, XV)* and in the brooch from Ash, Kent, in the Ashmolean, should not be overlooked. In East Kent, the centre of the luxurious goldsmiths' industry, there was this afterglow of Rome. In other districts well-known for the

less pretentious varieties of Saxon jewellery, the Thames Valley, East Anglia and the Yorkshire Wolds, there is in the main only negative evidence, such as that furnished by the prevalence of cremation as a burial rite, and this seems to show that there was no telling survival of the Romano-British inhabitants. It should be noted that the question of the survival of art-motives has already excited the attention of the numismatists. A leading authority[1] in commenting upon numismatic parallels to the Kentish polychrome brooches has emphasised the importance of the 'Celtic' cross design on certain coins of Roman date and in such brooches as the well-known discs from Abingdon *(Plate XXV, 1)*. And as a tailpiece to recall the splendour of the Romano-British jewels, we may cite the inscription on the Marble of Thorigny at St. Lo in Normandy[2] which notes a golden fibula set with stones among the gifts sent to Gaul by an Imperial Legate, Claudius Paulinus, Propraetor of the Province of Britain, while he was with the Sixth Legion at York.

As we have already remarked, no relics which can be identified as part of the stock-in-trade of a Saxon jeweller have been preserved for the edification and instruction of antiquaries, and there is an almost equal lack of examples of the tools and appliances which he used. A pair of metal-worker's tongs from Sibertswold, a crucible and an iron stake from Sarre, and handled spatulate blades of iron, perhaps for the mixing of jewellers' cement or niello, from Barfreston and Kingston, are about the total of the evidence, unless we agree to accept the miniature tanged axe-hammers of bronze, such as those to be seen in Aylesbury Museum and elsewhere, as jewellers' mallets.

The absence of this evidence is especially remarkable in view of the wide variety of metal-working processes in which the jeweller was an adept. It is indeed strange, for instance, that not a single mould in which an Anglian brooch was cast remains. There were many hundreds of such pieces, and even taking into account the fact that many brooches were cast from the same mould, we can only think that the majority of the moulds were of sand or clay and suppose that the Saxon also exercised his instinctive use of wood.[3] But when we consider the

[1] C. H. V. Sutherland, *Arch. Journ.*, XCIV (1938), 116-27.

[2] Quoted by C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. III (between 1848-80), p. 95. Unfortunately I have not been able to trace the stone.

[3] An example of the sort of clay mould which could have been used to produce simple pieces in mass quantity was found many years ago in Norfolk. This particular

technical side of manufacture, the annealing, the burnishing and embossing, engraving, chasing and incising, the delicate art of gold filigree and wire-work, the precise cutting of garnet and lapis, the use of solder and of niello, parcel-gilt and enamel, and the number and variety of hard metal tools employed in its execution, this considerable gap in our knowledge is all the more unaccountable.

It is now time to consider the materials and technical processes used in the making of Saxon jewellery.

The essential metals were gold, silver and bronze.

Of the gold produced in Roman Britain and of the metal imported, especially in the form of coin, no more than a small quantity is likely to have been preserved, and that chiefly perhaps by hoarding. There were larger and more readily accessible supplies of gold bullion to be obtained in the Provinces of the Later Empire, where by its extensive use enemies had been brought to terms and mercenaries paid. The Goths, in their path across Europe, had left a plentiful supply of gold behind them. Silver was an extensive official export from Roman Britain; the lead-mines which were the chief source of the supply were working as late as the fourth century, and it seems likely that there must still have been some supplies of the metal available apart from the hoards of plate, a knowledge of which the pirate bands would make it their business to obtain. Over and above this their looting raids furnished the Saxon marauders with gold and silver treasures which they were ready to consign to the melting-pot, and in the latter part of the Saxon period, as we can see in the Cuerdale hoard in the British Museum, silver made up into ingots could reach Britain from the Eastern Mediterranean. One has only to look at the wide range of colour in a series of gold jewels to see at once that whatever its treatment by the jeweller the metal is derived from a variety of sources; here a metallurgical examination might one day produce interesting results. There is no evidence, nor is it likely, that gold or silver or indeed any metallic ore was mined by the Saxons in Britain.

Beaten metal was the foundation of most of the gold jewellery whether rings, pendants or brooches, and cut into strips and bent into cloisons it played an important part in enamel work (*Colour Plate A*

mould when it was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1800 was thought to be of twelfth-century date, but similar moulds must have been in use very much earlier. (*Arch.*, XIV (1808), 275 and Plate XLVIII.)

and Plate XXXII, 1) and in the construction of the jewel-encrusted pieces (*Plates XXII-XXVIII; XXX; XXXI, 1; XXXII, 3; XXXIX*). Many of the cloisons so made are based on straightforward circular or rectangular forms, but there are others such as the mushroom, honey-comb, cusped and multiple-step patterns, which technically would do credit to any goldsmith and show to the full the superb control which the worker maintained over his material.[1] But it is in his working of beaded, pearled, and braided gold wire and in its adaptation to filigree and granulation that the Saxon jeweller excelled: observe, for example, the superb filigree units of the Kingston and Abingdon brooches (*Plates XXIV and XXV*), the carefully placed fine globules of gold on the Minster Lovell Jewel (*Colour Plate A*), and above all the richly decorated gold panel on the pommel of the Windsor Dagger in the Ashmolean Museum. The twisted and coiled wire was often used to give delicacy to a hard edge, as in the bracteates (*Plate XXIX*); and by use of the plait the Saxon jeweller was able to produce the light-and-dark effect which was one of the canons of his art. Above all we see in the shape and flowing curves of its figures an English idiom in which a Celtic reversion has played an important part. Compare, for instance, the 'spectacle' ornament on the Faversham brooches (*Plate XXII*) with its counterpart on the Gothic Meckenheim brooch illustrated by Rademacher in Plate 15 of his *Fränkische Goldscheibenfibeln*. It may be noticed that the effect of the expensive and detailed filigree work was sometimes rendered by embossing. Gold plate of wafer thinness was used in the manufacture of *bracteates* (the name is an adaptation of the Latin *bractea,* a thin leaf of metal), the attractive pendants embossed with human and zoomorphic forms (*Plate XXIX*) which were copied in the first instance from Roman coins or medallions. Most of the examples found in Britain were of Scandinavian and particularly of Danish origin, but one or two are thought to be native products. The design never exhibits the easiness of free-hand embossing; a stamp or die was used to produce the design in relief on the face, which has a corresponding negative pattern on the reverse, and there are several examples which show such an exact coincidence of detail that they must have been made from the same stamp. Whether

[1] The general use of solder in place of rivets is noteworthy. Rivets are frequently used in the hanging-bowls and in jewellery repairs, but scarcely elsewhere in real Saxon work.

the stamp was of wood or of metal is not known: those of the patterns which suggest the technique of chip-carving may well have been of wood. The use of gold foil to brighten the garnet settings of inlaid jewellery is to be noticed presently, and here we are content to call attention again to its occasional use for beads. It seems likely, too, that thin gold foil was also used in the manufacture of the gilded glass beads which have been found in East Anglia and East Yorkshire, but these pretty little toys are not a native product.

The brilliant lustre of silver allied to its great ductile and malleable qualities has made it a favourite precious metal of the jeweller since very early times. The Saxon craftsmen cast the framework of many of their silver brooches (*Plates XXII and XXIII*) and such attachments as buckle-plates, strap-ends and wrist-clasps, which we have agreed to include in our consideration of jewellery. There are sometimes indications that the piece was beaten up from a flat cast. Rings (*Plate XXXV, 1, 2, 5*), bangles and bracelets were made from silver wire and silver strip. The decoration was incised, traced, or stamped, and objects of cast silver were usually brightened by chasing and often by gilding. The uniform pattern of the silver discs on a variety of 'applied' brooches in which an embossed plate is cemented to the cast saucer-shaped body of a bronze brooch, suggests that the same stamp or die might be used for many brooches. Two processes were employed to produce in silver work that contrast between light-and-shade which had much appeal to the Teutonic artists whose traditions were in part laid in woodcraft. Niellure, a practice adopted from Roman sources, was the filling of the incised lines of a pattern (see page 68) so that the resulting design in black was presented with strength against its silver background. It was frequently employed in the zig-zag and annulet decoration on the borders of jewelled brooches (*Plate XXII*), on disc and penannular brooches (though rather surprisingly not on the famous penannular brooch from Sarre (*Plate XX, 1*), and as a decorative process it reaches its best on a ground of gold in the famous Royal rings (*Plate XXXVI*). Gilding of silver aimed at the same polychrome effect, and its brilliant success may be well seen on the large square-headed brooches (*Plates XVI, XVII*) which are a special feature of East Anglian archaeology. The gold was probably applied by the processes which we know as Grecian-gilding or cold-gilding in which chemical solvents are used;

in the latter process a gold powder is absorbed into the surface of the silver when it is heavily rubbed on, and after a hard burnishing, in spite of the thin skin of gold, the result is lasting. The cold process was also most likely used in the gilding of bronze. In each case the castings have had the scale and dross removed by a rubbing in sand or by the use of a pickle, and they have been carefully finished by a whetstone before gilding.

Of the third metal, bronze, there were adequate supplies in the sub-Roman world. Much of the material used by the Saxon jeweller for his brooches, rings and bracelets was probably obtained from the melting-down of Roman coins and trinkets, and badly damaged pieces from his own trading stock were no doubt treated in the same way. An analysis of the bronze in a dozen brooches of various types and sources[1] has shown that by reason of the proportion of zinc present, the metal is sometimes technically a brass and that chemically at any rate it is very little different from the metal of some Roman 'brass' coins. The density and hardness of bronze allows it to take the form of any mould however delicate, and the application of the *cire-perdue*[2] process, an old-established method in which the wax model round a core is melted by the metal which at once replaces it, enabled the Saxon jewellers to produce remarkable pieces of solid casting as, for instance, in the Londesborough cruciform brooches illustrated in *Plate XIV*. We should note, too, that the general standard of bronze casting as evidenced in the large number and great variety of brooches which, as we have seen, suggest something like mass-production, is almost uniformly good. It is difficult indeed to pick out a flawed cast[3] or a cast pitted by reason of the metal being overheated, and it is evident that none but satisfactory pieces were retained for the carefully carried out process of finishing, a practice which, curiously enough, seems scarcely to accord with the pathetic efforts so often made to repair jewels of small intrinsic worth.

[1] This statement is not supported by figures, as it should be. The papers were destroyed during the war, and I have not had the opportunity or perhaps the inclination to undertake the rather wearisome work again.

[2] Many people seem to find the process difficult to follow on paper: Cellini's account of his Perseus in the *Life* LXXV-LXXVIII is as good as and certainly far more entertaining than any other.

[3] The faulty casting of a cruciform brooch in Grave 21 at Holywell Row, Suffolk, now in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, had been partly hidden by filing and subsequent tinning, but such a treatment is rare.

Details of the casting work are unknown to us: not a single mould survives, whether of clay or wood (see page 42), but judging from the impressions left in the metal of one or two brooches, a fine facing sand was sometimes used. Experiments[1] have shown that a moulding sand from the Thanet Beds in North Kent gives excellent results with the ordinary cruciform pattern brooch. In addition to the rather elaborate moulds used in the *cire-perdue* process, there were others, shallow open moulds, in which some of the very best and large square-headed brooches were cast.

Bronze jewels were decorated by much the same technical processes as those of silver, but the very nature of the pieces with their cleverly balanced masses, their mouldings, facets, and interplay of plane surfaces often made an imposed decoration unnecessary. Gilding, and the attachment of small silver plaques (*Plate XVII, 1*), provided a popular finish, and there was always the attractive highlight and fine glitter of the newly polished metal itself, the poor man's gold.

To conclude this survey of the metals used by the Saxon jewellers we shall say that iron is scarce, and mention the large plain belt-buckles of which that from King's Field, Faversham, in Maidstone Museum, measuring 6 inches in length is typical, and the unusual buckle from Bifrons with silver plates and an inlay of silver wire (*Plate XXXVII, 2*) which, however, seems to be an early import and is thus no guide to native work. Small garnet-set radiated circular brooches of iron are found very occasionally. The metal can have had no real attraction for the craftsman.

The use of pewter is not common. Brooches of this alloy are in the main poorly designed and executed, and chronologically they tend to fall in the latter part of the period. Several disc brooches with scroll decoration which was in vogue during the ninth and the tenth or even eleventh centuries have been dredged from the bed of the Thames. The best known brooch, that from Bird-in-hand Court, Cheapside, in the City of London, now in the British Museum, is of rather better workmanship than the general run; it has as an ornament a backward-looking lion within a pearled border and its surface bears traces of gilding. There are records of a cruciform brooch of pewter from one of the Reading cemeteries, but it is not readily to be distinguished in

[1] The metal was derived from some indecipherable Third Brasses with no location kindly bequeathed to me by a well-meaning friend.

Reading Museum; in any case it was probably an isolated experiment in casting, the metal being obtained from a Roman source nearby.

We must pause a moment to mention one or two pieces of bone, indicative of others, which from our broad point of view must be accepted as jewellery. They include a British Museum buckle from the well-known cemetery at Harnham Hill near Salisbury; the roughly incised finger ring of sheep-bone from an early cremation cemetery on the Thames side at Northfleet, in Gravesend Public Library (*Plate XXXV, 2*); an unattractive object, possibly an annular brooch, made from the antler of a stag, found at Londesborough,

FIG. 5
WORKBOX OF BRONZE, KIRBY UNDERDALE ($\frac{3}{4}$)

East Riding of Yorkshire, and now in the Mortimer Museum at Hull; and finally as the barest of introductions to the bone-carving art of the Vikings, a button 2·5 inches in diameter carved with a disjointed figure in mail in the late tenth century Jellinge style, which was dredged from the Thames and is now in the British Museum.

We may also note here the ivory rings which are not uncommon in the graves of Saxon women. They are usually found about the middle of the body, often on the forearms, and the explanation of those which are not obviously bracelets is that they were the framework of fabric purses or of the chatelaines from which keys, hangers symbolic of the household keys (Fig. 7) and workbox (Fig. 5) were suspended from the belt. But of far greater fascination than these matters of morphology are one's own private speculations on the source of the ivory:

whether it be walrus or whale, elephant or mammoth, and all are possible. Perhaps one day an expert in ivories will undertake a survey of these Saxon rings. The results may well be startling to the orthodox archaeologist.

From the Goths, who had spread over Central and Western Europe, the Saxons learned the decorative value of semi-precious stones encased in cloisons, small cells of thin metal, usually gold, set on edge on a flat metal background. Cloisonné, it has been said, was the first aesthetic manifestation of the Gothic nations. There had been ample opportunity in their contacts with Persia and with India for the Goths to acquire this attachment to the use of contrasting colours while, through their associations with the Sarmatians, the inhabitants of that country partly in Asia and partly in Europe which stretched between the Caspian Sea and the Vistula, they had in particular formed a lively taste for polychrome jewellery.

The stone in greatest demand was garnet, and its fine red glow on a background of gold, a brave show, provided the setting for the best of the polychrome treasures. The garnet was cut, sometimes en cabochon, and polished but not faceted. The brilliance was heightened in the best jewellery by the provision of a bed of gold foil. The foil was pricked or matted to prevent its crinkling on the floor of the cell, but cross-hatching and chequering were often employed to add to the brilliance and to the depth of colour of the garnet, so that in the end an effect of something like enamel was produced. The use of cross-hatching may indeed be a memory of the Celtic enamellers who used it first as a means of securing their enamel to the metal surface and later as a decoration to the metal ground. It is interesting to notice by the way that the use of these paillons to reflect light through transparent jewels was continued until the art of multiple facet cutting was introduced many centuries later. In the early work the garnets are thick and occupy the whole cell; in the later, more mannered, jewels the stone is cut thinly and mounted on a filling of clay-like cement. We have already spoken of the varied forms in which cells were constructed. Garnet was cut, with exceeding facility and skill, to fit them all, and occasionally there seems to be evidence that the face of the cells was carefully ground smooth. The stone is certainly brittle to work and fractures easily, but provided that it is securely held it may be readily cut with a thin revolving disc of bronze or soft iron, the edge of which

is hardened with an abrasive. The construction of the inlays required time and patience rather than a well-equipped work-bench; we can estimate, for example, that with a working-day of five hours, (the duration would be governed by the hours of daylight), the four hundred and fifty separate slices in the Milton, Abingdon, brooch (*Plate XXV, 1*) took one man between four and five months to cut. The inference must be, as we noticed when we discussed their standing, that the jewellers were a patronised and privileged class of workmen. The variety of garnet is that known as almandine, the deep crimson alumina-iron precious garnet, the best specimens of which today come from India and Ceylon.[1] The more fiery Bohemian garnet known as pyrope has not been identified. In place of the stone a fine red glass is sometimes used, but the garnet may be easily distinguished from glass by the old-fashioned jewellers' test of its cool touch on the tongue, by the fact that it scratches glass, that it does not have the minute blow-holes found in glass, and, technically, by its cubic crystals. Transparent green glass and cobalt blue glass is also used in a limited way as a contrast to the overwhelming red filling of the cloisons, and wedge-shaped pieces of glass are also found on some of the smaller round brooches of cast silver. These, it may be said, are true sodium-calcium glasses and not strass or pastes; almost certainly they are Rhineland metal.

A further delight to the eye, an opaque mass of powder blue colour, was provided, as in the Kingston brooch and in some of the best Faversham jewels, by occasional cells filled with lapis lazuli, a fine mineralised limestone. These cells are sometimes so small, as for example in the attractive and well-known brooch from Faversham figured on Plate I, 8 of the *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Guide,* that it is difficult to imagine how the stone could have been cut and polished; the effect is almost of enamel, as may also be seen in the minute T-shaped cells of a late sixth-century filigree pendant from Faversham in the Evans Collection in the Ashmolean Museum (1909-207), which is the acme of lapis work. As an added colour attraction, convex buttons of a soft, white talc-like substance, generally shell but sometimes meerschaum, a decomposition product of serpentine,

[1] Perhaps the primary source of the Saxon stones may not have been so very different, though it seems, so Dr. Kendrick tells me, that some of the Sutton Hoo garnets were closely similar to specimens from the north of Scotland.

or even of bone or ivory, were employed as mounts for single garnets sliced or cut en cabochon.

A little while ago we had occasion to notice a few surviving examples of enamel work, chiefly on the Cambridge cruciform brooches. There is still considerable doubt whether a school of enamel workers in Britain can be satisfactorily identified from the relatively small number of enamels which are known to us. More must be said about this fascinating problem when we come to discuss the Alfred Jewel (*Colour Plate A*) and the Dowgate Hill brooch (*Plate XXXII, 1*) and other enamels in the latter part of this book.

We mention next the amber, amethyst, agate, rock crystal and glass beads and trinkets which are always popular items in any display of Saxon jewellery.

Amber, washed out of the extinct pine forest in the bed of the North Sea on to the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk, and found besides in quantity on the shores of the Baltic, had a prophylactic as well as a decorative purpose. It was, among its many virtues, proof against witchcraft, and therefore esteemed by a folk whose lives were conditioned by trolls and gremlins. It was often quite skilfully worked, faceted and polished into beads; usually there is a relatively small number of amber beads included in a necklace, or less frequently single beads of some size, though none can rival the exceptional bead of 2½ inches diameter from Lower Halstow on the banks of the Medway, now in Rochester Museum. Mr. T. C. Lethbridge, who has done more than anyone else to make us take an interest in the Saxon amber trade, points out that in his Holywell Row cemetery, amber is scarce in the early sixth-century graves and common in those of the second half of the century, the inference being that the material is of local and not Baltic origin. Is it possible, Mr. Lethbridge wonders, that the right to collect amber from the foreshore was once vested in the ruler of East Anglia, and that amber was traded away for some of the many foreign goods imported into that area. The great amber forest seems to have had its western boundary not far off the east coast of England, and the East Anglian folk may therefore have had a monopoly in the trade. It may well be significant that in an extensive cemetery at Abingdon in Berkshire, accessible from East Anglia by the Icknield Way, amber beads were also of greater frequency in the later graves.

Beads of amethyst, a transparent quartz which varies in colour from pale mauve to deep purple, and particularly those of a characteristic pear shape, exhibit a remarkable skill in piercing and polishing. They are often found as solitary beads and ear-drops, and as the principal bead-pendant in a necklace; perhaps the finest single bead of this sort is that from Breach cemetery near Yelford, Oxfordshire, in the Ashmolean Museum, which is 1·7 inches in length. Where the whole of a necklace is preserved, as in a 17-bead example from King's Field, Faversham in the Evans Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, and another of 24 beads from the same place in the Brent Collection in the British Museum, the beads exhibit an equally expert hand in the matching and gradation (*see Colour Plate C*). It is evident that the amethyst necklaces were luxury possessions, and they are certainly among the most attractive jewels in the Saxon woman's box. They are representative of Kentish conditions at a time of ascending wealth and economic security, and they provide a fascinating study in the early trade of precious objects. The ultimate source of the beads, as of other less indestructible and certainly more bulky treasures, was the eastern end of the Mediterranean; from Egypt, in the period of the Roman occupation they reached the northern part of the Rhine valley chiefly as single pendants and as appendages to ear-rings, and Mr. E. T. Leeds some time ago put forward a suggestion that the Frankish tribes in the Rhineland obtained them as loot from Roman graves.[1] There can be little doubt that the Faversham jewellers were responsible for the making and assembly of the elegant necklaces from the imported German material. And amethyst, like amber, has the qualities of a charm: it gives a protection against drunkenness which may have appealed to the Teutonic mind.

Jewellery of agate is excessively rare. Faussett found what he thought was an agate bead in one of his Kingston graves;[2] a buckle at Canterbury and the massive finger-ring with talisman runes, mentioned later on page 68, and given to the British Museum in

[1] It is perhaps also worth while noting that these pear-shaped amethyst drops appear with emeralds, sapphires, rubies and pearls in the pendants of the seventh century votive crowns of the Visigothic kings found at Guarrazar, Toledo, in 1858. (Victoria and Albert Museum, J. C. Robinson Collection, 149-1879.) Their distribution is widely spread.

[2] Kingston No. 92, but I have not been able to find it in the Mayer Collection. Faussett occasionally had a very blind eye, as everyone who has seen his famous sword-pommel, which is nothing more than a door-knob, will agree.

C. POLYCHROME BEADS AND PART OF AN AMETHYST NECKLACE

(actual size)

1873 by Sir Wollaston Franks, seem to be the only known examples. There is nothing like the magnificent continental buckles of onyx. And this is the place to say that the large skilfully-cut beads of rock-crystal found in men's graves were perhaps the equivalents of sword-knots; crystal beads are common, but here again the craftsmanship of the continental lapidary shown, for example, in the beautiful rock-crystal buckle-loop in the Morel Collection in the British Museum, did not reach our shores.

Before we leave this part of our Introduction, we ought to make a very short review of the various kinds of beads which were a favourite and very common adornment of both men and women in Saxon times.

The student will not need to be reminded of the scheme of classification and technical description of beads made by Mr. H. C. Beck,[1] which is not likely to be superseded. But at the same time, a satisfactory account of beads found with Anglo-Saxon relics has yet to be written, and the problem which at once confronts anyone bold enough to make the attempt is in fitting this precise typological classification into a chronological framework. The chief difficulty is one at which we have already hinted in discussing the amethyst drops. Beads are easily portable over long distances; they are practically indestructible under the ordinary conditions of life; those of the rarer materials tend to be valued possessions, heirlooms even, and beads are one of the most persistent and widespread forms of popular art. They have on all these counts a very long life.

It is not surprising therefore that we can often recognise beads which would be at home in a Roman setting. Such are the 'melon' beads of blue and pale green glass and the annular beads of clear glass. But the problem is further complicated by the occurrence of multiple globular-constricted beads little different from those which are known on Bronze Age sites, and handsome beads of dark blue glass which, had they come from the lake-village at Glastonbury, would have been dated at the end of the first century B.C.

We have already made some mention of glass beads and pendants and the problems which they involve. The only other personal ornaments of glass for our attention are the moulded bracelets which are

[1] *Archaeologia* LXXVII (1928), 1-76. Here the form of beads, the eleven varieties of perforation, the colour, material and decoration are all described in great detail.

almost certainly products of the Franco-Roman factories in the Rhineland or in Belgium.

It remains to notice two other varieties. Meerschaum formed the massive hoop of an unusual buckle from the cemetery at Kempston, Bedfordshire, which is now in the British Museum, and the Girton College, Cambridge cemetery yielded bracelets of Kimmeridge Shale which were probably Roman survivals treasured for their prophylactic virtues.

The large and handsome chevron beads of red, white and blue glass cane cut into a biconoid form are a useful starting point. They have a very wide geographical distribution, and two similar beads exhibited in the same case in Canterbury Museum, one from Cairo and one from a Saxon grave on Wye Down, some 8 miles SW. of the City, emphasise to the full the difficulties of a distribution which includes even the New World and ranges in time over something like eight hundred years. It is therefore not possible to admit these beads fully as ornaments of the Saxon period; the present meagre evidence appears to rest solely on three examples from East Kent.

The many hundreds of beads of clear, opaque and coloured glass are made as cylinders, spheres, discs, cubes and bugles. Red, green, yellow and blue are the common self-colours, and there are many with bright, attractive inlays—yellow in red, blue spotted with white, green and red, pale blue in brown, blue waving lines on a red bead and between the waves, an eye of light yellow, are among the brilliant colour schemes favoured by a people who above all enjoyed a taste for the polychrome. There were certain survivals from Roman times, as we have seen, among them the 'melon' beads, and most probably the beads with true mosaic glass inlays exemplified by the pretty bead of blue, white, yellow and green ropes of mosaic from Grave 26, that of a man, at Burwell and now in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. A typical necklace is illustrated in *Colour Plate C*.

There are one or two rare beads of precious metals to be noted. The unique garnet cloisonné gold bead from Forest Gate is described later in this book. At Barton-on-Humber, North Lincolnshire, there was found in 1939 with other Saxon relics, including bronze work-boxes of Kentish type, a cylindrical gold bead ·7 inches long ornamented with carefully incised deep grooves along its length

and with a slight beading at each end. It shows some signs of wear, probably from inclusion in a necklace: the bead is now in the Mortimer Museum at Hull. In Saffron Walden Museum, Essex, two silver beads are included in a necklace, the one bordered with six rows of pearling, the other having a pattern of spirals. An extremely interesting bead, delicately and cleverly built on a bronze frame with gold filigree binding and shell inlays, was found in a cemetery at Chadlington, North Oxfordshire, *c.* 1930 and is now in the Ashmolean Museum. Its purpose is uncertain, but it cannot by reason of its light weight have been the pommel of a dagger as Faussett described a somewhat similar object 'about the size of a middling walnut' found by him in Grave 76 on Kingston Down; a recent inspection of the latter in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool by the courtesy of Miss Elaine Tankard suggests that it may have been a rather fine toggle at the man's belt.

Our next consideration must be a broad survey of the jewellery.

In making such a conspectus we have a choice of methods of analysis. The material with which we have to deal readily falls into two main sections, depending on its use with or apart from the clothing. This clear-cut division of purpose has its advantages in the compilation of a strict catalogue, but for our present need it will be found more convenient to arrange the jewels with reference to their place on the human body. Thus we shall start with head-wear, then consider necklaces, beads and pendants, and pass on to the large group of brooches and to pins, to the jewels associated with the belt and girdle, to armlets and finger-rings, and so at last to the rare anklets. The following table includes on this basis all the known varieties of Saxon jewellery. For the student's assistance, we would point out that it is not intended to include 'Celtic' and Viking jewellery in their full ranges.

ON THE HEAD: *Hood-jewels. Hair-pins. Ear-rings.*
AT THE NECK: *Necklaces. Pendants. Beads.*
ON THE BREAST: *Pins. Pin-suites. Beads. Brooches.*

The chief varieties of brooches are:

1. those based on a circular form, button, saucer, disc, annular, penannular, jewelled round and composite.
2. cruciform.

3. square-headed.
4. equal-armed.
5. radiate-headed.
6. animal.

ON THE ARMS: *Armlets. Bracelets. Wrist-clasps. Finger-rings.*

AT THE GIRDLE: *Buckles. Clasps. Mordants. Strap-mounts. Spoons* with their associated balls of crystal.

ON THE LEGS: *Anklets,* perhaps worn only by children.

The jewels worn by women on the head include brooches and probably pins on the outside of the hood, hair-pins and ear-rings.

Hood brooches and *pins* may have had a decorative as well as a utilitarian use, but there can be no direct link between them and the small hat-ornaments of the Middle Ages and the later *enseignes,* although it seems likely that certain small square-headed brooches found at the head of the grave were perforated so that they could have been sewn to a hood. The accounts of their discoveries recorded by the early antiquaries do not help here. Cloth-of-gold hoods or gold braid edging to hoods are recorded from one or two wealthy graves, but such materials are not likely to have been in any common use.

Hair-pins of metal and of bone (*Plate IX*) show great variety in design and execution. There are small pins of bronze and of silver with simply moulded heads, and others in which the shaft is decorated and gilded and the head set with garnet cloisons. As examples of the large elaborate hair-pins we quote one of bronze from the Alfriston, Sussex, cemetery now in the Museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society, in which the upper part is gilt, the terminal being carinated and the knob ornamented with a triskele pattern, and a fine silver pin from Wheatley, Oxfordshire, in the Ashmolean Museum which has a disc-head in the plane of the shaft. Two interesting pins in the British Museum, one from Cirencester in the Sloane Collection (*Plate IX, 2*) and the other from a grave at Wingham, Kent (*Plate IX, 7*), have amethyst and garnet-set heads respectively. These ornate pins are often flat and plain on the underside as if they were worn in a 'bun' at the back of the head. There is also a group of ornamented pins, the length and weight of

which preclude their being worn in the hair, a wide variety being known from Ireland. An unusual pin of highly gilt bronze with carinated head and stem moulded baluster fashion, found many years ago at Gilton, may be seen in Canterbury Museum. Its use is hard to explain except upon the votive or magic grounds sometimes assigned to rather similar decorated nails of Roman date.

We ought to notice here a unique relic, perhaps Saxon in date, namely a hair-braid 11 inches in length which is embroidered with pearls and silver thread. It is now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool (M. 6407), but nothing is known of its history beyond that it is said to have been found in a Saxon grave, possibly in Kent.

However the finely decorated pins were used in the current fashions of hair-dressing, we can be certain from the wide prevalence of *ear-rings* that the hair was not worn so as to hide the ears. In Greenwich Park, Douglas in 1784 found in one of the barrows which he dug braids of auburn hair arranged in plaits over the head, and this woman seems to have worn a coarse woollen hood decorated with coloured beads. It is possible, though detailed evidence is lacking, that ear-rings were sometimes worn by men as well as in general by women; too often in the past has the presence of ear-rings and beads been taken as an infallible indication of a woman's burial.

It is a curious thing that although the Saxon woman in Britain demanded variety and often luxury in her brooches, she was apparently content with the simplest of ear-rings. The usual form is a small ring of plain silver wire, which may have an expanding slip-knot, and which carries a bead or a pair of beads of coloured glass or exceptionally of amethyst. (An example is to be seen in *Plate VII.*) In an unusual form in Grave 76 at Burwell, now in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, the wire is carefully drawn to simulate filigree beading, and carries a circular bronze spangle with a very roughly cut open star. Ear-rings with pendants are in fact not common, the best known pair perhaps being that from Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in the British Museum. Fine gold and jewel-set ear-rings in the continental Gothic fashion do not seem to have reached Britain, but we should note that some of the unusual kinds of metal beads, the precise original situation of which in the grave is not now known, are possibly ear ornaments.

We shall start our note on *necklaces* by mentioning the luxurious

gold jewel from Desborough, Northamptonshire (*Plate XXVIII*), and a smaller but similar necklace of four beads and six drop-pendants, now in Devizes Museum, which was found together with a gold pin-suite near the neck of a skeleton in a barrow on Roundway Down near Devizes, Wiltshire.

These were the rare and treasured possessions of wealthy women, but for the neck ornaments usually worn by well-to-do women as well as by those in a much humbler station, we must turn to the very large number and great variety of beads. It is convenient here to point out that beads were also worn as a girdle at the waist, large beads forming decorative toggles or buttons, and in strings and festoons (*cf. Plate VI, 10-11*), on the breast, where they were fastened by brooches and possibly by large decorative pins, or sewn to the fabric of the dress. Beads are the most commonly found relics in the graves of the pagan Saxons, and their use in burial persisted long after the Conversion. In some cemeteries neither the quantity nor the quality is remarkable; in others, such as Sarre and Bifrons in Kent, the numbers in the strands vary from half a dozen to one hundred. It is of note that in the many hundreds of bead necklaces discovered, not a single clasp has been properly identified. The materials and source of beads were considered at an earlier point in this Introduction.

In describing *pendants* worn round the neck or on the breast we shall find it convenient to consider three main groups, namely those worn as charms or amulets, those which include coins and in particular the looped and coin-like discs known as bracteates, and finally the decorative pendants of glass mosaic, of silver, and of gold with garnet cloisonné.

Among the most interesting amulets or pieces of occult medicine are the large cowries, said to come from the Red Sea,[1] several of which were found by Faussett in his Kentish 'downland' cemeteries and are now at Liverpool; another is included as the central pendant in a string of beads from Haslingfield, Cambridge, now, together with another cowrie from the woman's 'ditty-box' in the remarkable Grave 42 at Burwell, in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. The configuration of the shell and one of its names, *concha veneris,* indicate sufficiently its prophylactic purpose, but the

[1] Other authorities prefer the Indian Ocean, but in any case they must be considered with the amethyst beads and Coptic bowls. All are 'luxury' imports.

curious thing is that many of the women who wore it obviously did not need its help. We may note that the Burwell woman was a Christian and that Faussett's graves are likely to have been of Christian folk. Superstition dies hard, and these people perhaps relied on the shells to protect them from being 'overlooked'. Fossil shells which may have been used as charms or which were treasured for their unusual forms have been recorded more than once, and teeth of the beaver, wolf and horse either in a metal mount or pierced for suspension in a necklace are not uncommon. Their precise significance is rather a matter for the anthropologist, but we should not forget that any attractive and bright trifle was likely to be of use in a necklace, even the detached enamelled scutcheon of a hanging-bowl.

The coin pendants (*Plates XXVII, XXVIII*) are at first sight likely to bear welcome evidence of the date of the grave in which they were found. Within broad limits they do furnish an indication of the earliest possible date of a burial, but here again the jeweller's partiality for a small roundel must be borne in mind, and the possibility of its arrival in Britain by way of trade has always to be considered. '. . . a gold coin to an early Anglo-Saxon jeweller', Mr. T. C. Lethbridge once reminded us, 'conveyed no more than a florin to an Abor tribesman of to-day. It was just a handy medium of exchange, or something to work up into a nice ornament. It did not matter to him whose face was on it, they might be kings, apes, saints or gods for all he cared.'

Pins of metal and of bone were common fastenings for the dress. The pin had been known since Neolithic times; it reached a remarkable development in the Early Iron Age, and in the Saxon period it shows a wide variety in form, size and decoration. There are bronze and silver 'spangled' pins, pins with decorated circular heads and disc-heads, pins with expanding-ring heads, pins with glass beads at the head, and pins with plainly moulded heads; a variety is illustrated in *Plate IX*. The forms in bone, several of which are illustrated in *Plate IX*, are usually simple. It seems likely that one or two outstanding pins must be regarded on account of their size or remarkable workmanship as an indication of their owners' rank. Such are the fine bronze gilt pin from Gilton, Kent, in Canterbury Museum already mentioned; a silver pin, length 5·75 inches, with a disc-head in the plane of the shaft from Wheatley, Oxfordshire, in the

Ashmolean Museum; and a late Saxon (or possibly Viking) pin of silver with a large spherical knob decorated with filigree, one of a pair from Gilton, Kent, formerly in the Grantley Collection and now in the Ashmolean Museum. It is not always easy to decide the purpose of a pin from its form alone. The position in the grave, if indeed it be known accurately enough, is likewise not a certain guide, for hair-pins were sometimes used to fasten hoods at the chin, and where a grave shroud was the fashion, it was likely to be secured by any pin of suitable size.

A special development which gave opportunity to the Saxon jeweller was the wearing of pin-suites, two pins or occasionally three being united by a chain. These linked pins were worn both on the breast and in the hair. A simple pair in bronze is illustrated in *Plate IX* and one of a pair may be seen on *Plate VII*; the best known suites which, judging from the length of the chain between the pins were breast ornaments, are those in gold and set with garnets from Roundway Down, Wiltshire, in Devizes Museum and from Little Hampton, Worcestershire, in the British Museum. It is of interest to see that the fashion for pin-suites for the breast, established again in early Victorian times, is once more to the fore in the Jablonec bijouterie which is now reaching Britain.

Brooches are at once the most fascinating and the best known pieces of Saxon jewellery. They were the objects most frequently placed in the grave whether the deceased was buried in full dress (*Plate III, 1*) or in a winding-sheet, and it was for the brooches, both jewelled and plain, that the excavators and collectors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries looked with especial diligence. It was a natural outcome of the growth of archaeology as a science that much attention should be devoted to the study of the origin and evolution of the leading types. It is upon this classification, upon regional distributions, and the consideration of the significance of associated objects,[1] a significance which becomes particularly important in a period such as this when jewels reached their destination by trade as well as by suffering a change

[1] The earliest studies, which are now classics, were those of Dr. Bernhard Salin, a distinguished Swedish archaeologist, and Dr. Haakon Schetelig of Bergen: B. Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik* (Stockholm, 1904, with translation by J. Mestorf) and H. Schetelig, *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (Bergen, 1906). They have been followed by the very detailed work in Britain of Mr. Reginald A. Smith, Professor G. Baldwin Brown, Mr. E. T. Leeds, Sir Cyril Fox, and Mr. T. C. Lethbridge.

in their ownership by reason of more violent happenings, that much of our chronological knowledge of the Saxon peoples and of their settlement in Britain rests. It is one of the foundations of Saxon archaeology, and its basis is formed by the most attractive of Saxon relics.

A few figures will indicate the range and popularity of brooches. In the Bifrons cemetery in East Kent 'in absolutely rural surroundings where gentle and simple seem to have lived together generation after generation in those pleasant relations which we are fond of regarding as characteristically English', in some 120 graves there were 35 brooches of ten distinct types; while at Holywell Row, Suffolk, in 100 graves of a typical pagan village cemetery of the East Angles which seems to have ended at the Conversion, there were 75 brooches which fall into six separate types. As some guide to the number of Saxon brooches known in Britain, it may be noted that almost 400 of the saucer and applied variety have been listed by Mr. E. T. Leeds, while his most recent study of 'small-long' brooches rests on no less than 720 examples.

Before we pass on to consider certain kinds of brooches, we shall say what is known of the way in which they were worn. It was thought by the earlier antiquaries that a single brooch, especially a jewelled round brooch, indicated the grave of a man, who wore his mantle fastened in the classical way upon the right shoulder. A couple of brooches were held to be evidence of a woman's tunic, clipped upon each shoulder. But early excavation records are often incomplete and sometimes contradictory, and to add to the difficulty we find, for example, that pairs of saucer brooches were worn by the women of Harnham in Wiltshire just below the shoulders and by the women of Fairford in Gloucestershire one below the other on the right breast as though to secure the fold-over of a tunic. In addition to their use for fastening the folds of the dress and for securing the hood, pairs of saucer and cruciform brooches were often the shoulder and breast suspension points for strings and festoons of gaily coloured beads. There seems to be no evidence of the 'Gothic' fashion[1] of two brooches, usually not a pair, united by a substantial chain of ribbon-links. Cruciform brooches were usually worn slantwise, and very frequently foot uppermost as the decoration seems to require; their position generally is on the middle ribs where as many as three have been found in a

[1] As in the remarkable brooches from Elisried in the Historischen Museum, Berne.

vertical line, but they are also found in pairs on the shoulders. One or two square-headed brooches with holes cast in the fabric as part of the design have been noticed, and these may have been sewn directly to the dress. As a final comment on the uncertainties of brooch fashions, which always tend to be individual, we call attention to a series of three square-heads at Chessel Down, Isle of Wight, which were worn horizontally on the ribs, the foot to left and right alternately.

The following notes are not intended to be typological studies of brooch forms, still less a guide to chronology and the various problems arising from their geographical distribution, but merely to draw attention to the main lines of development and the most interesting features of the leading varieties.

Saucer brooches. The name is sufficiently descriptive. There are two types. The first is cast solid in one piece of bronze (*Plate X, 1*), the pattern, which includes both geometric (spiral, star, hatched border) and zoomorphic designs in Teutonic and semi-classical idiom, being brightened with a chasing tool and afterwards gilded. The rim, at an obtuse angle to the body of the brooch, is invariably plain, and when polished or gilded it emphasised the relief of the pattern which was cut in deep incisions in the manner of chip-carving in wood. A rather similar effect was obtained by the play of light on a 'light-and-shade' border. There is much variation in the standard of design and workmanship; the attractive shape of the roundel was readily acceptable to many of the jewellers who filled it with pleasing designs carried out in a capable way, but there are other brooches in which the design is poor and unconvincing and yet others in which the chasing tool has ploughed deeply into the background. The second type, known as the 'applied brooch' (*Plate X, 2*), consists of a thin bronze plate, with a pattern embossed in repoussé and gilded, cemented to the front of a substantial disc of beaten bronze to which has been soldered a vertical or slightly splayed rim. Here again both geometric and zoomorphic patterns are found, while the brooch is sometimes embellished with a central bead of amber, glass, garnet, and in one example from Faversham, Kent, in the British Museum, with red enamel. The latest of the saucer brooches, after the middle of the sixth century, attain a large size, a pair from Dorchester, Oxfordshire, in Reading Museum reaching 3 inches in diameter, and in some of them the influence of the Kentish brooches set with wedge-

garnets is clearly to be recognised. In the early brooches, and some of them must have been worn on the clothes of the original invaders, there are elements of late classical design as, for example, in the three-strand guilloche which occurs widely on Roman pavements. Romanising characteristics may indeed be seen in some of the brooches which tend to fall later in a typological series, and it is therefore perhaps well to regard Romano-British traits as a renascence and not a survival. It remains to say that saucer-brooches were often worn in pairs (for this reason early antiquaries described them as scale-pans): and that they belong to areas settled by Saxon people.

The human face appears occasionally and in a much distorted form in the decoration of the saucer-brooches, but the full face is a constant feature of the *button-brooches* (*Plate VI, 7-8*), miniature jewels of cast and gilded bronze about $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, which are found only in the south of Britain and chiefly in the Jutish regions. There can be no doubt that the representation was ultimately derived from a well-known form in classical art, that of the head of Medusa, but in some of these tiny brooches details of the boldly modelled face and the presence of moustaches suggest that the derivation owed something to the art forms of Scandinavia.

Brooches of *annular* and *penannular* (broken-ring) form have a respectable antiquity in Britain. These Celtic forms were known in the Early Iron Age and were in common use by the Romano-British people; the Saxon version shows a moulding and faceting of the ring, and in the Anglian districts a large flat variety soon won popularity. The broad and handsome *quoit-form* (*Plate XX, 1*), wide enough to receive a rich decoration, seems likely to belong to a sub-Roman culture, and likewise the brooches with decorated terminals are not Saxon in their character but Celtic. In these brooches the metal employed is usually bronze, but the notable quoit-brooches are of silver and there is one published reference to an annular brooch of gold.

It is convenient to notice here the *disc-brooch,* a simple flat disc of bronze, very rarely of pewter, which is silvered or tinned to reproduce the appearance of silver. The decoration, made by a punch or an engraving tool or occasionally in open-work, is in geometrical patterns which are often based on interlocking circles, and there is some reason for thinking that it is a native survival.

The *long-* or *cruciform-brooch* (*Plates XII-XV*) is the most common

among the English forms, and it has received much detailed study from both British and foreign authorities, especially in its relation to the cruciform brooches of Scandinavia and of North Germany. With these lands, its development provides a most valuable chronological link.

The brooch is cast in bronze, usually with regard for the niceties of technique, and in the wide range of its best varieties, designed for popular appeal and a general use, we can enjoy to the full the harmony which existed between the art and the craft of the Saxon jeweller. A few words must be said about the history of the brooch. It was originally evolved by the Goths during their sojourn in the south of Russia, and in the various stages of its development travelled by way of East Prussia to the Baltic and to Britain. Essentially it consisted of an arched bow with a foot of nearly the same length which provided at its back a catch-plate for the pin, the spring of which was coiled bilaterally at the head and terminated by moulded knobs. The form is therefore that of a cross, but it may be well to point out that the description 'cruciform' has no other significance. The section covering the spring was enlarged into a distinct head-plate of rectangular shape, while the terminal knobs of the spring became an integral part of the brooch, although in its early stages of development they had been cast separately and notched so as to fit the edge of the head-plate which had been bevelled to receive them. In Germany the brooch form was subjected to Roman and to Teutonic influences: to the former may be ascribed a moulding just below the bow which represents the returned foot which was originally twisted round the body of the brooch to secure the catch-plate, while to a North German source must be attributed the foot modelled in the form of an animal muzzle with prominent eyes and nostrils. The main English development, which took place after influence from Scandinavia ceased about the middle of the sixth century, was towards an enlargement of the plane surfaces of the brooch, the incorporation of the knobs, which were sometimes floriated, in its design, the provision of side lappets below the bow, and an extravagant exaggeration of the nostrils of the muzzle. The processes of casting had been improved. Large flat surfaces gave every opportunity for elaborate ornament in casting, though some small panels were left plain, and the primitive knobs had now given place to large flat adjuncts to the head-plate which very occasionally show a plastic

treatment. Details of development may well be seen in a series of brooches on exhibition in the Ashmolean Museum. Its later stages are almost wholly confined to Anglian Territory.

Apart from the main line of development there was a closely related but quite distinct form of brooch which had a trefoil-shaped or indented head-plate and a triangular expanded foot. In the generally accepted view this *'small-long'* brooch (*Plate XIII*) resulted from a flattening and joining up of the familiar side knobs of the cruciform brooch, and it is thought that it started, about A.D. 500, as a single and therefore cheap version of the cruciform brooch which it was intended to imitate: it was a 'poor man's' trinket.

In the later stages of its development, the cruciform-brooch has features in common with the *square-headed* brooch (*Plates XVI-XVIII*) with which it was in part contemporary. The term 'square-headed' is not really satisfactory, but by general consent it has come to include all brooches in which the rectangular head-plate is wider than it is long. This feature represents a development which was purposefully designed to cover the unsightly spring of the brooch, but vestigial remains of the moulded knobs still persist as projections, as serrations, or even as a continuous edging on the plate. The wide bow tends to be small and highly arched, and is divided, frequently into panels, by a medial rib which often continues into the foot with its three highly characteristic round terminals. The square-headed brooches are classified and dated by a consideration of their decoration, the leading feature of which is an elaborate Germanic animal ornament and the 'helmet-and-hand' motive.[1] There is a marked tendency towards a polychrome effect which is obtained by gilding, by zig-zag niellure, the use of silver discs attached to the foot terminals, and by settings of garnet and enamel.

Brooches with a semi-circular and *radiate-head-plate* and narrow parallel-sided or expanded foot (*Plate XIX, 5 and 6*) are attributed to the culture of the Franks, and where they are clearly not trade imports, it seems likely that these jewels were copies of brooches worn in eastern Kent. The knobs, which may be finely moulded or set with small circular bits of garnet, are cast in one with the body of the brooch and again represent the non-functional terminals of the spring. It is possible that the difference in the distribution of brooches with

[1] See the chapter on Pagan Saxon art in Dr. Kendrick's book, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938)

three knobs and those with four may have a cultural significance, but all may be dated in the sixth century. A silver radiate brooch inscribed with runes (*Plate XIX, 6*) is one of the most interesting known.

The relatively few *equal-armed* brooches (*Plate XI*) found in Britain may well be direct imports from the lands of the Lower Elbe. They are decorated in a provincial-Roman style, and the form of the brooches is thought to be an adaptation of Roman models. In any case most of them were brought over quite early in the migration period, and some at a date not far removed from the middle of the fifth century.

The attractive *jewelled round brooches* (*Plates XXI-XXVII*) with their garnet inlays are essentially a product of the Kentish workshops. Only exceptionally are they found beyond the boundary of the Kentish region. They may be divided into several groups on the basis of their decorative style and execution, and the various stages of their development and their geographical distribution have been widely studied by leading archaeologists. It is not perhaps surprising that there should be acute differences of opinion in the implications of chronology here.[1] As some brief indication of the nature of the problem, which is one of the most fascinating in the whole of present-day Anglo-Saxon studies, we may say that a process of evolution of brooch design and ornament has not yet been demonstrated to the full satisfaction of all students of the period, that the evidence of associated coins must be given its fullest possible value as a dating medium while at the same time its limitations must not be overlooked, and that the wealthy and enlightened period of Æthilberht's Jutish ascendancy forms the historical background against which this study must be set.

For our present purpose we shall recognise two main groups of jewelled round brooches. The first (*Plate XXI*) is characterised by isolated cast settings for garnets, which are wedge-shaped and T-shaped, zoomorphic ornament cast as part of the brooch in 'chip-carving' technique, and by a niello relief on the border. The brooch itself is a single plate of silver or bronze, and in some examples bears secondary jewels between the main garnets. The second group (*Plates XXII-XXVII*) is of more elaborate silver and gold jewels in which

[1] The orthodox view is put by Mr. E. T. Leeds in his *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), p. 41 ff. An intriguing, but not generally accepted, explanation is set out by Dr. Kendrick, *op cit.* Chapter IV.

garnets, shell or a material resembling meerschaum, and lapis lazuli or blue glass, are inlaid in cloisons in star-grouping round a central boss, while the decoration is applied in gold-wire filigree on a separate plate. The magnificent composite two-plate brooches are here regarded as a specialised development of this second group.

The *bird-brooches* (*Plate XIX*) with which we have to deal in Britain are small and simple castings of bronze, sometimes enriched with a garnet eye and tail. It is a long way to these rather miserable little scraps from the sumptuous and rich cloisonné golden eagle brooches in the famous 'Gothic' royal treasures of Petrossa and Cesena, but such indeed is their illustrious parentage.

Armlets and bracelets (*Plates XXXV*). With the long sleeves of the tunic falling at least to the wrists, the Anglo-Saxon woman does not appear to have evinced much interest in jewellery for the arms. Beads in simple strands were sometimes used for this purpose, as at Kempston, Bedfordshire, and Broadstairs, Kent. But in general the glass bangles, the simple penannular and twisted armlets of moulded bronze, and spirals of silver-strip decorated with simple punch-marks found in Saxon graves could nearly all be legacies from Roman Britain.

Wrist-clasps (*Plate XXXIV*). A minor piece of jewellery used by the Anglian as opposed to the Saxon peoples was a clasp to fasten the tunic at the wrist. Buttons were not used for this purpose until very much later in the history of costume, and the wrist-clasps of gilded bronze were highly decorative as well as utilitarian. The two plates of the clasp were often accompanied by an upper triangular plate over the gusset of the cuff, the suite being ornamented with geometric or zoomorphic decoration of taste and quality. Small lugs or holes are provided for attachment to the cuff, which was sometimes faced with leather, and these attractive little objects with the light flashing on their deep-cut golden pattern must have enlivened many a sombre tunic of homespun.

Finger-rings (*Plates XXXV, XXXVI*). The ordinary woman's ring was of silver or bronze, either in wire, where the bezel consisted of a flattened coil, or a bead which was twisted back on the hoop to allow for expansion in just the same fashion as the examples shown in most jewellery text-books of the present day, or in a thin flattened strip which was coiled snakewise and often had terminals decorated by simple punched patterns in dots and triangles. Both kinds of ring

were in use over a long period, even into Christian times. Some, of small size, were either children's rings or rings worn on the upper joints of the finger. Another product of the home jeweller was the simple bone ring made from the long bones of domestic animals and decorated with elementary patterns made by saw-cuts. Finger-rings of iron and of ivory make an occasional appearance.

A handsome finger-ring of deep red agate 1·1 inches in diameter found somewhere in the west of England and now in the British Museum has a legend, perhaps a magic formula, in runes; the inscription is known on other rings but does not seem to have been read satisfactorily.

Rings of gold, familiar to us from the northern epic poems as the gifts of chieftains to their warrior bands, are well represented in the latter part of the Saxon period. Those with inscriptions (*Plate XXXVI*) have a particular appeal, especially when their owners can be identified and reasonable speculation made about their story.

The magnificent Royal rings and Aethred's ring are most notable examples of Saxon practice in the art of intricate niellure on gold. A dark coloured composition of silver, copper, lead, and sulphur with a flux of borax is fused to the metal ground and subsequently burnished, and thus used to enrich and heighten engraved and chased ornament. Niellure differs from a true inlay in that niello is fixed by firing and not hammered into the field. The process had been known since ancient times, and had been widely used by provincial Roman silversmiths. As examples of niello on silver in Saxon times, eminently satisfactory in aesthetic effect as well as in technique, we may point to the detail of the two round brooches which formed part of the Beeston Tor Treasure found in 1924 and now in the British Museum. It is worth noticing that these brooches, although they belong to very different schools, one showing native and the other a marked Frankish inspiration, have minor points of resemblance to details to be seen in the Royal rings.

And to finish this brief notice of finger-rings, we call attention to two charming examples in which enamel has been used. The first has fine and carefully executed gold cell-work representing an eagle's head holding a ring, on a ground of blue enamel; it is now in Dr Harold Wacher's possession and was found in or near Canterbury

many years ago.[1] Judging from the bird design it is of Byzantine origin. The second, also a gold ring, has a central triangular cell of red enamel with circular cells of opaque white enamel at the angles, all on a deep blue enamel ground; it was found in England and transferred to its present home in the Victoria and Albert Museum from the Geological Museum. Both rings bear ornament in pellets and the latter has granulations in addition.

Buckles and *clasps* and the *mordants* and *strap-mounts* (*Plates VI, XXXVII-XL*) which accompanied them were worn as girdle fittings by both sexes of all classes. They were common objects of everyday practical use, and while the variety of their form, especially that of the triangular or rectangular plate, encouraged the jeweller's decorative sense, his ornament did not detract from their essential purpose. Though fashions change, the essential principle of the buckle and belt-tab remains constant. But not only are they among the most useful relics to the archaeologist who wishes to consider a detailed chronology of the Saxon period and the implications of tribal fashions and movements as reflected in a geographical distribution: they also present some of the most luxurious and spectacular pieces of jewellery.

There is a great variation in the size of buckles. The well-known gold buckle with confronted animal heads from Faversham, Kent, in the British Museum has a strap aperture ·4 inches wide and is itself only 1·3 inches in length, while the massive gold buckle from Sutton Hoo (*Plate XL*) is 5·2 inches long. There is as marked a diversity in forms, as may be seen from our Plates, but we shall not discuss the highly technical subject of buckle typology further than to say that form is not an absolute indication of date, for simple varieties often continued in use by poor folk at a very late date. Rather shall we ask the reader's attention for the decorative plates, counter-plates, tongues and belt-fittings, all of which gave leading opportunities for a popular art which lasted throughout the whole of the Saxon period.

Spoons (*Plate XXXIII*) are considered on page 126. The *girdle-hangers,* most familiar in Anglian centres, a relic of the Roman matron's keys and thus a badge of domestic authority, are normally of cast-bronze, and bear simple moulded or ring-and-dot ornament, as illustrated in Fig. 7.

[1] John Brent, *Canterbury in the Olden Times,* 2nd edition, page 30 and Plate 9, Fig. 5. No locality is given, but Dr Wacher's father attributed it to the famous cemetery at Sarre.

The wide literature of Anglo-Saxon antiquities has in its own right a great subjective interest. It is not in any way lessened by the fact that such relics were not at the time of their discovery attributed to our Germanic forefathers. While the mosaic pavements of the Roman villas and circles of standing stones were familiar enough sights to the early topographers as they surveyed the countryside of Britain, they must also have been acquainted with the rusty spear and sword, the crumbling shield umbo and the brooch, which in some numbers were to be seen in the cabinets of their hosts, but which to their eyes were only further relics of the Roman or of the Celt.

Perhaps the earliest record of Saxon relics is that contained in the Chronicle of Roger of Wendover, the first established historian of the Abbey of St. Albans, wherein is described the opening by the monks of St. Albans of one of a group of burial mounds called the 'Hills of the Banners' in the village of Redbourn. One of them was traditionally regarded as the burial-place of St. Amphibalus, the colloquial name being derived from the religious processions which in consequence gathered there, and when the explorations of the monks uncovered a grave containing a human skeleton accompanied by iron weapons, it was at once adjudged to be that of the Saint and the bones carefully removed to the sanctuary of the Abbey. The event took place as early perhaps as A.D. 1178, and it is indeed interesting to wonder how far the contents of many a medieval reliquary may have come from a similar source.

But it is in the stately prose of Sir Thomas Browne that we find the earliest mention of Saxon jewellery. 'Great examples grow thin', he remarks in the grand Epistle which on May Day of 1658 opened his *Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial,* and the examples which he 'fetched from the passed world' to illustrate his Essay came in fact from a Saxon cemetery found in a field close to his home at Old Walsingham in Norfolk. There were between forty and fifty burial urns, one of which, as Mr. Leeds reminds us, may have survived in 'Tradescant's Ark', the collection which in 1677 formed the basis of Elias Ashmole's bequest to Oxford University. The urns contained burnt bones, decorated combs, and . . . 'handsomely wrought like the necks or Bridges of Musicall Instruments, long brasse plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements; brazen nippers to pull away hair . . . and one kinde of *Opale,* yet maintaining a blewish colour'. To Sir Thomas,

these were an eloquent reminder of the power and culture of Rome, but his reflections towards the end of the Essay do not altogether exclude the claims of the Danes and of the Saxons. For our part, we quickly recognise in the relics the furnishings of a typical Anglian cremation cemetery, characterised by cruciform or square-headed brooches with prominent bows and elaborate decoration.

The same view was taken of objects unearthed in the barrows dug at an excavation party in 1730 at Chartham on the bleak chalk downs of East Kent. The gathering itself, encouraged by the interest of a well-known country squire of his day, Charles Fagge of Mystole, was a remarkable one, for the digging was supervised by Cromwell Mortimer, the Charter Antiquary, an 'impertinent, assuming empiric physician' who became second Secretary of the Royal Society, and eagerly watched by a ten-year-old boy called Bryan Faussett, who was to distinguish himself as a zealous antiquary and collector of the finest museum of Saxon antiquities. Mortimer's opinions, to be strongly criticised by Faussett in later years, were based on a belief that the British forces gave battle to Caesar on Chartham Downs and, Faussett once remarked, 'I much question if the owner of the trinkets . . had appeared to him, and positively assured him that she really was not Q. Laberius Durus, but a mere woman, whether he would not have called her a "lying baggage", and have told her he knew better.'

From Cromwell Mortimer's bland and laborious narrative which, with the relics obtained from his excavations, was long preserved by the Fagge family at Mystole,[1] we shall make one rather protracted extract, and quote the detailed description of a gold brooch which is of interest as the earliest known detailed account of a piece of Saxon jewellery found in Britain.

'. . . it consists of a plate of silver one inch and seven tenths diameter, and one tenth of an inch thick on the foreside round the margin; it had a circle alternately smooth and corded half an inch together; within this is another, but flat circle, on which are some blind remains of an indented line, round the inside of this runs a small corded wire of gold, and all the space within this cord is a plate of gold of one inch and a quarter diameter; it is closely studded with small circles of that corded gold wire which some may call roses, but, in reality, exactly

[1] The original account and the antiquities are unfortunately lost. Both Faussett and Douglas, however, give versions of the account in their respective works.

resemble the dust of the flower of the holy-oak, when seen through a microscope. In the centre is an hemisphere of ivory of half an inch diameter, with a socket in the middle, in which probably was set some small stone; round this is a circle of thin plates of gold, with four rays like a star, all set with garnets, having a triangular piece of Lapis Lazuli at the extremity of every point, and a semi-circular piece of the same stone at the basis of every ray close to the ivory hemisphere: on the middle between each ray on the golden plate stands a circle of gold holding a small ivory hemisphere of a quarter of an inch diameter, in the middle of which is a socket, in one whereof is still remaining a round garnet, and in another the foil which is used under all these garnets, which is a thin plate of gold with lines across it, that it somewhat resembles a smiths' file . . .'

By a fortunate chance, an excellent coloured drawing of the Chartham antiquities kept at Mystole was made some years later by Bryan Faussett's son and added to the blank pages at the end of his father's Journal, and from our reproduction (*Plate VII*) it may be judged how close to the original was Mortimer's description.

We have already spoken of Bryan Faussett; his antiquarian researches deserve rather more than a passing reference. He was born at Heppington near Canterbury in 1720, and despite what we might infer from his presence at Mortimer's digging at Chartham, he was in no sense an infant prodigy; indeed, his only claim to notice in his early days seems to be that he was thrown on the nursery fire by a pet monkey. At Oxford he left a reputation as 'the handsome Commoner of University', and little else, but here he acquired a taste for genealogy and skill in the art of heraldry, both of which, together with the care of his collection of 5,000 coins, occupied much of his time when, at the age of 30 and without a benefice, he came home to live once again in Kent. Heraldry was his amusement and his constant occupation; indeed it is reliably said that he visited and made notes on the painted glass and monumental inscriptions in every church in the county.

Faussett's introduction to archaeology in the open air came on a midsummer Sunday evening in 1757 when, with the Rector of Crundale, he walked to Tremworth Down in the latter's parish to observe the site of a Roman burial-ground mentioned by one of the Kentish topographers. The Parish Clerk, who had been employed as a

labourer to assist in uncovering the graves some fifty years earlier, remembered their location, and by nightfall had been set the germ of that enthusiastic and enquiring spirit which, in the next sixteen years, was to be responsible for the opening of more than six hundred graves and burial mounds in East Kent. And while the flickering lamps of his coach stabbed yellow into the darkness as he trundled his way back up the long gritty lane from the Rectory towards Heppington, then perhaps did this country parson's fancy turn towards a dream of buried treasures, and his dream foreshadow even the Kingston Brooch, that most famous piece of all his jewellery.

In all Faussett's explorations there is evident a diligent quest for knowledge, and we do well to remind ourselves how much we owe to his most careful and painstaking observations, manifested by his unfailing habit of maintaining a daily Journal of work. His sense of mindful appreciation was acute. There is in it a great deal that we find entertaining. The hurried opening of as many as twenty-eight graves in one day and nine barrows in little more than two hours, as he did at Bishopsbourne, is not according to the modern archaeological book; and we smile at his encouragement to his workmen '. . . persuasion, and a little brandy, without which nothing, in cases such as the present, can be done effectually'. But we have used mechanical excavators when the exigencies demanded hurried and vigorous treatment: and in place of brandy, an ordered system of monetary rewards. A quaint literary style reflects the country background of this Journal which was kept by Faussett between the years 1757 and 1773 under the title of *Inventorium Sepulchrale.* In his simple but charming prose, a sword-pommel is 'the size of a middling walnut', a chain the 'thickness of a crow's quill', and fragments of iron ore the 'size of a goose-quill'; but the records are exact enough in their way. And it does not underrate their value to say that the author did not recognise among his treasures remains of the Saxon period. To him they were the tokens of Britons Romanised or Romans Britonised.

The famous collection of jewels, weapons and trinkets—it contained some four hundred jewels at a rough computation—remained for three generations in the Faussett family home at Heppington, almost forgotten by the world. It was at one time offered for sale to the British Museum but the then Trustees were unable to consider its

purchase for the National Collections, and at length it was acquired in 1850 by Joseph Mayer, a liberal and wealthy Liverpool goldsmith, who presented his remarkable collection of arts and antiquities valued at £80,000 to his City; he also, we see, raised three companies of volunteers at his own expense and was responsible for the introduction of electro-plate for domestic use. It is a matter for great regret that present circumstances do not permit the public exhibition of this superlative collection of Saxon antiquities.

The *Inventorium* manuscript was published by subscription in 1856 under the Editorship of Charles Roach Smith, a distinguished antiquary. The remarkably fine plates by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., some of them coloured, include an excellent and varied series of jewels. The original Manuscript, contained in six vellum-bound notebooks with the Author's diagrams and rough drawings, is also in the Liverpool Public Museums. From it we reproduce (*Plate V*), the account of the discovery of the Kingston brooch, and Faussett's own pen and ink drawing of the jewel.

The Manuscript, as we have already had occasion to observe, has a number of additional colour illustrations of a very high order by the hand of Henry Godfrey Faussett who, from childhood, had been his father's companion in archaeological explorations. In later years the son, it seems, directed much of the practical work, while the father, suffering from painful and ever-increasing attacks of gout which rendered disagreeable both his temper and his language, took what ease he could on the seat of his coach which had been brought as near as possible to the scene of the digging. The coach, so rumour had it the day after the famous Kingston brooch was discovered, was so heavy with gold that the wheels would not move, and the Lord of the Manor thereupon forbade further digging.

Henry, man-of-law, skilled draughtsman, and dilettante collector of pictures, introduces to us an engaging correspondent.

Captain James Douglas—he later took Orders and was appointed Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Prince of Wales—was an Ordnance Engineer in the military works on Chatham Lines in Kent when, about 1780, we first hear of his antiquarian pursuits. Of his excavation in Saxon barrows on the Lines, probably the most important of his practical interests which ranged geographically across Britain from Stonehenge into the Isle of Man, there remains a well-published

D. GOLD PURSE-MOUNT FROM THE SUTTON HOO TREASURE

(actual size)

description and most of the objects themselves, presented by Sir Richard Colt-Hoare in 1829 to the Ashmolean Museum.

The *Nenia Britannica,* a folio published in 1793 in five-shilling numbers, was, as its hundred-word sub-title indicates, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain. From our immediate point of interest it is of much value for the author's delightful aquatints,[1] many of which, as those reproduced in *Plates III* and *VI* show, illustrate items of jewellery recovered from Kentish barrows. At the same time, we must note that it marks a notable progress in the method of archaeology. 'The inscription or the medal', announced Douglas, 'are the only facts which can obviate error, and produce the substitutes for deficiency of ancient records.' He himself was the first antiquary to understand or even to suspect the nature of Anglo-Saxon relics; but from the facts as set out he nevertheless invited the reader 'to frame his own conclusions without any apprehension of being involved in the confusion of self-opinionated theory'. He realised, too, that Sir Thomas Browne's 'sad sepulchral pitchers' and the tiny 'brazen nippers' were the furnishings of cremation burials in a pagan Saxon graveyard; but at the same time a curious whimsy led him to suggest that the nearby village of Burnham was on the evidence of its place-name, the site of the Walsingham funeral pyre. Douglas, an engineer and an artist, observed and measured carefully, but curiously, and to our regret, he left no adequate plans of his field-work. He was the first to notice with understanding and to record 'the marks of a factitious earth in the native sand', that often elusive clue on the proper development of which the value of modern excavation work so largely depends. Bryan Faussett dug boldly and worked with appreciation. James Douglas, on the other hand, confirmed by close study and application what he had sharply observed. His general experience was wide, for he had traded in Flanders, served as cadet in the Austrian army, and otherwise travelled quite extensively in Europe—and it is typical of the man that whilst taking the Tungrian waters he found time to study and describe the famous Roman burial-mounds in the neighbourhood—and it was this advantage which gave him an outlook so far ahead of the contemporary scene.

[1] Douglas's own copy with its delightful colour illustrations, to be seen in the British Museum (Greville MS. G. 6863), will be a welcome surprise to those readers who are familiar only with the heavy chocolate-brown lithographs of the published work.

That scene was in fact widening in its prospect and fairly set to become the wide panorama of the nineteenth century. Consider for a moment its outstanding features. There was first of all the wide and learned background provided by the early antiquarian topographers, by Leland and Stow, by William Camden and John Speed. Then side by side with the seventeenth and early eighteenth century studies in Old English, there grew an interest in objects as antiquities. It was, quite naturally, a collector's interest, a phenomenon enhanced by the topical vogue for classical gems and sculpture, by fossils, curiosities and shining crystals brought home by foreign travellers. The famous collections formed by the Tradescants which came to the University of Oxford in 1677 by the generosity of Elias Ashmole no doubt stimulated an inquisitiveness which was to spread far afield. It reached its height in the days of urban expansion when every commercial excavation was watched for the relics it might yield; when Cannon Street in the City of London was occupied by the open-air booths and stalls of dealers who sold what they described as antiques discovered in the making of the London railways, and when a trade in false antiquities had become possible.

One only need glance at some of the famous collections amassed at this time to see that among the 'cashiered nails and invalided gallipots' Saxon jewels and trinkets were in especial demand. Their immediate and objective attraction is obvious, but we can surely also allow something for a tenuous link with the Romantic Revival, the peak of which was long past but which lingered to its death in the cult of the knick-knack. And for the ordinary man who was interested in such things there were always the reproductions of antique British jewellery which he might see in the rather odd company of a mechanism for rectifying irregularities in the growth of the teeth, on the shilling days at the Great Exhibition.

As an example of the wealthy collector's taste, we may instance that of Albert Denison, first Baron Londesborough. He was born in 1805 and, in the fifty-five years of his life had been soldier, diplomat in the courts of Berlin, Florence and Vienna, and Member for Canterbury for (in all) some ten years. His travels and his later domestic interests laid the foundations of a collection which his reputed rent-roll of £100,000 a year could well support. He amassed, in addition to his notable pieces of Saxon jewellery, a valuable museum of arms

and armour, of fine plate both English and continental, of handsome enamels, chiefly of Limoges, which bore company in his cabinets with mediaeval ivories, Irish gold ornaments of the Bronze Age, a Roman altar and a bronze helmet from Ravenna, side by side with delicate Jacobean bijouterie and the Bell of St. Maura, the tongue which by the popular story had long since ascended to the skies of Donegal.

But this was not all. Lord Londesborough, and in this he was not alone, became a patron of archaeological research, giving his unstinted support to the newly formed societies, employing as his personal Secretary James Yonge Akerman who was later to become a distinguished and influential Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, and encouraging and supporting such men as Thomas Wright in their work in the field. Wright's excavation work in the Saxon barrows on the Londesborough estates in East Kent added much to the famous Collection: but at the same time we owe a good deal of our present exact knowledge to a proper publication of the discoveries at the hands of his patron.

A widely felt practical impulse had been given to the study of Saxon antiquities, among other matters, by the formation in 1843 of the British Archaeological Association. An account of its First Congress at Canterbury, when two hundred people assembled on Breach Down to view the excavation of several Saxon burial mounds, relates that:

'It was indeed delightful to notice the feeling with which our fair countrywomen made for once participants with their husbands, fathers, brothers and friends, examined every ancient memorial disinterred from the universal Mother, Earth . . . those few ladies [who had braved an autumn thunderstorm] crowded round the tumuli and almost passionately expressed their gratification as beads . . . or amulet or armlet was handed to them for inspection.' There were, as one of the party was moved to recall,

> Mere fibulae without a robe to clasp,
> Obsolete lamps, whose light no time recalls,
> Urns without ashes, tearless lachrymals.

The tranquil atmosphere of this early Victorian antiquarianism

Fig. 6

A Victorian excavation party.
Saxon graves on Breach Down.
The First Congress of the British Archaeological
Association, Canterbury, 1843.

may be recaptured by a perusal of the gilt-edged invitation card: the Dean and Chapter would, in the handsomest manner, throw open the entire Cathedral to the inspection of the curious; the Municipal Archives would be exhibited; the Treasurer would, after dinner, contribute to the general interest by publicly unrolling an Egyptian mummy; and above all, the Noble President would entertain the Company at his Mansion. It was not thought worthy of mention—indeed Charles Roach Smith may not yet have made his diplomatic arrangements—that the members would be able to inspect the incomparable collection of Bryan Faussett which, in its dust-laden cabinets, still survived nearby in the secluded family home at Heppington.

The Congress had immediate effect in two directions.

It brought together those of kindred interest who, apart from the limited number qualified for election as Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, had scarcely any common ground for meeting, still less for the practice of those integral social duties which the time demanded. The foundation and growth of County Archaeological Societies was a natural result: and thereby the ordinary man was led to abandon his vaguely distrustful outlook upon 'Ancient British' remains generally. The Norfolk Society was inaugurated in 1845; that of Sussex in the year following, at the 'suggestion of a few gentlemen of Lewes, who observing the interest excited by some recent antiquarian discoveries', in fact that of the graves of the founders of the Priory of St. Pancras at Southover which had been destroyed in the construction of the Brighton railroad, were 'anxious to promote a readier acquaintance among persons attached to the same pursuit'. The financial crisis of 1847, caused in part by too ready an investment in these same railways, did not hinder the cause. The Surrey Society met for the first time in 1854; in 1857 the Kent Society gained 367 members in its first two months, and by some twenty years later the movement was established in the west of England and in the Midlands.

From the founding of the local antiquarian societies it was but a short step to the establishment of public museums with a local background. That at Colchester, usually thought to be the earliest, opened in 1846, and was quickly followed by others. Among the mass of antiquities which found its way into these collections there was not a little of value and of interest especially, as it chanced, in the way of

Saxon jewellery; but local museums were apt to be a very mixed blessing, particularly when, as so often happened, the donor had by reason of policy to be borne in greater regard than his gift. The legacy is with us yet. An interesting side-line which we may also note here is the not inconsiderable influence and impetus given to the collecting of antiques by the Great Exhibition of 1851, with its stress upon both ancient and modern craftsmanship and art. It is not surprising that concern with the artistically-wrought trinkets of the Earliest English should become the fashion. We shall not pretend that the Section of Fine Arts was in any way directly responsible for the creation of a sudden interest in Saxon jewellery, but we do go so far as to emphasise, once again, that in 1851 there was great opportunity for Everyman to become conscious of the art of his immediate English ancestors.

Almost as striking was the other but less immediate effect of the Congress, which led to an antiquarian devotion to the Saxons, to the exploration of their cemeteries, and to the satisfactory and sometimes luxurious publication of discoveries. Such, for example, were W. M. Wylie's *Fairford Graves* (Oxford, 1852) a record of research in Gloucestershire undertaken in 1844, and the *Saxon Obsequies* of the Hon. R. C. Neville (London, 1852) a small folio account of a cemetery at Little Wilbraham, Cambridge, brilliantly illustrated by coloured lithographs, and the early volumes of *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1858—) with their attractive gilt and colour plates of Saxon jewellery. There were also works of a more general appeal, typical of which were Charles Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua* (7 vols., 1843-80) and the enthusiastic and inexhaustible Thomas Wright's *Archaeological Album,* or Museum of National Antiquities (1845), his *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon* (1852), and *Wanderings of an Antiquary* (1854). Lord Londesborough's extensive collection of Saxon relics and particularly of jewellery was made public when John Yonge Akerman published items from it in his splendid *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (1855), which is still a consulted work. A more pretentious work was Baron J. de Baye's *Industrie Saxonne,* published in English in 1893 as *The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons.* An outstanding publication of local research in 1905 was J. R. Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches in . . . Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire.*

The standard and scope of illustrations had made notable progress, and we can observe in the work of Cleghorn, of the Basire

family, employed by the Society of Antiquaries, and of Fairholt (*Plate VIII*), excellent line drawings reproduced by skilled lithography. The scrupulous draughtsmanship of Fairholt, that talented sixteenth child descended from a Spitalfields silk-weaver and a German tobacco manufacturer, was of a technical fluency which has never since been surpassed. We can instance particularly the plates of jewellery which illustrate *Inventorium Sepulchrale,* Roach Smith's publication in 1856 of Faussett's Journal; a selection of his work is also reproduced in *Plate VIII* in this book.

We have already noticed the growth of the antiquarian collector and his constant seeking after additions to enrich his display cases. It so happened that between the years 1860-94, there arrived in Kent what was, in more senses than one, a golden opportunity. It was in the former year that the Directors of the London, Chatham and Dover Railway decided to start work on the road projected close to the town of Faversham. As the construction progressed on the gentle slopes south-west of the town part of which, it is said, was known from time immemorial as King's Field, there were rumours of golden treasure, and before long local collectors and the agents of those who lived at a distance began to offer worth-while rewards to the Irish 'navigators' for such trinkets as might be recovered. There was no suggestion of anything like a proper or systematic antiquarian investigation, but the response was good, and few weeks went by without the navvies in their outlandish battered hats and crimson velvet waistcoats clattering up the step of 'The George' at the end of The Mall, adjoining the road, there to drink the 'white beer' so thoughtfully supplied by their patrons and to dispose of the buckles, brooches and rings which bulged in their pockets.

The railroad was some years in construction and there followed extensive digging for brickearth at the side of the line, during which time the cemetery continued to yield its rich treasures. It is frankly impossible to say what was discovered. There were various incomplete lists of finds made public, and we can note that Mr. William Gibbs, a retired grocer of Faversham, had acquired some 2,500 beads alone by 1870 when his sumptuous collection was devised to the Nation. To what large extent benefited Humphrey Woods, the Rigdens who owned the land, and the wealthy secretive collectors such as the Kennards of Linton Park who would never permit any reference what-

ever to their private museums, we can only judge from sale-room records of a later age. The Gibbs Collection, of course, survives intact as one of the important treasures of the British Museum, and fortunately notable pieces from the other private collections have from time to time found their way into public museums.

It is indeed a matter for more than usual regret that this famous site was kept solely as a collectors' preserve. It was, we may think, the established home of the Kentish kings, and when between 811 and 815 Coenwulf of Mercia was breaking up the Lathe of Faversham and selling a tract of land to the See of Canterbury, 'Febresham' was described as a *villa regis*, a town of the King, and it was no doubt the centre of the villages in the Lathe. The name of King's Field, which as we have noticed persisted in popular mind for more than nine centuries, is a true reflection of its importance, which we must set against the richest and finest treasury of Saxon jewels ever to be discovered in Britain until the recent finding of the famous ship-burial at Sutton Hoo.

But we must revert to the literature of Saxon jewellery. An outstanding piece of work which will long remain as a basis for study is the careful analysis of Anglo-Saxon remains prepared county by county for the *Victoria County History* by Reginald A. Smith, of the British Museum, and illustrated in colour by C. J. Praetorius, an artist whose appreciative feeling for the workmanship and quality of Saxon jewellery stands quite alone.[1] It began in 1900 with *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, and the History is still in progress. Such an authoritative compilation was bound to offer great opportunities for detailed research. In 1912 E. T. Leeds published in *Archaeologia*, LXIII the first of his invaluable reviews, a study of saucer brooches, which was to be followed by *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1912), *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), an erudite survey, *The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered* in *Archaeologia*, XCI (1945) and, now in preparation, a survey of square-headed brooches. All these contain studies of jewellery. The standard text-book dealing with jewellery is still Professor G. Baldwin Brown's *The Arts in Early England*, Vols. III and IV (1915), but his dating is modified by Nils Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), and more recently by T. D. Kendrick in

[1] See, as an example, his coloured illustrations of the beads from Ipswich, *Archaeologia* LX (1907), Plates XXXI-XXXIII.

his *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), a provocative book which no one interested in any form of Saxon art down to A.D. 900 can afford to neglect. There are two books of outstanding interest which deal with the period generally. They are R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the Saxon Settlements* (1936), which has at pages 478-89 a very comprehensive bibliography which will stand for many years, and R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons,* 2 Vols. (2nd ed. 1939) which is 'for all who wish to read about the origin of the English race, the English monarchy, the English Church, and the English character'. A convenient topographical summary is provided by the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages* with its text (South sheet 1935; North sheet 1938). Two reliable books on gem stones must find place here: G. F. Herbert Smith *Gem Stones* (1940 ed.), and L. Claremont, *The Gem Cutter's Craft* (1906). For enamels, the reader is referred to M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (London, 1930), the second volume of University College, London, Monographs on English Medieval Art, which contains a full bibliography.

The following select list of works dealing with comparable foreign material will, it is hoped, prove of use to the craftsman as well as to the student interested in jewellery of the Dark Ages.

J. De Baye, 'Les bijoux gothiques de Kertch' in *Revue Archéologique* for 1888, Part 4.

L'Abbé Cochet, *Le tombeau de Childéric Ier* (Paris, 1859).

O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London, 1926).

Y. Hackenbroch, *Italienisches Email Des Frühen Mittelalters* (Basle, 1938).

H. Kühn, 'Die germanischen Greifenschraben der Volkerwanderungszeit' in *I.P.E.K.*, 15-16 Bd. 1941-2 (1943), s. 140 ff.

Sune Lindqvist, *Vendelkulturens Ålder och Ursprung* (Kung. Vitterhets Hist. och Antik. Akad. Handlingar, 36: 1, Stockholm, 1926).

A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Pétrossa* (Paris, 1900), but see the summary by Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* IV (1915), p. 527 ff. for this and other Visigothic jewellery.

F. Rademacher, *Fränkische Goldscheibenfibeln* (Munich, 1940). Especially valuable for its magnificent illustrations and succinct catalogue.

H. Rupp, *Die Herkunst der Zelleneinlage und die Almandin-Scheibenfibeln im Rheinland* (Bonn, 1939).

G. Thiry, *Die Vogelfibeln der Germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit* (Bonn, 1939). A remarkably detailed typological study, fully illustrated.
O. Tschumi, *Burgunder, Alamannen und Langobarden in der Schweiz* (Bern, 1945). Few but good illustrations.

So far, beyond realising that it is something more than an antiquarian trifle, we have done little to assess the artistic worth of Saxon jewellery. There are of course obvious dangers in considering the merits of jewellery apart from the relative though more embracing arts of sculpture and book illumination which followed the Conversion. And, moreover, in an assessment such as that now to be attempted in this postscript, the wider cultural and chronological aspects of Anglo-Saxon art must necessarily give way to a more limited discussion on the quality of design and its way of execution.

In his design the Saxon jeweller showed a nice appreciation of balance and proportion. His powers of composition and orderly arrangement were cleverly rather than sincerely used. He was much occupied with texture and surface decoration, in which exuberant contrasts of colour produced by flashing jewel on gleaming metal, by the contrasted effects of light and shade whether it be by moulding, hatching, or even open-work, all played an important part. He insisted on the emphasis of geometrical pattern, much of it from his memory, and only very rarely allowed himself the virtue of an experiment in a vital plastic form. There is nothing of the personal style of the jeweller, no excitement in a personal creation. The design is always of set intention, and for that reason scarcely ever fails in its purpose.

But if we need to make this reservation in looking at the design of the jewellery, we see very quickly indeed that its execution shows a complete mastery of technique. To begin with there was a full appreciation of the nature and value of the raw material. The jeweller's skill in the difficult processes of metal working, especially in the casting of bronze and silver and the drawing of gold wire, is unsurpassed, and he was prepared to devote much time and care to the final finish of his work. As a technician he was superb.

It is perhaps this last quality in Saxon jewellery, one so nearly related to our own ideas, which makes it of so ready an appeal. But we should be not quite honest if we omitted to add to its worth the blandishment of an easily understood and popular design.

NOTES ON THE COLOURED PLATES

NOTES ON THE COLOURED PLATES

A. THE ALFRED AND MINSTER LOVELL JEWELS
B. THE KINGSTON BROOCH
C. BEADS
D. THE SUTTON HOO PURSE-MOUNT

THE ALFRED JEWEL

This very attractive little object was dug up in 1693 at Newton Park (North Newton) some four miles north-west of Athelney, Somerset, and for over two hundred years it has been a well-known and valued treasure of the University of Oxford. From the early days of its discovery the conspicuous openwork inscription along its edge

AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN

was correctly read as *Alfred ordered me to be made,* and despite the fact that no regal indication appears in the legend, there is good reason to think that it made reference to Alfred the Great (849-901), our best loved Saxon king. There can be no absolute certainty, but the inscription, together with the evidence of the cloisonné enamel and the rich style of decoration which suggest that the jewel was made late in the ninth century, and the significance of its find-spot in the midst of the countryside where he found sanctuary, all point in the one way, so that it is not difficult to believe that in all likelihood this masterpiece is a relic of the first King of the English.

By way of description we quote from the earliest published account of the jewel in a letter dated 10th December, 1698, from Dr. William Musgrave, a Fellow of the Royal Society, to Dr. Hans Sloane, its Secretary. '... the Work very fine; so as to make some Men question its true Age: But in all probability it did belong to that great King ...

'The Edge is thin, as far as the Letters. The Letters are on a Plane rising obliquely. All within the inner Pyramidal Line is on a Plane equidistant from the Reverse. The Representation (in that Upper Plane) seems to be of some Person in a Chair. It is in Enamel, cover'd over with a Crystal; which is secured in its place by the little Leaves coming over its Edges. In the Reverse are Flowers engraved. The whole piece may be of the Weight of Three Guineas. The Chrystal and Enamel excepted, it is all of pure Gold ...'

The Person in a Chair, in reality a half-length figure, is depicted in the flat plaque of sturdy cloisonné enamel in a garment of transparent green set off with brown facings, brown eyes and hair, and the pinkish ivory-like tint of the flesh against a background of transparent dark blue, and he bears in each hand a flowered sceptre. Christ-figures with similar attributes occur on Coptic textiles, and they are known in a British setting on the smaller of the standing crosses at Sandbach, Cheshire, and in the Celtic-style Book of Kells (about 800), but the enamel work in the Alfred Jewel, although it seems on the whole to be British in workmanship, reveals an inspiration which must surely have the Carolingian Renaissance as its art-source. It is otherwise with the decorated case of the jewel. Its wide terminal socket which housed, secured by a cross-pin, a thin shaft of some perishable material such as wood or ivory, is fashioned in the very English-looking form of a boar's head with gaping mouth and prominent eyes, highly enriched with granulated work and ornamented on its reverse with scale-pattern. The reverse of the gold case, as may be seen clearly in its present skilful mounting in the Ashmolean Museum, is engraved with a thick indelicate tree-scroll, scarcely English in its style, set on a clumsy background of basket-work.

But a consideration of its artistic standing does little towards solving the great problem of the nature and use of this fascinating jewel. Was it an amulet with a symbolic meaning hidden in its decoration, a pendant, a stylus-handle, a crown- or helmet-crest, or even a choirmaster's music pointer? All of these conjectures have been made since first it came to the notice of the antiquarian world, and in the many discussions churchmen have not hesitated to plead their own special cases. There is more perhaps to be said for the suggestion that it was a reading-weight intended to hold down the vellum leaves of a manuscript, or at least a book-pointer or *indicatorium* such as the *aestel* with which Alfred, as he says in his Preface to the work, furnished the gift copies of his translation of the *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great. Further, in this same Preface, he mentions among his monitors in the translation John, the Old Saxon mass-priest, whom he afterwards appointed Abbot of Athelney, and another interesting speculation is that John also was given a copy of the Pastoral and an aestel with it for use in his monastery.

There are still other considerations to be borne in mind. It is conceivable that the jewel may have been given to Alfred as a child during one of his visits to Rome, or possibly it may be a copy of an Italian work made under the King's personal supervision by one of the foreign jewellers described by Asser, his biographer. Indeed Miss Yvonne Hackenbroch in her brilliant little book on Italian enamels of the Early Middle Ages bids us consider certain features such as the long chin and the characteristic position of the eyes and the style of the hair which are closely similar to those depicted in manuscript miniatures from Northern Italy, particularly in the Psalter of Ambrosius. The possibility of an English school of enamellers at this time could perhaps be supported, Miss Hackenbroch thinks, but on the whole she prefers to leave the question of the origin of the jewel an open one. The

detailed case for its fabrication by an English craftsman has very recently been ably examined again by Miss Joan Kirk, and in her fully illustrated account she points out what some authorities consider to be an Irish influence in the design of the terminal. There the matter must at present rest.

Length 2·45 in. Thickness ·5 in. Late ninth century.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, Vol. xx, No. 247 (1698), p. 441.

John Earle, *The Alfred Jewel* (Oxford, 1901).

Y. Hackenbroch, *Italienisches Email Des Frühen Mittelalters* (Basle, 1938), pp. 24-5 and Abb. 4. There is also a valuable bibliography of the continental literature.

J. R. Kirk, *The Alfred and Minster Lovel Jewels* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1948). Contains a full bibliography.

THE MINSTER LOVELL JEWEL

The small Minster Lovell Jewel in the Ashmolean is as well-known to students as its renowned neighbour, the Alfred Jewel, with which it has such similarity of form, technique, and doubtless also of purpose, that the two must always be considered together.

The circumstances of its discovery in this village on the Windrush near Witney in the middle years of the nineteenth century are not recorded, but it found its way to a jeweller in Oxford and thence by the interest of the Revd. John Wilson, President of Trinity College, to the collections in the Ashmolean.

This little truncated cone of pale-tinted gold, in form something like an old-fashioned hat-pin, is essentially a decorative mounting for a stave or pointer of perishable material, the socket for which with its rivet holes still remains. The central feature, encased in a filigree and granulated setting, is a roundel of cloisonné enamel on gold, the design on a ground of dark blue being composed of a four-petalled green flower with a white centre and a rectangular cell of white enamel at each petal tip, and between the petals, of four hoop-shaped cells of light blue enamel. The surface is flat and the cell walls thick, as in the Alfred Jewel. The back of the jewel is flat and quite plain. The outline is emphasised by a frill of granulated petal-work, and there can be no doubt that this pretty little piece was meant to be seen from the front.

Length 1·25 in. Thickness ·4 in.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (University College London, Monographs on English Medieval Art, II, London, 1930), pp. 2, 22.

J. R. Kirk, *The Alfred and Minster Lovel Jewels* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1948) is the most recent and authoritative publication.

THE KINGSTON BROOCH

See Notes on Plate XXIV.

BEADS

Left: Part of a string of 59 beads which is almost 25 inches in length. It includes 14 cylinders of about 1 inch in length with reddish-brown, yellow and occasional black waves; 12 flattened annular beads of olive green or brown glass with white or yellow trails; 9 biconoid beads with streaks and whorls of reddish brown and yellow; 11 fluted 'melons' of pale green, blue and yellow; many small beads of deep blue, brown and yellow clear glass; and a fine centre bead, a squat cylinder of deep blue glass with a trail of white.

From the Chessell Down cemetery, Isle of Wight, 1855. This necklace was among the well-known antiquities purchased by Lord Londesborough from the excavator, George Hillier, who, upon their being loaned back to him by the purchaser, pledged them in pawn from which they were only redeemed much later by the efforts of Lady Londesborough's second husband, Lord Otho Fitz-Gerald. The collection was eventually acquired by the *British Museum*.

Right: Part of a superfine necklace of 18 pear-shaped and carinated amethyst beads of remarkable colour, carefully ground and graduated. The largest bead is 2 inches in length, and the set is one of the best known.

It was found in the burial-mound of a woman on Breach Down, Barham, Kent, in 1841, accompanied by an iron-bound chest, and with other neck jewels, a perforated globular bead of rock crystal, and a flat gold pendant set with a cabochon garnet and ornamented with beaded wire filigree. The group is illustrated in Plate VIII, and for remarks on amethyst beads, see page 52.

British Museum, Londesborough Collection.

Arch., XXX (1844), 47-56, and Plate I.

J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (1855), Plate V in colour.

THE PURSE-MOUNT FROM THE SUTTON HOO SHIP-BURIAL

The solid gold frame of the purse with its hinges for the strap or belt by which it was worn and the sliding clasp which fastened it are in perfect condition. The fabric of which the purse-bag itself was made and to which the clasp-tongue was attached has perished without trace, as has the original substance of the lid which was perhaps bone or ivory.

The edge of the frame is inlaid with small rectangular panels of garnet and of fine red-and-white and blue-and-white glass mosaic, its outline being emphasised by filigree binding. Encrusted upon the lid were seven garnet-jewelled ornamental plaques, and four circular studs of which one alone now retains its settings. Each exhibits intricate workmanship of very high technical quality: it reaches its peak in the delicate cloisonné of the two hexagonal plaques, the outer borders of which contain each close upon one hundred minute cells with garnets. Between them is a double plaque

with two pairs of animals, one pair interlaced, also jewelled with cloisonné inlays of garnet. Below is a pair of falcons stooping on ducks, remarkable for the large garnets in the bodies of the birds and the minute cloisons representing the feathers of the tails and wings. The outer pair of plaques bear in cloisonné garnet work a man between a pair of beasts, representing perhaps a Daniel in the Den of Lions or, as Mr. Bruce-Mitford has recently suggested, a rather similar Scandinavian design which, however, has an entirely different art-history.

The purse contained 37 Merovingian gold coins, three blanks rubbed down for recoining, and two plain billets.

Technically the most interesting feature in this most luxurious piece of jewellery—it is to be seen in the double plaque and in the man-between-beasts—is that which Mr. Bruce-Mitford has very aptly called the lidded-cloison technique. At first sight the garnets appear to be sunk champlevé-fashion into the surface of the gold, but this background of metal is in fact an assembly of cells which have been most carefully and ingeniously fitted with thick gold lids. Mr. Bruce-Mitford, who was the first to recognise it, tells us that the lidded cloison is at present something unique in archaeology.

Length 7·5 in.

British Museum: Sutton Hoo Exhibition in King Edward VII Gallery.

R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (British Museum: 1947), pp. 50-1, 54-5 and Plate 18. For the Sutton Hoo excavation, see particularly the whole No. 53 of *Antiquity,* March 1940.

It is surprising to find that the modern jeweller has not found in the fob-purse and its little attachments to the belt a challenge to his skill.

How attractive an ornament it can be is shown in the national folk-costume of Norway.

NOTES
ON THE PLATES

NOTES
ON THE PLATES

I

The barn at Court Lodge Farm, Godmersham, Kent, on a manor which belonged to the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, was described in 1486 as 'our new barn'. This photograph of the south end of the barn shows the details of the bays along the west side. The massive timbers of the frame have been patched and renovated, but most of the original work yet remains. This fine barn is just over 100 feet in length, and supported by its king-posts the lofty roof rises to a height of 25 feet.

The lines of such a medieval building well bring to mind the construction and appearance of a Saxon timbered hall.

II

SAXON HUT, BOURTON-ON-THE-WATER, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The hut-site in course of excavation, showing two prominent holes in which stood the vertical timber posts of a loom, a solidly built stone seat for the weaver, and two stone foot-rests on the floor of the hut, close to which were found a pottery spindle-whorl and clay loom-weights. In the foreground is the domestic hearth in which were embedded broken pot-sherds, animal bones, and several fragmentary rings of clay which were evidently pot-stands. The living quarters, on the right-hand side of the hut as seen in the photograph, were marked by a midden of broken pots and bones, among others of ox, sheep, pig, and a wild duck. The opposite side of the hut was free from rubbish, and here, the excavators thought, were the sleeping quarters. In plan the hut was of regular oval shape and measured 20 feet in length and 12 feet 6 inches in width. It was sunk some 3 feet deep into the gravel subsoil, and by carefully tracing a series of thirteen post-holes round its edge, the excavators were able to give the very convincing reconstruction of its conical roof as shown in the section on page 29.

The scale model of the hut as reconstructed is in the British Museum.

G. C. Dunning, *Ant. Journ.*, XII (1932), 284.

By permission of Miss H. E. Donovan (Mrs. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A.) and G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.

III

I. BURIAL OF A SAXON WOMAN, SARRE, KENT

An extensive cemetery of more than 270 flat graves was excavated at Sarre in 1863 by the Kent Archaeological Society and the relics, which

include much jewellery of note, are nearly all in the Society's Collection at Maidstone Museum. Other notable pieces of jewellery from the neighbourhood are in the British Museum; see Plates XX, XXVI, XXVII

The site of Sarre was of much importance in the early settlement of Kent. It grew at a point where the double tide in the Wantsum, the river which then separated the Island of Thanet from the mainland of Kent, became slack water, and it was the inevitable geographical site for a busy ferry at the eastern end of the Canterbury road. It lies full in the stream of continental traffic, a circumstance which accounts for the foreign trinkets and luxuries in its Saxon graves. A charter of Edbert in A.D. 726 describes

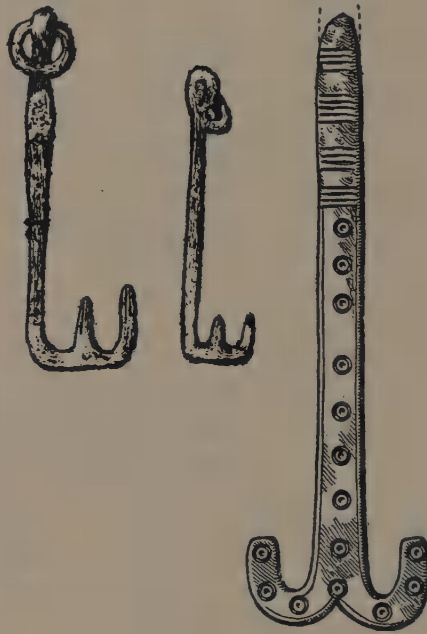

FIG. 7
GIRDLE ATTACHMENTS.
IRON KEYS, SARRE, AND BRONZE GIRDLE-HANGER, FAVERSHAM (ABOUT $\frac{3}{4}$)

the river at Sarre as navigable for shipping, and there is also documentary evidence that this maritime isthmus-route of the Wantsum was in use during the Viking campaigns.

The contents of Grave No. 4, of particular interest for the light which it throws on the possessions and jewellery and costume fashions of a well-to-do woman in the seventh century, were drawn at the time of discovery, although the drawing[1] was not presented to the Society until some years later.

The grave was an unusually large one, carefully made, and lay nearly

[1] There are slight discrepancies between details in the drawing and the published description.

east and west. Above the right hand was a fragment of flat gold braid which had been woven into a fabric: similar cloth-of-gold material had been used as a head-hood in another burial. Close by was a finger-ring of silver wire, with a spiral bezel (Plate XXXV), while between the shoulders was a necklace of six Scandinavian gold bracteates (Plate XXIX) ornamented in repoussé. More than 140 beads, at least 133 of them red amber, were evidently worn in a loose festoon on the chest and held in place and secured on or just below the shoulders by a pair of small gilt bronze circular brooches decorated with wedge-garnets, shell or meerschaum, and greenish-blue glass. In the woman's lap there lay a silver spoon, garnet-set and nielloed, with a pierced and gilded bowl (cf. Plate XXXIII), and a fine crystal ball (weighing almost 10 ounces) contained in a silver-gilt sling (cf. Plate XXXIII); both had been attached to a leathern girdle, the heavy bronze buckle, rivets, and tag of which were also discovered. Across the trunk, and fastening perhaps a fold of the cloak, were two square-headed brooches, the smaller of silver set with garnets and with a cruciform pattern on the foot, and the larger of bronze, gilt and with a keeled bow; the latter appears to have been worn point uppermost and the silver brooch in the more usual fashion.

In addition this woman had a small wooden trinket box bound in silver, in which she probably kept her particular personal treasures, the bone combs, bronze bodkin, the worn coins of Aurelius and Tetricus, and the polished fossil sea-urchin, no doubt an amulet, which were also recovered from the grave.

Her more domestic interests are represented by two iron keys with their rings for suspension from the girdle (see Fig. 7), a pair of iron shears, two iron knives, one in a sheath and ornamented with a small crosswise diaper pattern, all at her left hand, and by a fine conical tumbler of green glass at her head.

Drawing by F. A. Stewart, 1896.
Kent Archaeological Society's Collection, Maidstone Museum.
Arch. Cant., V (1863), 305-22.

2. BARROW OF A SAXON WARRIOR, CHATHAM LINES, KENT

Late in the eighteenth century many Saxon burial-mounds were destroyed on the chalk downs of Chatham Lines during the extension and rebuilding of military works for the better protection of the docks and garrison during the French Wars. No trace of them is now to be seen on the open stretches of the Lines, either on the ground or from the air.

A typical barrow opened in 1779, and here illustrated in plan, was surrounded by a ditch, and the skeleton, head to south, was contained in a grave 8 feet in length dug some 4 feet into the natural chalk. With the warrior was his heavy two-edged sword, just over 35 inches in length, with pieces of its wooden leather-covered scabbard, his spear, his shield, represented by its central boss and fittings, and knife, while at his feet was a wheel-turned bottle of red pottery. These relics, together with a single piece

of jewellery in the form of a simple bronze buckle for the sword, found close to the sacrum, are well illustrated by Douglas in the border of his plate, and described in some detail in his text. This is the earliest known attempt to plan a Saxon burial and to record its details as noted in the field.

James Douglas, *Nenia Britannica* (1773), Plate 1, and pp. 3-4.

IV

THE TAPLOW BARROW

1. This remarkable burial-mound situated within a prehistoric earthwork in the old churchyard at Taplow, Buckinghamshire, was found at its exploration in 1883 to contain an abundance of princely and costly objects, and its identification with the *hlāw* or burial-mound of an otherwise unknown chieftain *Taeppa,* the name of which is preserved in the present place-name, may be regarded as certain.

The chieftain lay in a rectangular grave, his head at the east end, and although he was not cremated in pagan fashion, he was buried in gold embroidered clothing and with elaborate care for his personal needs in the next world. There was a full armoury of spears, swords and shields, a large wooden tub and metal-framed wooden buckets, a large bronze standing-bowl with drop handles, what *The Times* described as 'quaint British pottery', a set of bone draughtsmen, a magnificent lobed beaker of olive-coloured glass almost 12 inches in height and three others of fine pattern, and a series of drinking-horns and cups mounted in bronze- and silver-gilt. The three items of the chieftain's personal jewellery are illustrated in Plate XXXVIII, 1.

The decoration of the rim-mounts and terminals of the Taplow drinking-horns has been widely discussed among archaeologists. They exhibit a Kentish style of zoomorphic ornament, terminals with a rounded beak-like motive and garnet-embellished bosses of a shell-like substance; and yet on the other hand a series of human masks in soft repoussé work, and an angular beak style in the terminals. It is clear from a detailed study that the horns are not all of the same absolute date.

The fashion of antiquarian digging is well portrayed in this delightful conversation piece with its carefully posed figures of the excavators, their labourers and visitors. In the foreground is the confident Director, Mr. J. Rutland, Secretary of the Berkshire Archaeological Society, and Dr. Joseph Stevens of Reading, the author of the official account of the excavation. The large yew tree formerly stood on the top of the mound, and under it the Director drove his 'exploratory gallery' which, before long, collapsed upon him, the excavation being delayed while he recovered from his injury. The picture, taken on a wet plate quite late in the autumn, was something of a triumph for the photographer.

2. The mound is now included within the private grounds of Lord Desborough adjoining Taplow Court, with memorials to his family close by.

The scar of the exploration is still to be seen in the flat top, and even

from its present reduced measurements, a height of some 12 feet and circumference of 240 feet, we can well imagine the imposing appearance in its original state of the great barrow on its tall hill overlooking the Thames.

For contemporary accounts of the excavation see *The Times*, 6th November, 1883; *Illustrated London News*, 17th December, 1883, with a page of woodcuts; *Pictorial World*, 27th December, 1883; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XL (1884), 61.

This photograph is by Mr. L. V. Grinsell, F.S.A.

V

AN EARLY ANTIQUARY'S JOURNAL:
Bryan Faussett's account of the Kingston brooch

Two pages from his MS. Journal, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, under date 5th August, 1771, in which Bryan Faussett describes and illustrates the 'most surprisingly beautifull and large Fibula subnectens . . . one of the most curious and, for its Size, costly Peices of Antiquity ever discover'd'.

From *Inventorium Sepulchrale MS.*, Vol. III, folio 52 and folio facing.

VI

JEWELLERY FROM A WOMAN'S GRAVE, CHATHAM LINES, KENT, 1797

An interesting example of jewellery fashions.

Barrow burial; a cist in the chalk contained the skeleton of a woman who had been buried in a wooden coffin, head to the south. Of her jewellery, that illustrated includes:

1, 2. Front and back views of one of two radiate-head gilt brooches, left side near lower vertebrae. Much worn by use.

3, 4. One of two 'copper clasps strongly plated with gold . . . which seem to have been cast and afterwards tooled upon', as Douglas's eye was quick to see. These square-headed brooches, in perfect condition and with 'sharp ornament', were an ornament or dress-fastening (for the mantle?) rather lower down but on the same side as 1, 2 above. The garment seems to have been of linen.

5. Near the left side, this iron belt buckle with silver plate (and silver tag, not illustrated).

6. Piece of an ivory armlet; on right upper arm.

7, 8. One of two silver gilt button brooches; on breast near the collar bones. The 'cast of the ornament', pertinently remarks Douglas, 'is not unlike a Gothic representation of the human face'.

9. Between the thighs, a silver-gilt spoon with fragile perforated bowl and garnets in cells on the stem. It was much worn, probably by friction on the dress as it was suspended from a belt, and it was repaired in antiquity.

10, 11. Two of ten expanding rings of silver wire, each with one or more pendant beads of amber or glass. They are said to have been found near the pelvis, but earlier in the account are described as being near the ivory armlet, that is close to the chest where we should expect they were worn, probably as a festoon.

13, 14, 15, 16 are Roman coins (one identified by Douglas as Anthemius and one of Valentinianus) pierced for suspension from a necklace, found with

17, 18, 19, 20, beads of red opaque glass threaded with yellow streaks; of multi-coloured chevron glass; melon-shaped black glass; and fine translucent amber.
21. Six spherical crystal beads, possibly part of a bracelet.
22. Represents the decomposed remains of an iron knife, found on the left side.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The beads are now all in one necklace, and one of the two remaining silver rings has lost its bead. Presented by Sir Richard Colt-Hoare, 1829.

James Douglas, *Nenia Britannica* (1793), Plate 2 and pp. 6-10.

VII

JEWELLERY EXCAVATED ON CHARTHAM DOWNS, KENT, IN 1730 BY CROMWELL MORTIMER

See p. 71.

The site is described in the most reliable source as half-a-mile south of Chartham Church, between the roads from Canterbury to Wye and Chilham, which would make its central point behind the present Fagge Arms Inn, and no doubt any remains of the extensive barrow group which had escaped the plough were destroyed when the County Lunatic Asylum was built. There is now nothing of archaeological interest on the immediate site.

Our plate, taken from the coloured drawing by Bryan Faussett's son already mentioned, depicts several objects from the barrow 'first pitch'd upon to open', including the fine gold and silver brooch, two small gold pendants set with garnets, a pendant of four concentric rings of pearled gold wire having an open-work cross of the same kind of wire at its centre and a round-headed gold pin and chain attached to it, and a rough and flawed crystal ball.

The Plate also illustrates two expanding finger rings of silver wire and an ear-ring of silver wire with a blue glass bead; several fragments of bronze finger-rings and pins; beads of amber, amethyst, and red, green, and white glass, together with one of red clay striped with yellow; and a gold bracteate with a broad and dotted interlace found with amethysts and thought by Dr. Mortimer to represent 'the characters belonging to some angel or spirit' and to have been used as a neck-amulet to keep away evil spirits. The large dark-coloured ring-like object at the foot of the plate is

probably meant for the rim of the hanging-bowl which Mortimer described as a skull-cap or helmet.

From *Inventorium Sepulchrale MS.*, Vol. VI, folio 50. Drawing by Henry Godfrey Faussett *circa* 1770. The jewelled brooch, beaded gold wire pendant, gold-chained pin, a garnet-set gold pendant, and the crystal ball were also drawn by Douglas in 1782 and published by him as part of Plate 5, No. 1. See *Nenia Britannica* (1793), pp. 20-2, 99-108.

VIII

NINETEENTH CENTURY TASTE IN ANTIQUARIAN ILLUSTRATION

Side by side with the growing interest in serious antiquarian studies, the middle years of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of a marked change in the method and technique of illustration. The ornate and nostalgic picture of fancy, so often embellished with ruins or with a representation of the dusky grave with its emblems of mortality, gave place to a meticulous draughtsmanship accurate in all its detail. It is particularly to be noticed in illustrations of Saxon jewellery, and the two styles, both of which could be seen in the decade between 1840 and 1850, are represented on this composite plate.

The informal group of relics excavated from barrows on Breach Downs near Canterbury in 1841 by Lord Albert Conyngham (later Lord Londesborough) was drawn, probably in wash, by W. Burgess, an artist with leanings towards the Romantic school who seems otherwise unknown, and later engraved by John Basire III,[1] the last and least illustrious member of a family of artists noted for the original vitality of its drawing, and so far as John Basire I is concerned, for his friendship and co-operation with William Blake.

In contrast to this frankly escapist group are the three jewels drawn with superb technical skill by Frederick W. Fairholt, F.S.A., the antiquary-artist about whom we have already spoken in our Introduction. They are reproduced from the plate facing p. 206 of Thomas Wright's *The Archaeological Album*, published in 1854.

The open-work disc of gold set with garnets is from the Isle of Wight; the gold and silver brooch with a garnet and blue glass four-point star came from the barrow of a woman at Wingham, Kent, opened in 1843 by Lord Londesborough; and the square-headed brooch from East Kent.

IX

PINS

(Left to Right)

1. Bronze pin with moulded knops, and triangular spangles attached to the head. It was worn on the left shoulder and the *klapperschmuck* effect was

[1] John Basire II and III did much work for the Society of Antiquaries. The etching here illustrated from its first state was later to become Plate I in volume XXX (1844) of *Archaeologia.* Later John Basire III also illustrated the filigree pendant and some of the beads in the foreground in colour; see J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom* (1855), Plate V.

perhaps not so marked as in the spangled hair-pins, though the play of light on the plates of polished bronze must have provided a brave show.

From a grave at Leagrave, Bedfordshire, 1905. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 2nd ser. XXI (1907), 60.

Length of pin 6·8 in.

It may be recalled that the disposal of the human remains from this small cemetery at Leagrave made more than local history. Those who had the legal authority in such matters insisted upon the separation of the bones, both human and animal as it appears, from the other relics and on their re-burial in consecrated ground. Such instances of misunderstanding between archaeology and authority have been rare, and in these days are happily non-existent.

2. Small and delicate bronze hair-pin with pear-shaped amethyst bead at the head.

Cirencester, Gloucestershire (Sloane Collection).

Length 3·8 in.

3. (*Above*) Bone pin, probably for the hair, the flat head cruciform and with ring-and-dot pattern.

London.

Length 2·7 in.

(*Below*) Short and thick bone pin with truncated head and deep prominent groove below. Probably a hair-pin.

From the Thames in London.

Length 2·5 in.

4. Bone hair-pin, circular section, tapering throughout.

Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent.

Length 4·2 in.

5. Bronze pin with adjustable bronze wire ring in head.

Long Wittenham, Berkshire, from a cemetery excavated in 1859 by J. Y. Akerman.

Arch., XXXVIII (1860), 327-52.

Length 5 in.

6. Bronze hair-pin, dull green patina, the head in the form of a cross, and head and the flat shank decorated on both sides with ring-and-dot pattern.

From a barrow on Breach Down, Kent. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 1st ser. III (1856), 137.

J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom* (1855), Plate XL, 2.

Length 4·3 in.

7. Jewelled silver hair-pin with six garnets and filigree decoration on the flat head; two cells now empty may have contained shell or meerschaum.

Wingham, Kent (Londesborough Collection). *Arch.*, XXXVI (1855), 177.

J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom* (1855), Plate XL, 3.
Length 3·4 in.

6 (*Below*) and 8. Pair of bronze pins with simple moulded terminals united by a bronze chain. From a barrow on Breach Down, Kent. It is far removed in design and execution from the luxurious gold and jewelled pin suites, and such small sets are usually thought to be hair ornaments.

Length of pins 2·2 in.; of chain 4 in.

(*All the above are in the British Museum*)

X

CAST AND APPLIED SAUCER BROOCHES

1. An interesting saucer brooch in cast bronze found on the left shoulder of a woman at Horton Kirby, North Kent. An adaptation of a rude human face lies between the spiral-ended arms of a cross, and the wide surrounding border is of alternate vertical and horizontal hatching, the whole being very competently cut in 'chip-carving' technique. The hatched border is an additional legacy from woodcraft, and the general atmosphere of the brooch with its powerful contrasts of light and shade set off by the narrow plain rim suggests that the maker was familiar with provincial Roman work. It is likely to have been made early in the Saxon period, and it comes as no surprise to find that a Roman flagon was included in its owner's grave.

The moulds for these 'chip-carving' pieces have not survived but there can be little doubt that some were of wood, and indeed the striations of wood-grain very occasionally appear in imperfectly finished castings. There would have been no difficulty in casting them in wax or clay, or in very fine moulding sand.

Diameter 1·9 in. Mid to late sixth century.

Kent Archaeological Society's Collection, Maidstone, No. 504.

2. Pair of bronze gilt applied saucer brooches with deep flared rims having finely scalloped edges, and shallow plates roughly cast as they left the mould. The plates bear a cruciform motif, each arm being filled by a highly schematised human face and the intervening spaces by a disjointed animal leg with claws; the surrounding border is a much broken zoomorphic band in which it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish the animal form. Fixed at the centre with a white cement of which traces remain, is a bead of deep blue translucent glass, an effective contrast to the gilding. The brooches were worn one on each shoulder.

Diameter 2·5 in.

Grave 83, Barrington cemetery B, 6 miles SW. Cambridge, on the N. bank of the Cam. The type is usually assigned to the early sixth century, but as two rather similar brooches were found in the same grave as the tall wrist-clasps of Plate XXXIV, we must believe that it was still in use at the end of the century.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. W. K. Foster Bequest, 1899.

Cambs. Ant. Comms., V (1866), p. 26 and Plate IV, Fig. 1.

XI

'EQUAL-ARMED' BROOCHES

1. This broad 'equal-armed' brooch, on technical grounds the finest yet found in Britain, has an additional interest by reason of its discovery in a house of the Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay. The silver casting is clean and accurate, and the finish of precise chasing and gilding emphasises to the full the technical propriety and the beauty of the jeweller's design. Half of one arm is broken (from the patina perhaps a break in antiquity), and the bow and edges also show signs of much wear.

The elements of the pattern are from classical sources. The central design consists of pairs of acanthus scrolls with tendrils cut in a controlled 'chip-carving' technique. The narrow outer border of the bow and of each arm is based on the well-known Roman egg-and-dart frieze, while the inner border of the arms has crouching animals, two on the wider arm cast *à jour* and almost plastic in effect.

Both this brooch and the one illustrated below have small circular holes, not part of the design, but on this example contemporary with it, for securing the jewel to the dress, a feature which seems unnecessary as the spring-coil (behind the larger arm) was a powerful one.

Length 3·1 in. Fifth century, probably latter half.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, presented 1923 by the Oxford University Archaeological Society. Found in House 10, Sutton Courtenay.

Arch., LXXIII (1924), p. 171, Fig. 11 and p. 174.

2. Cast silver 'equal-armed' brooch of similar type but coarser detail, and rather less technical excellence, although the crouching animals are here fully plastic and the design is in the same Romanising decoration.

Two loops remain on the back of the wider arm, and what may be the scar of the catch-plate may be seen on the other arm, although we cannot be certain that the brooch was not sewn to the dress.

Length 3·9 in. Date as No. 1 above.

From a cemetery found during coprolite digging at Haslingfield, SW. of Cambridge, 1875.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. W. K. Foster Bequest, 1892.

Cyril Fox, *Arch. Cambridge Region* (1923), Frontispiece, 1 and pp. 256, 258, 276.

The 'equal-armed' brooches have been well studied by archaeologists. They come from northern Germany, from the area between the Elbe and the Weser, and their distribution in England, where they are confined to Cambridge, Bedfordshire and Berkshire, makes almost certain Mr. Leeds' suggestion that by the opening years of the sixth century the invaders had

penetrated along the rivers of the Wash as far south as the valley of the Thames.

XII

CRUCIFORM BROOCHES

1. Florid cruciform brooch of bronze, terminals to the head-plate cast separately. It is of particular interest for a neat repair made in antiquity, and by reason of the use of enamel, a Romano-British survival, in its decoration. The right hand terminal which had broken off has been secured by three rivets and a small plate on the back of the brooch. There are traces of red enamel in the sunken cell on the bow, and in the two oval-shaped depressions on the foot. Enamel may also be seen in the sunk circle on the foot of another cruciform brooch from Lakenheath at Cambridge, and it is evident that in NW. Suffolk (perhaps at a centre in the Lark Valley where there was extensive Saxon settlement) the earlier practice of enamelling had not been forgotten.

Length 6 in. Late sixth or early seventh century.

Lakenheath, near Mildenhall, Suffolk. *University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.*

Cyril Fox, *Arch. Cambs. Region* (1923), Plate XXIX, 3.

2. Fine well-cast and finished cruciform brooch of bronze, in excellent state and with dark olive-green patina. The detail is restrained, and the lines of the composition are good: one of the best products of the Cambridge jewellers' shops.

Found with two other cruciform brooches in 1910 in a grave at Croft Lodge, Newnham, Cambridge, and there are other Saxon relics known from the same site.

Length 4·7 in. Second half sixth century.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

Cyril Fox, *Arch. Cambs. Region* (1923), Plate XXVII, 5.

XIII

CRUCIFORM 'LONG' BROOCHES

1. A finely cast and finished bronze brooch with attached side-knobs cast on to the head-plate. Points of typological interest are the facets at the foot of the short bow, which represent the once functional returned end of the foot twisted back round the body of the brooch; the moulded eyes and the splayed nostrils of the horse-head terminal which is bevelled and relieved by chevron lines; the notched head-plate developed from the cross-bar of the spring, which has a raised panel now a survival as the decorative continuation of the bow but a result of the bevelling of the edges of the head-plate for the more ready attachment of separately cast side-knobs.

Length 3·5 in.

The brooch is of early type, and belongs to the years round 525 in

spite of the knobs being attached and not separately cast as is usual in the early forms.

Dam Hill, near Vicar's Brook, Trumpington, Cambridge, probably from an inhumation burial. Deck Collection, 1883, *University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.*

3-6. Two early bronze brooches found with a collection of 20 amber, crystal, glass and coloured paste beads (selection illustrated, 2), with a skeleton in Grave 122 of the cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire. That on the left, 3 and side-view 4 (length 2·4 in.), has a very small head-plate scarcely to be distinguished from the body of the brooch, a catch-plate which continues the length of the foot, and a version of the familiar ring-and-dot ornament. The group probably dates in the fifth century.

Abingdon Museum.

XIV

PAIR OF BROOCHES FROM THE SAME MOULD, LONDESBOROUGH

Two uncommonly well preserved cruciform bronze brooches cast from the same mould, found at Londesborough near Market Weighton, E.R. Yorkshire. That on the left came to the Hull Museum many years after that on the right, but from the same source. One at least was a grave-find. With their satisfying proportions, economy of mass, and restrained detail and fine workmanship, these jewels represent the Anglian craftsman at his very best. They rank among the most notable, but perhaps the least known, of our Saxon brooches.

The rectangular head-plate, expanded towards its sides, has cleverly cast knobs, and is faceted, as is the bow and the foot with its keeled animal head and nostrils developed as side lappets. Below the bow are small side lappets with extremely degenerate but nevertheless attractive pieces of the 'Helmet Head' animals. Although the design is broken into panels and the brooch tends towards flatness, the vertical bands of small incised diamond pattern, the medial grooves, and a complete absence of fuss in line and execution make it a most satisfactory piece of jewellery.

Length 5·4 in. Late sixth century.

Mortimer Museum, Kingston-upon-Hull.

Hull Museum Publications, No. 33.

XV

BROOCHES FROM BARRINGTON, CAMBRIDGE

Pair of bronze brooches, remarkably fine olive green patina, with crescentic triangular feet, head-plates and faceted bows; head-plates and feet have simple punched decoration resembling finger-nail impressions. This brooch form is in the main restricted to the eastern counties, and it finds particular expression in south Cambridgeshire among the jewellers who were responsible in great measure for the development of the cruciform brooch proper.

Length 3·7 in.

Cruciform brooch, shallow amateurish bronze casting slightly improved with the graver; a one-piece casting done in moulders' sand. The design is much developed from the original cruciform. The head-plate, still with shallow faceting, has degenerate zoomorphic side-wings in place of the former knobs, while the foot, still with transverse mouldings, has lost all semblance to the animal head and expands with side wings round an incised rectangle which may represent a garnet cell, as the nipple on the bow may perhaps be intended for a small roundel of enamel. It is an interesting example of the baroque tendency in the Cambridge area which was to lead in the end to the florid brooches with their overload of untidy detail.

Length 5·5 in.

From Grave 82, Barrington B cemetery, Cambridge, with a fine bronze ring just above the left wrist, part of a Roman key-handle, wrist-clasp with zoomorphic pattern, and a profusion of beads, amber, crystal and glass. The small brooches were worn one on each shoulder, the large brooch above the one on the right shoulder to fasten the woman's mantle. The grave dates late in the sixth century.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. W. K. Foster Bequest, 1899.

Cambs. Ant. Comms., V (1866), p. 26 and Plate I (some of the associated objects, Plate V).

Cyril Fox, *Arch. Cambs. Region* (1923), Plate XXIX and p. 255.

XVI

SQUARE-HEADED BROOCH, BARRINGTON, CAMBRIDGE

A characteristic example of the Anglian square-headed brooch in its developed form. A carefully finished one-piece casting in bronze which has been brightened with a graver and then gilded; it is still in perfect condition apart from two minor bits of damage. The incurved head-plate bears a complicated schematic animal pattern which appears also on the bow and on the foot, while highly schematic human masks may be seen in the top and centre part of the head-plate and again on each lobe of the foot. There is a fine play of light and shadow on the head-plate, and on the bow with its prominent central ridge.

With it were associated two pairs of bronze gilt wrist-clasps.

This is one of the big square-headed brooches which Mr. T. C. Lethbridge had in mind when he described them as 'glittering and winking like fireflies' in the smoky gloom of filthy little Saxon dens.

Length 5·6 in. Late sixth century.

Found during coprolite digging at Barrington, Cambridge, 1880.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. J. W. E. Conybeare Collection, 1910.

Camb. Ant. Comms., V (1886), p. 32 and Plate VIII (one of the pair of wrist-clasps, Plate XI, Fig. 2).

XVII

SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES

(1) A competent one-piece bronze casting, probably made in a sand-mould, which has been improved in some of its details by chasing and then gilded. The projecting schematic human face above the heavy ribbed and punched bow is a thickening to accommodate the massive pin. The decoration is largely derived from animal forms; the serrated head-plate which with its distinctive human masks allows the interplay of light and shade and the small silver discs, formerly attached to the lobes of the foot, provide a bright contrast to the gilding, and again emphasise the devotion to polychrome effect.

Length 6·8 in. Mid sixth century.

Harlton, or more probably Haslingfield, Cambridge, 1878.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), p. 258.

(2) Bronze brooch, well cast and finished, heavily gilded and in an exceptionally fine mint condition. The decoration includes human masks and intertwined zoomorphs which have been derived in a free and imaginative way from the 'helmet-and-hand' element. It is one of the notable jewels in which excellent craftsmanship partners brilliant and adventurous design, and perhaps sets a local tradition.

Length 5·5 in. Early to mid sixth century.

Cemetery at Bidford-on-Avon, Wilts.

New Place Museum, Stratford-on-Avon.

Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Cat. Exhibition of Art of the Dark Ages* (1930), A. 21, p. 25 and Plate II.

XVIII

BROOCH FROM BIFRONS, KENT

This interesting brooch at first sight appears to be one of the limited Kentish group of square-headed brooches with a medallion or circular field on the bow. But as we see it, very possibly not in its original form, the brooch is a composite structure of head-plate, foot-plate and bow, the latter also forming a brace to carry the plates.

Both head-plate and foot-plate are of silver, the foot certainly and the head rather hesitantly cast *à jour,* and both show on their edges the signs of very extensive wear. The rectangular panels of the head-plate and the lozenge-shaped panel of the foot are bordered with zig-zag niello. The whole plates have been gilded and then, to give brilliance to the design, selected areas have been rubbed down so that the animal bodies which form its leading feature appear in bright silver outlined in gold.

The zoomorphic patterns in the design are of no little interest to the student of the art of the Dark Ages. They represent in a chip-carving technique a Teutonic development of the 'helmet-and-hand' motive which, as Dr. Kendrick has shown, was ultimately derived in part at least from

a Late Roman representation of the emperor. Here the motive occurs side by side with the stylised human mask, a piece of German art based also upon a Roman prototype, and the Bifrons brooch betrays no hint at all of the interlacing, plaits and twists of the Ribbon Style. It is a text-book example of the northern European style known since 1904 from the typological studies of Dr. Salin as Style I. At each side of the head-plate with its egg-and-dart edging is a crouching animal with clawed feet; its elongated head with prominent eye and ribbed collar rests on the fore-feet, and in this we can recognise the helmet head. A pair of similar animals is confronted along the top of the panel. The inner panel contains a barbaric human mask, chin to the top with the spade nose, staring eyes, puffed cheeks, moustache and beard often seen in button brooches, and on each side of it a pair of much distorted animals in which the clawed feet and the emphasised eye may however be recognised.

In the foot, four of the crouching animals appear along the outer margin cast almost in the round, but here the mouth is dreamily open and in the upper pair the hind-quarters are a mere fantasy of swirling loops. Stylistic human masks fill two small roundels at the sides, while animal heads which bear only a faint resemblance to the snuffling horse's heads familiar on the early cruciform brooches may be seen just below the bow and at the extreme foot. Notice also the degenerate human masks.

Both head-plate and foot-plate have been neatly cut and bevelled to fit snugly round the base of the heavy and massive cast silver bow, a truncated and ribbed cone which supports a heavy circular medallion with a schematic human mask, and is fitted to a cruciform framework. The brooch was found in three pieces, and it was clearly put in the grave in this incomplete condition; the solder securing the plates to the frame has been deliberately melted, and two rivets fastening the foot-plate have been carefully removed. Apart from the ribbed treatment of the hair in its mask and the rather similar borders to the masks in roundels on the foot and the collars of the animals, there could be no greater contrast in artistic style than that between the heavy practical brace and the inspired fantastic imagery of the plates; the latter may well have been treasured pieces of an older brooch in process of repair. See, in this connection, a similar brooch with a detachable head-plate from Vedstrup, Denmark, illustrated by Professor Sune Lindqvist, *op. cit.*

The brooch was worn on the right breast, foot uppermost. Its well-to-do owner was buried in her gold-braided hood, with two small garnet-set square-headed brooches, a bird-brooch of Frankish type, bronze-fitted girdle, a necklace of amber beads and a small chain, a spiral finger-ring of silver wire, and a fine bell-shaped cup of green glass at her head.

Length 5·2 in. Middle or second half of the sixth century.

Bifrons, Grave 41. *Kent Archaeological Society's Collection, Maidstone. Arch. Cant.,* X (1876), p. 313.

A very similar brooch was found by Faussett in the grave (No. 48) of a man with shield, spear and sword at Gilton. C. Roach Smith, Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), p. 17 and Plate VIII, 3.

XIX

MISCELLANEOUS BROOCHES

1. Pendant of light yellow gold in the form of a bird, set with sliced garnets and lapis lazuli in cells, and a cabochon garnet in a roundel of white shell-like material, here probably mother-of-pearl, the outline being emphasised by filigree beading. The back is plain and shows signs of considerable wear. The head has a suspension loop. This bird-of-prey is a direct descendant from the famous Gothic eagle.

Length 1·8 in.

From East Kent, Mayer Collection, *Liverpool Public Museums.*

2, 3. Pair of bird-brooches with chip-carving in cast bronze; the eyes and tails are jewelled with garnets, set directly in the metal, and the type is an uncommon one rather more natural in its style than the majority of such brooches. They are probably of Frankish provenance, and were found in a woman's grave, D.3, at Finglesham, near Deal, Kent, in 1928, and the other contents of the grave were an amber glass lobed beaker, a much worn and carefully repaired square-headed silver brooch, a pair of radiate-head brooches, a bronze belt buckle, two shoe-shaped rivets from the belt, beads, and three looped bracteates of Scandinavian type. The grave is evidently that of one of the early invaders who was buried with her treasures, most of which were brought from the region of the Middle Rhine.

Width approx. 1 in.

In the possession of Lord Northbourne.

Arch. Cant., XLI (1929), 121.

The bird brooches, which one would have supposed even in their debased forms to appeal to the Saxon women, were not a popular jewel in Britain. All our examples are listed by Dr. Gertrud Thiry in her most thorough survey, *Die Vogelfibeln der Germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit* (Bonn, 1939), to the plates in which the practical jeweller may refer.

4. Cast silver fish-brooch with geometric decoration in chip-carving and garnet-set eye, fins (anal fin broken away), and tail. The thick central spine prolonged to form the tail divides the body into two empanelled sections, the upper with geometric opposed hatching, the lower with a running scroll. The eye and mouth are emphasised by double lines, while the space above the mouth is filled with a running scroll. The garnet work is competently done, but the chip-carving is of poor quality and altogether lacks the refinement which would have been given by chasing. There is a certain and not unattractive reserve in the design, which owes something to the chip-carving bird-brooches, but it is as though the jeweller gave his best attention to the settings and for the rest filled a prescribed outline with convenient but commonplace geometric symbols. Such indeed might a jeweller of the best school of the small square-headed brooch makers be tempted

to do were he commissioned to make a 'portrait brooch' of a pike as a special order, given perhaps by a fisherman who wished in this way to commemorate his prowess with rod and net.

Length 3·2 in.

From a cremation cemetery with window-urns, Westbere, Kent. *Royal Museum, Canterbury.*

Ant. Journ., XXVI (1946), 15.

5. Brooch of bronze, well gilded, having a radiate head-plate decorated with a running scroll, wide bow with prominent central ridge, and lozenge foot terminating in a human mask supported by two open-jawed animals. A carefully cast and finished brooch of unusual type in Britain; its closest parallels are in Denmark whence, perhaps, it came on the dress of a woman late in the fifth century.

Length 3·3 in.

Found near Canterbury. *Royal Museum, Canterbury.*

6. Silver-gilt chip-carving brooch with (unusually) seven separately cast radiate knobs. The seven garnets are burnished into their isolated cast-settings, and the border of the foot and the well-worn bow have decoration in zig-zag niello. This brooch, an excellently made jewel, is one of a pair said to have been found in Kent; it is of mid-European provenance and was probably brought over by one of the earliest invaders. It has an added attraction by reason of the following inscription in runes (which defy interpretation) scratched on the underside of the foot: ᛁᛁ ᚲᚺᚠᚢ ᚷ ᚨᛞᛁᛁᛊ

Length 2·9 in.

British Museum, Bateman Collection.

XX

1. QUOIT BROOCH, SARRE, KENT

This is a very beautiful and interesting brooch (it belongs to the annular or solid ring group) of punched silver, partly gilt, in which the detail has been emphasised by careful tracing. A close examination of the back makes it clear that the pattern was beaten into the thin metal from the front of the disc. The pin is hinged and moves freely upon a sector of the inner ring, the point passing through a V-shaped notch in the side of the plate opposite and being secured on its return with the contained portion of cloth against one of two moulded studs. In use, the pin was pushed through the fabric of the dress which for this purpose was bunched into the central space of the brooch, the pin then being moved along its sector of the inner ring and the point secured against one of the stops by the pull of the cloth. Riveted to the hinge of the pin and to the plate, one on each side of the notch, are small dove-like birds cast in the round, one of the pair on the plate being on pivots; they have broad splayed tails, ringed necks, and the feathers are indicated by regular punch marks. Such a naturalistic representation of animal life is certainly according to a native tradition, and

far removed from that of Anglo-Saxon art; and the pairs of confronted, monstrous and fierce animals with their long backward-bent tails and four-clawed feet on the outer band of ornament, and those of the inner band, pairs of confronted but frightened backward-looking creatures, may perhaps be regarded as a representation of the familiar Roman subject of dog and hare. The peculiar indication of the animal fur by lightly struck but incisive punch-marks is also a borrowing from Roman technique.

Friction on the sector adjoining the right-hand stop has almost obliterated the cable pattern. There is some evidence that the inner ring is an addition to the original form of the brooch. The flattened ends bearing the stops are clumsily attached to a fillet on the broad plate; the right-hand end obliterates decoration on the plate; and the notch for the pin cuts into the plate decoration. At the same time, there is a piece of bungled work on the excellent pattern on the plate itself, partly covered by one of the birds, and the unhandiness may not amount to much significance.

Diameter 3·05 in. Early to mid sixth century.

British Museum, Durden Collection purchased 1893. King Edward VII Gallery.

Found at Sarre or Crundale in East Kent; the source and circumstances of the discovery are not clear.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2nd ser. XIV (1891-3), p. 315.

2. COIN BROOCH, CANTERBURY

The Canterbury coin brooch, a relic of the later Saxon period and the largest of its kind known, consists of twelve concentric rings of alternate beaded and twisted silver wire which frame a portrait medallion in cast silver. The back of the brooch has a pin mounting and catch-plate and six splayed braces of silver strip, all clumsily made and arranged.

The obverse of the medallion bears a diademed head to right with a mantle fastened by a round brooch on the left shoulder, and the legend + ƿVDEMAN FECIÐ while on the reverse is a small central cross and the legend, partly hidden by the braces, NOMINE DOMINI. The style is that of the coinage of Edgar the Peaceful (959-75), though the medallion, which is 1·1 inches in diameter, is larger than the usual Saxon 'penny'. It is not possible to identify the moneyer Woodman; the name cannot have been an uncommon one and we can only note that a Wudeman worked for Edward the Confessor some years later in the Mint at Shrewsbury.

Diameter 3 in. Second half of tenth century.

Collection of Dr Harold Wacher, F.S.A.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2 ser. XIX (1903), p. 210. When it was exhibited to the Society it was said that 'there was sufficient evidence to show that it was found in Canterbury some years ago'. The dull pewter-like patina of the brooch suggests that it may have been found in the River Stour, and this is not unlikely on other grounds.

GARNET-SET BROOCHES OF CAST SILVER

1. Cast silver, gilt, with chased chip-carving, in 'linked Y' pattern, really a pair of upraised arms, and annular niello, of which one ring only remains. The central boss, now gone, was of shell or meerschaum; the thick T-shaped garnets are set on finely stamped foils. The brooch is fire-stained, especially round the 'light-and-dark' edge.
   Diameter 1·7 in.
   Faversham, Kent.

2. As above, but with scored dots and no finish to the casting.
   Diameter 1·6 in.
   Faversham, Kent.

3 and 4. Front and back views of a similar brooch having four rectangular garnets at the border. On the back, between the pin-mounting and the catch, and filled with niello, is a tracing of what appears to be a design for the centre of a cloisonné brooch; four mushroom-shaped cells and two step-cells in triangles are tantalisingly clear, but as the rest of the pattern is ill-conceived, and the step-cells in the triangles wrongly inserted, we should hesitate before producing this tracing as undoubted evidence that the cloisonné brooches and the cast brooches of the kind on which it appears are contemporary.
   Diameter 1·7 in.
   Faversham, Kent.

5. Cast silver, gilt, with foiled garnets and shell or meerschaum bosses in the settings, a modified plain-and-beaded edge, zig-zag niello on the rim, and a highly schematic version of the backward-biting animal in the field. The brooch is very flat and the rim is not raised above the settings, as is more usual; the centre has disappeared, and the jewel has seen much wear.
   Diameter 1·8 in.
   Ash, near Sandwich, Kent, 1783.
   Nos. 1-5, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

6. A brooch of the same type in the best stage of development. The centre is of shell-like material set with a flat garnet, and the four principal settings are T-shaped garnets on gold foil, while the secondary settings are of shell, the ground being filled with a version of the backward-biting animal; a narrow band round the edge consists of alternate pieces of garnet, shell and (probably) turquoise.
   Diameter 2·1 in.
   Wheeler Street, Maidstone, Kent, 1836. *Maidstone Museum.*
   R. F. Jessup, *Archaeology of Kent* (1930), p. 234.

XXII

KENTISH JEWELLED BROOCHES

These elaborate silver-gilt disc brooches with finely-set free-standing cloisons, gold filigree on a separate plate, and sometimes inlays of niello, are among the most attractive of the relics from the Saxon graves of Kent. Between forty and fifty jewels of this style are known and nearly all reach a remarkably high standard of technical excellence. Their distribution shows that they were made at Faversham, which was the centre of a district noteworthy for its advanced political and economic development.

Above: King's Field, Faversham. Deep red almandine garnets. The circular cells also held garnets, and the foils in one still remain. The polychrome effect is extended to the rim by the use of four rectangular garnet-set cells, niello annulets, and alternate lengths of plain metal and beading (light and shade) on the edge.

Diameter 1·9 in.

British Museum.

Below: King's Field, Faversham. The apices of the triangular cells and the four inner step-sided cells contain lapis lazuli.

Diameter 1·6 in.

British Museum.

Both are early seventh century pieces.

XXIII

KENTISH JEWELLED BROOCHES

1. King's Field, Faversham.
   Diameter 1·9 in.
   British Museum.

2. Teynham, 3½ miles W. Faversham, April 1894, from graves found in excavations for brickearth near the railway station. Observe the annular filigree in addition to the more usual heart-shaped form.
   Diameter 1·8 in.
   British Museum.
   Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., ser. ii, XV (1895), 184.
   Both brooches date early in the seventh century.

XXIV

THE KINGSTON BROOCH

This beautiful composite brooch consists of two plates of gold bound together by a strip of beaded gold wire filigree ¼ inch wide, the interior being filled with a white clay-like substance, and the whole secured by three small clasps[1] of gold set close together across the filigree on the rim.

[1] The precise purpose of these clasps is difficult to determine. If their sole use was to staple both plates together, they would surely have been placed at equal distances apart round the rim of the brooch.

The front plate is slightly convex, so that the concentric pattern of the face does not lose its perspective and individuality in the obscurity of a plane surface: the design is further controlled by its modified cruciform pattern as well as by the prominent central boss. There are five concentric rings of gold cloisons—among them step-shaped, square, semicircular, and triangular—each cell being very skilfully soldered to the front plate and to its neighbours at their points of contact. What would otherwise be a uniform carpet-like spread of garnet and gold is relieved by cleverly spaced triangular and step-shaped cells of lapis lazuli; by four (one is now missing) square cells of a deeper red garnet; and by a central and four satellite bosses containing a white shell-like material which originally had a waxy surface.

On the back, the animal-head catch-plate for the bronze pin and the drum-like head of the pin and its surround are enriched with gold wire filigree; the head of the pin is jewelled with garnets, and above it is a safety loop for securing the brooch to the dress.

The enlarged photograph shows details of the firmly prescribed cloisons and of the units of filigree work, the latter consisting of fine-beaded gold wire soldered to a prepared ground of gold on which the outline of the pattern had already been raised. The twisted knot and interlace pattern was a bold translation into filigree of the familiar Teutonic backward-biting quadruped. The coloured plate brings to our eye the brilliance of this fascinating mosaic of garnet set on gold foils, of lapis, shell, and of gold filigree, exact and precise in its execution.

The Kingston brooch is the most noteworthy piece of the rich jewellery of Kent, and it is usually attributed to the period of wealth and political ascendancy of the Jutes under Æthilberht at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. A much earlier date proposed by Dr. Kendrick has won the admiring attention but hardly the agreement of his friends: his provocative theory, put very briefly, is that the best of the Kentish jewels were inspired by British craftsmen in the days of King Arthur.

Something is known of the woman who owned this brooch. She was wealthy, and scarcely handsome. Her imposing belongings in the grave consisted of two remarkable unilateral-spring brooches of silver associated with a chatelaine at the waist, a gold pendant with repoussé decoration, a biconical pottery beaker, a cup of green glass, and two bronze handled bowls with their trivet-stand. The bones of a child, probably from an earlier burial on the site, had been collected in a heap outside her coffin at the foot. The brooches with unilateral springs are excessively rare in a Saxon context. The Kingston pair seem almost certainly of La Tène type, and there may be some possibility that they were buried with an Early Iron Age child whose grave was disturbed by the construction of the Saxon barrow. Saxon veneration for the graves of antiquity is not at all uncommon. At Great Driffield, E.R. Yorkshire, secondary Saxon burials were made in a prehistoric barrow; in Grave 50 at Gilton, Ash, in East Kent, a Roman cremation burial was carefully gathered up and the coins with it placed outside the foot of the Saxon coffin; while in Grave 137 at

Kingston Down was found a Bronze Age beaker laid on the Saxon coffin.

Diameter 3·3 in. Thickness at rim ·25 in. Weight 6·25 oz.

Kingston Down, Grave 205. Mayer Collection, *Liverpool Public Museums*. Now on loan exhibition in the British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery.

C. Roach Smith, Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), pp. 77-9 and Plate I.

See also Coloured Plate B and page 74.

XXV

COMPOSITE JEWELLED BROOCHES

Like the Kingston brooch, these magnificent pieces with their neat controlled design are masterpieces of the Saxon jeweller's craft. They consist of two plates bound together by gold strip, the internal space being filled with a white chalky substance, remains of which can often be seen where the jewelled settings have become detached. The delicate cutting of the small garnets in the honey-comb cells is a remarkable technical achievement. Both brooches have central and dependent jewel-set bosses of shell or meerschaum, the Faversham brooch having in addition jewelled settings round the outer bosses. The design in each case consists of concentric rings of cell-work, in the Abingdon brooch all but the inner ring of honey-comb pattern, and plates of gold filigree which are related to the circumference of the brooch by a cruciform arrangement of cells; in the Faversham brooch the cruciform pattern is continued over the central boss in fluted gold strip. The gold filigree in the Abingdon brooch is an interlaced and rather debased animal in exactly the same technique as the filigree on the Kingston brooch, while the Faversham jewel has units consisting of two rows of figure-of-eight loops separated by a strand of braiding.

1. Found at Milton near Abingdon, Berkshire, 1832. Early seventh century.

Diameter 3·1 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Metalwork.

One of a pair, the other member of which is in the Ashmolean, and one at least of them was found on the breast of a skeleton (*Arch. Journ.*, IV (1847), 252). The Ashmolean brooch, now a dull and dingy jewel, has suffered badly and most of the garnets and two units of filigree are missing.

2. A very thick, slightly convex, brooch of light yellow gold. The panels of foil lie directly on a white filling, which can be seen in three places. There are four rectangular cells for lapis lazuli under each dependent boss; two remain filled. This brooch provides the most complete pattern-book of cell-work known, and includes examples of honey-comb, step-shaped, triangular, wedge-shaped, rectangular and circular cloisons. Its affinities

are with the thick brooches from Sarre and Abingdon rather than with the general group of composite brooches.

From Faversham, Kent. Seventh century.

Diameter 3·3 in.

Formerly in the Kennard Collection. Now in the *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,* Frank McClean Bequest.

XXVI

COMPOSITE JEWELLED BROOCHES

1. This fine jewelled brooch, known as the Amherst brooch or Sarre II to distinguish it from the British Museum brooch from Sarre illustrated in Plate XXVII, was secured for the Ashmolean Museum after a spirited bidding when in 1934 it came into the sale-room. The brooch itself had been known to and admired by the antiquarian world for almost a century from its reproduction in colours by Fairholt as the Frontispiece to the Transactions of the Third Annual Congress of the British Archaeological Association held in 1846 at Gloucester. The circumstances of its discovery are not at all certain, but it is thought to have been found in a grave accidentally uncovered by gravel-diggers, and to have been accompanied by a handled bowl of Coptic form.

The case of the brooch, with its carefully made step, triangular and quatrefoil cloisons, is of gold, while the back plate, ornamented only by a single garnet on the head of the pin-housing, is of silver. The interior, when Lord Amherst accidentally dropped the brooch at a meeting of the Kent Archaeological Society in 1859, was found to be filled with a white substance resembling plaster of Paris.[1] Though it is an elegant and beautiful jewel, this brooch shows some falling off in the nature of its design and in technique when it is compared with the Kingston brooch. Green glass fills the eight triangular cells. The gold foils underlying the garnets are boldly chequered with large and small rectangles made by a metal die. But the great difference between the two brooches is to be seen in the quality of the filigree which, in the eight units of the Amherst brooch, is both uncertain and bungled. Whether this may indicate a relative difference in date or merely the work of an apprentice hand is not at all certain.

Diameter 2·2 in. Early seventh century.

Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc., Gloucester 1846 (1848), Frontispiece and note on p. 87.

Arch. Cant., II (1859), p. xlii.

2. The gold front plate of a brooch which shows clearly the construction of the cloisons. There is no indication that foils were ever laid in the floors of the cells; there is no trace of the cement which would have been used to fix the four filigree units in their place, and, further, the back of the brooch is missing. It seems to have been discovered, in a burial, in this condition.

[1] One suspects that the filler in all the composite brooches is really chalk. It is so in the gem-encrusted Gothic brooches.

There is a particularly fine unfinished brooch with link-form cloisons from King's Field, Faversham, in the British Museum, and the detached plate of a Kentish-style jewelled brooch was found with the Ixworth cross. All these brooches may have been deposited in the grave before they were completed.

Diameter 1·9 in. Seventh century.

Found with an inhumation burial in 1922 in Preston Hall gravel pit, Aylesford, Kent. Probably there was more than one grave: the other relics saved were two spear-heads, a pair of squat vases of blue glass with thick trailed-on thread decoration, and a handled jug of a fine wheel-turned fabric of Frankish type. Another jug and several spear-heads came to light in 1926.

Maidstone Museum.

Rochester Naturalist, VI, No. 130 (1924), 53; VI, No. 131 (1928), 107. For the Faversham brooch case, see the gilt illustration by Fairholt on Plate II in *Arch. Cant.,* I (1858).

XXVII

JEWELLED BROOCH AND NECKLACE WITH COINS, SARRE, KENT

From a woman's burial found accidentally in 1860; the head NW. Other furniture in the grave included a large and deep Coptic bronze bowl, lacking its drop-handles and repaired some time before its burial, which contained bones of sheep and ox, and an iron blade with a tang at each end, possibly a weaving batten symbolic of the woman's domestic background. The contemporary account of the discovery in John Brent's letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* is not clear in all its details, but there seems to have been a second pit or grave full of animal bones which throws an interesting sidelight on the pagan ritual which accompanied this obviously wealthy and noteworthy woman on her last journey.

The thick, slightly concave, jewelled circular brooch of gold, now distorted but almost complete, lay on the left breast. The front and back plates are bound together by a gold strip with beaded edging, the interspace being filled with a white substance which is occasionally visible. The design is concentric about a sliced and bevelled garnet-crowned 'shell or meerschaum' boss held in an unusual serrated setting of gilded silver strip, with an inner and outer ring of garnet-filled cells separated by plate-units of gold wire filigree consisting of annulets and small tight scrolls. There are four satellite bosses of 'shell or meerschaum', each in a garnet-cell mount and having deep-coloured[1] beaded cabochon garnets (one now missing) set on

[1] Cabochon garnets appear of darker hue than garnets cut in slabs. With garnet plate, the thickness determines, in the main, the depth of colour; and hatched foil on the floor of the cell rather than pricked foil makes for a deeper colour.

It is convenient here to say that the convex knobs described above as 'shell or meerschaum' appear on close inspection to be pieces of bone turned to receive the cabochon buttons and to fit the mounts. This, of course, merely adds one more possibility to the identification of these puzzling substances.

the crown. Each unit of filigree is complete in itself and stands on its own gold plate. It is awkward work: there are careless reversals of the scrolls, which vary considerably in size and tension, and the annulets are irregular in size and sometimes in number. The cloisons of the inner and outer rings are very regular in form but are badly planned and the spacing is bungled, although by simply reversing the sides of his cloisons the jeweller could have produced a comprehensive pattern of stepped cells alternating with wide honey-comb cells. At best these are characteristics, as Baldwin Brown would point out, of 'work done under the healthy and stimulating medieval conditions'; at worst they point to a badly lighted workshop, and to the manufacture of units of filigree by separate craftsmen who, though skilled, had not been fully instructed in the details of their design. Compare this brooch with, for instance, the brilliant and sparkling work at Sutton Hoo and on the Kingston brooch.

Diameter 2·6 in.

Included in the lady's necklace were four looped coin-pendants, all barbarous imitations of the gold *solidus*, from left to right of the Emperors Mauricius Tiberius (582-602), Heraclius (610-641), Mauricius, and of Chlothaire II, King of the Franks (613-628). An amethyst drop is at each end of the necklace in its present form, and there are fifteen annular beads and one rectangular bead of orange brown, green, red and white opaque glass. At the centre is a flat gold-bound circular pendant, ·95 inches diameter, filled with a glass mosaic of minute light blue and white squares contained within a bold red chequer. Such work is Roman in its technique, and the pendant was perhaps made in Gaul by Romano-Gallic glass workers from a mosaic imported in bulk from Egypt, or possibly in the Roman glass works of the Rhineland.

The coin-pendants point to an approximate date for the necklace which must have been worn early in the reign of Heraclius; there is all the difficulty of dealing with the evidence of barbarous coin copies, and the mosaic glass pendant is certainly an antique, but the burial seems likely to have taken place between, say, 620 and 650.

British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery.

Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1860, p. 533.

Arch. Cant., III (1860), Plates II and III, and pp. 45-6.

XXVIII

JEWELLED GOLD PENDANTS

1. Pendant of reddish gold, clumsily made; irregular cloisons in a pattern which seems to result from an unskilful attempt to render the plait in cell-work. The cells contain sunken and thick garnets which lack the brilliance of a foil underlay. The biconoid loop with its filigree is an integral part of the design. The deeply sunk gold medallion occupying the centre of the pendant is a barbarous copy of the *solidus* of the Emperors Mauricius and Theodosius (582-602) struck at Arles.

Found by chance in a mass of seaweed by a woman walking on the

beach between Bacton and Mundesley, Norfolk, in the winter of 1845 and presented to the British Museum in the year following. The pendant bears obvious signs of its recent history.

Diameter 1·4 in. Thickness ·15 in. Seventh century.

British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., i (1849), pp. 149–50.

2. Neat and precise garnet cloisonné pendant of straw-coloured gold, the colour relieved by small pieces of light blue glass or paste in the cells of 'pitch-fork' form which range alternately. Level with the face of the pendant is included a gold *solidus* of Valentinianus (375–92), and by the damage done when the coin was inserted it is clear that the frame was not specially made for this particular coin. The pendant is a pertinent reminder that to the jeweller any roundel of gold, whatever its source, was an attractive medallion.

Diameter 1·2 in. Thickness approx. ·1 in. Mid or late sixth century.

Found at Forsbrook near Cheadle, North Staffordshire. Purchased by the British Museum, 1879.

Location as 1 above.

3. The Wilton (Norfolk) cross is one of the best-known of our Saxon gold jewels. It is obviously by its form, that of a Greek cross, a Christian piece: its central feature is an original gold *solidus* of Heraclius I (610–41), the Byzantine Emperor who recovered the wood of the True Cross for the peoples of Christendom, and further, the coin is mounted so as to show, from the front, its reverse which bears a cross potent standing on a four-step base. It will be noted that the cross appears in the pendant upside down, while the effigy, hidden on the reverse side of the pendant, is in its proper position. The coin is held in the cross frame both on its obverse and reverse by beaded gold strips and there is, therefore, little doubt that the cross was not originally made to receive a coin of this size. The cloisonné has mushroom and step-pattern cells of the finest workmanship; the gold work is quite substantial but its thickness is relieved by the surface-spread of the garnets which are set on foils well raised above the base of the cells.

There is, as we should expect, some difference of opinion about the date of the Wilton cross. The coin, it is clear, could not have been inserted in the frame before 610; the cross, it has been said, must have been made after the introduction of Christianity by Augustine, but recently Dr. Kendrick in pointing out that its cloisonné work corresponds very closely indeed to that on a brooch fixed to the shrine of Egbert at Trier, has made us consider the possibility that the cross itself is a Merovingian jewel of the mid-sixth century. If this attribution be the right one, it may well have come from the Christian Franks, a prized relic, as a gift to a member of Æthilberht's suite.

Width across arms 1·8 in. Thickness ·1 in.

British Museum. Purchased 1859.

Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., VIII (1853), p. 139: said to have been dug out of a gravel pit at Lakenheath near Brandon about 1851.

T. D. Kendrick, *Ant. Journ.*, XVII (1937), pp. 289-90.

4. Gold necklace found in digging for iron ore about 1876 at Desborough near Market Harborough, Northamptonshire. It came to light near the head of a skeleton in a grave which, it is said, contained traces of fire; this and other graves were within an inconspicuous rectangular earthwork. The jewel consists of eight small carbuncle-set drops of circular, ovoid, rectangular and triangular form, no two quite alike, nine circular beaded drops of plain gold, seventeen barrel-shaped beads of coiled gold wire, two similar cylindrical beads to house the clasp, and as its central feature a small Latin cross having a carbuncle garnet set in beading (originally on front and back) at the intersection.

Diameter of necklace about 3 in.; barrel-shaped beads, length ·4 in. Early seventh century.

British Museum, purchased 1876.

Arch., XLV (1880), Plate XXXIX.

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

XXIX

GOLD BRACTEATES

These thin circular pendants of gold, embossed with human and zoomorphic designs, are among the most attractive relics of the Anglo-Saxon age. They have a loop for suspension and were normally worn as part of a woman's necklace. The design is a very remote and fantastic imitation of the late Roman gold coins and medallions which circulated by way of subsidy to the barbarians in northern Europe far beyond the frontiers of the Empire. The decoration is always stamped with a die, and more than one bracteate made by use of the same die is known. From their original home in Scandinavia, the bracteates arrived sometimes directly but more often indirectly in other Germanic lands, and in this connection Mr. E. T. Leeds has recently emphasised the importance of the early contact between Denmark and England.

1, 2, 3. Three of four specimens from Grave 29 at Bifrons, Kent, which, with its radiate brooch and 'shield-on-tongue' buckle can be dated in the first half of the sixth century. No. 1 has a fantastic but carefully drawn human figure with raised arms, reminiscent of late Roman coins, and strangely upturned legs, which is perhaps an attempt to represent a half-forgotten version of Odin. Nos. 2 and 3 have a disintegrated interlace, and the decoration of the border of No. 2 is noteworthy.

Diameter of No. 2 1·05 in.

4, 5, 6, 7, 8 are five of the six bracteates from the famous richly furnished Grave 4 in the Sarre cemetery, which can be dated just after the middle of

the sixth century. Each bears a disintegrated ribbon-animal, carefully produced, and the wide border of No. 5 with its indents should be compared with the more usual border of pellets.

Diameter of No. 5 1·25 in.

Kent Archaeological Society's Collection, Maidstone.

1-3, *Arch. Cant.*, X (1876), 309, Fig. p. 310; 4-8, *Arch. Cant.*, V (1863), 314 and Plate 1.

9. From a woman's grave at Ash, near Sandwich, Kent. The edge and border are beaded; a schematic human face appears in the four arms of the cruciform pattern, and at the centre is a double loop in ribbon-work enriched with beading.

Diameter 1·2 in.

British Museum.

10. From Market Overton, Rutland. Other Saxon relics have been found there, but the associations of the bracteate are not known. The design is a very crude human figure, its head lacking, in a well developed chip-carving technique which may result from the use of a wood die.

Diameter 1·2 in.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Arch., LXII (1911), 488.

11. One of a pair from a barrow at Wingham, Kent, excavated in 1843 by Lord Londesborough. The lady had an urn at her feet; a necklace with beads, a cowrie-shell and the two bracteates; a silver bracelet and a fine garnet-set brooch; and the jewelled hair-pin illustrated in Plate IX,7. The bracteates have tightly interlaced ribbon-animals, the bodies of which are emphasised by beading.

Diameter 1·1 in.

British Museum.

Arch., XXX (1844), 550.

12. St. Giles Field, Oxford, 1676. There are clear traces in the helmeted head of the Roman coin prototype; the inner border has a 'light-and-shade' pattern; opposite the nose is an equal-armed cross, and to the left of the bust the letters CO in reverse. The pendant has a beaded edge, now much damaged, while the suspension loop is represented by the filigree loop (cf. No. 5 above) at its base. Typologically it is the earliest example known from England: Mr. Leeds was inclined to think that it might even have been a pre-invasion import.

Diameter 1·3 in.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Arch., LXI (1910), 491.

XXX

PECTORAL CROSS OF ST. CUTHBERT

The most appealing among the famous relics of St. Cuthbert found at the opening of his coffin in 1827 was the jewelled cross, which by its deep burial in the folds of his robes, and secured by a golden cord, had escaped the savage desecration of the tomb at the time of the Dissolution. Together with the magnificent inscribed stole and maniple, embroidered by Queen Aelflaed of Wessex for Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, and subsequently in 934 presented to St. Cuthbert's shrine by King Athelstan, and the much-travelled wooden coffin incised with sacred figures, it forms the chief treasure of the Cathedral Library at Durham.

The cross is built up on a shaped plate of gold which has riveted at the junction of the arms a closed gold cell of conical form, bearing a sliced garnet resting on an exposed setting of shell or meerschaum. There would be room in the cell for a very small relic but it would be quite unseen and not capable of exhibition. The arms of the cross have ranges of garnet-filled cloisons built up on a rectangular box-like structure of gold strip. The finely wrought decoration consists of a prominent serrated border, dummy rivets in collars, and beaded wire; the garnets are thick and not laid on foils as in characteristic Kentish work, but the jewel as a whole is of surprising thickness. It should be noted that the loop is of a bright yellow gold and much lighter in colour than the rest of the cross, and its beaded wire decoration is coarser than that on the body; in its somewhat clumsy attachment, part of the cross has been damaged, and on all these grounds the loop can therefore safely be reckoned as an addition to the original jewel.

There is evidence in its fabric that the cross had been twice broken and repaired at some time in antiquity before its burial with the Saint. It was again broken at the time of its discovery in 1827 by reason of the decay of an internal repair brace of silver; further modern repairs and additions were removed in the British Museum Laboratory in 1936, and the cross, carefully restored to its condition at the time of burial, was, with the stole, placed in a much appreciated public exhibition.

The cross may have been a cherished antique when it was buried with St. Cuthbert; it shows signs of wear, and there can be no means of telling how long before his death in 687 and in what circumstances it and the repairs to it were made. The thick garnets, the indented tooth border, and above all the use of dummy rivets, suggest that the original maker had not only a knowledge of continental jewels fashioned in the Gothic manner but in addition some practice in Roman jewelcraft. It is a fascinating but bold suggestion which would make this unique object the only surviving piece of metalwork belonging to the fifth-century British church in Strathclyde, but at the same time its more usual attribution to the seventh century ecclesiastical jewellers is difficult to uphold on stylistic grounds. In this connection we do well to remind ourselves of the significance of the fact that as a work of art and as a relic of the Northumbrian church St. Cuthbert's cross stands alone.

Width across arms 2·35 in. Thickness ·3 in.

Cathedral Library, Durham.

James Raine, *St. Cuthbert*... (Durham: 1828), 211 and gilt and colour illustration, Plate I, 3.

T. D. Kendrick, *Antiquaries Journal,* XVII (1937), p. 283.

XXXI

1. THE IXWORTH CROSS

An equally famous gold pectoral cross with cloisonné garnet work was found with the detached top-plate of a gold filigree brooch in the Kentish style in a grave at Stanton, Ixworth, near Bury St. Edmunds in West Suffolk.

There seem also to have been found in this accidental discovery the staples of a wood coffin, and it is worthy of note that the plate of the brooch was buried in its unfinished state with its owner.

The garnets in the Ixworth cross are mounted on foils, but sunk deeply into the prominent and precise cloisons. The top arm was broken at some time in antiquity when it was repaired by solder and a brace, the dull red patina of which matches that of the rest of the cross. The bugle bead may belong to the time of the repair, for cells in the upper arm were distorted to receive it.

In the brooch, satellite bosses (of shell or meerschaum) were attached to the top-plate by slender pins, while the central boss, the collared aperture for which remains, was fastened to the back-plate.

Width across arms 1·5 in. Late sixth-early seventh century.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Evans Collection 1909-454.

C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua,* Vol. IV (1857), p. 162 and Plate 38, Fig. 1. *Suffolk Inst. Arch.,* III (1863), p. 297 and Plate facing.

2. THE CANTERBURY CROSS

A small cruciform brooch cast from light golden-coloured bronze found in St. George's Street, Canterbury, in 1867 has been widely reproduced as the 'The Canterbury Cross' and sold to visitors as a souvenir of the City. In metal, especially in silver, it makes a pretty little trinket, but on the appearance of the latest reproduction in red plastic material an archaeologist is not likely to be the most charitable of critics.

It is almost baroque in style. The decoration in shallow casting consists of a leaf- or vine-scroll, while to each arm with its curled terminals is attached a small triangular panel of silver incised with a nielloed triquetra such as may be seen in the silver from the treasure deposited about 875 at Trewhiddle in Cornwall. A pin with a polygonal decorated head which retains traces of niello is closely similar to the Canterbury ornament, and the Trewhiddle style is a development in metal of a style familiar in southern English manuscripts.

The brooch now lacks its pin, but the support and catch remain, although there is some reason to think that these were added later to the

original cross. It is one of the small group of antiquities of the later Saxon period found in Canterbury, and it is not going beyond the bounds of possibility to suggest that they were lost in the Danish storming of the city in 851, the year in which according to the Chronicle '... the heathen now for the first time remained over winter in the Isle of Thanet'.

Width across arms 1·75 in. Mid-ninth century.

Collection of Dr. Harold Wacher, F.S.A.

John Brent, *Canterbury in the Olden Time* (1879 ed.), p. 47 and Plate 17, Fig. 1.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2nd series I (1861), p. 287, when a drawing of the brooch was exhibited to the Society.

For a manuscript decoration of similar pattern, see the opening of St. John's Gospel in British Museum, *Egerton MS. 768.*

The Trewhiddle hoard is in the British Museum; see *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (1923), p. 100, and Fig. 120.

XXXII

ENAMELLED BROOCHES AND GOLD AND GARNET BEAD

1. One of the smaller treasures of the British Museum is this remarkable gold brooch of the later Saxon period. It was acquired in 1839 by Charles Roach Smith from an excavation for a sewer opposite Dowgate Hill, almost on the edge of the Thames, in the City of London. In his contemporary account, Roach Smith described the brooch in old-fashioned terms as an 'ouch', and illustrated it sumptuously in gold and colour; it was found nine feet deep in 'dark cold earth', and no other remains were with it. We may think that it fell off the tunic of a distinguished visitor landing at Dowgate Hythe; the now broken suspension loop may even have become fractured at that time and so caused the jewel to fall into the river mud.

The brooch consists of a convex circular disc of cloisonné enamel, 1·25 in. in diameter, contained in a wide frame of intricate and fine openwork filigree and granulated work which is set with four pearls in open collars. The enamel, originally of blue and green, yellow and white, with a narrow border of a lighter tint, is of good quality and rather better than that of the Alfred Jewel, though it is now discoloured and details of its thin and accomplished cell-work are difficult to make out. In full face is the diademed head, perhaps a portrait bust, of a man with a pointed chin and wide spatulate nose; the hair is of a darker colour and arranged in two bands over the forehead. The figure may be that of a king: it has not been satisfactorily identified, though there could be but little support for Roach Smith who thought it to be Alfred. Details of the tunic and the covering mantle fastened on the right shoulder are difficult to determine, but they are the sort of garments we should expect to be worn by a Teutonic person of rank.

A nineteenth century French authority of note declared roundly for the Byzantine origin of the enamel, but this the characteristic lines of the

features and the style of the setting seem to forbid. The flesh, too, is represented in white enamel and not in the warm pink most usual in Byzantine work. For the present it seems best to regard it as an exceptional piece of Germanic, or possibly even English, work made in a tradition of the Byzantine schools which had been modified by a contact with the enamellers of Lombardy. Whatever its attribution, the quality of its design and its execution make it one of the notable jewels of all time.

Diameter 1·5 in. Tenth century.

British Museum. King Edward VII Gallery.

C. Roach Smith, *Archaeologia,* XXIX (1842), Plate X, p. 70.

British Museum, *Anglo-Saxon Guide* (1923), p. 101.

de Laborde, *Notice des Emaux du Musée du Louvre* (1857), p. 99.

M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (1930), pp. 3, 22-3.

2. So that the reader may have before him a piece of Italian enamel work, we illustrate a circular brooch from the Castellani Collection, now in the British Museum, which is thought to have been found near Canosa (Modena) in southern Italy.

The flat central medallion, in a plain gold mount, depicts in a precise cloisonné the full-faced portrait-head of a woman, possibly of regal line. The enamel is discoloured, but red, blue, green and a whitish flesh tint are apparent, while the features are presented with anatomical correctness, the staring dark eyes being especially noticeable. The pendants from the ears, and the functional pendants now represented only by the three loops at the bottom of the brooch, are to be regarded as due to Byzantine influence. Notice, too, the concentric band of careful and strictly formal cell-work bordered by bands of pearls and gold loops.

Diameter 2·2 in. Seventh century.

British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery.

It has an extensive bibliography; see Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Italienisches Email Des Frühen Mittelalters* (Basle, 1938), pp. 12-13, Abb. 3.

3. This little gold jewel, a truncated cone made in two parts and bound with a cabled gold wire, has an inset platform at each end as if it were part of a composite ornament. It was found at Forest Gate, Essex, in circumstances not known. The rather heavy effect of the cell-work is brilliantly set off by insets of lapis lazuli, and the shaping of the liver-coloured garnets is a remarkable piece of technical proficiency.

Lenth 1·4 in. Late sixth or early seventh century, though it has been claimed as a piece of 'British' jewellery.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Evans Collection, 1908.

V. C. H. Essex, I (1903), 329, Fig. 2.

XXXIII

SILVER SPOONS AND CRYSTAL BALL, BIFRONS, KENT

The silver spoons which were worn by women in the Jutish areas of England, usually attached by silver expanding rings to the girdle, and often

accompanied by a crystal ball in a silver band sling, are one of the mysteries of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. The slender stems of the spoons, often ornamented at the base with a triangle of garnet cell-work, and the fact that the bowls are perforated with a series of round holes and frequently gilded, seems to rule out any ordinary domestic use, such as skimming. Some of the spoons show considerable wear from friction on the outer surface of the bowl, as would be expected if they were worn on the girdle as a symbol of domestic authority, and are almost paper thin; others again were carefully repaired in antiquity. It seems unlikely that the perforations in cross form in the bowl have anything to do with Christianity, but at the same time some remote connection with the strainer through which the wine was passed at the Eucharist is perhaps possible: such an instrument was included in the late Roman Treasure of Traprain Law. The problem is not without its speculative attractions, and we end by calling attention to the early Grave 51 at Bifrons (*Arch. Cant.*, XIII (1880), p. 552) where a well-to-do woman with a gold embroidered hood had a silver ear-pick and nail-cleaner attached to the ring of her spoon, a crystal ball, and on her waist two square-headed brooches which secured the lower part of a large collection of beads held at the neck by two bird-brooches.

Of the accompanying crystals, whether they were amulets or spheres for crystal gazing, either of which use seems likely, we can only say for certain that they were not burning glasses.

Left: Spoon of one piece of sheet silver ·05 in. in thickness; small shallow circular bowl. The stem is notched and tapers to a folded hook terminal through which passes an expanding ring of silver wire. The bowl is perforated with eight small holes in cruciform pattern; there is a further cruciform pattern of punched dots between the arms of the cross and each hole is surrounded by a ring of punched dots. It is clear that the holes were broached before the pattern was punched.

The front of the stem is decorated with a marginal band of punched dots in pairs; close to the foot are two pairs of plain notches in the edges, and from the upper pair to the bowl is punched an X-pattern of dots in pairs, and there can be little doubt that it is an attempt to render in a simple way the garnet cell-work of the more ornamental spoons.

Length 5·1 in. Fifth century.

Bifrons, Grave 6. *Kent Archaeological Society's Collection, Maidstone.*

Arch. Cant., X (1876), p. 303.

The grave included two small long brooches and a disc-brooch, all of early forms, a bracelet with expanded ends, thirty-nine small beads of blue and white glass, one larger of amber, and a large ivory bead at the forehead.

Centre: Crystal ball, slightly flawed, in a four-way sling of fluted strip-silver held at the top by a thin cylindrical silver collar through which passes an adjustable silver wire ring for suspension.

Diameter 1·2 in. Fifth century.

Bifrons, Grave 42 as below.

Right: Silver spoon with thin tapering stem of rectangular section, decorated on front and sides in a nielloed zig-zag pattern and finished with a pleasingly moulded terminal pierced for an adjustable silver wire suspension ring. The inside of the deep circular bowl is gilded and perforated with nine small holes in the form of a cross. At the foot of the stem is a triangular cell bounded by beaded silver wire and containing in its five subsidiary cells four garnets underlaid with punched gold foil, and one piece of blue glass. The whole spoon is extremely fragile in build, the bowl being almost paper-thin. This particular example exhibits no signs of wear; as a spoon for practical purposes it would be of little use, and there can be no doubt from its position in the burial that it was an ornament worn on the girdle. The crystal ball was close to it.

Length 6·3 in. Fifth century.

Bifrons, Grave 42. *Kent Archaeological Society's Collection, Maidstone.*

Arch. Cant., X (1876), p. 314.

The woman had also a Roman signet ring of silver gilt, two small garnet-set square-headed brooches, bronze hair-pins, a girdle which included a Roman coin in its attachments, many beads of glass and amber, and two small circular brooches, one of iron and one of silver, the former with wedge garnets.

The problem of these spoons cannot be solved on the English evidence alone; but Kühn's remarks in *IPEK*, 1941–2, p. 273, are not of great help.

XXXIV

WRIST CLASPS

Two pairs of finely gilded bronze sleeve-ornaments or 'wrist-clasps' for fastening the leather cuff of the tunic, found in 1880 at Barrington, Cambridge.

1. The tall pair came from Grave 75 in the Barrington 'B' cemetery, and were associated with applied saucer brooches, an iron key, bronze, ivory and iron rings, probably the frame of a purse, and a skein of twenty-nine flat red amber beads and one spherical crystal bead; the woman seems to have died in the latter part of the sixth century. The casting is skilled, and brightened by a fine graver before gilding; there are holes for sewing the clasps to the tunic, and it will be noticed that the left-hand side of each clasp is cast in one piece with the triangular extension, while the right-hand side fastens with a flat hook.

In the elaborate zoomorphic ornament can be distinguished the eye and limbs of the 'helmet-and-head' element, but it is their own version of the pattern which is presented by the Anglian school of jewellers.

2. Of the second pair, the design of which is based on the volute, only the clasp itself is illustrated. The ornament was sewn to the dress by projecting lugs. The casting and finish are again excellent. Although the top plate is here separate, and in a typological series the clasp would be regarded as earlier than the one illustrated above, its absolute date may not be so very much earlier. The top plate bears a flat stud as its central feature.

(1) Length 3·4 in. Late sixth century.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. W. K. Foster Bequest.

Camb. Ant. Comms., V (1886), p. 24, Plate IV, Fig. 4.

(2) Length 1·4 in. As No. 1. *Op. cit.*, Plates VIII and IX.

XXXV

BRACELETS AND FINGER-RINGS

1. Finger-ring of one piece of silver wire, coiled bezel.

Diameter ·9 in., and so probably a thumb-ring.

From the richly furnished mid sixth century Grave 4, Sarre, Kent, cemetery, 1862.

Collection of the Kent Archaeological Society, Maidstone.

Arch. Cant., V (1863), p. 320 and Plate II, Fig. 4.

2. Finger-ring of bone, well finished and ornamented with a deeply cut cross pattern.

Diameter 1 in., probably worn on the thumb.

From a cemetery at Northfleet, Kent, on the south bank of the Lower Thames, which included cremation burials and early brooches.[1]

Gravesend Public Library, Arnold Collection.

3. Bronze bracelet of circular section, very much worn at one place, no doubt in the performance of its owner's domestic duties. It was worn by its last owner on the upper part of the right arm.

Diameter 2·9 in.

Fairford, Oxfordshire.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

4. Bracelet of transparent light green moulded glass, much pitted, worn on left fore-arm.

Diameter 3·7 in.

Chatham Lines, Kent, 1780. Tumulus XVII.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

James Douglas, *Nenia Brit.* (1793), p. 59 and Plate XIV, Fig. 1.

5. Spiral ring, a flat silver strip of three coils and blunt terminal ornamented with dots and rings, worn on the third finger of the left hand. The type was in use in the Early Iron Age.

Diameter ·7 in.

Purwell Farm, Cassington, Oxfordshire, Grave VII.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Oxoniensia, VII (1942), p. 67.

[1] The cemetery has never been properly published.

XXXVI

FINGER-RINGS

I. ETHELWULF'S RING

A very fine massive ring of dull reddish gold with splendid niello enrichment on the reserved metal. Found by chance in 1870 in a field at Laverstoke in the valley of the Upper Test 'prest out of a cart-rut sideways', and sold by the finder for thirty-four shillings, its bullion value, to a Salisbury silversmith; it was purchased by Lord Radnor, who in 1829 presented it to the British Museum. In its contemporary publication in the Historical Memoir appended to Vol. VII of *Archaeologia* the ring receives but a few lines of description, with the suggestion that it may have served as the locket of a scabbard or as an ornamental cap to cover a statue. The present crushed and battered condition of the ring reflects the circumstances in which it was found, but it exhibits in addition signs of considerable normal wear.

FIG. 8
THE PATTERN OF KING ETHELWULF'S RING.
(FULL SIZE)

It has a flat hoop beaded on the lower edge, the upper edge being defined by a very narrow plain margin. The pronounced mitre-shaped bezel bears a familiar motif, a conventional sacred tree with a bird,[1] perhaps a peacock, facing it on each side, all reserved in the gold and finely set off against the niello ground. The sacred tree and birds are well enough known in oriental art and in early Christian contexts, but here the birds are grotesque and executed with a clumsy barbarism which is also a feature of the foliage in plain relief at the angles of the bezel and of the loosely interlaced ivy-leaf terminal, quatrefoil foliage, and the encircled rosette, all enriched with niello, on the back of the hoop. We observe, too, the intricacy and even the fussiness of the detail, which is rigidly confined by its small panels. The two roundels on the tree are left free of niello and balance the two pieces of notched leaf plain foliage. Most of the niello, which was fused with great skill to a ground deeply roughened for the purpose, still remains.

The legend, also enriched with niello, reads + ETHELVVLF REX,

[1] Dr. Kendrick kindly reminds me that the curious thickened ring-like ends to the tails may be seen also in the Book of Kells.

and its attribution to Ethelwulf of Wessex (839-58), father of Alfred the Great, is undoubtedly correct. We may be grateful that this distinctive ring was not included among the rich treasures devoutly offered to St. Peter by Ethelwulf for the good of his country during his sojourn in Rome. There can only be a pleasant speculation on the circumstances of its presence at Laverstoke, but if it were lost in one of the many struggles with the Danish host in the early years of Ethelwulf's reign, that in 840 at Southampton would on geographical grounds perhaps be the most likely.

Diameter 1·04 in. Weight 285 grains.

British Museum. King Edward VII Gallery.

Archaeologia, VII (1785), p. 421 and Plate XXX, Figs. 8, 9, 10.

British Museum, *Franks Bequest. Catalogue of the Finger-rings (Early Christian, etc.*), (1912), No. 179.

(Hereinafter referred to as *B.M. Cat. Finger-Rings.*)

2. ETHELSWITH'S RING

It is singular that two pieces of jewellery belonging to members of Ethelwulf's family have been preserved, the famous Jewel associated with Alfred, his youngest and favourite son, and an interesting finger-ring in-

FIG. 9
QUEEN ETHELSWITH'S RING AND ITS INSCRIPTION.
(FULL SIZE)

scribed with the name of his daughter Ethelswith who, in 853, married Burhred, King of Mercia. There was, it seems, a considerable difference between the ages of the two children, and Alfred was but four years old when his sister was married.

Ethelswith's ring was found in 1870 between Aberford and Sherburn, W.R. Yorkshire, by a ploughman who pulled it from the ground on the tip of his coulter, and so little was it valued that the finder attached it as an ornament to the collar of his farm-dog. A York jeweller subsequently exchanged it for table-spoons, and the ring passed by way of Canon Greenwell, the noted barrow-explorer of his day, to Sir Wollaston Franks and thence in the munificent Franks Bequest to the British Museum.

This richly decorated and heavy ring of finely burnished deep yellow gold has a slightly bevelled plain hoop enlarged on the pearled shoulders to meet a bold circular bezel with a pearled border. Each shoulder is ornamented with a small fanciful monster, but possibly a boar, squatting on its haunches, while the central medallion of the bezel contains within a quatrefoil enriched with very degenerate palmettes the Agnus Dei between

the letters A and D (for the Greek words 'Lamb of God'), the latter appearing as the 'thorn' rune. The decoration is chased by an exceedingly competent hand, and enriched skilfully by niellure.

The inner side of the bezel has a sharply engraved legend which contrasts strongly with the worn condition of the ring. It may be read + EATHELSWITH REGINA, and it was suggested by Sir Wollaston Franks that it was so marked to record a gift made by the Queen to a Yorkshire shrine. Ethelswith died in 888 on a pilgrimage to Rome and was buried at Pavia.

Diameter 1·02 in. Weight 313 grains.

British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2nd ser. VI (1876), 305.

B.M. Cat. Finger-Rings, No. 180.

3. AETHRED'S RING

A substantially made uniform hoop of reddish gold with a flat pearled edge showing signs of wear. Found in Lancashire, but details not known. Franks Bequest to the British Museum.

The interest lies in the legend reserved in the gold on a ground of niello, which employs both a normal Saxon form of lettering and runes. It may be read:

+ AETHRED MEC AH EANRED MEC AGROF
that is: *Aethred owns me: Eanred made me*

FIG. 10
THE LEGEND ON AETHRED'S RING.
(FULL SIZE)

The *mec* form of the personal pronoun, which appears also on the Alfred Jewel, was at one time held to be a distinguishing mark of an early date and of a Mercian or Northumbrian as against a West Saxon origin for the jewels, but this view is not supported by modern philologists.

Diameter ·92 in. Weight 113 grains. Late Saxon.

British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery.

G. Hickes, *Linguarum Veterum Sept. Thesaurus, etc.* (Oxford 1703), i, preface, p. xiii and Plate facing p. viii, Fig. VI.

Arch. Journ., XIX (1862), p. 327, very briefly.

B.M. Cat. Finger-Rings, No. 181.

Figs. 8–10 by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

4. A VIKING PERIOD RING

Gold ring of stout plaited wire, the hoop beaten flat at the back.
No locality.
Waterton Collection, *Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of Rings* (1930), 230.

Other notable examples in gold in this style are the three plaited wire rings from Hamsey Churchyard, Sussex, and two rings from Soberton, Hampshire, all of which are in the British Museum.

5. ALHSTAN'S RING

Alhstan's ring was found, according to Samuel Pegge who in 1773 communicated its discovery to the Society of Antiquaries, by a labourer on the surface of a common at Llys Faen (Llysfaen) between Colwyn Bay and Abergele, in north-east Caernarvonshire. Soon afterwards another gold ring was found nearby. It was once worn on the neck-tie of the finder, but in the course of years found a home in Edmund Waterton's famous Collection which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

It is a thick and heavy hoop ring of rectangular section, the interior roughly finished, having alternately four circular and four lozenge-shaped panels, bordered with rectangular notches. The decoration is chased and relieved with niello, most of which remains. That in the lozenge-shaped panels is a schematic animal broken to fit the panel, a degenerate version of the long-snouted open-mouthed monster of the ribbon-style school whose characteristic head and eye is still recognisable. Samuel Pegge saw in it the Dragon of Wessex which gave further support to his reading of the legend ALHSTAN, the letters of which appear in the four circular panels, and to his suggested identification of the name with Ealhstan, Bishop of the great diocese of Sherborne 817-67.

This warrior-prelate led the campaign which in 825 secured Kent for the Kingdom of Wessex; in 845 he battled with the Danes at the mouth of the Parret, and it may be that he accompanied Ethelwulf's expedition when in 853 the united forces of Wessex and Mercia proceeded against the men of North Wales. In such a way could his ring have come to Lysfaen.

Diameter 1·2 in. Thickness ·15 in. Ninth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Metalwork.

Archaeologia, IV (1786), p. 47.

Gentleman's Magazine, XCIII (1823), p. 483.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2nd ser. I (1862), p. 277.

Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of Rings* (1930), 227.

6. THE CHELSEA RING

Ring of silver gilt, plain hoop expanded into a large and curved oval bezel. The central circular panel of the bezel is completely filled by a grotesque animal with interlaced limbs and tail, the body and the border of the panel being emphasised by minute rectangular punch marks. The four remaining panels of the bezel have degenerate foliage with thickened terminals.

Length of bezel 1·3 in. Late eighth or early ninth century.

From the Thames at Chelsea, 1856.

Waterton Collection.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Metalwork.
F. W. Fairholt, *Rambles of an Archaeologist* (1871), p. 101.
Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of Rings* (1930), 225.

7. MEAUX ABBEY RING

A fine gold ring dug up in the Moat at Meaux Abbey near Beverley, E.R. Yorkshire, about 1867. It has a plain hoop of circular section, the shoulders of which are heavily encrusted with beaded wire filigree supporting a granular setting for the bezel, a small and plain sphere of gold. The decoration is in the form of animal, possibly boars', heads, and should be compared with that on the Alfred Jewel and on Ethelswith's ring.

Diameter 1·05 in. Weight 282 grains. Ninth, or possibly early tenth, century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Metalwork.
Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., 2nd ser. XXXII (1919-20), p. 112-14.
Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of Rings* (1930), 226.

8. GARRICK STREET RING

A medium-weight ring of pale yellow gold, found in Garrick Street, off St. Martin's Lane, West Central London, but no particulars of its discovery survive. It came to the British Museum in the Franks Bequest.

It has a very large and curved oval bezel, the broad outer margin of which is built up of chevron-twisted gold wire flattened by the use of a draw-plate. The broken texture, with its contrast of light and shade, well sets off the open central field with its petal-shaped loops of beaded wire laid clumsily in a loose cross-pattern, and completed by a series of plain gold pellets set in small rings of beaded wire.

There is some reason for regarding the cross-pattern as a Christian symbol and the ring as the property of an ecclesiastic.

Cf. Ehlla's ring below, and it seems likely that the Garrick Street ring, the medallion of which is darker in colour than the rest of the jewel, was intended to hold a similar medallion.

Diameter ·9 in. Weight 185 grains. Ninth century.

British Museum.
Vict. County Hist. London, Vol. I (1909), p. 157 and coloured Plate facing p. 158.
B.M. Cat. Finger-Rings, No. 204.

9. AVFRET'S RING

A well-burnished ring of light-coloured gold. Four pellets on the plain hoop support a circular signet bezel which bears a boldly cut moustached and bearded man's head with ring-and-dot pattern, possibly dress ornaments, below. In the field on each side of the figure is cut the legend + AVFRET, the letter R encroaching slightly on the beard of the figure. Exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1859 and found some years previously in Rome with a considerable number of coins of Alfred the Great.

If the famous and much disputed passage[1] in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which describes the sending of alms to India can be accepted as genuine, we need possibly look no further for an explanation of the presence of Avfret's ring and Alfred's coins in Rome:

'And that same year [under 883] led Sighelm and Athelstan to Rome the alms which King Alfred ordered thither . . .'

Diameter of bezel ·65 in. Ninth or tenth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Metalwork.

Edmund Waterton's exhibit, *Arch. Journ.,* XVI (1859), p. 194.

Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of Rings* (1930), 228.

10. EHLLA'S RING

This fine but light-weight ring of pale yellow gold was found in a meadow at Bosington near Stockbridge, Hampshire, by a labourer who saw its glitter in a pile of peat. It was presented to the Ashmolean Museum by the Revd. A. B. Hutchins in 1847. The tall oval bezel is built up of chevron-twisted and flat-drawn wire opened out from the hoop which on each shoulder bears thirteen plain globules of gold. The bezel contains a central medallion, of darker metal but of one structure with the body of the ring, bearing the head of an ecclesiastic to right, and in the margin the legend:

NOMEN EHLLA FIDES IN XPO

that is: *My name is Ella, my faith is in Christ*

Nothing is known of the owner, but from its style the ring may be dated in the seventh century.

Height of bezel 1·5 in.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Catalogue, 1836-68, p. 9.

Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., I (1846), p. 341.

XXXVII

BELT FITTINGS

1. A belt-suite in gilded bronze embellished with cast free-standing garnet cells. The zoomorphic decoration is a Kentish adaptation, and an attractively fantastic one, of the Teutonic 'helmet-and-hand' style. The richly furnished cemetery from which it came seems predominantly Frankish.

Overall length of buckle 2·2 in.

Cemetery at Howletts Bridge, Kent.

British Museum.

Certain items from it are noted in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.,* XXX (1917-18), p. 102. The British Museum has since acquired the collection of Dr. A. E. Relph, and we now look forward to a proper publication of the whole of the material from this very interesting site by Miss Vera Evison.

[1] It is not included in the earliest version of the MS., in the original text of Florence of Worcester, or in Asser.

2. INSCRIBED BUCKLE, BIFRONS, KENT

Among the many objects found in Saxon graves at Bifrons, Patrixbourne dug by the gamekeeper to the Marquess of Conyngham in 1867 was a rusted iron buckle which was treated with glue and carefully sewn on a card by the gamekeeper's daughter. It was seen a few years before 1891 by Charles Roach Smith who visited Bifrons House to view the Collection, and his keen eye detected an inscription which he read as JUBA or TUBA FECIT. Most fortunately, many years later, Mr. E. T. Leeds realised the great importance and interest of the buckle, which at his instance received proper laboratory treatment and publication.

The rectangular plate and counter-plate have attached silver plates with clumsy decoration in low repoussé, the chief feature of which is the bust of a man with lifted hands, flanked on each side by a leaping lion, surmounted by a peacock and trampling on a lamb. The inner border, through which, as through the outer border, the human figure extends, is occupied by a loose running scroll, while the outer border of the plate (that on the counter-plate is broken away) bears the legend VIVAT Q . . . VI FECIT, 'Long live the man who made [me]'. The hoop has a small fret ornament in silver wire inlaid to the iron.

The work is crude, but the chief interest of the buckle lies in its representation of Daniel in the Den of Lions, and in the confronted peacocks, a motif well-known in early Christian art (cf. Ethelwulf's ring, Plate XXXVI, 1). There is a continental air about it, and the buckle is likely to have been brought to Britain on the belt of one of the earliest invaders, though it cannot be compared in its technique with the remarkable figured and inscribed Burgundian buckles.

Length 3·6 in.

Collection of Major F. W. Tomlinson, F.S.A.

C. R. Smith, *Retrospections, etc.*, Vol. III (1891), pp. 53-4.

E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), Plate VII (*b*) and p. 18.

For continental figured and inscribed buckles, see the examples, chiefly in the Museum at Berne, described by Dr. Otto Tschumi in his *Burgunder, Alamannen und Langobarden in der Schweiz* (Berne, 1945), p. 222 and Pl. XXVI.

XXXVIII

JEWELLED CLASPS AND GOLD BUCKLES

1. FROM THE TAPLOW BARROW

a, b. Pair of interlocking clasps of bronze gilt, perhaps the fastening of the sword-belt, from the luxurious equipment in the barrow. The jewelled enrichments are now missing, and the settings stained green from the underlying bronze. The plates bear symmetrical interlace filigree in a style which has developed considerably from the schematic ribbon animals. Modern laboratory treatment has restored the clasps to their first-hand brilliance.

Length 4·5 in.

c. This handsome buckle of pale yellow gold seems to have laid on the left shoulder where it fastened the chieftain's gold embroidered cloak. The flat and wide-hinged ring has sliced garnets and two pieces of lapis lazuli, the tongue six garnets, each upper boss one, and the lower boss a central quatrefoil garnet surrounded by eight sliced garnets, all of which are in thick coarse cloisons. The surrounds of gold wire drawn to simulate braiding, and the partially dismembered and almost unrecognisable ribbon-animal in filigree in which the eye alone is prominent, are unimpeachable in their execution.

The Taplow barrow is generally dated A.D. 620-40, but a date early in the sixth century is preferred by some authorities to conform with their understanding of the history and development of Saxon art.

Length 4 in.

British Museum, King Edward VII Gallery. Presented by the Revd. Charles Whately, 1883.

Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., XL (1884), p. 61.

Vict. History Bucks, I (1905), p. 199, and colour-plate by C. J. Praetorius, F.S.A.

2. GOLD BUCKLES FROM FAVERSHAM, KENT

These buckles belong to a well-known group which were used in Kent to a surprising degree. It is usually recognised that the buckle here reached its great development in the absence of the clasps found widely in other Anglo-Saxon territories, and there is no doubt that the basic form, which provided every opportunity for the exercise of their talent in abstract ornament, and particularly in its expression in filigree, was welcomed and popularised by the Kentish jewellers. The group is characterised by triangular plates with three bosses derived from the heads of the rivets which secured the back plate and held the material of the belt, and by an ornamental shield at the root of the tongue.

a. Movable oval-shaped ring decorated with diaper pattern; the fixed tongue has a central garnet boss (now gone) on gold foil surrounded by rectangular cells filled with garnet slices and bound on the outer edge by gold wire; two rectangular garnet slices are let into the frame of the buckle above the upper bosses. The plate is ornamented by a thin triangular piece of gold foil upon which in filigree are closely interlaced ribbon-style animals, the schematic rectangular heads and prominent eyes of which may be seen just below the upper bosses.

Length 3·1 in.

b. Smaller buckle of triangular type, with stamped triangle and annulet decoration round margin of plates and on tongue.

Length 2·5 in.

c. Diaper ornament on the movable ring, filigree on shield, and on the plate a gold foil with, in repoussé and filigree decoration, a rather uneasily

linked-looped and broken ribbon-style animal so contorted to fit the space it fills that two legs appear merely as broken obtuse-angled bands. This is a development which took place, it seems, entirely in Kent, and while we may see in it traits from an origin in the familiar Roman plait-decoration, we notice also that it is still some way from the tight and ornate interlace. There is no real significance in the fact that buckles *a* and *c* come from the same cemetery: for the relative history of that cemetery is quite unknown.

Length 3·2 in. Seventh century.

British Museum. Gibbs Collection; not at present on exhibition.

Elaborate buckles are once more returning to fashion, and there have been one or two striking designs based on Saxon forms. The silver buckles

FIG. 11
BELT ORNAMENTS OF GILDED BRONZE AND A BRONZE KEY, BUTTSOLE, EASTRY.
(ABOUT $\frac{2}{3}$)

with niello enrichment and those in silver repoussé, both of which lend themselves to the added attraction of a personal or vocative inscription, might well appeal to the jeweller of the present day.

The modern designer of suites of belt ornaments, too, will find much to interest him in the Saxon world. A set of appliques with geometrical and anthropomorphic motives from Buttsole, Eastry, and now in Maidstone Museum comes readily to mind in this connection.

XXXIX

GOLD CLASPS SET WITH GARNET AND GLASS MOSAIC

These unique gold objects were a striking feature among the sumptuous treasure discovered in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial. The size, the curved shape, the ten strong staples on the underside of each piece, and the central hinge secured by substantial gold pins all suggest that the clasps may have

been fitted on the shoulders of a two-piece leather cuirass. They were discovered close to the other gold pieces but in no apparent relationship to them, and the whole formed part of an elaborate military gear which had been hung in the wooden burial chamber and had fallen as the chamber disintegrated.

The securing pins are fastened to the frame of the clasps by finely-wrought gold chains, and the heads are in the form of animal masks.

The unit of design, as seen in each part of the clasps, consists of a central rectangular panel of fifteen step-pattern cloisons set with garnets and blue and white mosaic glass, and a wide surrounding border of interlaced zoomorphic pattern in garnet which at first sight appears to be sunk deeply into the metal but which is in reality composed of a series of most skilfully constructed covered cloisons; while at the end of the clasp is a rounded panel with a design of interlinked pairs of crested boars, jewelled with unusually large slices of garnet and mosaic glass, set against a ground of filigree bird ornament.

It is altogether a most remarkable piece of work. The carpet-like spread of the geometric panel recalls the unit-decoration of Roman mosaic pavements, and the wide interlace border seems to point towards and perhaps herald the decoration used some time later in the pages of Hiberno-Saxon or 'Celtic' illuminated books. Filigree ground decoration was widely practised in the workshops of the Kentish goldsmiths, but the Kentish details are here overshadowed by the far more brilliant features of a new technique and indeed of a new school. And finally we notice that while the boar is well-known in Celtic art as, for example, on the famous Witham shield, and on many coins, and in a Christian Saxon context as the decoration on an eleventh-century tympanum at Ipswich, the Sutton Hoo clasp is the only known instance of its appearance in Pagan Saxondom.

Length 4·75 in.

British Museum, Sutton Hoo Exhibition, King Edward VII Gallery.

For the discovery, *Antiquity,* No. 53, XIV (1940), pp. 6-87.

R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (British Museum, 1947), Plate 23 and pp. 56-8.

XL

GOLD BUCKLE WITH NIELLURE

A massive buckle, part of the sword-gear in the Sutton Hoo ship-burial and probably the fastening of the baldric. The great weight must have given the wearer no little discomfort; as bullion it is said to be the most valuable of any gold object yet discovered in Britain. It was found face downwards with the other gold objects, close to the sword and to the hinged clasps (Plate XXXIX).

The ornament, of a brilliantly executed intricate animal-form interlace, is heightened by chasing and by niellure most skilfully applied so as to provide an ideal contrast in tone to the pale yellow burnished gold.

The three bosses of plain burnished gold anchor slides by which the

hinged back-plate is fastened. To right and left of the upper bosses are schematic angular birds' heads, while open-mouthed birds' heads may be seen to the right and left of the lower boss, holding between them a queer animal which squats and bites its foreleg. The circular tongue plate has a close ribbon interlace terminating in a biting head with a prominent eye, rather like those of the interlace which appear on the top edge of the lower boss.

The ribbon-ornament, it is clear, belongs to an Anglian repertory of design, but there are features in the central block of interlace which suggested, on expert and critical examination, an influence from Scandinavia, particularly from the Vendel culture of Sweden.

Length 5·5 in. Weight 14⅝ oz.

British Museum, Sutton Hoo Exhibition, King Edward VII Gallery.

Antiquity, No. 53, XIV (1940), as above.

R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (British Museum, 1947), Plate 1 and pp. 53-4.

Mention of the baldric serves to remind us that the sword in pagan Saxondom was essentially a mark of rank and bearing, and it occurs by no means as frequently as the spear. It was not the weapon of every man who bore arms.

In the later Saxon period swords were richly ornamented, and some idea of their appearance and their personal distinction may be obtained from the will of Aethelstan the Etheling,[1] third son of Ethelred the Unready by his first wife, in which are devised a sword with a silver hilt, gilt belt and fittings, and a sword with 'a pitted hilt', possibly one in which jewels had fallen from their setting. But swords with rich ornament—'with twisted hilt and treasure variegated'—are familiar to us in *Beowulf,* and it is to swords such as the one with gold wire filigree and garnet cell-work on a horn mount found in Cumberland and now in the British Museum, and to the Sutton Hoo sword itself with its jewelled pannel and bosses, that such a description would apply. The silver pommel from Sarre, Kent, in the Kent Archaeological Society's Collection at Maidstone, with a cabochon garnet and incised decoration representing a well-developed pattern of step cell-work, is another but less resplendent variety.

The true ring-sword of *Beowulf* is represented only in the Kentish graves. In these weapons a loose ring is attached to the pommel to hold a sword-knot and so secure the blade to the wrist, but in later stages of development the ring and its loop become merged into the structure of the pommel and lose their functional purpose. An elaborate silver-gilt ring-sword just over 30 inches in length found at Gilton, Ash, East Kent, is in the Liverpool Museum Collection, and another fine example, with gilded bronze fittings, found at Coombe in the same neighbourhood, may be seen in the Museum at Saffron Walden, Essex.

[1] In Benjamin Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici* (1865), at p. 557.

APPENDIX

The following is a hand-list of English collections which contain Anglo-Saxon jewellery of note available to the public view:

The British Museum.
The Victoria and Albert Museum.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Bedfordshire: Luton Museum.
Berkshire: Abingdon Museum. Reading Museum.
Buckinghamshire. Aylesbury Museum.
Durham: Durham Cathedral Library.
Essex: Prittlewell Priory Museum, Southend-on-Sea.
Kent: Broadstairs Urban District Council Offices. Canterbury Museum. Dartford Public Library. Dover Museum. Folkestone Museum. Maidstone Museum and Collections of the Kent Archaeological Society in Maidstone Museum.
Lancashire: Liverpool Free Public Museums.
Leicestershire: Leicester Museum and Art Gallery.
Lincolnshire: City and County Museum, Lincoln.
Norfolk: Castle Museum, Norwich.
Northamptonshire: Northampton Museum.
Rutland: Oakham School Museum.
Staffordshire: Stoke-on-Trent Public Library and Museum.
Suffolk: Ipswich Museum, Bury St. Edmunds Museum.
Surrey: Guildford Castle Museum.
Sussex: Museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes. Worthing Museum.
Warwickshire: Rugby School Museum. New Place Museum, Stratford-on-Avon.
Wiltshire: Museum of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, Devizes. Salisbury, South Wiltshire and Blackmore Museum, Salisbury.
Yorkshire: Mortimer Museum, Hull. City Museum, Sheffield. Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York.

There are in addition several important private collections.

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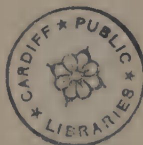
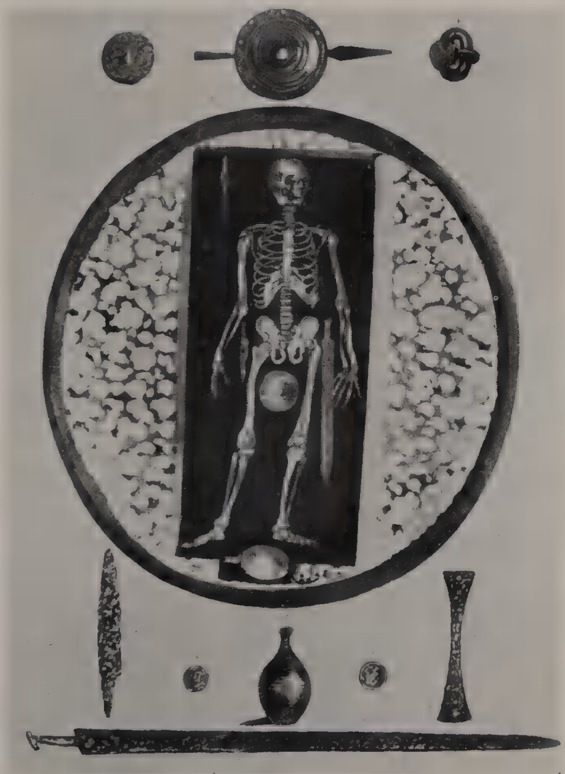


I. A MEDIEVAL TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDING
The Barn, Court Lodge Farm, Godmersham

II. SAXON HUT
Bourton-on-the-Water

III. SAXON BURIALS

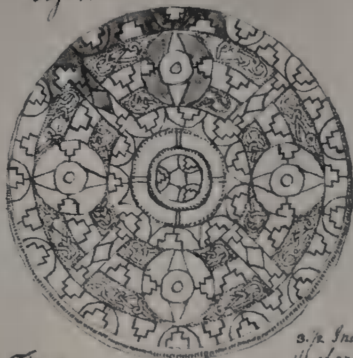
A woman, Sarre

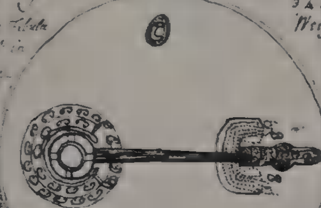


A man,
Chatham Lines

IV. THE TAPLOW BARROW

V. BRYAN FAUSSETT'S JOURNAL





The discovery of the Kingston brooch, 1771

52.

brass Buckle– and, a small iron Buckle– both as before– the Blades of 2 Knives– and some Nails–

201.– Tumulus and Grave, much as the last.– Bones of a Young Person very much decay'd.– The Coffin did not appear to have pass'd the Fire– [illegible]

202.– Tumulus and Grave, much as the last.– Bones very much decay'd [illegible] Blade of a Knife– some Nails.– The Coffin had not pass'd the Fire–

203.– Tumulus and Grave much as the last.– the Bones were very much decay'd.– The Coffin did not appear to have pass'd the Fire– The Blade of a Knife– and some Nails.–

204.– Tumulus and Grave, much as the last. The Bones were pretty perfect.– The Coffin had been burnt.– Nothing but the Blade of a Knife and some Nails.

205.– This Tumulus exceeded the Middle Size.– The Grave far ex:ceeded any which I have before opened both in Depth, Length and Width.– It being full [illegible] Feet deep, 10 Feet long and 6 Feet broad. The Coffin which seemed to have been much burnt and very thick appeared to have been equal to the Dimensions of the grave.– and had been strongly bound ~~at~~ & secured at its Corners, with large Clasps, and ri:veted Pieces of Iron.– The Bones were much decayed– the Skeleton did not appear to have born any Proportion to ye Dimensions either of ye Grave, or Coffin.– The Scull was remarkably small and seem'd to have had what we call, a very low or short Forehead.– Near the Neck, or ra:ther more toward ye right Shoulder– was a most surprisingly beautiful and large * Fibula subrectens.– see Fig: 2– it is entirely of Gold– and is most elegantly and richly set with Garnets and some pale blue Stones the Name of which, I am, at present a Stranger to.– it is 3½ Inches in diameter– ⅙ Inch in Thickness– and weighs oz: dw: gr: 05: 18.– The Acus, on ye under Side, is quite entire– and is also beautifully ornamented with Garnets– I flatter my self it is alltogether one of the most cu:rious, and, for its Size, costly, Pieces of Antiquity ever discovered

VI. JEWELLERY FROM A WOMAN'S GRAVE
Chatham Lines, 1797

VII. JEWELLERY FROM CHARTHAM DOWNS
From a drawing by Henry Godfrey Faussett, *c.* 1770

VIII. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TASTE IN ANTIQUARIAN ILLUSTRATION

IX. PINS OF SILVER, BRONZE, AND BONE

X. SAUCER BROOCHES
(1) Horton Kirby
(2) Barrington

XI. EQUAL-ARMED BROOCHES
(1) Sutton Courtenay
(2) Haslingfield

XII. CRUCIFORM BROOCHES

Lakenheath

Newnham, Cambridge

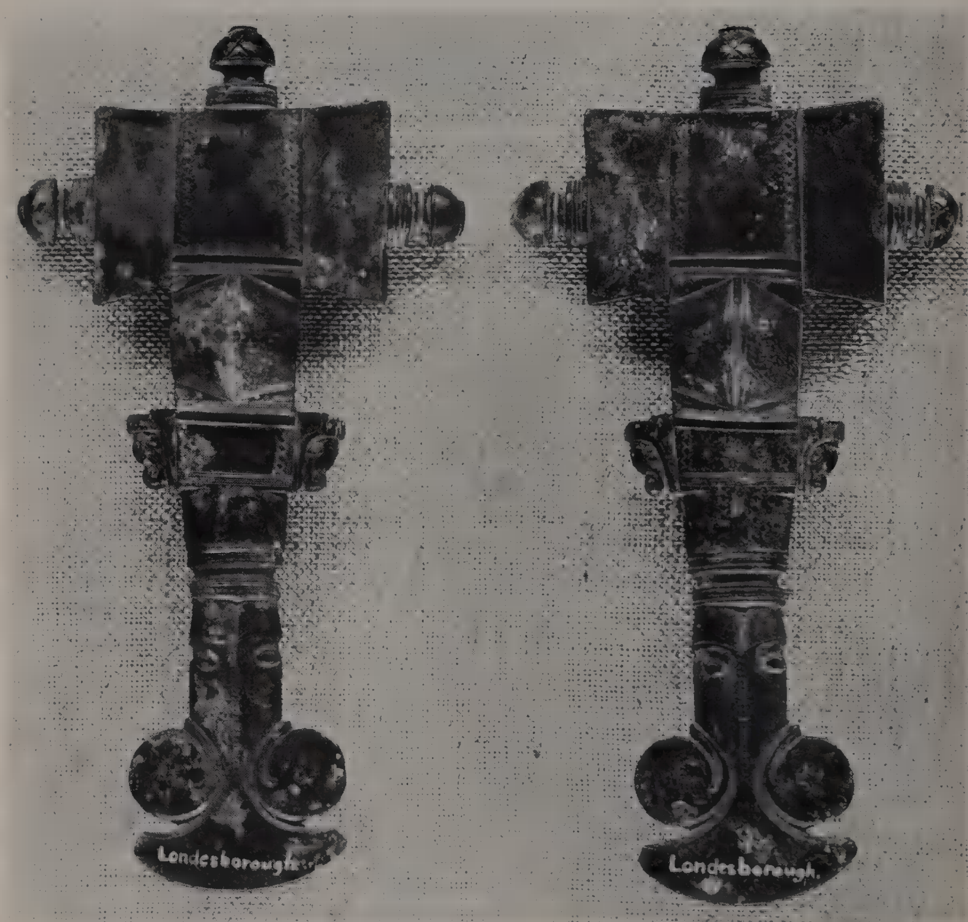
1 2 3 4 5 6

XIII. CRUCIFORM LONG BROOCHES

1. Trumpington

3-6. Abingdon

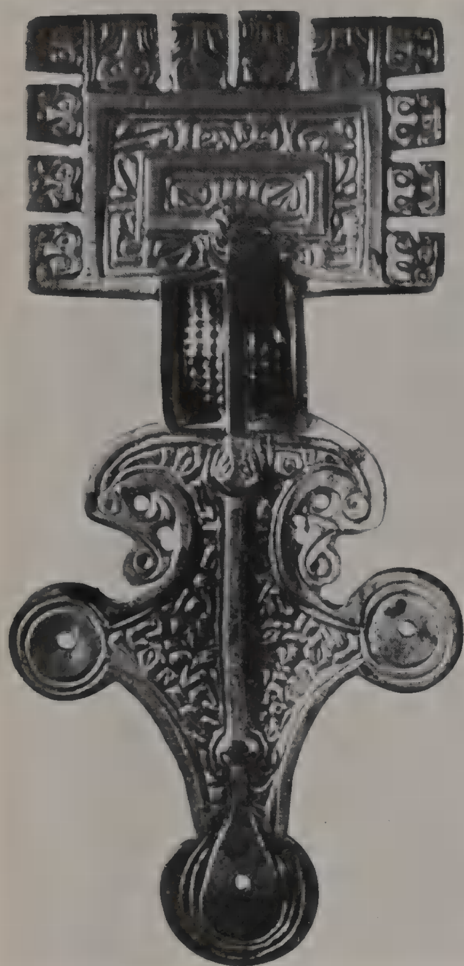
(The beads are also from Abingdon)



XIV. BROOCHES FROM THE SAME MOULD
Londesborough

XV. EAST ANGLIAN JEWELLERY
Brooches from Barrington

XVI. SQUARE-HEADED BROOCH
Barrington



1 2

XVII. SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES
(1) Haslingfield
(2) Bidford-on-Avon

XVIII. SQUARE-HEADED BROOCH
Bifrons

XIX. MISCELLANEOUS BROOCHES
East Kent
(No. 6 is a probable attribution)

1

2

XX

(1) QUOIT BROOCH

Sarre or Crundale

(2) COIN BROOCH

Canterbury

XXI. GARNET-SET BROOCHES OF CAST SILVER

1-4. Faversham

5. Ash near Sandwich

6. Maidstone

XXII. KENTISH JEWELLED BROOCHES
Faversham

1

2

XXIII. KENTISH JEWELLED BROOCHES

(1) Faversham (2) Teynham

XXIV. THE KINGSTON BROOCH
Front and back
(Actual diameter 3.3 inches)

I

2

XXV. COMPOSITE JEWELLED BROOCHES

(1) Milton, near Abingdon (2) Faversham

1

2

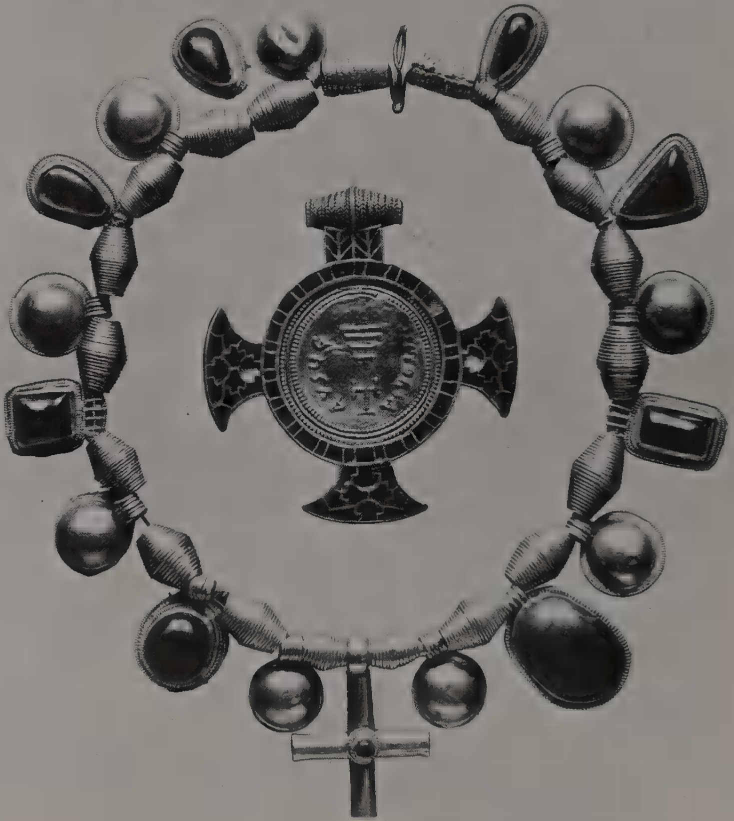
XXVI. COMPOSITE JEWELLED BROOCHES

(1) The Amherst brooch, Sarre

(2) Front plate of a brooch, Aylesford

XXVII. JEWELLED BROOCH AND NECKLACE WITH COINS

Sarre

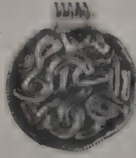


XXVIII. JEWELLED GOLD PENDANTS

Bacton — Forsbrook

Wilton

Necklace from Desborough



XXIX. GOLD BRACTEATES

1-3. Bifrons 4-8. Sarre

9. Ash near Sandwich

10. Market Overton

11. Wingham

12. Oxford

XXX. ST. CUTHBERT'S CROSS
Front and back

1

2

XXXI
(1) THE IXWORTH CROSS
(2) THE CANTERBURY CROSS

1

2

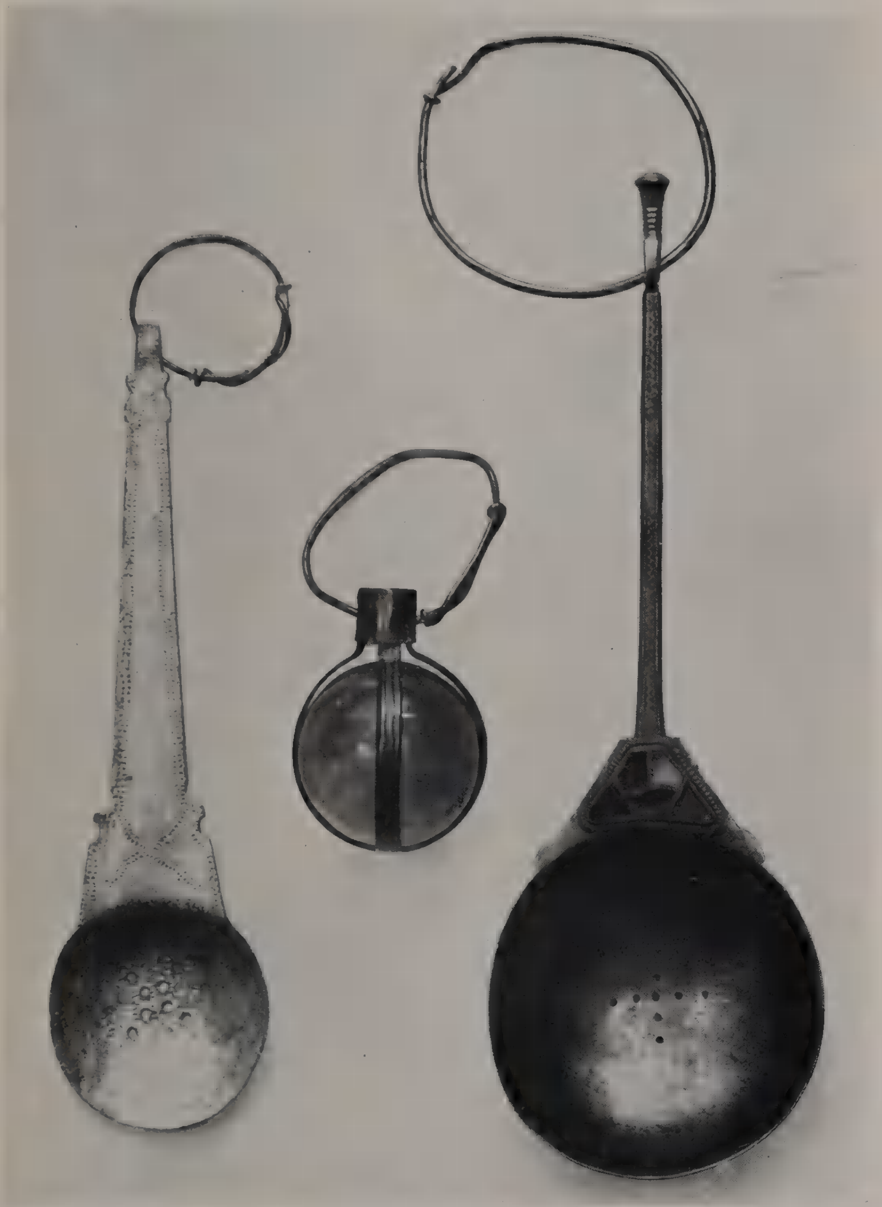
3

XXXII

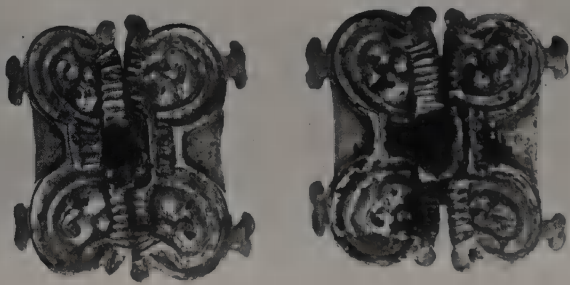
(1) ENAMELLED BROOCH
Dowgate Hill

(2) ENAMELLED BROOCH
Probably near Canosa, Italy

(3) GOLD AND GARNET BEAD
Forest Gate



XXXIII. SILVER SPOONS AND ROCK CRYSTAL BALL
Bifrons



XXXIV. GILDED BRONZE WRIST-CLASPS
Barrington

XXXV. FINGER-RINGS AND BRACELETS

(1) Silver wire: Sarre. (2) Bone: Northfleet.
(3) Bronze: Fairford. (4) Glass: Chatham Lines.
(5) Silver strip: Cassington.

XXXVI. FINGER-RINGS

All of gold except No. 6 which is of silver gilt

1

2

XXXVII. BELT FITTINGS

(1) Gilded bronze, Howletts Bridge

(2) Silver plate on iron, Bifrons

a *c* *b*

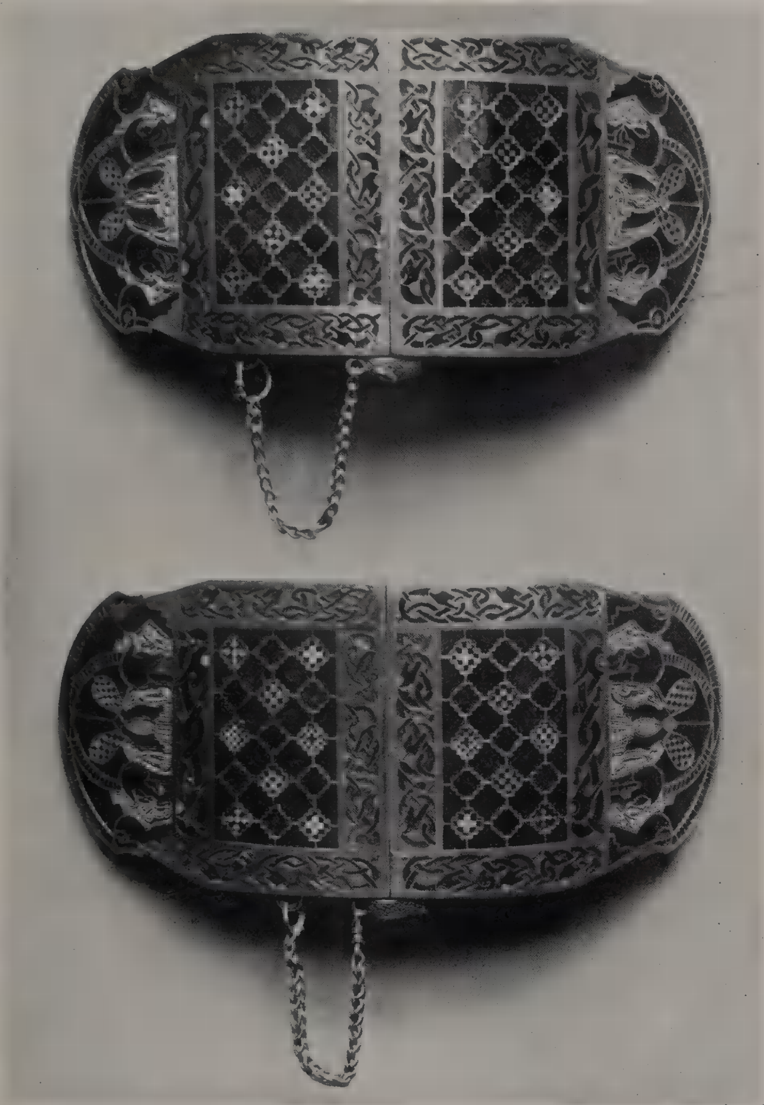
1

a *b* *c*

2

XXXVIII. JEWELLED BRONZE CLASPS AND GOLD BUCKLES

(1) Taplow barrow (2) Faversham



XXXIX. GOLD CLASPS SET WITH GARNET AND GLASS MOSAIC

Sutton Hoo ship-burial

XL. GOLD BUCKLE WITH NIELLURE
Sutton Hoo ship-burial

CARDIFF ★ PUBLIC