CELTIC ART IN NORTH BRITAIN BEFORE 400 A.D.

Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D. to the Faculty of Arts, University of Edinburgh

By

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INTRODUCTION

This study of Early Iron Age metalwork in North Britain was begun at the instigation of Professor Piggott in 1960.

310 objects form a basis for the work. The majority have been studied and drawn at first hand; where this has not been possible owing to loss or inaccessibility, resort has been made to published illustrations; pieces belonging to the former group are defined by the underlining of their find spot in the Catalogue.

In the first part of the thesis the objects have been grouped for discussion according to function---horse trappings, weapons, personal ornaments, domestic equipment and miscellaneous; in each case, lists and distribution maps of the relevant types have been appended at the end of each chapter; bibliographical details are there included to avoid congestion of the text.

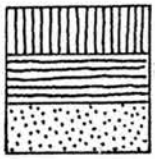
This arrangement of material is echoed in the Catalogue, with the exception of those objects from the Stanwick hoard which form an appendix. Each piece has a number by which it is identified in the discussion; in the case of the Stanwick material the numbers refer to this accompanying paper.

Where possible objects are illustrated full size. Cauldrons are reproduced at ¼ natural size, full length swords and scabbards at 1/3 (details are natural size). The scale of the extended drawings of massive armlets is dictated solely by page size and reference should be made to the detailed measurements which accompany each entry.

My thanks are due first of all to Professor Piggott for much practical help and invaluable discussion; secondly,

to Mr.Mancini whose technical knowledge has thrown new light on the fascinating processes of casting and repair; lastly to the many museum curators who have given me every facility for study; in particular Miss Henshall of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland,Dr.Longworth of the British Museum,Mr.Scott of the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow,Dr.Smith of the University Museum,Newcastle and Mr.Willmot of the Yorkshire Museum,York.

Grammar



red
blue
yellow
} enamel.



bull's eye enamel
swastika form



pouncing
ladder pattern
feather incision.
rocker tracing



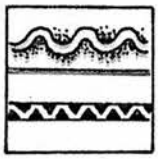
baluster moulding



basket hatching



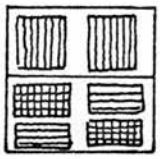
Knob decoration.



wavy fin.
false type of above



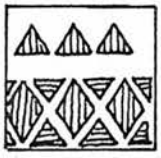
lip moulding



chequer enamelling
tabard arrangement



lyre loop.



triangular enamelling
diamond arrangement



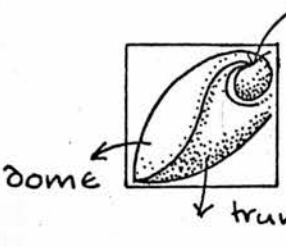
palmette

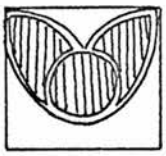


imbrication.
vesicae



mushroom coil with
knobbed terminals




two trumpets sha
the one rounded.

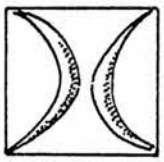

sinous trumpet coil

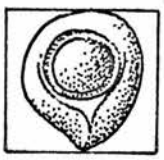

plump swash-N


slender trumpet

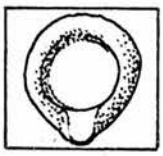

sinous swash-N

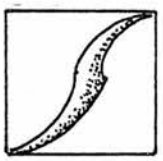

muzzle pattern.


symmetrical salti


petal boss


sinous saltire


petal ring

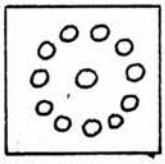

broken-back scro


hollowed joint.


keeled ribbon.



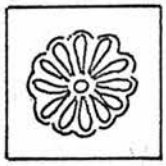
yin yang



berried rosette



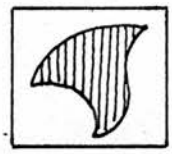
triskele



petalled rosette



S coil



Llyn Cerrig void



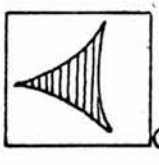
Scoil with trumpet ends



swag and drop



web.



concave-sided triangle

Chapter I.

IRON AGE STUDIES IN NORTH BRITAIN.

For the purpose of this thesis, the southern boundary of North Britain has been reluctantly 'pushed down' to coincide with a line from the Humber to the Mersey (see p. 10).

It would be a simplification, but a valid one, to state that the Iron Age material available for study in both major provinces falls into three categories --- pottery, metalwork and field monuments. In the south, all are frequently found in association; in the north, it is rare to find pottery at all, while metalw rk and monuments are scarcely ever linked. It is a measure of the inherent weakness of the archaeological record that the histories of metalwork and field studies could almost be compiled separately and in isolation.

Antiquarian interest were slow to develop in our area. When such notables as Camden, Horsley, Leland and Stukeley ventured north, it was largely to investigate the visible lure of Hadrian's Wall, (Birley 1961), rather than the less impressive and more inaccessible native monuments of the north, although the earthworks of Stanwick were early recognised as 'a camp of men of warre' by Leland (Smith, L.T. 1909 : IV, 27). It was not until the second half of the 18th. century that local interests became aroused, largely as a result of the Romantic Revolt which, as Daniel puts it 'clothed in attractive

garments the British substitute for classical archaeology' (1952 : 22). The Society of Antiquaties of Scotland was founded in 1780, only ten years after the publication of the first volume of Archaeologia in the south; its history is traced by Mitchell (1901 - 2 : 1 - 57).

Excavation of a sort had already begun. John Williams, a civil engineer, engaged on the reconstitution of estates damaged in the recent Rebellion was led by his interest in vitrified forts to cut a section through one rampart and to publish his findings in 1777. By 1781 the first crannog had been recognised and reported to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; the fact that only medieval material was found does nothing to detract from the importance of this investigation to subsequent Iron Age studies. A very early broch 'excavation' is recorded for 1782.

It is in the 18th. century also that the earliest surviving metalwork finds begin to emerge and become incorporated into the personal collections of the local landed gentry. Such pieces are the spiral snake armlet from Pitalpin, Angus found in 1732, and the Middlebie hoard discovered only five years later. It is interesting to note that the owner of this last, Sir John Clerk, considered them of sufficient importance to warrant a detailed report to the Society of Antiquaries of the London, in whose collection his original sketches still remain (Folio II, 61). This Scottish antiquarian, by the way, was a great friend of Stukeley (Piggott 1950 : 82), and is known to have presented the pair to the bridle pit No. 7 from that hoard to a mutual friend, Roger Gale (Wilson 1863 : 157). During a

visit to Sir Robert Pringle of Stichill House in 1760, Bishop Pococke saw a massive armlet or pair from the nearby village; a contemporary sketch is included in his 'Tours in Scotland'(Kemp ed. 1887 : 331). A final early record, this time of two bit rings, now lost is included in Ure's History of Kilbride and Rutherglen, published in 1793.

In the early years of the succeeding century, further notable finds were recorded, such as the so-called mummer's mask from Torrs which entered the collection of Sir Walter Scott in 1829 (Atkinson and Piggott 1955 : 197) and the Deskford boar's head (New Stat. Account, 1845), together with the New Cairnmuir, Stanwick, Balmaclellan and Bunrannoch hoards. Indeed, by the mid-19th. century, perhaps 80% or more of the major metalwork discoveries in the north had been made. It is difficult not to attribute this sharp increase in finds to population expansion and innovations in land usage --- notably field drainage. Many pieces are recorded simply and without discussion in the ever increasing number of antiquarian journals, and the description of their emergence is often amusing. In 1851, a labourer cutting peat about two miles north of Cumlongan Castle "disclosed to view a small bronze bowl in which lay a number of shining objects which, either from the blow given by his spade, or the tremulous consistency of the moss appeared to him to movment in the cavity of the basin..... Supposing that he had uncovered if not a nest of gnomes, at least some marvellous appliances pertaining to the elvish race and apparently possessed of life..... he hastily covered them up and retreated to his home". This record is of the discovery of the Lochar Moss torc and bowl, Nos. 189 & 259 in the Catalogue (Way 1852 : 83 - 7).

It was not, however, until the 1850's or 60's that a true concept of the early Iron Age in Europe was made available, by the gradual application to antiquities of the geologically devised theory of evolution, and the technologically defined Three Age System of the Scandinavian scholars (Daniel 1952 ; Chap. III). Reaction was swift. In 1863 Daniel Wilson produced a two volume work entitled Prehistoric Annals of Scotland in which, for the first time, an attempt was made both to correlate antiquities and field monuments, and to distinguish a general sequence or trend of development in the 'Prehistoric' --- his own word --- and early historic North.

It would be safe to say that, during the last forty years of the 19th. century, metalwork studies dangerously outstripped the techniques of excavation, and to a lesser degree fieldwork. The admirable publications of Collingwood Bruce (1880) and John Alexander Smith (1866 - 8 and 1882 - 3) are to Yorkshire and Scotland respectively what Kemble and Franks' Horae Ferales (1863) was to the south. Arthur Evans' monograph on the Aesica brooch (1896 : 180 - 98) was far ahead of its time. The Rhind lectures delivered by Joseph Anderson in 1879 and published in 1883 reveal how competent was his grasp of the material, yet how tentative was the contemporary view of Iron Age settlement. By the way, Piggott has recognised that this perceptive scholar all but forestalled Montelius in the discovery of a basic tenet in present day archaeological studies --- that is the dating of prehistoric material by its association with alien pieces, imported from a historical and closely dateable milieu. Anderson realised that two associated objects in closed circumstances are likely to be roughly

contemporary, and only just failed to realise the wider chronological implications of this assumption.

Progress was being made in the sphere of excavation also. Spurred on by developments in other realms, countries and periods. The interest of Boyd Dawkins (1874) in the caves of Settle clearly arose out of a passion for geological pursuits. Munro's Lake Dwellings of Scotland published in 1882 reflects the Continental enthusiasm fired by Keller's discoveries in Switzerland. The Iron Age investigations of Greenwell and Mortimer arose almost accidentally out of their Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pursuits in the East Riding. But the methods and techniques of excavation remained far below Pitt Rivers' standards until an astonishingly late date --- well into the 20th. century, in fact. We must commend the Curle brothers for their treatment and presentation of material remains from the Roman fort of Newstead and the native settlement of Traprain (J.Curle 1911 and A.O.Curle and J. Cree in successive volumes of PSAS from 1914 - 15 to 1922 - 3); it cannot be denied, however, that when faced with anything but the most straightforward of stratigraphical problems, they fell short of their self-imposed standards.

Meanwhile, a major step forward had been taken in the realm of fieldwork by Christison, who in 1898 published his survey of hillforts in Perth, Forfar and Kincardine, thus establishing a tradition of competence to be continued and augmented by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland, whose first Inventory was published in 1911.

Piggott, in a lecture to the Scottish Iron Age Conference

in 1961,,identified a dangerous isolationism which arose between the two World Wars, leading to the belief that the Scottish Iron Age was totally different to that of the south. During this period, the word 'broch' became "charged with emotive sentiment" as were also the words 'Gael' and 'Pict'. It was largely due to Childe's Prehistory of Scotland (1935) that this myth was exploded, although in the realm of metalwork at any rate, doubts had already formed in the minds of several aechaeologists such as E.T.Leeds and Francoise Henry; both these authors dealing in 1933 with the subjects of Celtic ornament and enamelwork respectively, saw no reason to halt their studies at the Border.

During the last thirty years progress has been astounding. In Yorkshire Brewster's excavations at Staple Howe have greatly expanded the chronological range of the Iron Age in that area (

). A study of Early Iron Age burials is eagerly awaited from Stead. Raistrick's study of the West Riding (1939 : 115 - 50), Wheeler's investigation of the Stanwick fortifications (1954) and Richmond's identification of Brigantia as a political unit (1954 : 43 - 53) have all greatly contributed to our knowledge of the Roman Iron Age in north and west Yorkshire. Farther north, the work of C.M.Piggott (1947 - 8 : 1948 - 9 : 1949 - 50), Feacham (1959 - 60 : 1960 - 1), Jobey (1959 + 217 - 77; 1960 : 1 - 38 etc.) has greatly enhanced our knowledge of palisaded enclosures and assorted settlement sites and fortifications on both sides of the Border. The study of brochs and related stone-built structures of the far north and north-west has been revolutionised by the excavations of Scott (1947 : 1 - 36 and 1948 : 46 - 125), Lethbridge (1952 : 176 - 93), Piggott (1952 - 3 : 92 - 117),

Hamilton (1956) and Mackie (1965 : 266 - 78) while in the realm of souterrains Wainwright's contribution is valuable (1963).

Turning to metwlwork studies,,our debt to Leeds and Fox remain inestimable. To Collingwood fell the task of disentangling the last shreds of Celtic art upon Romano-British brooches, a subject to which Gillam contributed in a lecture to the Scottish Iron Age Conference in 1961. In 1940 Hawkes produced a masterful examination of the Elmswell panel and related pieces (CORDER & HAWKES: 1940) and again in 1951 a most necessary correlation of cauldrons, buckets and vessel fitments. The technical and stylistic analysis of the Torrs 'Chamfrein', undertaken by Atkinson and Piggott in 1955 is a model of its kind and the contribution of the latter author has been further augmented by studies of swords and scabbard (1950), the Deskford carnyx mouth (1959) and three Romano-British hoards from lowland Scotland (1952 - 3). Finally, Miss Burley is to be congratulated on her disentanglement of the Traprain material (1955 - 6) and Mr. A.C.Thomas to be praised for his audacious and convincing attack on that realm of animal art leading up to and including the earlier phases of Pictish symbolism (1963 and 1964). To these later phases of the Scottish Iron Age, the contribution of Stevenson is considerable.

One of the most healthy signs in recent studies of the northern Iron Age is the appearance of volumes which bridge the previously unsurmountable barriers between Roman and Native on the one hand and the Native and Dark Age on the other (Richmond Ed. 1958; Wainwright Ed. 1956). Had this developed earlier in the century during, for instance, the large scale excavations at Corbridge, we

should not be so dismally bereft of closely dated native metalwork.

The demolition of barriers within the northern Iron Age is just one facet of a wider realisation, already referred to, that the cultural dissimilarities between north and south Britain in the Iron Age are best underplayed at this present stage of our knowledge. Fox's division of Britain into a Highland and Lowland Zone (1932) has contributed greatly to the advancement of Iron Age studies, but, like all brilliantly simple theories the brilliance remains, but the simplicity tends to tarnish.

If contributions to the Irish Iron Age, such as those of Jope (1954 ; 1955 etc.) and to the southern Iron Age such as Allen's study of coinage (1958) have repercussions in the north, the same is likely for Hawkes' re-appraisal of his famous A-B-C cultural divisions. The initial shock arising from the complexity of his new scheme (published in 1958) has died down. Our north English area is seen to comprise four of his regions --- East Yorkshire, South and North Pennines and Cumbria --- of which the first falls within his Eastern Province and the remainder within his Pennine Province. An enlargement of this system to include Scotland has been devised successfully by Feachem whose conclusions are due for publication in the not too distant future. The essential 'portability' of metalwork makes it a dangerous topic for such treatment, so that allocation to Provinces and Regions has been intentionally underplayed in the following discussion of material. It remains to be seen in the concluding stages whether these geographic and cultural groupings are reflected by metalwork distribution.

Northern Iron Age studies may have commenced in laggard fashion, but they have surely made up for lost time through the contribution of many specialists in the last twenty or thirty years. We may grumble sorely at certain lacunae, both real --- the absence of pottery, for instance --- and self inflicted, but there is no liklihood that the northern Iron Age will ever disappear with 'a curious perfume and a most melodious twang'.

Chapter 2.

THE NATURAL BACKGROUND.

The region covered by our study --- roughly that area north of a line from the mouth of the Humber to the Mersey --- falls broadly within the Highland Zone, defined by Fox in 1932. As he himself recognized, however, this is an oversimplification for the region is a geographically complex one, containing within its borders some of the highest mountain ranges in Britain and broad stretches of fertile lowlands. The diversity of land form and, equally important the wide range of geology, both solid and surface conditioning to some degree vegetation cover, fauna and settlement by man himself, presents a complex patchwork of desirable and inhospitable areas, of micro-climates and ecological zones which make it a difficult area of study in terms of human geography. A detailed account of the variety of land forms and an assessment of those areas most attractive to colonisation by man, together with a study of the natural routeways both by land and water which link such regions was presented bynDr. Coles as an introduction to his study of the Late Bronze Age in Scotland (1959). It would seem needlessly repetitious to examine once again in detail the ground over which Dr. Coles has worked so carefully and succintly and the nature of our study makes such an examination less relevant than that of the overall study of a period of human settle-

ment, as was his subject. The inherent portability of our materials, the generally unsettled political conditions which provide a back-ground to the period and the fact that the bulk of the early objects at least must represent the possessions of only a small, aristocratic minority of the population of north Britain, make them unsuitable material for a study of settlement patterns, except in the broadest sense; they fit uneasily into any environmetally orientated approach. Here then, only the briefest outline will be presented of the salient geographical and environmetal characteristic of the area.

Dividing up the region in terms of Highland and Lowland Zones, three major highland areas are obvious. To the south, the back bone of the Pennine limestone ridge effectively separates an eastern and western zone in northern England. This belt of high land continues without interruption, save for narrow river valleys, into the Southern Uplands of Scotland composed of a variety of sandstones, shales and slates. To the north one has the effective division of the great fault of the Midland Valley of Scotland with, beyond, the schists and gneisses of the Highland Massif, itself bisected by the Great Glen.

Lowland areas are more numerous and more interrupted. The only major lowland area in n orth-east England is in the E. R. Yorkshire and the vale of York which provides a link with the Tees basin. On the west the Cheshire and West Lancashire plain and the coastal strip around Morecambe bay are linked to the eastern lowlands by the valleys of the Aire and Calder. To the north, the Cumbrian Mountains provide a barrier to settlement beyond the narrow coastal strip until one reaches the broad plains of Galloway and Cumberland

bordering the Solway Firth. Again eastern links are provided by the valleys of the Irthing and Tyne with the coastal strip of Northumberland and the Merse. Inland penetration into the uplands could follow the valleys of the Eden, Annan and Nith. The Ayrshire plain is linked with the broad Midland Valley and the fertile lands of the Lothians and Fife. In the area oulined so far the lowland areas although in many cases divided up by belts of mountainous and inhospitable country are all linked by land routes and are no more than thirty or forty miles apart. North of the midland valley the Highland Massif provides a much more formidable obstacle. On the east the coastal plain of Aberdeenshire, the Moray Firth area and eastern Caithness would attract settlement and river valleys would allow penetration westwards; but communication is difficult in a north-south direction between river valleys other than by coastward movement. Similarly routes such as those via the Tay and Tummel do allow for contact with the west but these routes are circuitous and over difficult country and only the Great Glen provides a speedy and unimpeded passage from east to west. On the west again the coastal areas, other than those of raised beaches and alluvial deltas provide little attraction and the inner Hebrides must be considered as part of this Highland area. It is only in the Outer Hebrides that one finds flat, readily cultivable stretches of machair. Again in this western area contact is most easily established by sea, while avoiding dangerous tidal areas such as the Mull of Kintyre and the Sound of Mull.

There is ample evidence for the settlement of these lowland zones from the earliest phases of human history in the area and the pattern appears to have altered little during the Early Iron

Age and period of Roman dominion in the south (e.g. Richmond Ed. (1958) 70, map 6). Penetration from one area of settlement to another by means of natural routeways either inland or seaward can also be demonstrated from an early period (e.g. Lindsay Scott 1951; Kirk 1957; see also Chapter 8). A new factor in our period, however, is the need for defence which must have altered settlement pattern in some degree (e.g. Wainwright Ed. (1956), 69, Map 2) and the presence of large Roman concentrations, notably in the region of Hadrian's Wall would have the effect of driving out those to whom Roman authority was intolerable and attracting others who saw opportunities for profit or advancement in their service.

Climatically the period of our study falls within the Sub Atlantic phase --- Zone VIII --- a period in which one has a marked climatic deterioration with greater precipitation, lower summer temperatures and mild winters (Godwin 1956). Such a horizon has been recognized over a wide area of north-western Europe in pollen studies and has been dated to c. 500 B.C., largely on the basis, it might be added, of archaeological datings which might now require revision. As yet little work has been done on the post-glacial vegetational history of North Britain (Durno 1956 ; 1957, etc.) but the characteristics of Zone VIII were thought to prevail in this area as elsewhere in Britain (Godwin 1960). These characteristic include most notably an accelerated growth of blanket bog and the gradual elimination of trees on upland slopes. An attempt has been made to correlate this climatic deterioration with a classical allusion to the Outer Isles being uninhabited in

the 2nd. century A.D. (see Megaw and Simpson (1960 - 1), 72, ftn.2). Mitchell and others, however, have recently expressed doubts as to whether the climatic deterioration, as reflected in the Somerset peats is of a widespread nature in North Britain and Ireland, and have argued that the more oceanic conditions in the latter areas were such as to produce no marked effect in the period under discussion. A series of radio-carbon dated peat samples from Bloak Moss, Ayrshire show weakly humified peat beginning to spread in the 13th. century B.C. and continuing through to the 5th. century A.D. These results show no clear relation to the (local) humification sequence (Radio-carbon, VII, 1965, 206).

In Zone VIII there appears to be some change in the composition of tree species. Birch increases, generally at the expense of Alder, and Oak and Elm decline. In Scotland Beech and Hornbeam show a slight increase. It is not possible to determine as yet the relative importance of climate and man in these changing compositions. Temporary forest clearance is reflected in pollen counts from the latter part of the fourth millenium B.C. onwards (Radiocarbon, op. cit. and unpublished information from Mrs. A. Tutin) and extensive clearance from c. 400 B.C. in Yorkshire. Further north there is no evidence for such extensive clearance as opposed to the temporary kind followed by forest regeneration until Roman or late Roman times (Turner 1965). Much of this northern area is more suitable for pastoral farming rather than cereal production (for a discussion of the archaeological, and literary evidence see Piggott in Richmond Ed. 1958, 1 - 27; see also Chapter 8) and this is well reflected in

pollen diagrams of the period (Turner op. cit., 352).

Of the wild fauna during the period of our study in Britain, all those species now to be found in the north, with the exceptions of the rabbit and fallow deer were present and many, such as the wild cat (felix sylvestris) and the red deer (capreolus caprea) both forest creatures, had a wilder and more southerly distribution. (e.g. Macdonald and Curle 1911 : 571). The size of many specimens of the latter species from Iron Age sites is noticeably larger than modern animals living in an unnatural environment (e.g. Curle 1911 : 376). Among the ungulates no longer represented in the British wild fauna were the reindeer (not only from sites in the extreme north (e.g. Anderson 1883 : 221, 231) but recorded as far south as Ayrshire (Munro 1882 : 142; A.Smith 1869) and elk (Alces Machlis). Large tusks from what can only be wild specimens of pig (sus scrofa) are common on Iron Age sites and the wild ox (bos primigenius) provided the horns to which the Torrs terminals would have been attached (Atkinson and Piggott 1955 : 227). Beavers dammed Scottish lakes and rivers and the wolf (canis lupus), bear and wolverine hunted in the forests. The only notable additions to our present range of wild birds were the Great Auk (Alca impennis) and Crane (Grus communis) (Hamilton 1956 : 214; Curle 1911 : 377).

Chapter 3

HORSE TRAPPINGS.

I THE TORRS PONY CAP.

The curious object for long known as the Torrs chamfrein (No. 1) deserves prime treatment in any study of North British horse trappings; it is impossible, however, to improve or augment the findings of Atkinson and Piggott (1955 : 197 - 235).

The object was found sometime before 1829 in a 'morass' on the farm of Torrs, Kirkcudbright. The precise location is not known, although the authors cited above have pinpointed a likely area upon the Ordnance Survey sheet (25/782622). This site has been visited and is so waterlogged as to be beyond investigation, unless powerful pumping equipment were available. The distinct possibility that the object formed part of a votive hoard the remainder of which is still buried, has prompted surveys using metal detecting equipment of various types; at least one favourable reaction was obtained by Mr. Robin Lievens but the site has for long been utilised as the village rubbish tip, and bedsteads and tin cans may have falsified his readings.

The 'chamfrein' was for long owned by the family of Sir Walter Scott. It was purchased in 1921 by the National Museum. Early discussion was limited, and it was not until 1955 that the object received the exhaustive stylistic and technological treatment that it merited.

Its various components are as follows:- (1) the cap

proper consisting of two halves, overlapped and rivetted along a transverse joint and mended in antiquity, three patches being conceived as decorative embellishments. Two perforations interrupt the metal approximately one third of the way from the straighter margin. A narrow beaded strip strengthens the edge. The entire surface is covered with repoussé scrolls, the patches being adorned with tremolo engraving. (2) The horns. (3) At the base of each horn a collar and flange now serving to camoflage the crude mounting of each horn into a ragged perforation in the cap's summit. (4) At the end of each horn, a cast bird's head of which one only now remains.

Examination has led Atkinson and Piggott to regard the mounting of horns on cap as a comparatively modern 'liberty'. Their arguments seem convincing. The horns have therefore been relegated to Chapter 7 and awarded place No. 249 in the Catalogue. The cap part alone now remains within the category of horse trappings; and even its former designation as a chamfrein has been confidently demolished. In fact, its very size precludes use as a pony mask and favours rather a position on the poll, the curved edge closest to the eyes, the ears emerging from the original lateral holes, a central plume in holder (now lost) occupying the position of the fallacious horns and a series of leather straps from the margin securing the object firmly in place. The piece is unique, but the authors refer to possible representation proving that plumed headpieces both for horses and humans, were a recognized part of Celtic equipment.

The repoussé decoration is symmetrical about the cap's long axis and consists of two lyre loops with flanking knob-ended

tendrils, the one occupying the larger panel at the forehead end, the other the smaller panel at the neck end. These two self contained decorative units are linked by angular stems which skirt the edges of the ear perforations. The entire layout presupposes some central focus --- one suspects the plumed holder --- and displays to perfection the Celtic genius for what can only be called 'static motion' in design.

Both the motifs and their treatment, with lobe-like swellings upon the scroll surfaces reveal a debt to those decorative fashions on the Continent which Jacobsthal (1944) has defined as his stage 3 and in which he would further distinguish two trends --- the Plastic and Sword sub-styles. The Torrs pony cap must then be awarded prime place in the sequence of artistic development in north Britain. Its links with the Newnham Croft bangle (Fox 1958 : 10, fig. 6, a), Wandsworth round shield boss (op. cit. Pl. 13), Brentford horn cap (op. cit. Pl. 4) and the Group I scabbard from Standlake, Oxon. (op. cit. Pl. 22,a) further confirm this claim. Within the decorative repertoire of these four pieces, abalogies to the following Torrs details may be found :- static motion layout, plump lyre loop, mushroom palmette, and coils with knobbed tips, some abstract and some consciously imitating bird heads. Indeed, Piggott would suspect the Torrs piece of preceding all but the first of these finds, detecting in Torrs and the Newnham Croft bangle more than a little influence from the Continental style 2 or 'Waldalgesheim'. Yet there are sufficient points of difference to preclude the necessity for deriving the Torrs cap from a southern workshop; and this statement receives ample support from that

astonishing decorative continuity which makes it possible to draw comparisons between the Torrs piece and, say the Stichill collar (No. 194). Already in Torrs the seeds have been sown of the trumpet coil, destined to emerge full blown on the Llyn Cerrig plaque and to be made famous by the studies of Sir Cyril Fox,, of the lyre loop, which was to haunt mirror design and emerge afresh in such Brigantian products as the horse trappings of Stanwick Set A, and the broken backed joint which was to flourish only in the last years of the 1st. century A.D. and beyond.

The decorative techniques and motifs of the Torrs patches alone seem to have fallen on stony ground; but even here, as Piggott has shown, the tradition of decorative repair still continues on an Irish trumpet fragment in the Llyn Cerrig hoard (Fox 1946 : 44 - 5 and Pl. XXXI); and examination of bowl No.256 from the 2nd. century A.D. Lamberton Moor hoard has revealed the discoloured imprint of just such a shaped patch. The zig-zag treatment of engraved channels on Group IV scabbards from Flasby and Worton (Nos. 135 & 148) the late linch pin from Middleton/Enthorpe (No. 123) and the Crosby Ravensworth spoons (Nos. 247 - 8) could well be a crude cast or punched echo of the much earlier tremolo engraving techniques, although it is more likely to be a contribution from the Mirror school in the south.

Piggott also draws attention to the existence of definite stylistic links between the Torrs pony cap and certain later Irish works such as the Group IIIA sword scabbards and the trumpet mouth plate from Lough-na-shade. He suspects either a contemporary school of metal-work in that island, none of whose actual products have survived, or,

more likely, the importation of 'trend setting' pieces from the Torrs school of craftsmanship; either eventuality would account for this much later floruit of motifs in the Torrs tradition. This opinion has not gone unchallenged, for Jope would derive all inspiration for the Irish pieces direct from the Continent (1954: 81 -- 91); however, Rynne has demonstraded that one may effect a compromise, leaving Torrs with a considerable role in the artistic development of theIrish Iron Age (1958 : 795 - 9). More will be said on the throny problem of Irish/North British relations at a later stage (p. 449 ff.).

Two final questions remain --- precisely where and when was the Torrs pony cap made? To the former question there is no answer, beyond Lowland Scotland or North England. As to the latter, Hodson has warned us against the expectation of miracles of chronological exactitude from Continental material (1964 : 123 - 41). At the cemetery of Münsingen, Bernem which forms the basis of his study the transition from a Waldalgesheim to a Plastic style of adornment seems to occur in the first quarter of the 3rd. century B.C. The middle years of this century would be a fair estimate of date for the manufacture of the Torrs pony cap and its accompanying, non-related horns.

II BRIDLE BITS.

On the subject of bridle bits, Ward Perkin's paper of 1939 is unchallenged. A valuable contribution was made by Fox in 1946 as a result of the Llyn Cerrig finds.

The basic type of Iron Age bridle bit is the simple three-

link form, in which the mouthpiece consists of a central bar, through whose perforated terminals run club-headed side links containing the cheek rings. A variety of materials are used in this series, ranging from iron, iron flashed or sheathed with bronze, to simple cast bronze.

As a high percentage of these three-link bits (14 out of 55 or 56) has occurred in the Yorkshire chariot burials, whose publication is imminent, I shall confine myself to a superficial summary of the series.

The accompanying list and distribution map are a revision of Ward Perkin's work. This author, and Fox after him, stressed the distribution tendency of three-link bits to reflect that well known South-west/North-east pattern of Iron Age B metalwork, as revealed by certain brooch types, lipped terrets etc. The neatness of this pattern has been disturbed by recent finds and rediscoveries in Norfolk and the Thames Basin, but has not been entirely invalidated.

Associations are varied; as already stated, at least fourteen have been found in chariot or cart burials, normally in pairs. Of the remainder, nine or ten come from the votive deposit of Llyn Cerrig and a further eight frim small hoards; six from the well known lake villages of Glastonbury and Meare; nine from assorted hillforts; two from settlement sites of uncertain duration; a further two from caves; and four are strays.

Converted into chronological terms, the Yorkshire examples are clearly the earliest; Hawkes would envisage for their duration a span of c. 150 years, commencing in the mid 3rd. century B.C. Many other bits display decorative features which allocate them on stylistic grounds to the 2nd. and 1st. centuries B.C. Those which

lay most convincing claim to a late date come from :- (1) Baydon, a Roman villa; however, a La Tène I fibula was also found, so that the bit fragment is not necessarily to be related to the Roman phase of occupation. (2) Otterbourne, where the central link of a bit was found in a sandpit with both Iron Age (unspecified) and Roman material. (3) The two caves of Harborough and Warton Crag both of which produced largely Romano-British finds, although early occupation at the former site at least is attested by an involuted brooch. (4) Ham Hill, where Gray found one link in a bit with a bronze bowl escutcheon, now known to have been current in the first half of the 1st. century A.D. (see p. 366), a strip of casket ornament (see p. 391ff.), a La Tène III brooch and also early Romano-British material. It will be noted that only in this last instance is a 1st. century A.D. date incontrovertible. I have been unable to find any support for Barber and Megaw's statment (1963 : 207) that such a bit form survives into the early 2nd. century A.D., although it is possible.

An origin is to be sought on the Continent. Comparable pieces are to be found in the 5th. century B.C. graves of Champagne despite the greater popularity of two-link forms abroad; it is from the land between Paris and Burgundy, rather than the Marne district proper, that Stead would derive his settlement of Yorkshire.

Derivative three-link bits.

A minimum of seventeen bridle bits or fragments are known by the unmelodious title of 'derivative three-link'; it is largely as a background to this important series that the lightning sketch of true three link bits has been compiled. This distinctive

type was first recognised by Ward Perkins, since whose time several additions have been made to the list by new finds and recognitions.

By definition, derivative three-link bits are composed of three separate units, a mouthpiece and two cheekpieces of which the first is elongated and the second pair a solid combination of side link and ring with a decorative filling of the latter. Cast bronze is used in all cases save for an atypical specimen from Lochlee whose mouthpiece and rings are of iron and whose side-links-cum-ring-holders are of bronze.

In his description of the type, Ward Perkins records an expansion of the mouthpiece to compensate for a corresponding loss of side link length. This compensation is inadequate, as the smallest example at any rate is a mere 7.9 in. in overall length. Barber and Megaw (1963 : 210) doubt whether any member of the series --- their Class III --- could ever have been used, suggesting as an alternative some ritual intent, involving their suspension in a hall of carousal or worship as a reminder of past glories; and at a time when Roman military occupation had discouraged such colourful pursuits as chariotry. I am not in a position to refute their statments, supported as they are by veterinary advice. The fact remains, however, that the objects <u>were</u> used, and to a degree considerably underplayed by the authors in question.

There are two areas in which evidence of friction may be expected --- upon the ring's inner circumference at a point opposite the link and upon the interlocked club-head terminals of both the side links and central bar. To take the former instance, the very thinness

of section on the Lochlee, Newstead and Saham Toney finds is suspicious, although their condition forbids certainty. No doubts are possible in the case of the Rise and Middlebie bits, and the next stage in ring wear --- actual fracture --- is demonstrated by the Place Fell specimen; while Birrenswark displays a solution in the form of curved strengthening strips, rivetted to the under surface. Link stress on the other hand could explain the frequent absence of the mouthpiece --- Chesterholm, East Kilbride, Leicester, Heath, Newstead and Saham Toney. Again, the interlocked units of the Lochlee, Middlebie and Place Fell bits have eaten deep channels for themselves into the metal of their opposing partners; in the case of Birrenswark, disintegration has been threatened and has been averted by the running on of molten metal, some time before the bit ceased to be used; in fact, both perforations of the mouthpiece were subsequently worn through before the object's loss.

I admit that the bits of the derivative three link group are small. Their very size would indicate that, in use, the rings porbably protruded from the animals' mouths like exotic whiskers rather than lying circumspectly along their cheeks. Also, the Stanwick examples display no sign of wear at all, and are thus available for interpretation as symbols of past greatness --- or for that matter as sample goods of travelling salesmen in the manner of the miniature Staffordshire figurines of 19th. century England; but it still remains a fact that the majority of these objects display signs of long use, such as would reasonably occur upon bridle bits. If ponies are removed from one's grasp then, at the risk of levity, one must substitute foals, dogs or even the dignified warriors themselves.

The distribution pattern is scattered, with single representatives from South Wales, Norfolk, the South Midlands and East Riding. The remainder have been found in North England and Lowland Scotland. While it is not possible to attribute their development and manufacture entirely to the Brigantes, it is reasonable to suspect that they played a considerable part.

Turning to the contexts of their discovery, the bits from Place Fell and Rise are totally stray finds. Of the remainder, thirteen come from native contexts --- ten from hoards, one from a crannog, one from the vicinity of a hillfort and another from a problematic burial. The final three have Roman backgrounds. In all save the stray finds, some element of Roman influence is present, however weak; therefore, all are likely to be post-Conquest in date. The contexts will repay closer examination.

The hoards in question are Saham Toney, Neath, Stanwick and Middlebie. Hoards are notoriously dangerous from a chronological point of view; moreover, not one contains any closely dateable material; yet approximations may be reached by a glance at the political history of their respective areas. It is unlikely that the Saham Toney pieces could have been manufactured after the Icenian revolt. This supposition gains tentative sup ort from the fact that the hoard was found in the vicinity of a rectangular camp; Miss Green informs me that there are several sites of this approximate plan known in Norfolk and trial excavations has consistently produced Romano-British material of the period 40 - 60 A.D. --- no later. It is unfortunate that the connexion between hoard and field monument is not closer; added to

which, a shadow is cast upon the circumstances of discovery by dubious manuscript information in the British Museum indicating discovery 'on the Battlefield of Great Corbrooke'.

The emergence of the Neath hoard from the bed of a stream adds nothing to out information, but its contents include a number of Roman objects connected with horse harness. One, a pendant in the form of a stylised vine leaf (Grimes 1951 : 124, fig. 40, 12) is a degenerate version of a type well known on earlier sites of the Roman frontier in Germany such as Novaesium and Xanten. More strictly comparable examples were found in a Flavian pit at Newstead (Curle 1911: 300, Pl. LXXIII). The type then is of distressingly long duration; however, it was not until 47 A.D. that the Romans turned their attention to south Wales. The trappings may have fallen into the hands of the Silures as a result of almost constant skirmishing between 47 and 77 A.D. when this tribe was finally defeated (Davies Ed. 1963 : 28 - 9).

The Stanwick hoard is dealt with elsewhere. Its deposit must post-date c. 47 A.D. when contact was first established with the Romans and is likely to pre-date the final defeat inflicted upon Venutius in 71 - 4 A.D.

The Middlebie hoard is said to have been found near 'the Roman camp at Middlebie'. This is the old name given by Roy (1793 : Pl. XXIX) to the site of Birrens or Blatobulgium, founded in the time of Hadrian as part of the Roman forward defence system. There is, however, no proven link between site and hoard, so that dating of the latter must rest precariously upon stylistic considerations. Findings

on p. 53 indicate a likelihood of deposit after c. 61 A.D. and before

c. 122 A.D. --- probably much closer to the former date than to the latter.

Turning to the remaining native contexts, the Birrenswark bit was found close to the east end of the hillfort of that name, whose occupation may well have ceased c. 155 A.D., as a result of Roman intervention (Richmond Ed. 1958 : 88), but once again the association may be fortuitous.

The Lochlee bit turned up in the south-east corner of a refuse heap on a crannog site. Nearby, and at roughly the same level, was a brooch of Collingwood's Group Rii with a spring pin and wire head loop indicative of a late 1st. or early 2nd. century date (Munro 1882 : 129, fig. 140). Elsewhere on the site, 2nd. century Samian ware was found (Curle 1931 - 2 : 378, no. 45).

The final native context to produce a derivative three-link bit is the extraordinary Queen Mary's Cairn, one of several huge tumuli capping the Cathkin Braes. The central cist was empty upon investigation in 1792, but a deposit of twenty-five cordoned urns in a secondary position on the cairn's west side attests to the mound's early date. The two bit rings were found at cist level and mingled with bone fragments, perhaps from this coffin. It is not necessary to envisage monument and bit as contemporaneous, as Child pointed out in 1946 (130 - 1). Disturbance must have been widespread, as a bronze 'fibula', supposedly found with the urns, is a perfectly recognisable Romano-British dress fastener (Ure 1793 : Pl. V,3); a two edged comb and jet or shale ring completed the list of late insertions into this monument.

Of the derivative three-link bits in Roman contexts, all are unhelpful. Circumstances of the Leicester find are unrecorded. The Stanegate fort of Chesterholm is a Flavian foundation, from which military importance was removed by the Hadrianic fort of Housteads, but the associations of fort and bit ring is dubious, so that even this vague chronological range may not be applied. The two fragments from Newstead belong to presumably the same bit; the stratification of neither is recorded, although one is known to have been found in the retentura.

So far, the chronological range indicated covers the second half of the 1st. century A.D., with a possible extension into the 2nd. century.

Ward Perkins demonstrated that a true three link bit --- the majority paradoxically composed of five parts --- could be 'compressed' into derivative three-link form, more particularly if those three link bits are taken as the point of departure whose rings are cast in one with the side links, although Barber and Megaw have warned against the dangers of considering this curious three-link development as late. The side link ring carriers of true three-link bits --- traditionally the area for decorative detail --- thus become non-functional ring filling in derivative three-link specimens; and to this area we must now turn our attention.

Stylistic considerations weave the seventeen derivative three-link bits into a more closely knit relationship than previous considerations of distribution and context would suggest. For instance,

the majority retain within the ring decoration a definite reminiscence of club shape; in other words the layout reflects the shape of the side link's functional part. An obvious corollary of this statement is that in most cases, the decoration emerges from a central stem which is in itself a non-functional reminiscence of link formation. When this is missing, as in the Leicester specimen, it is reasonable to suspect lateness. In those rings most heavily adorned, the decoration is conceived as a kind of strut to the ring formation. On the bits from Stanwick Sets A and possibly D, it is even 'tied on' to the ring circumference by means of lip mouldings --- a feature retained by the Leicester ring, but in a very degenerate state. Features on the Rise ring can be viewed as misplaced versions of such clas s or even as a reminiscence of the stop knobs of true three link bits. Fihally, in almost every case use is made of either a lyre loop motif, petal or circular shape --- obvious choices for a Celtic craftsman, in view of the void he had to fill.

Piggott has shown how the lyre loop has a popularity in the north stretching back to Torrs times. Whether the rebirth of interest in this motif, traceable to the latter half of the 1st. century A.D., is exclusive to that area is open to doubt, because of its frequent use on Casket Ornament of southern manufacture (see p.391ff); however, it is safe to point to noteable northern appearances on the unprovenanced helmet No. 175 , the Elmswell panel No.297 , and, of course, the Aesica brooch No.225--- the first two of which reveal a flat topped form comparable with Lochlee's ring filling, and the last a central keeling which could almost be a reminiscence of Stanwick

Set A's lip detail. Turning to the wider aspects of this last mentioned bit, the lyre loop is flanked by twin trumpet coils, whose ancestry may be traced back to the Llyn Cerrig plaque, but whose most immediate parallel is to be found on a casket strip in the Santon hoard; this last is given normally a Claudian/Neronian time range, the emphasis perhaps to be put on the earlier of the two reigns.

Petal shape is shared by the four bits from Rise, Place Fell, Birrenswark and Newstead. Leeds was the first to devise this descriptive title and to comment on its frequent appearance, boss-filled, in North England and, more especially, Lowland Scotland. The situation is, perhaps, not as simple as he envisaged it. The motif's origin lies in trumpet coils which make their earliest appearance, at present on the Llyn Cerrig plaque. All that is necessary to create a petal is to tuck the trumpet stem closely around the central roundel and to impose symmetry upon the resulting unit. In view of this ancestry, it seems likely that the Rise pair of petals, which still retain a separation of roundel from surround, may be relatively early in the sequence of development. In this particular case also the flat enamel treatment of the roundels is to be paralleled on an unpublished looped stud from York (see p.309), a pendant from Merioneth (see p.324) and upon ovoid mount No.13 from Corbridge, which, mercifully, may be attributed to the Flavian-Trajanic period. Such a distribution hints at manufacture somewhere in the more southerly stretches of our area although two, poor dress fastener versions, have been found at Traprain (see p. 296).

The Place Fell bit displays similar enamelled units

whose apparently degenerate treatment may in part be explained by poor condition.

On the other hand, the stereotyped form revealed by one of the Newstead bit fragments, where a plain boss is enclosed within each petal is a more northerly trick, to be met with on many other horse trappings from the same site and from Traprain, as well as a great number of dress fasteners and looped studs from Lowland Scotland, Northumberland and Cumberland, with stray examples from as far south as Berkshire and Essex (see p.299H).

The petal ring version, displayed by the East Kilbride ring is less common. By reason of the close approximation to this motif, reached in the Stanwick hoard mounts it is unnecessary to consider it as a late development, even if in this case, the very treatment of the petal tip is proof of degeneracy.

The spade-shaped lateral panels of the more elaborate Birrenswark ring are not perhaps immediately recognisable as petal units but their keeled ends give them away. This motif is paralleled in Lowland Scotland by the cruciform mount from Middlebie (No. 21) and in Northumberland by fragment No. 28 from High Rochester; equally comparable versions are to be found in the Saham Toney hoard and on two regretably unprovenanced mounts illustrated by Kemble (1863 : Pl. XIX, 5) and R.A.Smith (1925 : 103 and Pl. VIII, 2), thus opening up the distinct possibility of a more southerly origin than might at first be expected.

Two further variations on the trumpet coil are employed in the decoration of derivative three-link bits. The one lies between

the last-mentioned Birrenswark units --- a complex motif for which Leeds coined the title 'Swash N'. It is possible in fact to distinguish two variations, a 'plump' and a 'sinuous' of which only the former is relevant here. A common ancestry is shared by both --- in a simple shorthand version of the Llyn Cerrig plaque triquetra. This motif, consisting of two conjoined trumpet coils of which one only has two trumpets sharing the one roundel seems to have been devised in the south during the 1st. century B.C., as it occurs on Group II scabbards as well as on a strap junction from Letchworth, Herts., which lay in a Belgic grave of the latter part of that century. The completed stage of development in which the simple trumpet coil is equally equipped with two trumpets makes a possible début on foil strip from Rodborough, Glos., about the date of which there is unfortunately some diversity of opinion (see p. 427). Versions, strictly comparable with the Birrenswark example, adorn a small series of enamel belt plates, from Caerleon, Mon.(A.Fox 1940 : 131, fig. 6, 10), Richborough, Kent (Bushe Fox 1949 : 123 and Pl. XXXIII, 73) and Templeborough, Yorks. (May 1922 : 73 and Pl. XVA, 15). The first was found in disturbed soil over the footings of Barracks V built in the early 2nd. century; its manufacture in the second half of the previous century is assured. The second occurred in 3rd. century ditch filling which, however, contained a considerable amount of 1st. century material. A final comparison may be made with the enamelling of a brooch from Corbridge (unpublished) whose type --- a variant of the head stud form --- is unlikely to be later than 100 A.D., in view of findings at Richborough which permit the type's commencement between 75 and 90 (see p. 274ff). It is to

be suspected then, that the plump form of Swash-N has an origin in the south and a popularity throughout the country, centred on the last thirty years of the 1st. century A.D.

The sedond motif of trumpet coil ancestry is to be found on the Rise and Chesterholm bits. For this, the term 'muzzle motif' will be used because of its approximation to the nose of a Disney-like animal. Such units are nothing but pairs of slender trumpets laid back to back. The slender trumpet, by the way, must feature largely in any study of later Iron Age metalwork. It is sufficient here to trace its ancestry back to the Llyn Cerrig plaque via atypical versions on the Snettisham tubular bracelet (Fox 1958 : 45, fig. 32) and Broighter torc (Leeds 1933 : 133, fig. 35b). It makes plentiful appearances on southern metalwork of the first half of the 1st. century A.D. --- such as the Wraxall collar --- and travels north to become perhaps the most important decorative unit in artistic development beyond the Tay(see p. 226). As yet unformed in Stanwick Set A, to whose No. 82 by the way, the diverging arms of the Place Fell decoration are closely related, the range of the true muzzle motif may be set by finds from Newstead (No. 299 Flavian); Corbridge (No. 13 Flavian/ Trajanic) and Birrens (No. 37 Hadrianic/Antonine). If the southern contribution to its development is accepted, then the Rise bit must bear one of the muzzle motif's earliest appearance; this further emphasises the possibility of a pre-Agricolan or at least early Flavian manufacture for the bit in question. Added support is offered by casket strip No. 299 from Newstead, in which, although not arranged as true petal units, a precisely similar array of slender trumpets

encircles two repoussé rosettes. The Chesterholm muzzle on the other hand is more akin to the Birrens version and may well be mid-2nd. century.

It seems likely that 'animal intentions' are present even at the Rise and Corbridge stage of use; that they continue into the succeeding century may be attested by the first of two bull heads found at Dinorben, Denbigh. (Gardner and Savory 1964 : 146, fig. 20) although, in view of the recessed dot ornament on both nose and forehead, comparable with Sets B and C at Stanwick, I should not be at all surprised if the mount's manufacture turned out to be earlier than the excavators believed.

There remain those four bits whose decoration is based upon circular motif. The most complex of the Neath rings bears a S coil with a clear resemblance to yet another south-west find from Chepstow and a less obvious similarity to certain features of Stanwick Set B. The Leicester piece is akin to simple ring fillings on Stanwick sets C and D; its two roundels enclose concave-sided triangles, a motif of such long and widespread popularity as to be virtually without chronological significance. Its earliest appearance must be upon a disc from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras (Greenwell 1906 : 284, fig 27) and a brooch from Newnham Croft, Cambridge (Fox 1958 : 10, fig. 6, a); late 1st. century A.D. versions are not hard to find, witness enamelling on the sword hilt No.147 from Thorpe. The lipped motif of the Leicester bit will be discussed in connexion with terrets (see p.77).

In the Middlebie pair of bits, the circular trend of decoration has been interpreted by means of simple bosses. Here again,

the south may provide early prototypes in the form of dome-headed rivets as on the collar fragment from Llandyssul (Fox 1958 : Pl. 12d) for instance but it is in the second half of the 1st. century A.D. and in Northumberland, Cumberland and Lowland Scotland that boss treatment for its own sake flourishes. There, the variety of application is amazing. Bosses, as already demonstrated, fill petal units; alone, they form the terminals of such differing pieces as a spiral bracelet (No.208), dress fastener-like mounts (Nos. 228-30) and dumbell buttons (see p. 311). Marching in repoussé rows, they are applied to bowls and cauldrons; while dome-headed rivets attach openwork to torc, bracelet and scabbard surfaces.

Nothing has been said yet about superficial detail on derivative three-link bits. Indeed, two parallel trends are visible; the one, headed by Stanwick Set A, displays an unadorned use of metal; the other, represented by specimens from Neath, Saham Toney, Rise, Stanwick Set C, Place Fell and Birrenswark is polychrome in its treatment. The enamel colours used are red, turquoise and yellow; the darker blue of Rise may be glass; only representatives from Stanwick and (?) Neath make use of red alone. Despite the work of Henry and Leeds (1933), there is still considerable confusion about the chronological significance of colour and upon this I can shed very little light, save to point out that while monochrome enamelling may be in general earlier than polychrome, this does not necessarily apply to 'up country' products such as the St nwick trappings; while both turquoise and yellow were current by Boudiccan times. The use of blue glass may slightly have preceded this development, but such an

innovation is not calculable in years. The initial use of enamel in geometric cells would seem to be an adoption of Continental techniques by the Belgae and/or Iceni of south-eastern Britain if the evidence of terrets and horse trappings is accepted, and it is interesting to note that every arrangement of cells in that area can be paralleled farther north, and, so far as one can see, at a slightly later date. Thus the cruciform arrangement of Riseo, while well known in the north, is also to be found on a cruciform mount (unpublished) from West Stowe, Suffolk; the bull's eye arrangements of Birrenswark and Place Fell are known elsewhere in the north from the Middlebie hoard and Embleton scabbard but are equally available from the same Suffolk mount as well as a comp rable piece from the Saham Toney hoard. Enamelling in square cells is too simple to be significant, yet the use of triangular slits of colour to tail off the pattern is not; such occur on terrets from Saham Toney and Colchester in the south and will be experienced in a more northerly context on the Embleton piece, already mentioned. The massing of triangular cells at Birrenswark is preceded in the south by, for instance, a platform terret from the Boudiccan destruction levels at Colchester (see p. 82). Finally the enamel arrangements of Birrenswark's petals is a kind of half swash-N motif, exemplified on a much larger scale by a dress fastener, from Carlisle (see p. 298) and equally by an unprovenanced but local linch pin head in Saffron Walden Museum (Henry 1933 : 88, fig. 11, 1).

From the above discussion it will be apparent that I view the emergence of this characteristic enamelling technique in the north as a contribution from Belgic or Icenian craftsmen, and would even,

in the case of the more westerly pieces from Neath and Chepstow envisage manufacture farther east than their find spots indicate. It is regrettable that the Saham Toney bit ring has so little to offer from a stylistic point of view.

We can point to many features of derivative three-link bit decoration as contributions from the Belgae or Iceni, but not the actual bit form, for it must be remembered that two-link specimens are also known almost simultaneously in the south-east (see p. 38).

The real contribution of derivative three link bits is to reveal tangible contacts between the three great [illegible] of Rome --- the Iceni, the Silures and the Brigantes. It is difficult not to see the pieces as visual proof of the complex political machinations and manipulations which must have accompanied the spread of Roman rule in Britain.

Two link bits. The subject of two-link bits is of lesser importance to our study, for the majority of specimens are strictly utilitarian; yet to omit them entirely would be to oversimplify the situation.

Two-link bits as their name suggests comprise a pair of centrally interlocked bars, through whose ends the cheek rings pass. Two definite groups are discernible of which Ward Perkins recognised only the first --- typified by cast bronze structure and a distinctive form of ring carrier with bell mouth which has been variously described as 'eared or 'lipped'. No representative has yet been found in our area so that discussion will be brief.

Nineteen examples are known, of which fourteen come from

the one find. There is in fact only one addition to the 1939 list, a curious casting tenoned for attachment to such a bit from Wylye Camp, Wilts. Distribution is scattered but in the main southerly, the most northern representatives coming from Suffolk and Merioneth. Emphasis on the south-west, arising almost solely from the Polden Hill find, could be misleading. Our only clues as to date are provided by this last hoard and by a second from Santon. Both are placed in the middle years of the 1st. century A.D., an attribution supported by several features of bit decoration. For instance, the ring carrier shape bears an obvious resemblance to the lipped moulding of certain terrets (see p. 77); the application of red enamel in small spots is suspected by the excavators of Camulodunum to be a pre-Conquest development (Hawkes and Hull 1947 : 329), although retaining popularity until Boudiccaan times. Finally, adjacent pouncing on the Polden Hill specimen is a feature of certain hilt mounts from Hod Hill, Dorset which cannot be later than 60 - 63 A.D. (see p. 146).

The second group of two-link bits is much less uniform in appearance and even more scattered in distribution and varied in context. Most are of iron, although cast bronze specimens occur from Llyn Cerrig and Lydney. The ring carriers may be expanded but are never flare mouthed and there is, so far as one can distinguish, a tendency to square bar section.

The accompanying list of more than twenty specimens must be incomplete, so that little emphasis can be placed upon a distribution pattern which, at present, emphasises two areas of Britain --- the south and the stretch including and included by the two Roman Walls.

This is the Romano-British form of bit par excellence. Nevertheless native sites are also represented, such as Hunsbury and of these examples whose stratigraphical position has been recorded, the two, three or four examples from an immediately pre-Conquest level at Maiden Castle would seem to be the earliest. Later bits include an Antonine example from Bar Hill, a second from Worthy Down which belonged to Pitt Rivers Phase II (150/75 - 310/25 A.D.) and a fragment from Lydney found in the surface soil of the Guest House built in the 4th century A.D., although in this case stratification was uncertain. The life of the type may then span the period between 25/54 A.D. and the early 4th. century, thus overlapping with the eared type.

A native origin for both forms is supported by the non-Roman context of a few early examples in Britain, the presence of more specifically Roman types which in no way resemble our two link bit and the discovery of identical pieces at the site of La Tène itself (Vouga 1923 : Pl. XXXVI, 3). The British preference for three link forms in the centuries B.C. remains unsolved.

The simple two-link bit then emerges as a southern type incapable of alliance with exclusively B or C cultures and likely to be shared by both. When encountered in the north, it cannot truthfully be claimed as evidence for links with Iron Age culture in that region. The sense of Rome in this case is predominant.

One final point remains; the two link bit form has remained in use ever since. One, virtually identical to the La Tène type, was found in a Viking grave at Reay, Caithness with the remains of a small horse (Curle 1913 - 14 : 292 - 315); and a second, in

bronze and iron from May Street, Largs (Black 1894 : 11) whose large size alone indicates a late date, is included in the historical collections of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.

One piece bits.

A third bit from the Middlebie hoard (No. 11) combines the central bar knob of the three-link series with the expanded and rib-edged ring carriers of some two-link bits, yet displays a unique one piece construction. It serves to draw attention to a small group of solid bar bit which are in no other way comparable with the Middlebie specimen but whose existence should be recognised.

All consist of a single curved iron bar whose ends are curled to form simple ring holders. Once again the type is foreshadowed at La Tène (Vouga 1923 : Pl. XXXVI, 2). Its find spots in Britain are usually Romano-British, although one example was found at Llyn Cerrig. As regards date, two have come from Hadrianic and Antonine forts, thus providing an upper limit; at the other end of the scale, one of two bits from Wytham, Berkshire is of iron, flashed with bronze --- a technique normally considered to be early.

It remains to draw attention to four rings of cast bronze from the Middlebie hoard of which only one (No. 12) is illustrated in the Catalogue. At least two, FA 46 and 47 have been subject to stress and wear at two opposed points. As their diameter is identical to that of the rings of bit No. 11 they may well represent a further bridge bit, of unknown type, whose fracture and loss occurred before the hoard's deposit. However, the remaining rings are not so simply identified, being worn at more than two points on the circumference. As there is

a dearth of strudy strap junctions and martingales in the hoard, a use would not be difficult to find for them.

III OVOID MOUNTS.

Nos. 13-15 constitute a small group of objects which sit uneasily on the fence between derivative three link bits and the other less recognisable equine accoutrements. The group is augmented by at least three further specimens from the Stanwick hoard (Nos. 11, 12 and 15).

In every case an ovoid is interrupted upon one of the flatter sides by a partially or entirely concealed strap bar; from this same area there springs a decorative ring-filling.

Ward Perkins was the first to identify these objects as bit rings. The theory is attractive, supported as it is by a pair of the objects from Stanhope. One can imagine a leather mouthpiece, tailored to the requirements of the pony and easily replaceable when chewed. The three Stanwick examples unfortunately do much to scotch this theory, for only one is provided in each set of harness and moreover, there are sufficient three-link bits to 'go round' without calling upon any additional pieces. The alternative of strap junction is always available, but neither ring nor strap bar seems equipped to withstand any strain, and there the matter must rest.

All three finds fall within the distribution range of derivative three-link bits and for once every one is equipped with some evidence for a date. It will be remembered that the Stanwick horse trappings must post date 43 A.D., although deposit may well be linked

with the last stand of Venutius thirty years later. The ovoid mount from Corbridge lay in a barracks block in the eastern compound at a level productive of Flavian and Trajanic material. It is, therefore, likely that the object was lost between 80 - 117 A.D.

The Stanhope pair formed part of a small hoard comprising massive armlet No.222--- a type popular in the last years of the 1st. century A.D. and much of the second --- and a small Roman patera of a type more at home in the 2nd. rather than the 1st. century.[1]

The type then covers a range of a hundred years.

A mere glance will reveal close decorative links with derivative three link bits. The openwork of Stanwick No. 11 almost certainly reflects the layout of that shattered Set A bit, represented by fragments 37 - 39 while the twin ring fill of Set B's ovoid mount may be equated with the arrangement of the Leicester bit ring. Then again, the ovoid mount from Corbridge is closely linked with the Rise bit, the Stanhope pair perhaps less obviously with the Newstead bit. In both these last pieces, petal units and muzzle motifs combine to form animal faces, the one seemingly rovided with two noses and the other with two pairs of eyes --- a typical touch of Celtic fantasy. Delving more deeply into the repertoire of the two pieces the tabbard enamelling of the Corbridge petals can be paralleled by a looped stud from York and a pendant from Merioneth, both already mentioned, as well as by a double headed dress fastener from South Shields (see p.296) and lateral motifs on the Thorpe sword hilt (No.147); while the arcaded enamelling of the adjacent ring surface will be encountered on terrets of several southern types (see p.77 80). On the Stanhope ovoid

mounts, deterioration and misunderstanding have clearly set in; the petal units no longer lay claim to a trumpet coil ancestry and the muzzle motif has been spread to fill its square frame, almost in a travesty of Swash-N arrangement.

For once, a small significant stylistic sequence is supported by dates, however vague. Such a rare event revives ones flagging belief in the respectability of stylistic analysis.

IV STRAP JUNCTIONS.

Strap junctions may be divided into five main categories, her(named Ring (with a sub group of concealed bar title), Multi-lobe, Crucifrom, Elongated and Massive. They account for eighteen entries in the Catalogue amohgst which there are no true representatives of the first two main groups. It is, however, impossible to deal with them in isolation; short discussion of all are included, together with lists and distribution maps.

The purpose of these objects is a puzzle. Ring and massive strap junctions are commonly described as belt clasps and therefore, for human use, whereas members of the multi-lobe, cruciform and elongated groups are more normally identified as horse trappings. The title 'strap junction' has been chosen deliberately; all that it suggests is the junction of two straps --- whether in man or beast is immaterial. No apology is offered for the inclusion here of what may very well be personal ornaments; it would be foolish in our ignorant state to attempt a separation.

Ring strap junctions. Twenty-one examples are known. A basic

definition would be as follows:- a central panel usually consisting of one or more conjoined plates of circular outline flanked by two unconcealed strap bars. All are of bronze, with the exception of one iron example; gilding is suspected in a single case. The objects vary in size from c. 1 in. to c. 2.2 in., measuring from strap bar to strap bar.

All, save one, have been found south of a line from the Severn to the Wash. The exception lies not far off course in Lincolnshire. Almost every type of site known to the British Early Iron Age can claim one or more of these objects. Setting aside three strays, seven have come from hillforts, six or seven from native settlement sites --- mainly the lake villages of Glastonbury and Meare --- and two from Roman contexts; single examples have been found in a hoard and Belgic burial respectively. The type is, therefore, common to both B and C cultural facets of Southern Britain.

Conversion of the above facts into chronological range reveals that more than half are likely to belong to the 1st. century B.C. That from Ringstead may be the earliest, occurring as it does in a hoard of metalwork which Fox (1958 : 44 - 5) would attribute to and East-Central School of c. 40 - 20 B.C. but which the updating of the Snettisham hoard must relegate to the first half of that century rather than the second. The strap junction found in a grave at Letchworth is placed, by accompanying pottery, in the last years of that same century. Of the two Maiden Castle specimens one occurred in a layer of "mixed Iron Age A and B sherds" suggesting to the excavator a mid. 1st. century B.C. date while the other came from the

Belgic war cemetery of 44 A.D. One from Colchester occurred in a post-Conquest level, but is suspected of a much earlier manufacture. The type's continuance into early Roman times at least is probably attested by the example from Caistor, a Roman foundation.

A Continental origin for the type is suspected in view of the presence of a comparable example, most definitely a belt fitment at the site of La Tène (Vouga 1923 : Pl. VIII, 49).

Five of the British ring strap junctions are totally plain; the remainder bear simple decoration which is compatible with the time span indicated above. Their real importance to northern Iron Age studies is twofold; firstly, they provide an ancestry for a northern sub-group whose only differences are a tendency to larger size and strap bar concealment; secondly, they may well equip the north with several basic motifs and decorative trends. For instance, the Letchworth mount supplies a welcome date for a transitional stage in the development of the swash-N; those from Caythorpe and perhaps Charleston Brow and Saffron Walden bear an approximation to the northern muzzle motif; while examples from Iwerne and especially Caistor, originally laden with bosses of red enamel, could even forestall the northern tradition of boss decoration when supported by the southern evidence of trace hooks in the Polden Hill hoard (Harford 1808 ; Pl. XX, 2)[2] and enamelled knobbed terrets (see p. 84); after all, we have hinted in connexion with bridle bits that the northern boss filling of petal units may be a poor substitute for enamalling.

Ten representatives of the concealed bar sub-group are known of which all but two (from south Wales) come from the North Riding

and Cumberland. All are of bronze. Size varies between 1.6 in. and 4.5 in. in maximum measurement. With the exception of the Chepstow stray and that from Carlisle --- provided only with a vaguely Roman background --- all come from metalwork hoards. The Stanwick hoard is approximately dated elsewhere and the reaons for attributing the Neath deposit to the period 47 - 77 A.D. are set out on p.441. The Frementon Hagg hoard has been much mishandled since its discovery and may contain totally unrelated material, but among the contents are Roman harness mounts of a type current in the second half of the 1st. century A.D.

An origin in the more southerly ring strap jundtion is obvious. The only feature not represented there is the attachment of shaped plates to conceal the strap bars. This may be a contribution from the multi-lobe series. It is impossible to say where the interaction took place. The appearance of a crescent terret in Dumfriesshire (No. 54) opens up the possibility that its equivalent form of strap junction was also known in the north although no examples have yet been found, but the south-east seems more likely being the home of both ring and multi-lobe forms.

The discovery of two splendid examples of this small sub-group in South Wales need not shock. Whether they are local products or imports, a south-eastern contribution is proved by the cellular enamelling of one and the bull's eye of the other --- both present in the Saham Toney hoard. In terms of pottery, the Belgic contribution is revealed by sherds from Llanmelin Wood near Caerwent (Rivet 1958 : 52) and, in the realm of politics, the link is forged

by the flight of Caratacus from the Catuvellaunian court.

On the stylistic side, it is necessary only to point to certain features of the Fremington Hagg and Carlisle Market specimens. Clearly, both are related to No. 9 in the Stanwick hoard and to the south Welsh examples. For one thing, all share a rectangular form of strap bar plate. The ring linking motif of Fremington Hagg is a recognisable lip moulding, however degenerate;[3] an identical version is shared by an unpublished looped stud from Aldborough, Yorks. thus confirming local manufacture for both pieces. Decoration of the Carlisle Market strap junction owes a much greater debt to the south with its red and turquoise enamelling in rectangular cells and its central knob substitute for the more normal Brigantian lip moulding. This knob's enamel embellishment by the way is paralleled by detail on a platform terret from Great Chesters (No. 62); the cells define a peculiarly northern motif to be met with under the title of 'sinuous saltire'; but even in this case a southern equivalent or prototype is suspected upon several crescent terrets (see p.70ff). The knurled knob which clasps the only remaining ring of the strap junction in question is paralleled by detail on a dress fastener from Middlebie, a terret from Newstead (No. 55) and a so-called torc from that same site. Enamel filling of the slashes, however, is only available upon an atypical terret from the south (see p. 79).

It may be stated with confidence then that ring strap junctions with concealed bars arise out of smaller and southern specimens without this latter feature. Examples from Stanwick sets A-C are unique, and with the Fremington specimen must be of local Brigantian

development. Those from Carlisle and South Wales on the other hand, while possibly local manufactures, owe a debt of both shape and decoration to the south-east.

There is an exciting piece from Ober Ulm, Hesse illustrated by Henry (1933 : 89, fig. 12\) which must be of great importance to this series of strap junctions and to the succeeding ones named multi-lobed and cruciform, displaying as it does features of all three groups. Henry maintains that our British specimens, especially the multi-lobed series, are nothing but a local development from a Continental type 'Mal connu'; but in all fairness, if this is the only Continental specimen she can find, then it is just as likely to be a British export; nothing about its shape or decoration is at all out of the way in the British repertoire, and the combination of large enamelled knobs with a crescent terret form, recently found in Wales, removes the incongruity of even this alliance.

Multi-lobe strap junctions.

Multi-lobe strap junctions are well known if few in number. Each is a sturdy bronze plate, flat, with scalloped outline, concealing two rectangular strap bars. Size varies between 3 - 4 in. in diameter. Decoration consists usually of from two to four curved perforations; a plentiful use of enamel in broad washes of red, occasionally combined with yellow or blue --- this last apparently cut glass, inserted and held by means of a red enamel backing; and light incision, incorporating panels of pouncing.

Of the seven known, five come from Suffolk, one from Essex and one from Somerset --- a distribution which clings firmly to

the fringes of the primary area of Belgic settlement, as revealed by coinage. The fluctuating boundary between Trinovantes and Iceni does nothing to help to identify the precise makers.

As regards a date, the inclusion of a variant of Collingwood's dolphin brooch in the Polden Hill hoard indicates a central range of c. 50 - 65 A.D. Deposit of the Santon and Westhall hoards is traditionally ascribed to the Icenian revolt, although manufacture of the contents is likely to precede this event. An approximate upper limit has thus been reached. The other end is more difficult to discern. Total absence of large scale polychrome enamelling from the vault burials of Essex and Herts. could mean that the vogue did not precede the Roman conquest; but it is equally possible that such garish tricks simply did not appeal to the more sophisticated tastes of the pro-Roman nobility.

The main motifs employed are as follows:- (1) simplified lyre palmette with flanking trumpet coils; in fact, the multi-lobe outline is dictated by this motif's use --- to be read in two directions at Santon and Polden Hill, and in all four at the remainder. (2) roundels enclosing broken backed swirls. (3) roundels enclosing fat-waisted S-scrolls with trumpet coil terminals. (4) simplified versions of the Llyn Cerrig triquetra. The decorative debt iwed to Fox's south-west Mirror Style in its later phases is clear. It will be noted as we go along that most of these motifs when encountered in the north are 'second hand' --- as seen perhaps by a Belgic intermediary; although the futility of attempting a separation between Dobunnic and Belgic trends is evident.

Of two horse trappings which may be appended herem one demonstrates this difficulty most clearly. From the vicinity of Sudely Castle, Glos. (Fox 1958 : Pl. 52, d) both its outline and enamelled triquetra seem a Belgic contribution but there is a fat, plastic treatment of the metal which Fox would surely claim as a byproduct of Dobunnic mirror handle manufacture. The duality of inspiration is not denied. It is the futility of trying to determine which is uppermost that I would question.

By the way, is it mere coincidence that Stanwick Set A's No. 4 should be a slender variant of the Sudely Castle outline?

The second mount comes from Canterbury (Leeds 1933 : Pl. II, 3) flatness, decorative layout, enamelling technique and motifs to the better members of the multi-lobe series. Its only difference is circular shape.

Both pieces, by the way, would happily inhabit the second quarter of the 1st. century A.D.

Cruciform strap junctions.

This is one of the most complex and most interesting groups, numbering twelve specimens in all, of which two --- containing the absolute crux and solution to the theory of north/south relations -- are unprovenanced; these last will be referred to as the British Museum and Uffizi strap junctions respectively, after the establishments in which they are supposed to lurk.

Basically each mount is cruciform with a central motif and behind two opposing arms, a pair of strap bars; in fact, two exceptions prove this rule --- those from West Stowe and Traprain (Nos

26); both have a central strap and are, therefore, not strictly strap junctions at all. Overall measurements lie between 1.5 ins and 3 ins.

The distribution pattern is interesting. Two have been found in Suffolk and Norfolk and the remainder occupy the land between the two Walls. There, three have been found in a Roman context, five in a native one. None offer close dating. Arguments for the immediately pre-Boudiccan manufacture of the Saham Toney material have already been summarised. The Corbridge and Newstead examples can scarcely be earlier than the last twenty years of the 1st. century; and three at Traprain occurred in a late 1st. - 2nd. century level.

To turn to a more detailed examination of their shape and internal decoration:- the central motif may be a square, a diagonal arrangement of four petals, a disc, boss, or an openwork v version of the sinuous saltire; but in every case save two, a pair of opposing arms in the cruciform arrangement are given petal outline. Upon Saham Toney, Middlebie (No. 21) and the two unlocated examples, this may be equated with the Birrenswark bit form. The other finds display a more stereotyped version as already encountered on the Newstead derivative three-link bit. In these predominantly Scottish examples the two arms of the cross are sometimes interpreted as a single petal unit with a central boss; theoretically at any rate, this could be achieved by the wrapping of two trumpet coils around the central boss; if such is the mode of development then a more southerly origin seems likely, by reason of tankard No. IV in the Neath hoard. Alternatively, the arm of the cross may be interpreted



as two more normal petal boss units, base to base. In both cases, ample parallels are afforded in England and Lowland Scotland by looped studs (see p. 309ff).

Interpretation of the opposite pair of arms which conceal the strap bars is much more varied. Semi-circles, lenticular panels and rectangles --- all are to be found fulfilling similar function on ring strap junctions in the Stanwick hoard. Smaller pairs of petals are also pressed into service in both ring and bossed form, both singly and in pairs.

In one case (No. 25) from Traprain, all four arms are identical petals sharing the one central boss and thus forming a bridge to the purely cruciform examples from that same site (No. 26) and from West Stowe. A close resemblance links the former of these two pieces to the ring filling of a unique bridle bit from London (PSAL[2] XXIII (1909 - 11) 159 - 60) whose cellular decoration partakes of the Belgic or Iceni an repertoire.[4]

Turning to internal adornment and first to plastic detail, the Uffizi mount makes use of unformed muzzle motifs and the Middlebie one of the related slender trumpet. A low relief version of the sinuous saltire has already been mentioned. The rouleau edging to the West Stowe arms is shared by the platforms of several terrets in the Saham Toney hoard and also the strap junction belonging to Stanwick Set D. Finally, the three dimensional treatment of Middlebie No. 21's bar concealment is exactly comparable with the Neath ring strap junction, while, of course, the circular boss of that same piece is paralleled on the Carlisle Market casting.

Enamel detail is complex. Red alone is employed on the

British Museum mount. Blue glass seems to be used at Saham Toney, secured by a wash of red enamel which is also employed in its own right. Red and turquoise appear to adorn the West Stowe specimen, a colour combination which is suspected also for the Uffizi mount, augmented by yellow. The patterns so defined range from curvilinear to angular. The two unlocated mounts display a knowledge of the lyre and trumpet coil motifs at a stage of simplification revealed by the multi-lobe strap junctions. A feature which I consider likely to be early in the development of cellular enamel work is the crowding together of angular cells into curvilinear panels --- as on the Saham Toney and Uffizi mounts. This is shared further north by a piece from High Rochester (No. 28) which, like the Saham Toney and Middlebie No. 20 strap junctions displays a definite decorative emphasis of the petal tips. The bulls' eyes of West Stowe and Saham Toney can be equated with the Chepstow ring strap junction in the west and the Embleton sword hilt in the north; the four petal arrangement again of West Stowe is to be linked with the elaborate Middlebie representative of this series as well as several of the Meath horse trappings, the Rise bit and a double headed dress fastener from South Shields (p. 296). The mosaic-like arrangement of squares and triangles displayed by the Uffizi example --- even to the raised treatment of its central rows --- can be paralleled by a looped stud from Kirkby Thore, Westmorland. Only the triangles with almond-shaped insets into the base (as at Saham Toney) are not available in the North, although they do adorn a square-headed dress fastener from Wroxeter (Bushe Fox 1913 ;Pl. X, fig. 1, 4).

An origin for cyrciform strap junctions is not difficult

to find. Plastic treatment of their surfaces and a tendency to double ring shape must surely be a contribution of the simple ring type without bar concealment; but the series could not have been formulated without a knowledge of the outline, decorative motifs and polychrome treatment of the multi-lobe series. It would seem that they are a development parallel to that of concealed bar strap junctions of the ring series, a fact which is amply supported by points of structural and decoractive similarity. The Ober Ulm strap junction may crystalise the transitional stage between multi-lobe and cruciform, whatever its place of manufacture.

The real problem arises from the fact that only two examples of the series have been found in South Britain. Is it possible that they are imports from the north? I think not, and the decorative facts marshalled above should lend support to this opinion. Summarised, it means that both structural and decorative debts are owed to the south by the more numerous northern representatives of the series; add to this the distribution pattern of the related platform terrets (see p.80ff). There is no reason why north Britain should suddenly outstrip the south in decorative developments such as enamelling. Nor is there any reason for bands of northerners to stream down into Lowlabd England in the second half of the 1st. century. On the other hand, there is every reason for a reverse trend. We are forced to accept the probable local manufacture of the Saham Toney pieces and a derivative position for the very similar Middlebie example. The preponderance of petal boss trappings in that hoard would seem to militate against entire manufacture in South-eastern Britain, but we cannot dismiss the possibility that the strap junction in question

was carried north to be matched with equipment of less skillful manufacture. In any case, I feel sure that the present enamel restorations, solely red, could with confidence be changed to a more rousing British combination --- of that colour with blue.

Elongated strap junctions.

The category of elongated strap junctions is like the cupboard under the stairs --- full of things that ought not to be there but which otherwise would not have a home.

Seven (Nos. 27 - 31) are united solely by length and by paired strap bars on the underside. To this definition, there are two exceptions --- that from High Rochester whose fracture makes it uncertain whether it was ever long, and that from Traprain whose straps can never have been concealed. Some approach the 4 in. mark in length but size varies considerably. Five are convexly curved along this axis, a feature which suggests there possible attachment to face harness. Of the seven objects under discussion four are inter-Wall finds and the remaining two come from Yorkshire and Perthshire respectively. Setting aside the hoard contexts a Cantonal capital, native settlement site and two Roman forts account for the remainder. The shortness of occupation at Inchtuthil enables a very close dating for its unworn example. It can be little earlier than 83 - 84 A.D. in manufacture and no later than the fort's abandonment between 87 and 90. That from High Rochester is most probably Flavian, as activity there had largely ceased by the time of Hadrian. In the stylistic discussion of Middlebie's strap junctions we have been formulating an opinion that manufacture of the contents should not be much later

than the Boudiccan revolt and must certainly fall between 65 and 90 A.D. --- by which time we know that the slender trumpet and stereotyped petal boss motifs, present in the hoard, had already been adopted and converted for local usage.

Taking each in turn, the elongated strap junction from Aldborough consists of a central petal boss flanked by twin muzzle motifs. Crispness of execution suggest it is an early piece --- earlier than the closely comparable central panel of a tankard holdfast from Carlingwark Loch (No. 250) and certainly earlier than the Chesterholm bit version. In fact, keeled treatment of the petal section closely allies this piece with the Middlebie hoard.

The High Rochester fragment is totally different. Its petal end is in the position of the Saham Toney strap junction, enclosing a basal void and incorporating tip definition. But by far the closest analogy to all the enamel colours and motifs on its surface is provided by the unprovenanced example in the Uffizi Gallery --- even down to the unusual imbricated pattern close to the broken end; this is an alternation of feather-like cells of red, yellow and turquoise in a manner reminiscent and no doubt responsible for much later Romano-British cock brooches such as those from Housteads (Spain 1923 - 4 : 52) and South Shields (Newcastle Mus. 1956. 128. 70A).

The Inchtuthil piece is regular and uninspired both in outline and decoration. Its lateral panels are adorned with triangular cells, a feature common to platform terrets and several looped studs and dress fasteners of the north. Its tall, thin slits of colour can be seen also on the Embleton scabbard. Add to this the fact that the

central panel is probably related to those converging curves which adorn several other Brigantian scabbard loops (Nos. 131-138) and North English manufacture becomes probable. The red colouring by the way, seems to have been enamel, but the blue and white inserts are glass, for examination under a microscope reveals an underlying buff-coloured adhesive. This technique related to the Saham Toney strap junction, although there, fixture was by means of an enamel underlay. I am unable to parallel the use of white glass; when so described, this filling normally turns out to be a bleached yellow or turquoise enamel.

The three elongated strap junctions of the Middlebie hoard are identical in all save preservation. Colour is eschewed in favour of a more plastic treatment. In each the layout consists of three petal rings, comparable with a looped stud from Newstead for instance (p. 310); within each is a neat baluster-like moulding bearing certain similarities to knobbed adornment on a terret from Housteads (No. 76) and identical to a small series of metal dumbell buttons whose distribution is predominantly Lowland Scottish and North English (p.311ff). The keeled bridge passages between each pair of petals can be related to that change of plane which marks the central axis of such varied pieces as the Balmaclellan mirror plates and certain Brigantian pommels (Nos. 129,148). In the case of the elongated strap junctions from Middlebie then, there can be no doubt about a Lowland Scottish or Northumbrian place of manufacture.

The poverty stricken Traprain example may be a poor copy of these last.

A final strap junction, a stray from the Eildon Hills (No. 18) may be mentioned here. It consists of a central circular recess, perforated for the attachment of an enamel or glass boss; on either side emerges a curved unconcealed strap loop. The piece closely resembles one from the Santon hoard (Smith 1909 : Pl. XV, 3). An ancestry in the simple ring strap junctions of the south is quite feasible although Henry (1933 : 86, fig. 9, 6) illustrates a comparable mount from the Continent.

From a decorative point of view the Roxborough example can be allied to the colourful boss products of both Lowland Scotland (e.g. Nos.228,230) and South eastern England (such as the strap junctions from Iwerne and Caistor-by-Yarmouth.)

Massive strap junctions.

The three objects constituting this group (Nos.32-4) are a long oval in outline and concavo-convex in section so that their strap bars are virtually recessed; upon each, a central panel of enamel is flanked by high relief detail, enclosing a circular perforation. They are between 3 and 4 ins. long.

Relationship with other groups of strap junction has never been considered, but as a working hypothesis, the cruciform examples are proferred, with the Uffizi one in the forefront; if stripped of its petal units the comparison becomes not too fantastic.

Only two of the mounts are provenanced. One is presumed to have come from the Railway Station excavations at York; other than this vaguely Roman background, no detail is available. The other was found close to the east shore of Loch Ness, together with a square-

headed dress fastener of a type known to have been favoured in Hadrianic and Antonine times.

The similarity between the three is striking. In fact, the Yorkshire example and that known only from a cast at Burlington House are identical in every detail including, it seems, those of measurement. Clearly all must have been made in the same area, and two may even come from the same mould.

It becomes a matter of considerable importance to identify this place of manufacture --- more especially when it is realised that the decoration of massive armlets (see p. 226ff) is related. These last barbaric pieces are normally found in North-east Scotland and belong to the 2nd. century, although the fashion may have grown up in the last years of the previous century. Characteristics of their decoration include a massive treatment incorporating trumpets with huge bulbous domes, a copious application of keeling to metal surfaces and the insertion of diaphragms of red and yellow enamel, arranges in geometric cells, So far, we could almost be describing massive strap junctions and the title which has been chosen for them emphasises this connection; however, it is not too difficult to provide North English analogies for individual features. A tendency to heaviness has been a recognised trait in local scabbards chapes since the rare representations of Piggott's Group III, while members of Group IV such as the MortonhHll example (No.138)even approach the trumpet domes of our massive strap junction series. Keeling is a well known feature of Brigantian products and reaches extremes on the famous Aesica brooch (No.225) while the 'swag and drop' variant recently met

with upon the Middlebie elongated strap junctions lies central to the plastic decoration on two of our three massive strap junctions; while nowhere paralleled on massive armlets, it is a common trick in Brigantia and appears on one mirror and two pommels as well as the brooch already mentioned.

In all three, one suspects the use of red and yellow enamel. On the unprovenanced and York specimens, this is arranged in interlocking triangles of clearly southern ancestry. Within the Scottish example lies a complex arrangement of curved panels, making unusual use of intervening metal surfaces. The discerning eye may pick out a variant of the sinuous saltire defined by the four largest cells. Simpler forms are to be encountered upon a platform terret from Great Chesters and the Carlisle Market strap junction, but it is only in the later stages of crescent terret development as revealed by the Fayum specimen that we come close to the Drumashie form (see p.69 ff).

To summarise, the three massive strap junctions remain most closely linked with the armlets of that same name but many of their features can be paralleled in Brigantia or farther south. It is impossible at present to decide in which area they were manufactured. If a North-east Scottish product, then the only time at which a proto-Pictish (see p.436) piece could reasonably reach York is during the barbarian raids of the late 2nd. century, when this town marked their most southerly penetration. If a product of Brigantia then this might provide massive armlets with a welcome gestation period outside their area; they do, after all, appear auspiciously unheralded. We must fervently hope for fresh finds. Whatever the ultimate decision no doubt, can be thrown upon the real contribution of more southerly

cultures to that artistic development of north of the Tay.

IV TRISKELAR ENDINGS.

If a group of objects can be isolated, whose only points of similarity are the incorporation of openwork with triskelar designs and equipment for suspension, then nine are known of which two from Aldborough, Yorks (No. 35) and Seamill, Ayrshire (No. 36) fall within our grasp. Their purpose is unknown. But a dangling, visual expression, of the power of three would surely comfort any Celt, whether it was attached to himself or his horse. Rings pass through the loops of examples from Hunsbury and Berkshire, while that from Kingsholm was provided with a sturdy strap sheathing and doubtless hung from a sword belt, as fragments of such a weapon are said to have accompanied the piece.

Four are hillfort finds, two are strays, and three have vague Roman backgrounds. A long life is suspected. The Hunsbury specimens may belong to any stage in that site's occupation, but their execution, in iron flashed with bronze, would seem rather early. On the other hand, that from Tre'r Ceiri lay with a melon bead in Hut 8 of the Roman settlement, and the Aldborough example is hardly likely to precede the Vespasianic foundation of that town.

This range may be further expanded if one accepts openwork discs from Haslingfield and St. Albans as imcomplete examples. Neither has at present any means of suspension but in each case a central perforation could have been so equipped. The latter was found in metalling of the latest road outside the north-west gate and has been

attributed by R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler to the 4th. century A.D.; but its triskele looks astonishingly fresh and Fell, in discussing the former, would feel much happier with a date in the 1st. century A.D.; this opinion is perhaps supported by a non-triskelar variant of the type, strictly stratified in the 50 - 60 A.D. levels at Bagendon (Clifford 1961 : 194, fig. 39, 2).

If nothing else, this brief discussion has provided the Seamill pendant, from its undateable hillfort, with a possible niche in the 1st. century A.D. and a set of relatives as far afield as Southern England and Wales. Its swirled form of triskele is, of course, well known in other media --- upon casket strip for instance (see p.391). The neat dotting which follows all its edges is a feature of the recently discovered crescent terret from Radyr, Glam.

At this point I should like to draw attention to the absence of larger roundels with the strap loop central to the underside as experienced in the Stanwick hoards (Nos. 1 - 3). When encountered at all as at Chesters (Chesters Mus. 1315 and 1316) they favour an unCeltic fretted treatment of metal or an openwork involving motifs upon imported 'trompetenmuster' as described on p.454. This leads me to suspect that I may have underplayed the role of Rome in the Stanwick hoard.

V CHEEK PIECES, TOGGLES OR SLIDERS.

The objects given this triple title are represented by three entries in our catalogue (Nos. 37-9). Each could be described as a rod of basically circular section with a central area which has

been flattened, expanded, adorned and perforated in the same plane as the flattening. The type has been studied by Piggott (1952 - 3 : 20 - 21) whose list has been here inserted for convenience, with the addition of a now lost specimen from South Shields, making a total of eighteen. Bronze is used in all instances, save two. The majority seem to return a length of 3 - 4 ins. The variety of names employed to describe them displays our ignorance of their true function. An ultimately Continental origin is suspected in view of comparable horse trappings from the Hallstatt C cultures of Poland (see Stanwick report p. 22).

Distributional emphasis is upon the South and specifically South-east but our quota is augmented by a further three from the Stanwick hoard. Two are stray finds, eleven are divided between three metalworkers hoards and the remainder come from Roman settings. As one collects the scraps of dating evidence, it becomes apparent that none is necessarily pre-Conquest and that only one need be 2nd. century. This last, the Birrens example was apparently lost during the troubled period 122 - 157 A.D. probably closer to the second than to the first date (but see p. 82).

A few simple dots, leaf shapes or square cells of enamel usually suffice as decoration but on several examples more ambitious effects were attempted. That from Leicester seems to bear a lightly engraved lyre pattern with flanking trumpet coils --- a motif which is shared by the much more impressive Eckford example. There the unit is seen in double image against a ground of brilliant red enamel. While there is a clear resemblance to the cast fill of Stanwick mount 1, there

is an equally close link with casket strip from the Santon hoard, a Belgic equivalent which is further emphasised by the Eckford technique of execution - - recalling the better forms of multi-lobe strap junction. Indeed, in this particular case I would not baulk at actual manufacture in the south-east.*

In the case of the Birrens cheek piece there is no immediate necessity to invoke the south. Its muzzle pattern and boss ends are quite at home in Lowland Scotland, although both, it is suggested, may be foreshadowed by southern developments.

VI TERRETS.

Terrets of various shapes and kinds make up the greater part of our section on equestrian equipment. Leeds (1933) was the first to study them in detail, and his findings still remain the basis of our present knowledge. At the risk of seeming to criticise a founder member of Iron Age metalwork studies, I must admit that his classification slips all to swiftly from my memory, largely because the numbers 1 - 8 which he applied, do nothing to conjure up the shape or decoration characteristic of each group. For personal convenience, therefore, I have substituted the following adjectives --- making at the same time slight changes in the arrangement of material.

Simple loops and terrets - the majority of Leeds Group 1.

Crescent terrets --- Leeds Group 2.

Ribbed terrets --- the remainder of his Group 1.

Lipped terrets --- Leeds Group 3.

Winged terrets --- Leeds Group 4.

Platform terrets --- Leeds Group 6.

Knobbed terrets --- including both plain and enamelled examples; Leeds Group 5 and 7.

Massive terrets --- Leeds Group 8.

The traditional idea of function is revealed by their secondary title of rein rings, and, despite alternatives, this still remains the most feasible suggestion, supported by the almost constant feature of wear on the rings' interiors at two opposing lateral points. Fractures are most common at these very same spots. Arguments against the interpretation arise firstly out of smallness, and secondly out of the mode of attachment. The former has already been encountered in connexion with derivative three-link bits and the latter will be discussed below. Where at all possible to identify sets of horse equipment, as for instance, at Stanwick, it would seem that up to five terrets were considered necessary for paired draught; perhaps one example for each rein, mounted upon the yoke, and a large, more elegant version upon the pole, for collection of all four leathers; an alternative position for this last could be on the charioteer's side of the platform, where it would form a useful anchorage for the reins while the chariot was stationary. One might even suspects its temporary use in motion, as manual control was not apparently considered essential, witness a spirited rendering of Thutmose IV, drawing his bow against the people of Syria with his ponies' reins tied nonchalantly around his waist (Yadin 1963 : 192 - 3).

Such Egyptian paintings and reliefs reveal that rein

rings of leather or metal were applied to the pony's neck band flush with its surface. On the other hand, a much earlier terret from Queen Shubad's grave at Ur (op. cit. 131) is provided with a curved basal bar for attachment to the pole by means of cross lashing. As the majority of out British examples(to be derived ultimately from a near eastern source) display decoration upon both sides, it would seem that they occupied a proud position, more akin to the latter. It is likely, therefore, that their fixture points will be suited to the wooden foundations of yoke pole or side panel.

At the base of each ring there is usually a bar flanked by twin collars. The bar may be simple and straight or prolonged upon its underside into a small tang; the collars of both are usually vertically placed. Alternatively, the bar may be saddle-shaped in which case its collar units will be splayed. In the first case, one must imagine insertion into a fork projection upon the yoke's upper surface, the whole perhaps secured with leather thongs. In this context, two lipped terrets from Rickinghall are of extreme interest. The bar of the intact example bears a deep groove central to its upper edge; the second has broken at this very same point; here, one has proof of attachment not by binding but by a metal pin which, piercing the forked yoke extention, has gradually worn for itself a channel across the terret's partially concealed bar. In the case of a saddle bar lashing alone would secure the terret. At this point, it is relevant to mention that, within the suggested sets of five rings, it is the single large specimen which displays the saddle bar feature. In a final mode of attachment the bar is concealed within a metal 'skirt' a flat rectangular box or even within the uninterrupted sweep of the

ring itself; in such cases, mounting could proceed in the straight bar method.

The above reconstructions may seem tortuous but they do eliminate many accusations of clumsiness. It must be remembered that all metal chariot fitments had to be capable of swift and easy removal. Accidents to the flimsy wood and withy construction must have been a frequent occurrence, no less the cannibalising of metal parts from faulty vehicles. Cuchallain caught this enemy off guard while the latter was carving a replacement yoke for his damaged chariot (Jackson 1964).

Simple loops and terrets. (Nos. 40-53)

The title is intended to stress a possible duality of function first defined by Fox (1946 : 79 - 80). It is doubtful whether the smaller specimens could ever have been used as terrets and yet their similarity to quite respectably sized versions forbids their banishment from the series. The problem is a recurring one in the study of Iron Age metalwork witness certain bits, strap junctions and dress fasteners; there seems no easy solution. A simple loop may measure a mere 1 in. across while a simple terret may exceed 3 in. There are rare examples of manufacture in iron, coated with bronze but casting in the latter material is the rule. A far greater variety of outline and section occurs than will be experienced in the following groups, where variety is confined to decoration. Simple loops and terrets may be oval or almost circular in outline. Collars, when present, may be crisply modelled or mere swellings of the ring. The bar form can be plain, tanged, or in one case saddle-like. Decoration

is confined to a narrow band upon the ring's outer circumference, although more enterprising schemes do occur.

The distribution pattern is that familiar south-west/ north-east one to which attention was early drawn by Ward Perkins and Fox, with however a definite extension into Lowland Scotland and a sprinkling of outliers in South-eastern England.

The fifty probable members of this group come from every conceivable Roman and Iron Age context. Six are strays; two were found in a chariot burial; seven are hillfort discoveries; eleven were found in various native settlement sites, ranging from lake villages to a broch; seventeen in hoards; three in a votive deposit and four in Roman contexts.

Dating evidence reveals an astonishing life span of at least two hundred and fifty years commencing with the examples from Hunmanby which were found in a chariot burial, admittedly considered to be late in the series, but highly improbable after 1-- B.C. Politically, those from the Stanwick hoard are most likely to fall between 47 and 71 - 4 A.D. Brooch types indicate a central date of c. 50 - 65 A.D. for the Polden Hill hoard. Roman coins accompanying the pair of terrets from Honley stop short at 72 - 74 A.D. The actions of Suetonius Paulinus provide an upper date of 61 A.D. for the Llyn Cerrig deposit and the arrival of Agricola in the north a terminus post quem for the loss of terrets from Ardoch, Chesters, Corbridge and Maryport. On the other hand a Hadrianic date is perhaps more likely for the Chesters example and considerably more than half of the dateable sherds from Ardoch appear to be Antonine. Manufacture of the

terret from Torwoodlee must precede the broch's destruction, which in all probability formed part of the Roman reprisals of 117 - 139 A.D.

Stylistic considerations may help to anchor a few 'floating' examples such as No. 42 from Calais Wold Farm whose two-metal construction and decorative use of berried rosettes recalls the three link bridle bits from Ringstead and Ulceby, of the first half of the 1st. century B.C. The cast bronze Suffolk terret is probably a later manifestation, with the once functional 'seam' now replaced by a chain of lenticular bosses; the rosette motif has, of course, a long popularity in the east and north-east (see Clarke 1951 : 216). There remains the 'spotty' detail of three terrets from Stanwick Set C and a single one from Colchester. This meagre use of red enamel is a southern trend, perhaps ancestral to the garish cellular products of the Boudiccan period; but the claims of these four terrets to inclusion in the group are weak --- they could equally belong to the platform series.

The simple loop and terret group provides not only the origin but also the continuity upon and round which all other terret groups may be amassed, and yet there seems to be no strictly comparable ancestry on the continent --- an uncomfortable situation reminiscent of a tree without roots.

In view of its long life, a lack of uniformity is not surprising; perhaps this is why the basic subdivisions have not received attention. Simple loops (Nos. 3, 12, 14, 15, in the list on p. 119 one of the Llyn Cerrig examples constituting Nos. 16, 18, 20, 26, 17 and 28) probably include the four known applications of bronze casing to an iron core, and are

very small. Their most frequent features are a curved bar form and a skeuomorphic seam following the ring's outer circumference. A second sub-group comprises Nos. 2, 6, 8, 11, 22 and 24. These are merely enlarged versions of the simple loops. The remainder form a final group. All are of reasonable size, while new bar forms are employed; their appearance is more stereotyped. In fact, the members of this last group could be more cogently described as knobbed terrets without knobs, or, as stated above, platform terrets without platforms.

The division may savour of hair splitting, but it has chronological and distributional worth. Firstly, we have a probable sequence of development, allbeit an overlapping one. Secondly, we have three slightly differing distribution patterns --- the first of the rigidly predominantly southern or even south-eastern and the third, definitely northern with especial emphasis on the inter-Wall area. Would it be too much to suggest that this pattern represents in a condensed form the cultural waxings and wanings of the British Iron Age? First we have the gradual growth of the type mainly at the hand of Iron Age B people, followed by a possible adoption by later Belgic incomers whose Continental background had not equipped them for chariotry, and retained with dogged persistence by their northerly neighbours in the face of Roman intervention.

Crescent terrets.

One crescent terret has been found in Dumfries (No. 54). The feature diagnostic of this group is a broad, flattened ring, frequently with an internally thickened edge for strength, and invariably enamelled. Bar form may be straight, saddle-shaped or, in three

instances, enclosed. The Auchendolly terret seems to have belonged to the straight bar class, in view of the narrow space left between the ring ends by removal of the bar; the stumps of the strengthening rib have been trimmed and split to act as a key for a new bar, to be cast on. Whether this was part of the initial process of manufacture or whether a repair is not certain. Cracks appear at precisely the same spots on the 'Bolton' example, and terret No. 65, at Stanwick, of totally different kind, reveals a ball and socket type of joint; on the whole I suspect that two part construction was intentional. To return to the group as a whole:- bronze is the only metal used and the maximum width varies between 2.3 and 4 in.

It may seem foolhardy to derive terrets of this group from the simple series; admittedly, at least one example of this group displays a flattened oval section. A unique terret from Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray 1911 : 231, fig. 46, E.206) may be our sole reminder of an experimental phase; its ring is flattened on the horizontal plane, not the vertical and it employs a rudimentary form of saddle bar. The derivation becomes feasible when one takes into account the passion for enamelling and resultant need for a flat surface which has already been detected as a factor in the development of strap junctions; but it cannot be denied that a specimen from Le Buissonet, Compiègne (Henry 1933: 107, fig. 22, 3) may hold the clue.

A high proportion of crescent terrets whose location is known and British, are stray finds. Eight formed the larger part of the Westhall hoard; one from Radyr, Glam. was accompanied by an iron bridle bit, crescent headed linch pin and part of a cauldron chain

(information from Dr. Savory); the remainder come from the basically Roman contexts of the larger southern towns --- London, Colchester and Richborough.

The distribution pattern lays emphasis on South-eastern England but there are outliers in Wales, Scotland, France and Egypt. The related multi-lobed strap junctions lend further conviction to a centre of manufacture in the Norfork/Suffolk border area. The actual boundary between Catuvellauni and Trinovantes appears to have fluctuated but it would seem geographically likely that, by the eve of the Invasion, Trinovantian territory was reduced to a strip running from Ipswich to the Waveney river valley and the north slopes of the Gog Magog hills (Clarke 1960 : 107 - 8). It is precisely this area which can lay claim to eleven of the known crescent terrets and five of the seven multi-lobe mounts.

Whether crescent terrets can be attributed fairly to one or other of the Belgic tribes, it is reasonable to suspect that they may be a product of boundary squabbles --- initially, at any rate. Our only direct dating evidence concerns the terret from Richborough which must be post-Conquest and the hoard of Westhall, which contained a Roman lamp of a type current in the third quarter of the 1st. century A.D. Artistic considerations, however, can be amassed to construct a more detailed pseudo-chronology.

The terrets fall into three sub-sections based upon decorative themes --- lyre palmette, geometric or running scroll. The first group owes an obvious debt to the Mirror style, and noteably its later products, a statement not altogether strange when one remembers that the majority of these mirrors occur in Belgic contexts. The major

differences between lyre palmette treatment of mirrors and terrets can be attributed to changes in outline of the area to be decorated, and in the materials used; thus, a circular frame gives way to a crescent shape and engraving to colour washes. To prove the point, the Auchendolly terret pattern may be converted into a tolerable mirror design by mere constriction.

Terrets besporting lyre palmettes do appear to arrange themselves in a series sequence of decay, but a salutary warning is sounded by the Westhall hoard, which includes both the best and the worst of the series. There are tendencies to reverse the palmette within its frame, to multiply it, to lose it, by emphasis on the flanking units and to oversimplify it out of existence, but it would be rash to postulate anything more than a vague trend, with the large Westhall specimen and Lakenheath at the top and Auchendolly not far behind. It is interesting to note this last might almost form, with the stray strap junction from Norton, the basis of a matching set.

Upon four crescent terrets, a more geometric decoration is attempted. One, from Cawston, with its curved panels of stippling and enamelled dot decoration, recalls lipped terrets and two link bits from the Polden Hill hoard to say nothing of the Sudely Castle strap junction and the Birdlip mirror handle. In view of this last comparison, it is quite likely that restrained spot enamelling preceded the flamboyant application of colour; some overlap is necessary.

The recently discovered Radyr specimen, quite apart from its unique knobbed decoration bears a gently curved array of red peltae panels which recall those of at least one winged terret in the Polden

Hill hoard,(unpublished), while foreshadowing detail of a trumpet brooch of early to mid 2nd. century date found at Dinorben, Denbigh. and considered by Hull to be a product of the Welsh Marches (Gardner and Savory 1964 : 133, fig.16, 1).

The Colchester and Rattlesden terrets make sparing use of rectangular and triangular cloissons respectively. These terrets may well be amongst the earliest known examples of British geometric enamelling, recalling by their very sparseness, Continental prototypes such as the La Tène III belt plate from Mont Beuvray (Henry 1933 : 107, fig. 22, 1). As the site of Bibracte was abandoned c. 5 A.D. (Filip 1962 : 124 - 5) one can only suppose that the angular use of enamel was fashionable on the Continent by this early date, but it is impossible to pinpoint its actual arrival in Britain and thus the chronological position of the Rattlesden and Colchester terrets in relation to their more flamboyant relatives. All one can say is that they too, must predate the Boudiccan revolt and seem rather more hesitant than the Saham Toney products.

The final group (one from Colchester and others from London, Eauze and the Fayum) consists of terrets whose design is based upon the interlocking wave scroll. Leeds, deriving support from the concealed bars of massive terrets, suggested a date for the last three examples in the 2nd. or even 3rd. century. This may be one of Leeds' inspired guesses, but surely massive terrets cannot offer chronological security, while analagous decoration is available from an earlier period. This particular form of interlocking wave scroll is more redolent of the classical than of the Celtic world, being commonplace

oon floor mosaics from Gaul and Britain; but in at least two of the terret designs under discussion, the insertion of a curious 'step' into the back of every second scroll reveals a typically Celtic love of 'improving'; and it is precisely this which relates to the applied decoration of the Lochar Moss torc, a product of Brigantia in the late 1st. century A.D. or at the most the early 2nd. Moreover, two singel wave scroll units flank the disintergrated lyre palmette of a crescent from Colchester, which town has also recently produced a peffectly good wave scroll adorned example; in neither case is stratification certain but both seem best explained by loss during the Boudiccan uprising. Finally, the unconcealed bar example is now know, so that even this support for a late date is withdrawn; the saltire patterns upon them become a feature of late 1st - 2nd. century work in the north. Therefore, although the use of turquoise enamel --- not dark blue glass --- as well as certain decorative features, relegates these four terrets to the end of the type's development it is not really necessary to look beyond the 1st. century A.D. --- or at most the early 2nd. century.

Geographic and stylistic considerations combine to indicate that both crescent terretes and their strap junction equivalents are in the main products of the Belgae --- perhaps the Trinovantes; the earlier examples may be a visual reminder of the one-sided rivalry between Catuvellauni and this last tribe, but the majority must surely belong to that later and more dramatic upheaval in which the Trinovantes and Iceni pitted their strength against the known civilised world. It is perhaps rash and romantic to envisage the finds from Colchester

and London as relics of Boudiccan destruction; it is only one step further to see in the Scottish, Welsh, French and Egyptian specimens, evidence for dispatriation of craftsmen, warriors or merely their possessions, which must have been the inevitable aftermath.

Ribbed terrets.

Ribbed terrets are of interest to this study only in so far as they provide a probable origin for the lipped series and shed a possible light on the date of their inception. A maximum of sixteen are know. In appearance, distribution and context they closely resemble our plain loops, the main differences being a more uniform size (c 2 in. in diameter), and, of course, their diagnostic ring decoration, which may consist of simple ribbing or split knobs in close set or widely spaced arrangement. A high percentage of examples are iron encased in bronze and it is noticeable that those specimens which appear stylistically late are cast (Nos. 4, 5, 7 and 9). The varied contexts of chariot burials, hillforts and settlement sites are exclusively Iron Age B and form a further link with our simple loops. Indeed, if anything it would seem that the ribbed forms appear earlier on the scene than their plain relatives. Unfortunately, their disappearance from the archaeological scene is less easy to chart. The 'late' examples mentioned above must surely be linked to the development of the split lip chape upon Group III scabbards (Piggott 1950 : 12 - 14). Neither stylistic considerations nor associations require rib terrets to survive into the 1st. century A.D., although it is possible. The two worrying discoveries of specimens in an Anglo-Saxon grave and overlying the remains of a Roman temple

built in 43 A.D. and in use until 350 A.D. may be dismissed with the following arguments; the first could have been introduced accidentally as the graves appear to have been dug into earlier occupation material; the second may have been transported as scrap to the metalworker's shack established in the temple ruins.

Lipped terrets.

A mimimum of twenty-eight examples are known of which exactly half fall within our geographic area, albeit from two sites only --- Newstead (No. 55) and Stanwick. The feature characteristic of this group is a symmetrical arrangement of three paired lip mouldings upon the ring's surface. All are of cast bronze. An average diameter of 3 - 4 in. is considerably larger than that of simple loops and ribbed terrets. The bar form tends to be bowed and of simple rectangular section. Three examples display saddle fixtures (Stanwick No. 65; Newstead and one from Polden Hill).

Lipped terrets fall into two categories which can only be named 'fat' and 'thin'. The latter accounts for all three saddle bar examples as well as the remaining fourteen from Stanwick and pairs from Stanton and Rickinghall. What was initially a meaningless distribution pattern may now make some sense. Fat examples occur in the south, and predominantly south-west; thin ones in the east, and mainly in the north-east. Of course, there must be exceptions; there is a lone, thin specimen from Wroxeter and the Polden Hill hoard, true to form, contains at least one of each.

Turning to the contexts in which lipped terrets have been found:- seven are stray finds, the metalwork hoards of Polden Hill and

Stanwick account for a further seventeen and various Roman sites for the remaining four.

The evidence for dating is as follows. The Wroxeter terret, found sealed beneath courtyard paving, must fall between 60 and 90 A.D.; the Newstead example between 80 and 100. Political considerations make it likely that the Suffolk finds pre-date 61 A.D. The terret from Ditchley occurred in the burnt fill of a villa destroyed c. 200 A.D., but it is quite likely that the object was lost during or not long after construction in 70 A.D.

It is clear that the fat and thin division has little chronological significance at any rate. Points of style may be cautiously used to refine the scheme. We may suspect for instance that the simple spot enamelling of the Suffolk terrets may lie early in the sequence, although it would be foolish to apply this argument to the more distant products of Brigantia. The wide spaced triangles of Wilmington could then be equated with early cellular enamelling such as that upon the Rattlesden crescent terret. The Ditchley ring is a fruitful subject for discussion; while its swash-N patterns look forward to a belt plate from Caerleon --- dated to the last quarter of the 1st. century A.D. --- its use of red enamel only, combined with upswept, winged treatment is much more reminiscent of still unformed versions of the King's Langley linch pin (Fox 1958 : Pl. 52,) and Group V scabbard from the river Witham (op. cit. Pl. 49, b). There remains the unique milled binding of our lone Scottish example; in view of similar detail on hook 18 of the Stanwick hoard, Brigantian inspiration seems likely, although a more local manufacture is not

excluded.

The problems of distribution and origin have been intentionally shelved until this point. There is a slight echo of the south-west/north-east trend which finds from Suffolk and Sussex largely dispel. If one takes into account these last and the obvious eastern contribution to the Polden Hill hoard, it is even possible to view the Stanwick examples as dubious evidence for Belgic influence --- accompanied as they are by spotty enamelling. However, if one accepts an ancestry for the type in ribbed terrets then a choice must be made between development in the Berkshire-Somerset area and Yorkshire. Where number of finds, as opposed to individual pieces, would seem to favour the former.

As already indicated, no ribbed terret need be later than the 1st. century B.C. while no lipped example requires to precede by more than a few years the Roman invasion. Although this chronological gap may be eliminated by judicious juggling, it does appear to exist, and it is in this period that the development of one from the other must have taken place; we can merely guess where.

A terret fragment from the Blandford/Wimbourne area of Dorset (the dubious location arises from the British Museum attribution to Badbury and Henry's to Hod Hill) may be inserted here. Illustrated by this last author (1933 : fig. 18, 4) its ring bears a symmetrical array of protuberances which resemble lips but which are in fact slashed collars. Its interest to our study lies in the red and yellow enamel decoration; an arrangement of triangular and lenticular cells on the ring proper is easy to parallel, both in Norfolk and Wales; but a red

filling of the collar slashes is unheard of until one reaches Cumberland and Dumfries where the Carlisle strap junction and Middlebie dress fastener both employ the trick.

Winged terrets.

As no example of this group has been found in the north, it is sufficient to insert a list, brought up to date by only one addition. In all, fourteen are recorded of which eleven come from the Polden Hill hoard and the remaining three from the Isle of Wight, Gloucester and Leicester.

It is best to envisage this baroque form of ring decoration as a contemporary variant of the more common fat, lipped series --- despite the astonishing discovery of one member in a Jutish grave.

Platform terrets.

At least twenty-three examples are known and a further three possible; for instance, two fragments from Traprain (Nos. 67-8) probably represent two separate rings; a lost terret from Newstead may have fallen within this category; and, finally, a broken example from Colchester, also claimed for the simple group, would really be more happy here.

Fifteen fall within our geographic limits, a much higher percentage than in previous groups. All are of cast bronze. They separate neatly into two groups according to size; seven large examples return a maximum measurement of 3 - 3.5 in.; nine lie between 2 - 2.5 in. and the remainder are either in between or impossible to measure. This division is related solely to the mechanics of use, witness the fact

that saddle bars are exclusive to the large series and straight bars to the small. This enables one safely to reconstruct the Colchester and Balmuildy terrets as saddle and straight bar respectively. The inevitable exception comes from Saham Toney where one measures 3.15 in. across and besports an angular tang below its bar, reminiscent of a simple terret from the Llyn Cerrig hoard. As a general rule the large versions are more circular in outline and the smaller ones oval. The collars display great variety; a splayed bun shape is characteristic of the larger examples, in one case at least sliced to prevent expansion into the ring interior. Ring section is equally varied --- circular shading to oval, gabled, D-shaped with the flat side outermost or rectangular; all are shared by the platform shapes.

Platform terrets occur in East and North-east England and Southern Scotland. Converted into tribal terminology one must suspect the Iceni and Brigantes of a major role in their manufacture. The single Irish example is visual evidence for frequent contact with northern Britain.

Discounting the two stray finds, small metalwork hoards account for fourteen members of our group, the native settlement of Traprain for (?) three and the basically Roman contexts of forts and towns for the remainder.

Dating evidence would have been not only plentiful but also pleasantly close had there been bestowed upon native metalwork one fraction of the attention lavished upon the vagaries of Samian manufacture. The terret fragment from Balmuildy was found in a post-hole of an Antonine barracks block but some form of Flavian occupation

is attested by sherds if not actual structure (E. and M. Birley 1938 : 223). The pair from Birrens occurred in a burnt deposit associated with the Northern rebellion of 155 A.D.; the loss could not have preceded the Hadrianic reorganization; however, even this long appreciated life line is now under suspicion. The terret or terrets from Newstead must be Agricolan or later and that from High Rochester, Hadrianic or later. The stratification of Traprain No. 66 is dubious but the remaining two fragments apparently accompanied material of late 1st - mid or late 2nd. century. A range of approximately 100 years is thus available, with the Colchester, Stanwick and Saham Toney finds at the early end and Birrens and Chesters at the other.

Once again, an origin for the type must be sought in simple terrets such as the Suffolk example, with perhaps influence from crescent forms to account for the ring flattening and copious use of enamel.

Stylistically the group forms a close knit unit. Arcaded ring decoration is restricted to its more southerly members and a total absence of enamel to the more northerly, but all other motifs override geographical boundaries. For instance, square cell decoration on the ring spine, while most common in the south is also found in Lanarkshire; duplication of the central platforms occurs on specimens from Yorkshire and Dumfries, both of which areas have also produced tabbard-like arrangements of colour upon a rectangular platform base. Outside the group, analagous decoration is not difficult to find. The simple spots of the Colchester fragment, of Stanwick No. 61 and the Fremington piece are foreshadowed on many southern objects of the first half of the 1st.

century A.D. Arcading on the largest terret from Saham Toney and a second from the Cambridge Fens is merely a more colourful variant on the pounced or red-filled detail of at least one crescent terret as well as several lipped forms and a whole range of different objects such as the Colchester strap junction and Sudely Castle mount; but it is in the 'later' techniques of enamelling that the most valuable comparisons may be formulated. For instance, certain pieces in the Polden Hill hoard reveal that geometric cell work was known by the time of their manufacture, but the older form, employing large curved panels of red is still retained by one of the larger winged terrets (unpublished); faced with the same shape to fill, the craftsman employed on the largest Saham Toney terret has elected to crowd it with geometric cells, surely a stage further forwards towards total angularity.

Turning to the platform decoration:- the petal arrangement of four of the Saham Toney examples is at home in the south --- witness the West Stowe and Chepstow mounts; the lenticular panels of Balmuildy recall the arrangement on the Cambridge Fens example; the bull's eye arrangement of Middlebie, that of the Saham Toney and West Stowe strap junctions and the Great Chesters sinuous saltire that on the bar box of the Fayum crescentic rein ring. This enamelling debt to the south could be laboured further, It is preferable to point out that the debt was incorporated into brooch design in the north --- see ~~page.~~ Chapter 6 .

Platform terrets then may be an Icenian development, transferred before full development to the north. They form one of the most convincing pieces of material evidence for the consequences of

Boudicca's uprising.

Knobbed terrets.

The presence of enamel on terrets from Colchester and Neath is insufficient grounds for a separate category; the shape of the protuberances so adorned attach them to the larger series of plain knobbed terrets.

Forty-one examples are known to me, of which three are atypical by reason of their Romanised bar form (see p. 97ff); one from Caeroleon is dubious because of the dispirited rendering of its knobbed detail; a second (Great Chesters) is now lost and from its brief description could almost be platform terret No. 62 , were it not for slightly differing measurements. On the other hand, terret No. 61 at Stanwick could easily fall within this class rather than the platform group to which it has been relegated. Cast bronze is the rule, although one is of lead. The terrets vary in size, returning measurements of between 2 and 3.5 in.; the vase majority fall between 2.2 and 2.6 in. Characteristic ring outline is oval; an unusual tall form occurs in the case of examples from Chesters and Huckoe. Collars are absent in two cases, bun-shaped in others; in them main they are unformed thickenings of the ring ends, frequently neatened by grooving and in two instances, transversely milled (Circencester and Muircleugh No. 87). A vertical or slightly s layed position is the rule. The bar form exhibits great variety --- four of the largest have saddle bars, eight straight, seven tanged and five fall between the two latter classes; the remainder are fragmentary or atypical. Normal decoration consists of three simple knobs, at best defined by incision,

which emerge at symmetrical points from the ring's external circumference. Multiplication of these into close set groups of three occurs on a terret from Chesterholm, and such an arrangement must surely underlie the grooved bar adornment of examples from Caerleon, Fremington and Houseteads (No. 76). Further complications occur upon those from wooden Eckford and Housesteads(No. 77). In addition, a few display duplication of the central knob in apart (Cirencester) or adjacent (Nether Denton and Traprain No. 96) positions. The elaboration of enamel is confined to three specimens only.

Thirty-three of the forty-one knobbed terrets fall within our geographic area, They cluster thickly in Gillam's inter-Isthmus provinces with a few stragglers in Yorkshire to act as a bridge to outlying examples in Gloucester and South Wales in the West and Essex and Kent in the East.

Of the sixteen knobbed terrets with a predominantly Roman background, thirteen have occurred in forts or milecastles in the main associated with the Stanegate or Hadrian's Wall, so that it comes as a surprise to encounter a perfectly good specimen in a Roman villa. Native contexts are provided by settlements sites and small metalwork hoards, many of which have Roman undertones. The example from Wychbury, Worcester comes from a hillfort, whose cultural affiliations lie with Iron Age A and B , but I have been unable to ascertain whether the terret was of true knobbed type or whether latter occupation of the site might not be possible. The terret from Stowting was found in an Anglo-Saxon grave which, however, contained late Roman coins, so that the insertion of a burial into previous

occupation material seems likely.

Dating is not as close as one might expect or hope for. The lowest definitive date is afforded by the pair from Neath. Of the examples with a Roman background, only that from Caerleon need belong to the 1st. century A.D., being found in trench VI, Barracks VI, of the 1927 - 9 excavations below floor layers of c. 75 - 100. A considerable number, however, could be and indeed probably are Flavian --- the Kirkby Thore example may conceivably have been associated with a fibula of Collingwood's Ri. Many must be Hadrianic, such as those from Chesters, Great Chesters and Houseteads, and are quite likely to be later. The Nether Denton specimen occurred with a small hoard of coins; it is probably Trajanic, possibly Flavian, but very unlikely at any later date. The Traprain examples by association and stratification in the main fall within the span of the late 1st. and 2nd. centuries. The Poltross Burn specimen, an obvious last gasp, was apparently lost some time between 200 and 320 A.D.;

We have, therefore, for knobbed terrets a life span of at least 150 years with a peak of production in the first half of the 2nd. century rather than the second half of the 1st. This might account for the singular absence of the type at Newstead, where both lipped and platform terrets are present.

Hawkes and Hull have added a possible further fifty years to the life of the type by their convincing attribution of the Colchester specimen to the pre-Roman occupation of that site. They base their argument upon the unique form of attachment apparently ancestral both to the native 'saddle' and the Roman 'skirted bar' types

(see p.97ff); and even more so upon the early and 'foreign' scoring of the knobs to act as a key for red enamel.

In other instances, stylistic considerations can have little chronological point; the Caerleon terret would seem to be a degenerate form of Housesteads No. 76 were it not stratigraphically proved that the former is Flavian and the latter Hadrianic. They do however, serve to prove local manufacture in a few cases; for instance, baluster moulding on the Fremington Hagg terret bears comparison with that of the elongated strap junctions from Middlebie, while the Housesteads 'short cut' variant of this motif (No. 76) occurs upon decorative rivet heads of a Group IV scabbard from Worton (No. 148). The explosion of knobs upon the second Housesteads specimen (No. 77) is more than reminiscent of acanthus inspired detail on later trumpet brooches, such as the silver washed one from Aesica (Brewis 1924 : Pl. 6). A small but interesting point is raised by the example from Kirkby Thore, which has been converted into an annular brooch, complete with sturdy head loop and hinged pin. Collingwood, in his study of brooches (1930 : 37 - 58) maintained that such features were later than the wire head loop and spring pin. We can probably assume, therefore, that conversion of the Kirkby Thore terret occurred in the second half of the 2nd. century, by which time its ring section had become noticeably attenuated,

Knobbed and platform terrets are now seen to be a twin and interacting development of southern lands from the 'simple' category; their growth may have been stunted in the home area by the enforced peace of Rome, but their adoption in the North was compensatingly

enthusiastic. In the case of knobbed terrets, the examples from Colchester, Neath and possibly Stowting may then be early in the series; the position of such typically Northern looking products as those from Chedworth, Cirencester and London is much more problematic; it is safe to say that London has produced 'one of everything', archaeologically speaking, that is, but one cannot so dismiss the other finds. There are two alternatives; either these terrets were manufactured in the North and transported south as barbarous equipment of some raid or as souvenirs of a visit; or they were made in the south, probably in Wales, where Celtic traditions of craftsmanship were slow to die out. In view of their lack of visual appeal and the presence of 'bossiness' on local pieces such as the Llandyssul torc, I favour the latter theory --- all the more so now that huge, enamelled bosses have been found adorning a splendid crescent terret from Radyr, Glam.

Massive terrets.

The final group of terrets to be discussed has masqueraded under at least two titles already --- that of Group 8 given by Leeds, (1933 : 122 - 4) and that of Donside by Kilbride Jones (1934 - 5 : 448 - 54); but massive is precisely what they are, with the exception of a few runts; moreover, the title may serve as a link with massive armlets discussed on p. 226.

Members of this series consist of an oval ring of graduated section, widening towards the base, where the strap bar is now concealed inside the hollow ring. The only other universal feature is a simple projection from the basal area into the ring interior; this

may be in the form of a stemmed knob, a split lip, simple hump or multi-ribbed panel.

Twenty-six examples are known at present; nine are executed entirely in bronze, in which case the concealed bar is cast in one with the ring. I have been unable to check the structure of five specimens, but the remaining eleven retain either an intact iron bar or rust indicative of its original presence. In at least one instance, molten lead has been employed as a solder. Variation in size is considerable --- from 1.75 in. to "fully four and a half inches"; most cross measurements fall between 2.5 and 3.5 in.

Doubts have been expressed as to the true function of these objects --- created no doubt by their tendency to occur singly and by apparently inefficient facilities for attachment. Mr. Lievens, in correspondence, has suggested that they may be pommel mounts, but as the above objections are not entirely insurmountable, retention of the older theory is preferred. One might add that no single example has been found in association with a sword or dagger. Their single discovery may simply be fortuitous as at least one pair is known --- from Towie (No. 116); alternatively, a lone example may have served to collect all the reins together in the manner of saddle bar terrets in previously discussed groups; smaller, straight-barred varieties could be eliminated by the use of leather rein rings or by threading the reins through fair-leads in the actual wood of the yoke (Piggott 1949 : 192 - 3). Wear on the undersurface of a few massive terrets proves that they were mounted on some sort of base, perhaps by wedging into a forked projection on the yoke or other surface. The

decorative projection into rings interior would then fulfill some small purpose as its hollow would provide additional space for the wooden tongues, while the iron bar, thus embedded would be protected from rust.

Various forms of security fastening seem to have been devised, over and above the tiresome and unsightly thong binding which is the immediate answer to the jolting of a cross country passage. The enigmatic perforation of ring surface seen in the Ballestrade example (No. 102) could have been filled with a springy wire loop --- rather in the manner of blown glass Christmas tree decorations --- through which a securing cord or wire could be passed. This suggestion stems from small cast rings which emerge from the main ring of specimen from Linton Heath and Rhynie, although it must be immediately confessed that the smallness of these particular examples severely hampers their identification as terrets at all. The rein ring from Culsalmond (No. 109), of normal size bears two symmetrically placed holes, which Callander maintained were for the insertion of decorative knobs; safety fastening is an obvious alternative but the object is no longer available for examination so that poor preservation or faulty casting cannot be ruled out. Finally, upon the specimen from Clova a removable ring segment was originally retained in position by mortice and tenon joints. Presumably the securing cord was looped around the terret ring itself and this provision is made for its swift removal.

Of the twenty-six known specimens three are unlocated sixteen fall within our area of north England and Scotland and ten of these have been found north of a line from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde Estuary, with emphasis upon Aberdeenshire. North Wales accounts

for a further four and the remaining three are Central and South English discoveries. The distribution pattern is totally at variance with those returned by previous terret types, although overlapping in a diluted form with the lipped, platform and knobbed province.

Just under half of the known specimens are stray finds or must be assumed so because of our lack of evidence. Hillforts account for five, Roman forts for two; the pair was part of a small hoard, while two others come from dubious funerary contexts --- a short cist beneath a cairn and an Anglo-Saxon flat grave respectively.

From a chronological point of view the associations are useless. Our best hope might seem to be the Roman finds, but no record has been kept of their stratigraphical position; at best, therefore, we may return for them a verdict of Flavian or later with the proviso that the Chesters example is more likely to be Hadrianic or later --- the emphasis may very well be on the last word. The Cairngryfe terret (No.103) was found in vague association with several objects of which one might hint at a 2nd. century date (see p.100). The hillfort of Dinas Emrys was apparently occupied throughout the Roman period, although the majority of finds belong either to the 1st. century A.D. or to the Dark Age re-occupation. The Inverurie hoard comprised a bronze spear ferrule of door knob type, notoriously difficult to date (see p.161ff) and seven spherical shale pin heads, whose presence at Traprain indicates a popularity during the Roman Iron Age but very little else; at least one seems to have been found in a late 1st. - 2nd. century level (Curle 1919 - 20 : 77, fig. 11, 27) and a

second with supposedly 4th - 5th century material, which, however, produced two petal boss dress fasteners (op. cit. 95, fig. 22, 18). The Towie find is unhelpful; we neither know whether the terrets were in fact grave goods in the short cist, or whether the accompanying relics would have helped us with the problem of dating, had they survived. The Linton Heath burial is a final insult. The Anglo-Saxon cemetery of which it was part was in use from the late 5th. to the 7th. century A.D.; from its position in the grave, the terret could well have been an intentional deposit, but the surrounding soil was filled with occupation debris of the Roman period, which included a preponderance of late coins with at least one of Vespasian.

Therefore, one grounds of context and association one may say that massive terrets are native products of the late 1st. century A.D. or succeeding centuries; beyond that, it is impossible to go.

Being so sparing of decorative features, it is unlikely that stylistic analysis can help us. The lip motif recalls that adornment of terrets and more especially scabbards so popular in the Brigantian area during the second half of the 1st. century A.D. The disheartened knobs of the Linton Heath example may recall that other fashion, again predominantly North-English or Lowland Scottish, which we know to have continued to the 3rd. century A.D. at least.

It is impossible to condone Kilbride Jones' stylistic se uence, with its artificial multiplication of ribs. Lacking in any chronological facts to pin down either end, the sequence can be reversed with ease --- to say nothing of the falsifying effect of varying

standards of craftsmanship.

We are continually forced back upon the origin of massive terrets, as a last ditch against almost total ignorance of their date. Strangely enough, Continental antecedents are more readily available for this, the last series of terrets to be manufactured in Britain, than for the first. Amongst the earliest known Continental terrets must be a set of four from the chariot burial of Nanterre. Each consists of a ring with basal expansion and a decorative knob projecting into the ring interior. This must surely be the ultimate origin of our massive terrets, although I am unable to vouch for a similarity of attachment, to match the closeness of appearance, J. Déchelette's illustration (1927 : 701, fig. 510, 1) seems to show a hollowed interior; but Jacobsthal (1944 : 186, no. 174a) records an iron core which must be interpreted as the broken stump of an iron spike to be driven into the base material, rather than the remains of a rusted attachment bar. In this context it is interesting to note that a very small 'rein ring' has recently been found by Mr. Hogg in his excavations at Castle Dirches, Llancarfan. The terret lay outside a univallate hillfort, upon road cobbling of the first period of that site's occupation. Mr. Hogg would envisage period 2 as commencing c. 100 B.C., (on grounds of pottery), so that the terret must be earlier; in which case it would be the first appearance of a method of mounting to become popular in the Romano-British period; I am not at all happy about his dating. The long tradition of 'spike' attachment has, however, been established.

Later developments seem to occur more in Germany and

Central Europe than in Gaul, which is not surprising when one remembers that chariot warfare ceased early in that area --- hence Ceasar's apprehension at his British reception party.

The saddle form of attachment would seem to be a development of the eastern Celts in the 2nd. century B.C., if one may go by a yoke ring whose true provenance is unknown but whose elaborate Plastic Style adornment reveals a general area of manufacture (Jacobsthal 1944 : Pl 111, a and b). Simple examples occur in La Tène III contexts in the oppida of Stradonice and Manching (Déchelette 1927 : 701, fig. 510, 9; Kramer 1960 : 199, fig. 6, 1) and there is no break in the development and production of the type with the insidious engulfment of Rome. Bereft of their belligerent associations, terrets become common finds on the Continent and flourish in that cultural no man's land conveniently termed Gallo-Roman. Novel modes of attachment are devised. The most common is the concealment of a loop or bar beneath a basal spread which frequently assumes a frilled, almost skirt-like appearance (Saalburg Jahrbuch,II,1911, Taf.XI,1). Ring decoration often consists of single knobs at the summit (O.R.L. Abt. BII^{3}, Taf.X,44; Alföldi and Radnoti 1937 - 40 : 309 - 19). In some cases, three symmetrically spaced knobs are found as on a piece from Zugmantel (Saalburg Jahrbuch, VII, 1930: Taf,X 26) whose similarity to British knobbed terrets is startling. Curved fins are also provided at the ring sides and even split lip projection into the ring interior (Alföldi and Radnoti 1937 - 40: Taf. XXVII,3; Bericht Rijk. Oudheid. Bodemond. In Nederland,III 1952).

All the above features can be paralleled on so-called

Roman terrets in Britain. Simple versions of iron occur in the Blackburn Mill hoard (Piggott 1952 - 3 : 43, fig. 11, B5) and at Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6 : Pl. XIV, no. 356). Skirts of varying degrees of frilliness conceal the bars of terrets from Hambledon, Bucks (Cocks 1921 : 196, fig. 31, 6), Papcastle, Cumb (Carlisle Mus. RF 293) and Corbridge (Corbridge Mus.), also Woodcuts, Dorset (Pitt Rivers 1887 : XVIII, 14). Knobs, singly or in clusters, adorn examples from Housesteads (Birley and Charlton 1934 : Pl. XXIX, d3) Corbridge (Forster and Knowles 1913 : Pl. IV,2) and Woodcuts (Pitt Rivers 1887 : Pl. XVIII,6) --- on this last combined with curved fins, which it shares with an elaborate specimen from Newstead (Curle 1911 : Pl. LXXV,12), inlaid with a purely Roman leaf swag in silver.

The above diversion has led us far from the subject of massive terrets whose ancestry, however, has been revealed as Celtic Continental and of long standing; the problem is, will this information provide a means for dating our problematic group. A terminus post quem for its development is perhaps provided by the Agricolan specimen from Newstead. The Dutch terret already referred to must be called upon to provide an upper date --- of 150 -250 A.D.

It is, therefore, probable that the terret group called 'massive' was devised by British craftsmen working under considerable Gallo-Roman influence sometime between the late 1st. and the mid. 3rd. century A.D.

It remains to decide just where in Britain the development occurred. Two alternatives present themselves --- the military zone of Roman Britain and Aberdeen shire. The unique bivalve mode of

manufacture displayed by the Corbridge representative is proferred as an early experiment, but the argument is feeble and the situation reminiscent of that already experienced in connexion with massive strap junctions. Wherever the actual transition took place, it remains a fact that massive terrets were most favoured by the occupants of north-east Scotland and Angus --- the Maetae and Caledonii. It seems neither unreasonable nor incompatible with known facts to suspect some northern irruption into the Romanised south. Native insurrections are vaguely recorded for the early and middle years of the 2nd. century but the effect of neither was felt beyond the inter-Wall province. Our attention is directed to the uprising of 196 -7 A.D. when the Maetae and Caledonii irrupted into southern Scotland and northern England, sacking forts such as Corbridge and Chesters and sweeping south to the latitude of York. It is a pity for our argument that Chester is now considered to have survived unscathed, as evidence for its devastation would have legitimised the Welsh representatives of our series (Richmond and Webster 1951 : 20 - 2); but the theory is not entirely invalidated. The mountainous terrain of north Wales would be a welcome refuge for stragglers. The Billing, Linton Heath and London specimens are the weak link, and a last ditch suggestion of trophy hunting by Roman troops would seem their only solution.

In conclusion, Leeds' dating based solely on the presence of lead soldering and a faulty argument based on the dates of crescent terrets ~~seu~~ seem to be vindicated. One final point remains. That similarity between massive terrets on the one hand and their contemporary equivalents on the Continent, noteably in Pannonia,

would seem too close for a mere common ancestry. Disc headed dress fasteners form a further 2nd. century link between Britain and this area and serve to remind us that British auxiliaries are known to have been stationed in Pannonia and vice-versa.

Dropped bar terrets.

Attention must be drawn to a final rag-bag series of terrets whose communal feature is a dropped bar; in other words their attachment bar is suspended beneath an uninterrupted rein ring. Invariably of bronze, they are small and simple. A few examples have been collected if only for comparison with the specimen in the Muircleugh hoard (No. 52) but the list does not pretend to be complete.

The type is commonly found in military establishments of a much wider distribution. One stratified example from Brough is Flavian and several others could be. Three cannot be dated before the reign of Hadrian and may be much later. Decoration is rare and simple; a single knob and stemmed platform adorn the specimens from Templeborough and Corbridge respectively. The 'native' appearance of the former has won it a precarious place in our Catalogue (No. 91); but it must be admitted that single knobs are also a feature of Gallo-Roman terrets. One knobbed terret from Houseteads (No. 77) and a second from Poltross Burn (No. 90) have relevance here. A dropped bar terret from Richborough is more ambitiously adorned; decoration includes seam detail reminiscent of certain group IV sword hilts, together with a club-like form of slender trumpet and a 'swag and drop' arrangement which lead me to suspect manufacture in North England followed by transport to Kent.

The type clearly owed more to Roman skirted terrets than

to any native group; intermediary forms are known --- Roman-looking when found in native contexts and faintly alien when present in Roman. The Poltross Burn example admirably sums up the situation.

VII LINCH PINS.

Very few of the linch pins from North England and Scotland could by any stretch of the imagination be classified as decorative metalwork and yet to ignore this important piece of chariot equipment would be to present an incomplete picture.

The subject owes much to the work of Ward Perkins (1940 and 1941) and Fox (1946) from which the accompanying tables have been taken with a few changes and additions. The definition of two main groups, here called for convenience vase-headed and crescent-headed respectively, still stands.

Both can have a Continental ancestry; the former in the knob-ended pins accompanying nave fitments from La Gorge Meillet and Sillery (Jacobsthal 1944 : Nos. 157 - 8); and the latter say in the anthropomorphic specimen from Grabenstetten (op. cit. No. 160). If it seems unwary to derive our copious crescent-headed series from a very few Continental examples, predecessors may be temtatively offered from the Hallstat cart burials of the Tumulus de la Motte d'Apremont and Vix (Joffgry 1958 : 41, fig. 8, 10 and 109, fig. 26, 7 respectively). It is surprising that the rectangular-headed type, apparently popular on the Continent, makes but a rare appearance in Britain, to provide, however, a possible ancestry for yet another uncommon and uninspired group in this country --- the ring-headed form.

Vase-headed linch pins.

Vase-headed linch pins have a moulded head with flat top and transverse perforation; frequently this and the modelled tip are of bronze, while the shank is of iron. Many seem ridiculously small and it is unnecessary to imagine that the security of wheel upon axle depended solely upon such pins.

The distribution pattern was one of those chosen by Ward Perkins to demonstrate his South-west/North-east trend and subsequent finds have not materially changed this. The type is first encountered in the King's Barrow at Arras and is very little altered in Sets B and C of the Stanwick hoard so that a long life in Yorkshire at any rate is proved.

The last mentioned examples, plus an unlocated but presumed local find now in Saffron Walden Museum (Henry 1933 : 88, fig. 11, 1) possess a more slender vase-head form and a more curvaceous profile than previously favoured, and it is upon the strength of this feature that pieces from Cairngryfe (No. 118) and Traprain (No. 120) have been interpreted as linch pin heads. Both lack the shank and foot. That from Traprain at least has a perforation for a security fastening as well as considerable signs of wear on a plane parallel to this and confined to one side of the head only; both are features of accepted linch pins.

Neither specimen is closely dated. That from Cairngryfe was found with massive terret No. 103 beneath fallen rampart material of a small hillfort, but even if a 2nd. century date is acceptable for the latter type, the association was not a closed one.

The head from Traprain is a quarry find.

It is just possible that two points on the Cairngryfe mount may help us. Firstly, the perforated lugs which spring from the bulbous part, in lieu of a hole through the casting, are reminiscent of rare features of the massive terret series, to which the object is loosely linked; while the scored treatment of these lugs is identical to that displayed by a (?) 2nd. - 3rd. century bucket mount from Welshpool (Boon 1960 : Pl. XV). Secondly, Childe drew attention to the presence of solder on the Cairngryfe diaphragm. Could this be to secure a repoussé plate to the surface? --- one facet of casket ornament which is known to have thrived in North England during the 2nd. century, manifesting itself in the series of triskelar disc brooches (see p.278 ff).

It is possible that certain bronze castings, from which the stumps of an iron shank emerge, may be linch pin tips. Their vase-headed shape --- at Leicester or Wroxeter for instance --- seems to demand a similarly shaped head. If the interpretation is accepted then we have a use for piece No.119 from Newstead whose date at least is acceptable (81/6 - 100 A.D.). However, it must be remembered that the crescent headed type from King's Langley was also provided with a cast bronze foot, so that the reconstruction is hypothetical.

An elaboration of the vase-headed form, by the addition of a large protruding head loop is found at Stanwick (Nos. 70, 71 and 79). The only comparable piece comes from the East Riding (No. 123). Its accompaniment of 'bones and rusty iron' has won for it a chariot burial association which is probably not merited. A sinuous treatment

of the side seams recalls certain swordhilts of Piggott's group IV thus confirming a date ih the 1st. century A.D.

Vase-headed castings.

A related series of castings are frequently interpreted as linch pin heads, into which the iron shank has not been fitted or, having been so inserted, has now been destroyed by corrosion. Admittedly, many do contain rust but there is a lack of uniformity about their perforation --- some not at all, some right through from top to bottom --- that makes for suspicion. The Colne Fen three besides, were found with two perfectly good crescent-headed linch pins, further weakening the argument.

Whatever their real use, these are Belgic products. At Colchester, four occur in or about the Boudiccan destruction level. As many as seventeen may be included in the Santon and Westhall hoards.

It is interesting, therefore, to encounter a possible two in the Stanwick hoard (Nos. 80 -1) and a certain pair in the Blackburn Mill hoard (No. 121). A date in the second half of the 1st. century A.D. is almost unavoidable.

Crescent-headed linch pins.

These are the Belgic form par excellence. Many display some form of decoration, frequently zoomorphic. It would be pleasant to support our theory of Belgic influence in the North by the discovery there of such a resoundingly Belgic type, but none has yet appeared. The farthest north elaborate specimens at present come from Tiddington in Warwickshire and Mansfield Woodhouse in Nottingham. It is sufficient then to recall their distribution pattern and plot

their time range --- from the Boudiccan destruction layer at Colchester to the late 3rd. century levels of Verulamium. In fact, these are but the sophisticated 'cream' of a much larger group of exclusively iron linch pins whose earliest representative at present comes from the Belgic road surface of Maiden Castle's eastern entrance; it is reasonable to suspect that we are now dealing with wagon rather than chariot equipment. The accompanying list is bound to be superficial, yet is demonstrates a much wider distribution than that of the elaborate examples from Liddington Castle and Silchester in the South to Rough Castle in the North and from Colchester in the East to Llandovery in the West. The type is especially common in the forts and milecastles of Hadrian's Wall. Whether arriving in advance of the Romans or with them, so to speak, the crescent headed linch pin still reveals a debt to the south-east.

Plate-headed linch pins.

Even more common in the north is the plate-headed linch pin whose security loop reveals a debt to the previous series but whose roughly circular head may owe something to the ring-headed type (of rare occurrence in Belgic contexts and represented in the north by a specimen from Elslack). As the specimen from Colchester is unstratified, it is not known where the transformation took place --- whether in its southern home or in the alien north.

One final object must be mentioned --- a shanked disc (No. 124) too small to fulfill the functions of linch pin itself but perhaps to be interpreted as a security fastening for one. It may have been attached by means of a cord or chain through the central perforation,

which would account for that interruption in its surrounding enamel work. Miss Burley's comparison of this Traprain find with one from the Santon (Smith 1909 : 149 - 50, and fig. 3) is apposite, all the more so because of its colourful adornment. Unfortunately, the Scottish example was a surface find.

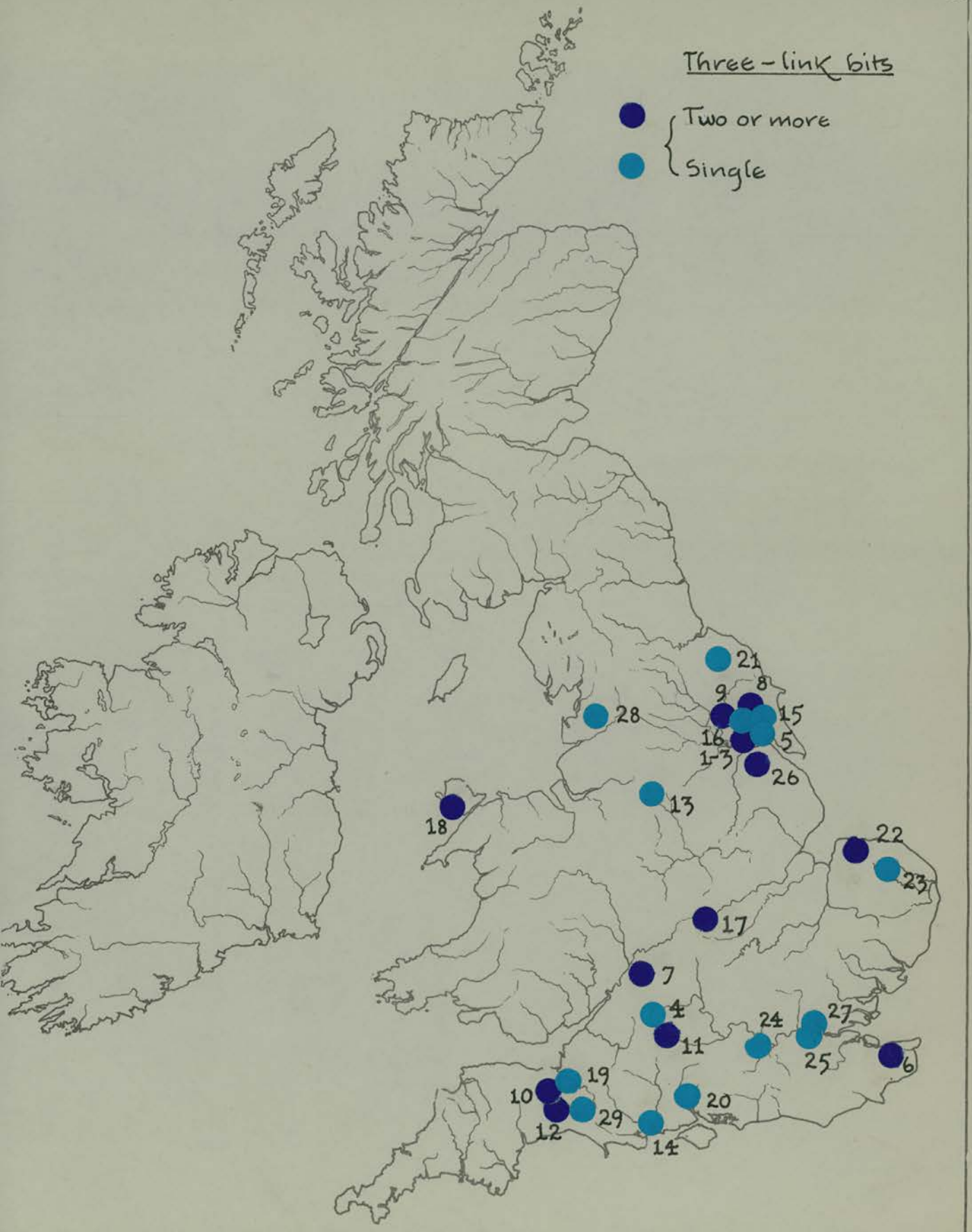
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1. Dr.Nierhaus,in conversation with Mr.Stevenson,has stated his belief that the patera could be late 2nd. century or even 3rd. century.
2. So close is this parallel that the incomplete strap junctions from Iwerne and Sudbrook may equally well fit into this category.

Add FORDINGTON. Dorset - Burial of man & horse, 1846
bronze-flashed iron, with 2 small bronze rings
Dorchester Mus.

Three link bits

1. ARRAS, King's Barrow? E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),280,fig.22. (2)
2. ARRAS, Mirror Burial, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),285,fig.29. (2)
3. ARRAS, Charioteer's barrow, E.R.Yorks. Davis & Thurnam(1865), Pls. 6 & 7. (2)
4. BAYDON, Berks. Devizes Mus. Cat(1934),II,194 & 195,Pl.LXII,5. (1)
5. BEVERLEY, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),278. (1)
6. BIGBURY CAMP, Kent. Boyd Dawkins,J.(1902),216 & Pl.III,fig.8. (2)
7. BREDON HILL, Glos. Hencken(1938),72,fig.5. (3)
8. CAWTHORNE CAMPS, E.R.Yorks. Stead(1959),216. (1)
9. DRIFFIELD, Danes Graves, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),276-8. (2)
10. GALSTONBURY, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1917),378-9 & Pl.LXII. (5)
11. HAGBOURNE HILL, Berks. King(1812),348-9 & Pl.L. (2)
12. HAM HILL, Som. Gray(1924),Pl.XIII,16. Colt Hoare(1826),39-42 & Pl.V. (2)
13. HARBOROUGH CAVE, Derby. Smith,R.A.(1909),102,fig.3. (1)
14. HENGISTBURY HEAD, Hants. Ward Perkins(1939),191,& Pl.XVII. (1)
15. HESSELSKEW, E.R.Yorks. Mortimer(1906),358. (2)
16. HUNMANBY, E.R.Yorks. Sheppard(1907),485 & opp.487. (1)
17. HUNSBURY, Northants. Fell(1936),66,no.13 & Pl.VI,a½ (2)
18. LLYN CERRIG, Anglesey. Fox(1946),80-1 & Nos.47-55,95 & 129 (10-11)
19. MEARE, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1953),243 & Pl.LI,I 44. (1)
20. OTTERBOURNE, Hants. Ward Perkins(1939),180. (1)
21. PEXTON MOOR, N.R.Yorks. Stead(1959),216,fig.2. (1)
22. RINGSTEAD, Norfolk. Clarke(1951),216-19 & Pls. XVI,XVII etc. (2)
23. SWANTON MORLEY, Norfolk. Green(1962),385-6 & Pl.LII. (1)
24. THAMES AT OLD WINDSOR. Barber & Megaw(1963),211. (1)
25. THAMES AT STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN. Barber & Megaw(1963),206-13 & Pls. XXIV & XXV. (1)
26. ULCEBY, Lincs. JBAA,XV(1927),Pl.22,1. (3)
27. WALTHAMSTOW, Essex. Ward Perkins(1939),180 & Pls. XVII,XVIII. (1)
28. WARTON CRAGG, Lancs.
29. WEST COKER, Som. Fox(1951-2),108-11. (1)

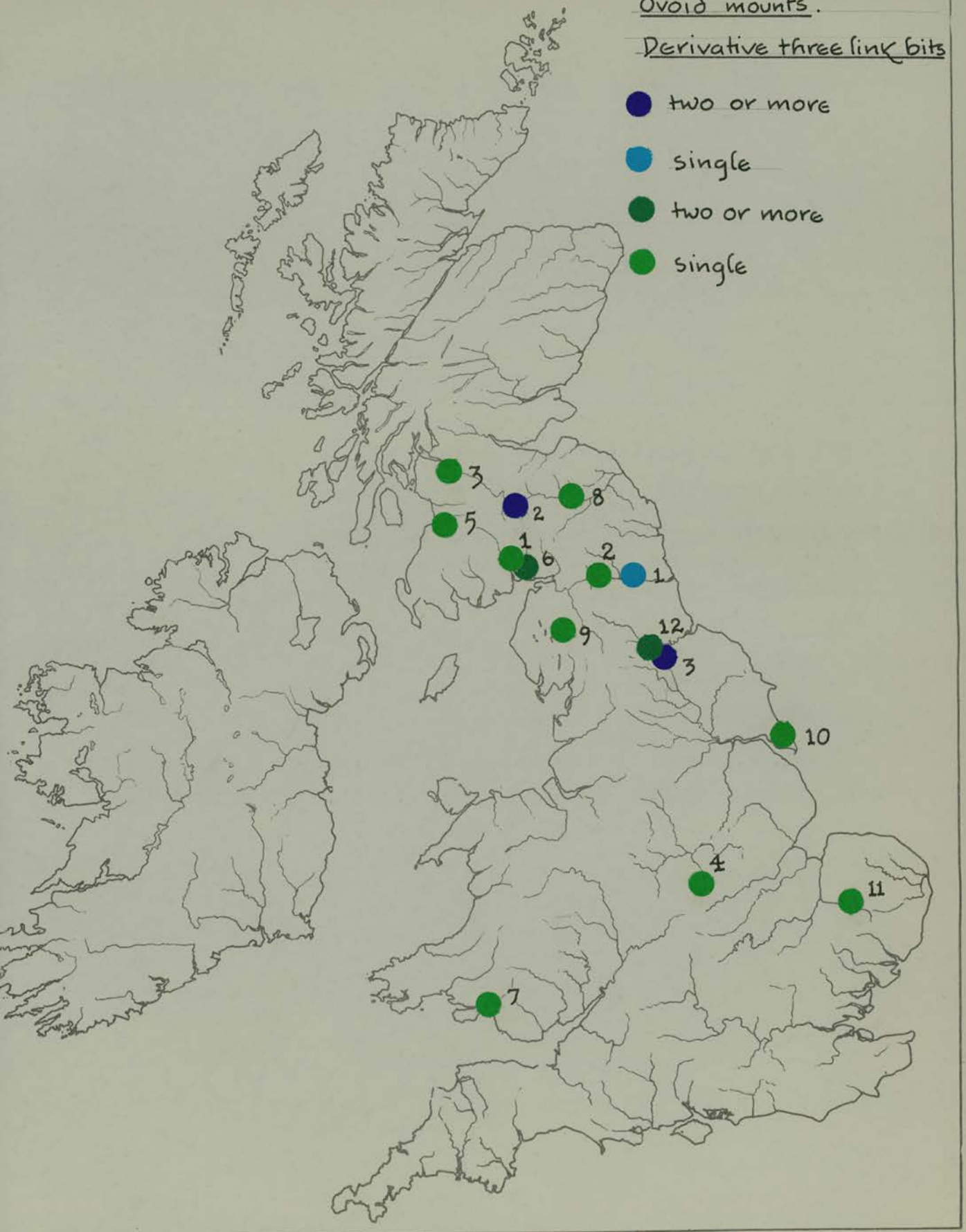

Three-link bits
Two or more
Single
21
8
9
15
28
16
5
1-3
26
13
18
22
23
17
7
4
24
27
11
25
6
19
10
20
29
12
14

Derivative three link bits

1. BIRRENSWARK, Dumfries. No. 2 (1)
2. CHESTERHOLM, Northumb. No. 3 (1)
3. QUEEN MARY'S CAIRN, East Kilbride, Lanark. No. 4 (1)
4. LEICESTER, Bath Lane. Unpublished, Leicester Mus. (1)
5. LOCHLEE, Ayr. No. 5 (1)
6. MIDDLEBIE, Dumfries. Nos. 6 & 7 (2)
7. NEATH, Glam. Grimes(1951), nos.125-6. (1)
8. NEWSTEAD, Roxb. Nos. 8 (1)
9. PLACE FELL, Ullswater, Cumb. No. 9 (1)
10. RISE, Holderness, E.R.Yorks. No. 10 (1)
11. SAHAM TONEY, Norfolk. V.C.H.Norfolk, I, opp.273. (1)
12. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos. 37-50(Stanwick Report). (6)

Ovoid mounts

1. CORBRIDGE, Northumb. No. 13. (1)
2. STANHOPE, Peebles. Nos 14 & 15 (2)
3. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos.11, 12 7 15. (3)


Ovoid mounts.
Derivative three link bits
two or more
single
two or more
single
3
2
8
5
1
6
2
1
9
12
3
10
4
11
7

Two link bits

Eared type

1. CARNEDD AU HENGWM, Merioneth. Ward Perkins(1939),175,fig.2. (2)
2. ELVEDON, Suffolk. Ward Perkins(1939),175. (1)
3. POLDEN HILLS, Som. Harford(1818),Pl.XIX,1. (14)
4. SANTON, Suffolk. Smith(1909): 152. (1)
5. WYLYE CAMP, Wilts. Shortt(1948),25-6. (1)

Simple type

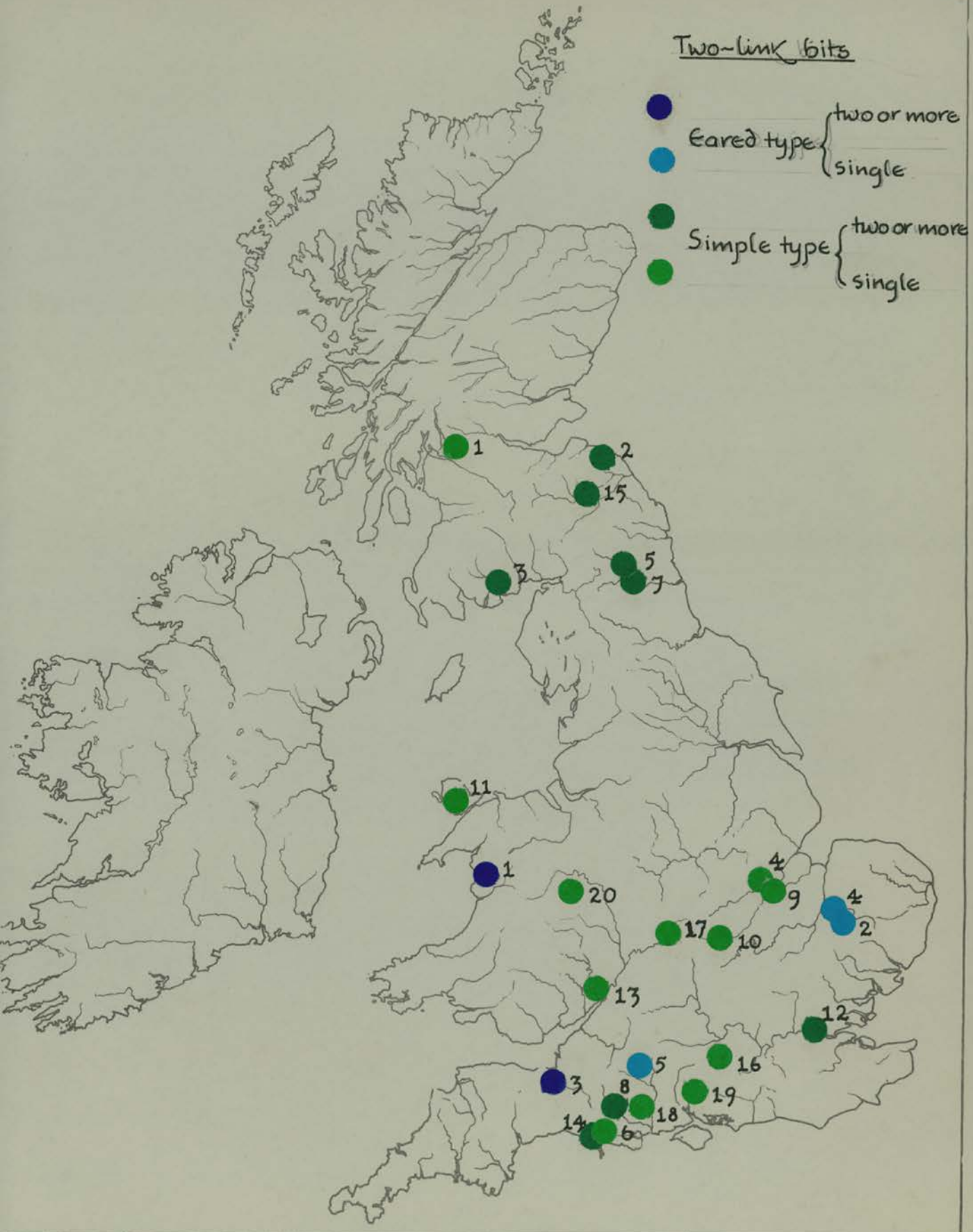
Dumb-dets

1. BAR HILL, Lanark. Hunterian Mus., Glasgow. (1)
2. BLACKBURN MILL, Berwick. Piggott(1952-3),43,fig.11,B7 & 8. (2)
3. CARLINGWARK, Kirkcudbright. Piggott(1952-3),33,fig.8,C5. (2)
4. CAISTOR, Northants. Artis(1828),Pl.XXIX,5. (1)
5. CHESTERS, Northumb. Chesters Mus. Nos.1777,1778 & 1785. (2-3)
6. COLLINTON PARK, Dorset. Dorchester Mus. (1)
7. CORBRIDGE, Northumb. Corbridge Mus. (2)
8. HOD HILL, Dorset. Brailsford(1962),19 & Pl.XIII,K28 & 29. (2)
9. HORSEY, Northants. Artis(1828),Pl.LVI,4. (1)
10. HUNSBURY, Northants. Fell(1937),66. (1)
11. LLYN CERRIG, Anglesey. Fox(1946),83,no.58 & Pl.VIII,XXVI. (1)
12. LONDON, Barge Yard, River Thames at. Wheeler(1930),149 & Pl. LIX,1 & 2. (2)
13. LYDNEY, Glos. R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler(1932),opp.84,fig.18,no. 59. (1)
14. (?)MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset. Wheeler(1943),274 & Pl.XXIX,3-5,7. (3-4)
15. NEWSTEAD, Roxb. N.M.A.Edin. FRA 420 & 450. (2)
16. SILCHESTER, Hants. Reading Mus. (1)
17. TIDDINGTON, Warwick. Filedhouse, May & Wellstood(1931),Pl. XIII,24. (1)
18. WOODCUTTS, Dorset. Pitt Rivers(1887),I,75 & Pl.XXV,3. (1)
19. WORTHY DOWN, Hants. Hooley(1926-30),Pl.VI,89. (1)

20. WROXETER, Shrops. Corbet Anderson(1867), Pl.XII. (1)

Unique two link bit

LONDON, River Thames at. PSAL^{2}XXIII(1909-11), 159-60 & Pl. (1)


Two-link bits
Eared type
two or more
single
Simple type
two or more
single
1
2
15
3
5
7
11
1
20
4
9
4
2
17
10
13
12
5
16
3
8
19
18
14
6

One piece bits

Dumb-detached.

BAR HILL, Lanark. Hunterian Mus. Glasgow. (1)
BROUGH, E.R.Yorks. Corder Romans(1939),173-235. (1)
CORBRIDGE, Northumb. Corbridge Mus. (1)
HAM HILL, Som. Taunton Mus. (1)
LLYN CERRIG, Anglesey. Fox(1946),95,no.128 & Pl.III & XXVII. (1)
WOODCUTS, Dorset. Pitt Rivers(1887),I,75 & Pl.XXV,2. (1)
WYTHAM, Berks. Ashmolean Mus. (2)

Atypical example

MIDDLEBIE, Dumfries. No. 11

Ring strap junctions

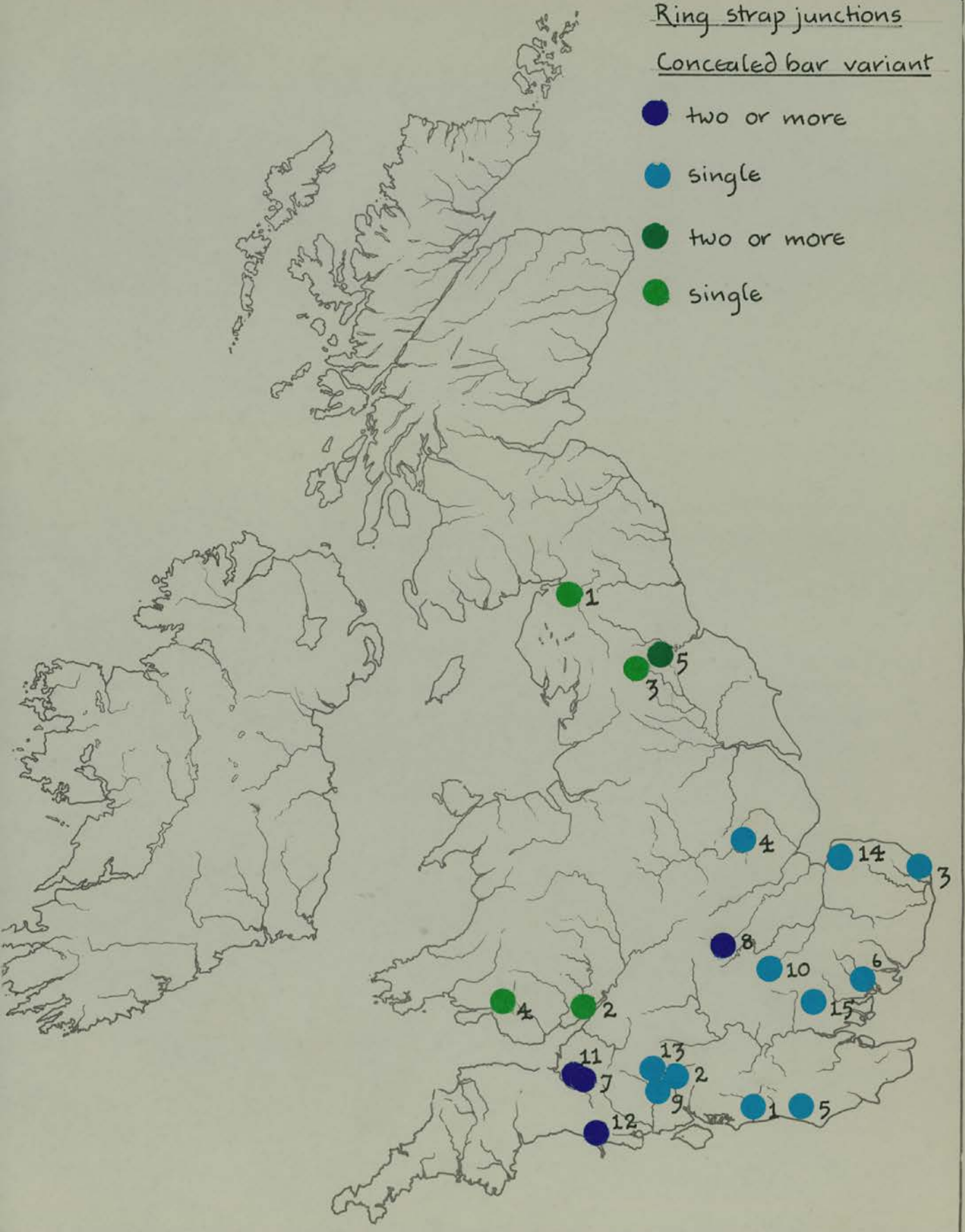
1. ARUNDEL, Sussex. Ant.J., III(1923), 143-4. (1)
2. BURY HILL, Hants. Hawkes(1940), 121. (1)
3. CAISTOR-BY-YARMOUTH, Norfolk. Norwich Mus. 726.75.92. (1)
4. CAYTHORPE, Lincs. Phillips(1934), 107 & Pl.XXII, B. (1)
5. CHARLESTON BROW, Sussex. Parsons & Curwen(1933), 168 & 169, fig.1. (1)
6. COLCHESTER, Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947), 329, fig.60, 2. (1)
7. GLASTONBURY, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911), E190, E262 & (?)Pl. XLII, E1. (3)
8. HUNSBURY, Northants. Fell(1936), 63, Pl.2B, A-C. (3)
9. IWERNE, Dorset. Gray(1947), 52, fig.8, 3. (1)
10. LETCHWORTH, Herts. Smith, R.A.(1913-14), 239 & 240, fig.3. (1)
11. MEARE, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1953), 216 & Pl.XLVI, E103 & 163. (2)
12. MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset. Wheeler(1943), fig.88, 4. (2)
13. OLD SARUM, Wilts. Stevens(1937), 438. (1)
14. RINGSTEAD, Norfolk. Clarke(1951), 221, fig.6. (1)
15. SAFFRON WALDEN, Essex. Saffron Walden Mus. (1)

Dubious

SUBBROOK, Mon. Arch.Camb., XCIV(1939), 74, fig.9, 10.

Concealed bar-sub group

CARLISLE, Cumb. No. 16
CHEPSTOW, Mon. Grimes 1951: Pl. XIX.
FREMINGTON HAGG?, N.R.Yorks. No. 17
NEATH, Glam. Grimes 1951: fig 40, 4
STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos.5-10.

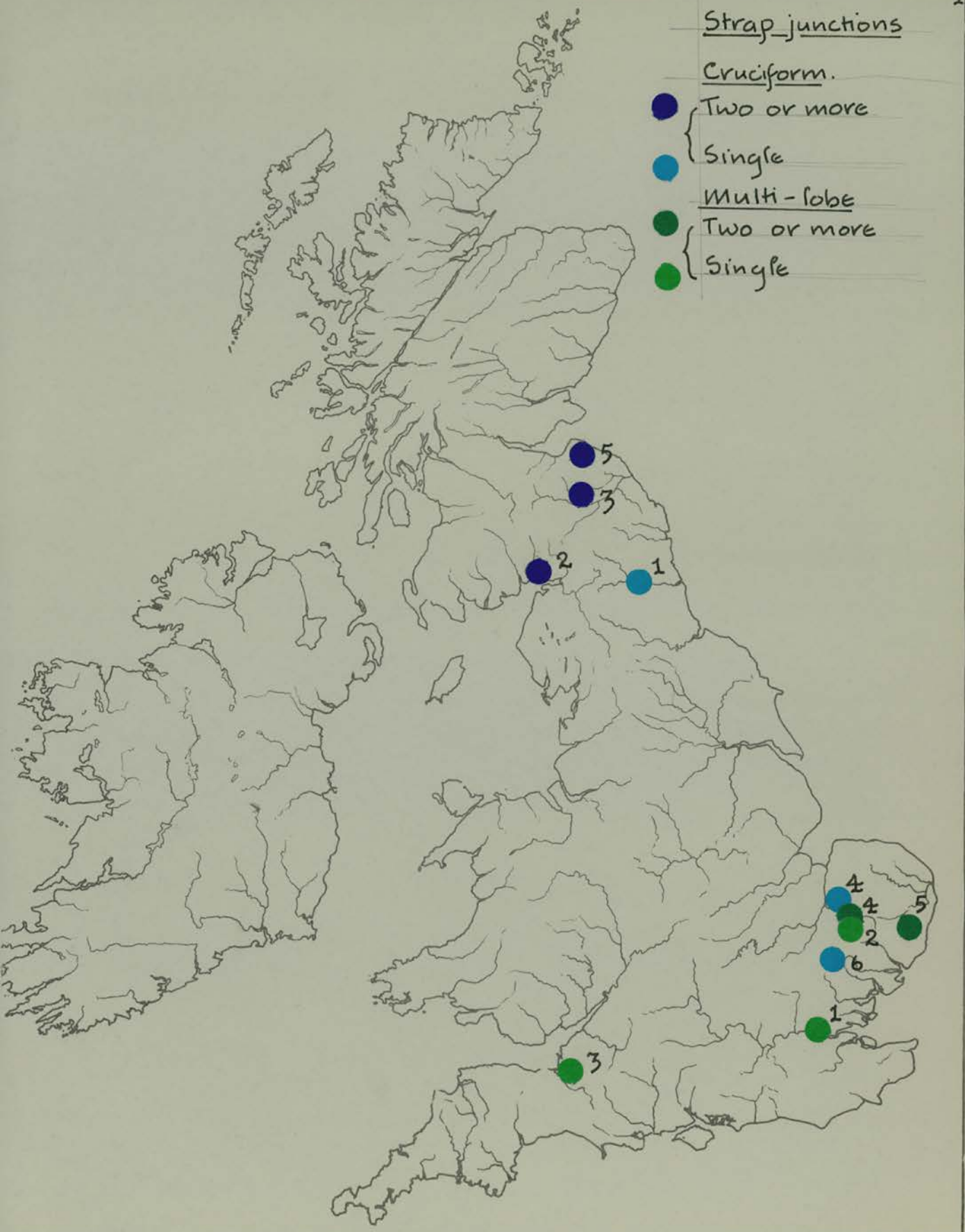

Ring strap junctions
Concealed bar variant
two or more
single
two or more
single
1
5
3
4
14
3
8
10
6
15
4
2
11
7
13
2
9
1
5
12

Cruciform mounts

1. CORBRIDGE, Northumb. No. 19. (1)
2. MIDDLEBIE, Dumfries. Nos. 20 ~1 (2)
3. NEWSTEAD, Roxb. Nos. 22~3 (2)
4. SAHAM TONEY, Norfolk. V.C.H.Norfolk, I, (1901), opp.273. (1)
5. TRAPRAIN LAW, E.Lothian. Nos. 24~6 (3)
6. (?)WEST STOWE, Suffolk. Ipswich Mus. 1936.198. (1)
7. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Henry(1933), 104, fig.20, 3. (1)
8. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN(Supposedly in the Uffizi Gallery but never heard of there). Kemble(1863) (1).

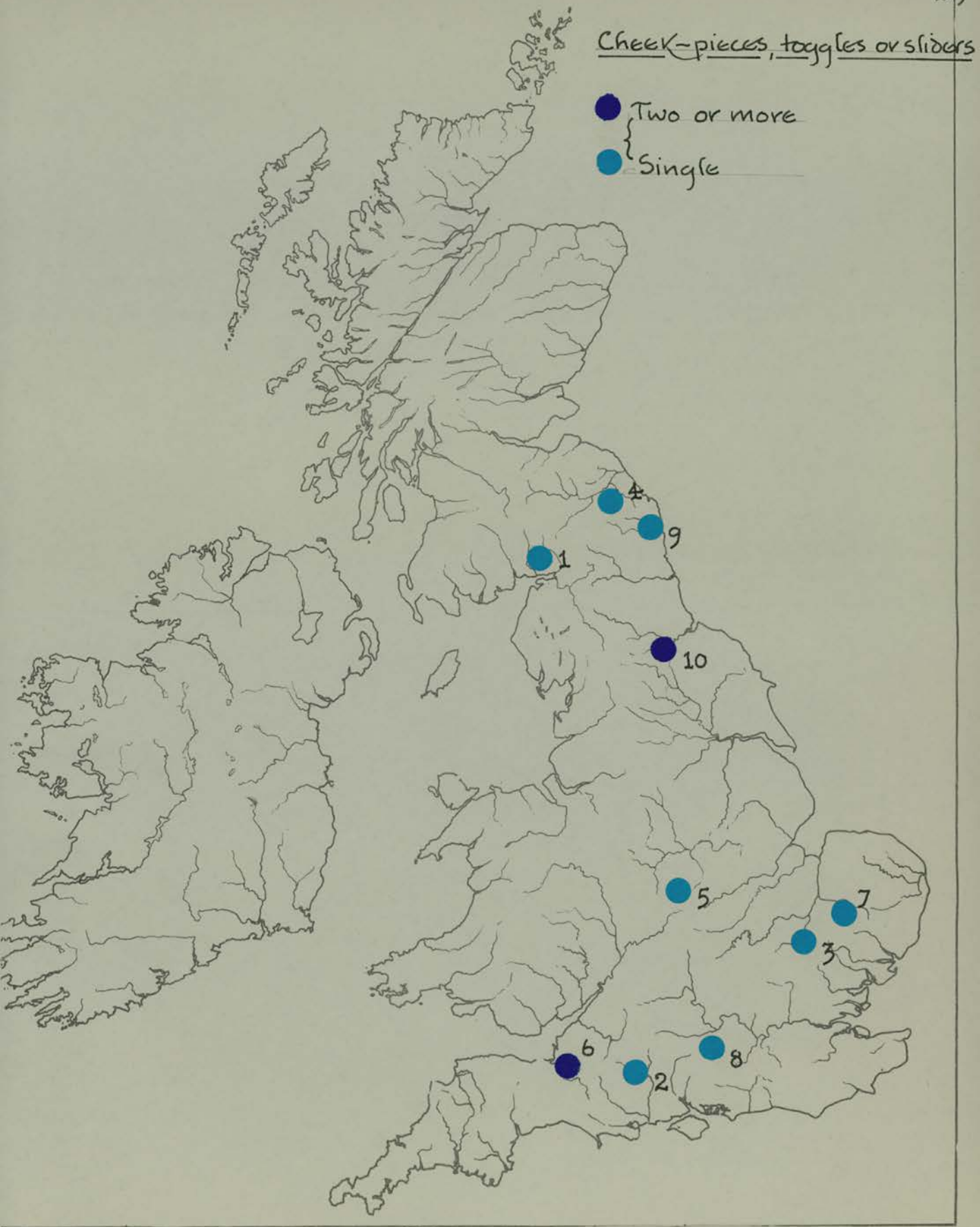
Multi-lobe strap junctions

1. LONDON. Kemble(1863), Pl.XIX, 2. (1)
2. NORTON, Suffolk. Kemble(1863), Pl.XIX, 4. (1)
3. POLDEN HILLS, Som. Harford(1808), Pl.XVIII, figs.3-4. (1) (1
4. SANTON, Suffolk. Henry(1933), fig.12, 4. (2)
5. WESTHALL, Suffolk. Harrod(1855), Pl.XXXVIII. (2)


Strap junctions
Cruciform.
Two or more
Single
Multi-lobe
Two or more
Single
5
3
2
1
4
4
5
2
6
1
3

CHeekpieces, toggles or 'sliders'

1. BIRRENS, Dumfries. No. 37 (1)
2. BOWERCHALK, Wilts. WAM, XLIII(1925-7), 352, (1)
3. CAMBRIDGE. V.C.H.Cambridge, (1938), 292, fig.25, no.8. (1)
4. ECKFORD, Roxb. No. 39 (1)
5. HIGH CROSS, Leicester. Leicester Mus. (1)
6. POLDEN HILLS, Som. Harford(1808), Pl.XX, 6½ (7)
7. SANTON, Suffolk. Smith(1909), 146-63. (1)
8. SLICHESTER, Hants. Leeds(1933), 100. (1)
9. SOUTH SHIELDS, Northumb. No. 38 (1)
10. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos. 19-21. (3)

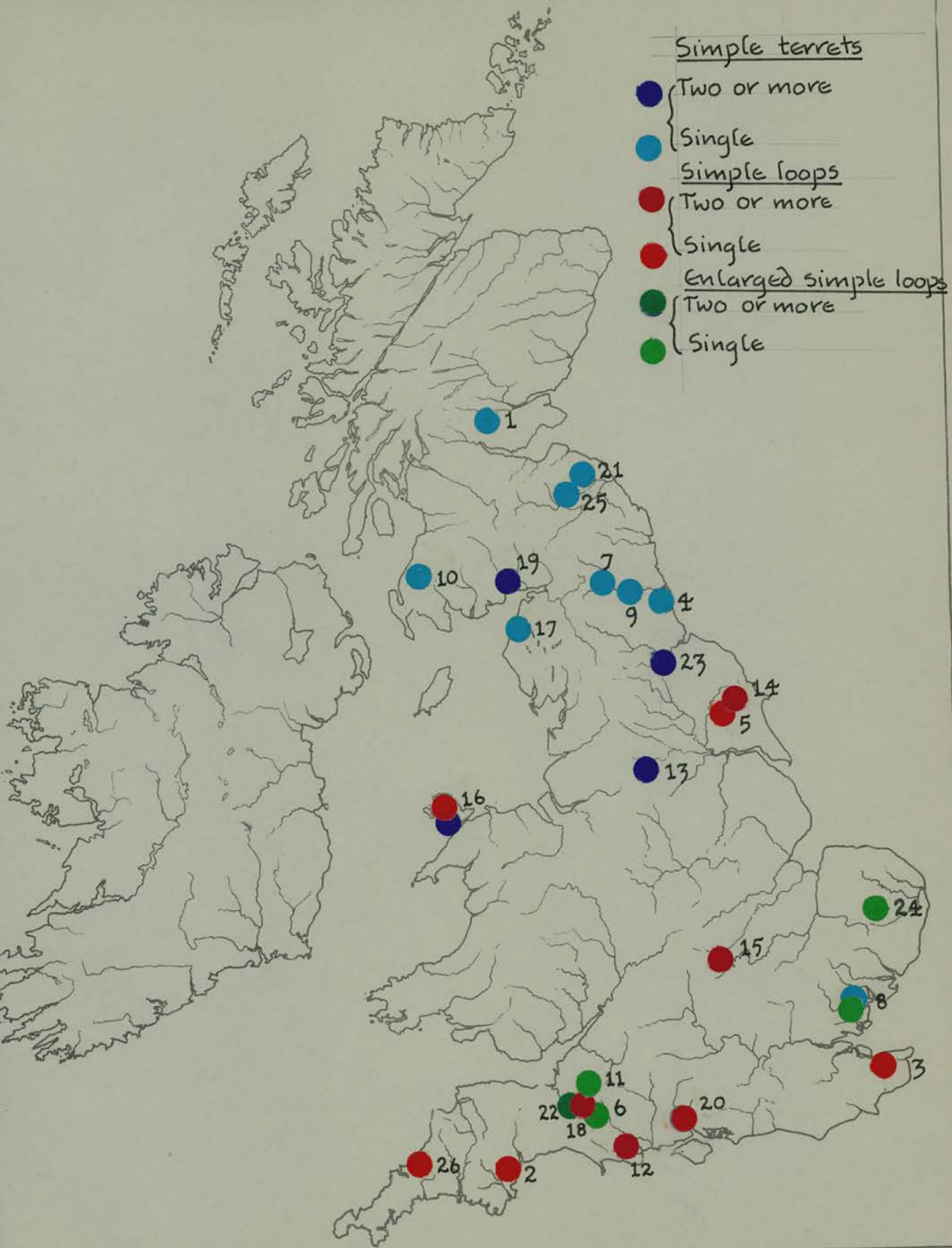

Cheek-pieces, toggles or sliders
Two or more
Single
4
9
1
10
5
7
3
6
8
2

Triskele decorated fobs

1. ALDBOROUGH,Yorks. No. 35
2. BERKSHIRE. Allen,J.R.(1896),330.
3. HASLINGFIELD,Cambs. Fell(1951-2),65-6.
4. HUNSBURY,Northants. Fell(1936),Pl.VI,b.
5. KINGSHOLM,Glos. Douglas(1793),Pl.XXVII,1.
6. ST.ALBANS,Herts. R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler(1936),217,fig.48.
7. SEAMILL,Ayr. No. 36
8. TRE'R CEIRI,Caern. Arch.Camb.,^{6}IV(1904),8,fig.5.

Simple loops and terrets

1. ARDOCH, Perth. No. 40 (1)
2. BENCH CAVE, Devon. Hancock Mus. Newcastle. (1)
3. BIGBURY, Kent. Boyd Dawkins(1902), 216. (1)
4. BIRTLEY, Northumb. No. 41 (1)
5. BISHOP WILTON, E.R.Yorks. No. 42 (1)
6. CADBURY CAMP, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911), 230, fig.45, c. (1)
7. CHESTERS, Northumb. No. 43 (1)
8. COLCHESTER, Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947), 320 & Pl.XCIX, 2 & 4. (2)
9. CORBRIDGE, Northumb. No. 44 (1)
10. DUNURE, Ayr. No. 45 (1)
11. GLASTONBURY, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911), Pl.XLIII, E8. (1)
12. HOD HILL, Dorset. Brailsford(1962), fig.14, I128 & I130. (and a third in B.M.). (3)
13. HONLEY, W.R.Yorks. No. 46 (2)
14. HUNMANBY, Yorks. Sheppard(1907), 485 & opp.487. (2)
15. HUNSBURY, Northants. Fell(1936), Pl.II, A2 & A3. (2)
16. LLYN CERRIG, Anglesey. Fox(1946), Pl.XXIX, 46, Pl.XVI, Nos.44 & 45. (3)
17. MARYPORT, Cumb. No. 47 (1)
18. MEARE, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1953), Pl.XLIX, E1, 69, 102, 167 & 172. (5)
19. MIDDLEBIE, Dumfries. Nos 48 - 51 (4)
20. MILL PLAIN, Hants. Christchurch Mus. (1)
21. MUIRCLEUGH, Berwick. No. 52. (1)
22. POLDEN HILLS, Som. Harford(1808), Pl.XXI, 5. (6)
23. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos.62-4. (3)
24. SUFFOLK. B.M. 1927.12-1211. (1)
25. TORWOODLEE, Selkirk. No. 53 (1)
26. TREVELGUE, Cornwall. Ward Perkins(1941), 66 & fig.1. (1)
27. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN(but presumed Oxford region). Ashmolean Mus. N.C.453. (1)
28. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN(but presumed local). Saffron Walden Mus. (1)

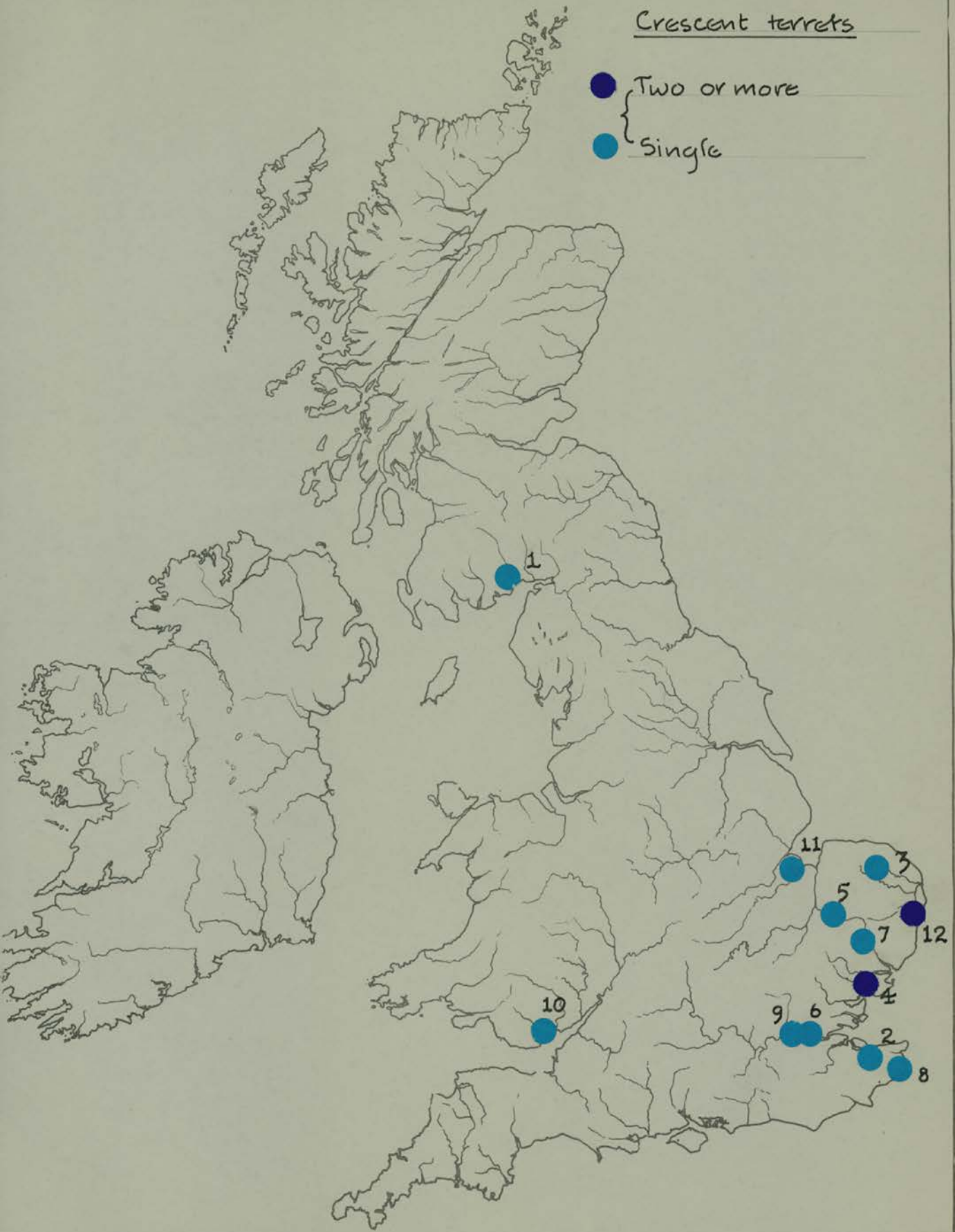

Simple terrets
Two or more
Single
Simple loops
Two or more
Single
Enlarged simple loops
Two or more
Single
1
21
25
10
19
7
9
4
17
23
14
5
13
16
24
15
8
3
11
22
18
6
20
12
26
2

Crescent terrets

1. AUCHENDOLLY, Kirkcudbright. No. 54
2. BAPCHILD, Kent. PSA, XX, 57 & Pl.
3. CAWSTON, Norfolk. Clarke(1939), 66, fig.12, 13.
4. COLCHESTER, Essex. Wright(1911), 27-9; Leeds(1933), Pl.II, 1. (and one unpublished). C.Mus.596.
5. LAKENHEATH, Suffolk. Leeds(1933), Pl.I, 3.
6. LONDON. Guildhall Mus. 178.
7. RADYR, Glam. Information from Dr. Savory.
8. RATTLESDEN, Suffolk. Bury St. Edmunds Mus. F.84.
9. RICHBOROUGH, Kent. Bushe Fox(1949), Pl.I, 2.
10. RUNNYMEDE, Thames at. Surrey Arch. Coll.(1909), XXII, 198 & Pl. opp.197, III.
11. WHAPLODE DROVE, Lincs. Unpublished. Private Colln.
12. WESTHALL, Suffolk. Harrod(1855), 454-6.
13. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Bolton Mus.

Foreign finds

1. EAUZE, Gers. Michon(1925), 145-7.
2. Fayum, Egypt. Smith, RA, (1925), 86, fig.81.


Crescent terrets
Two or more
Single
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

Ribbed terrets

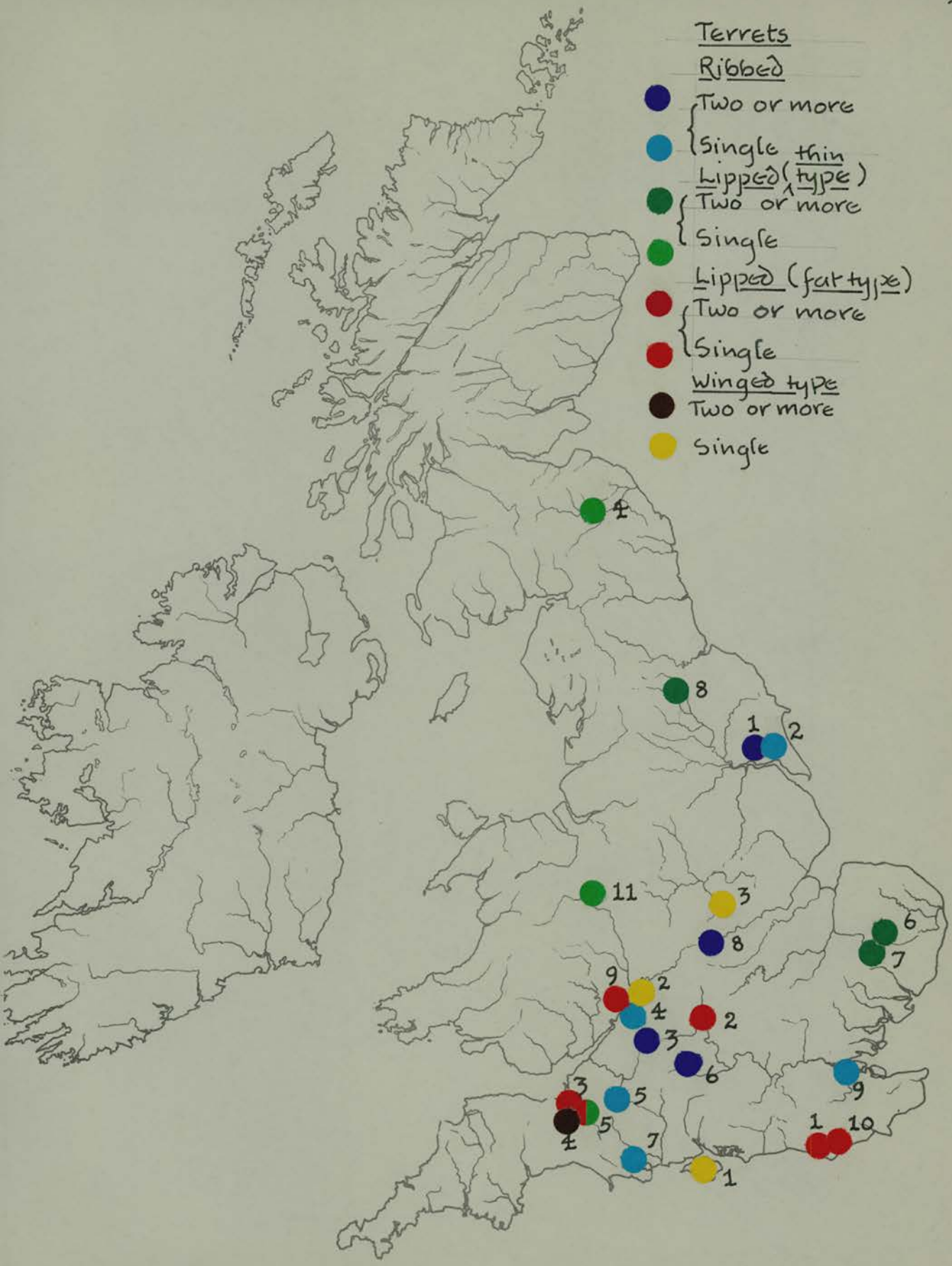
1. ARRAS, King's Barrow, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906), 280-1. (2)
2. ARRAS, Lady's Barrow, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906), 286, fig30(1)
3. BARBURY CASTLE, Wilts. Bulleid & Gray(1911), 230, fig.45B; MacGregor & Simpson(1963), 397, fig.2, 14(2)
4. FAIRFORD, Glos. Wylie(1852), Pl.V, 7. (1)
5. GLASTONBURY, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911), Pl.XLIV, E192. (1)
6. HAGBOURNE HILL, Berks. King(1812), 348, Pl.L. (2)
7. HOD HILL, Dorset. Brailsford(1962), 15, No.17. (1)
8. HUNSBURY, Northants. Fell(1936), Pl.II, A1, 4 & 5. (3)
9. SPRINGHEAD, Kent. Penn(1959), 23, fig.10, 3. (1)
10. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN(presumed local). Saffron Walden Mus. (2)

Lipped terrets

1. ALFRISTON, Sussex. Kemble(1863), Pl.XX, fig.2. (1)
2. DITCHLEY, Oxon. Radford(1936), 55, fig.10 & Pl.X. (1)
3. KNOWLE, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911), 230, fig.45, A. (1)
4. NEWSTEAD, Roxb. No.55a possible second now lost). (2)
5. POLDEN HILLS, Som. Harford(1808), Pl.XIX, 3, XX, 5. (2)
6. RICKINGHALL, Suffolk. Ipswich Mus. 962:180. (2)
7. STANTON, Suffolk. Clarke(1939), Pl.XIX, 1-2. (2)
8. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos.51-69. (15)
9. WESTON-UNDER-PENYARD, Heref. B.M. 1910.10-1.4. (1)
10. WILMINGTON DOWN, Sussex. Arch.J., X(1853), 259. (1)
11. WROXETER, Shrops. Atkinson(1942), 342, Pl.51A. (1)

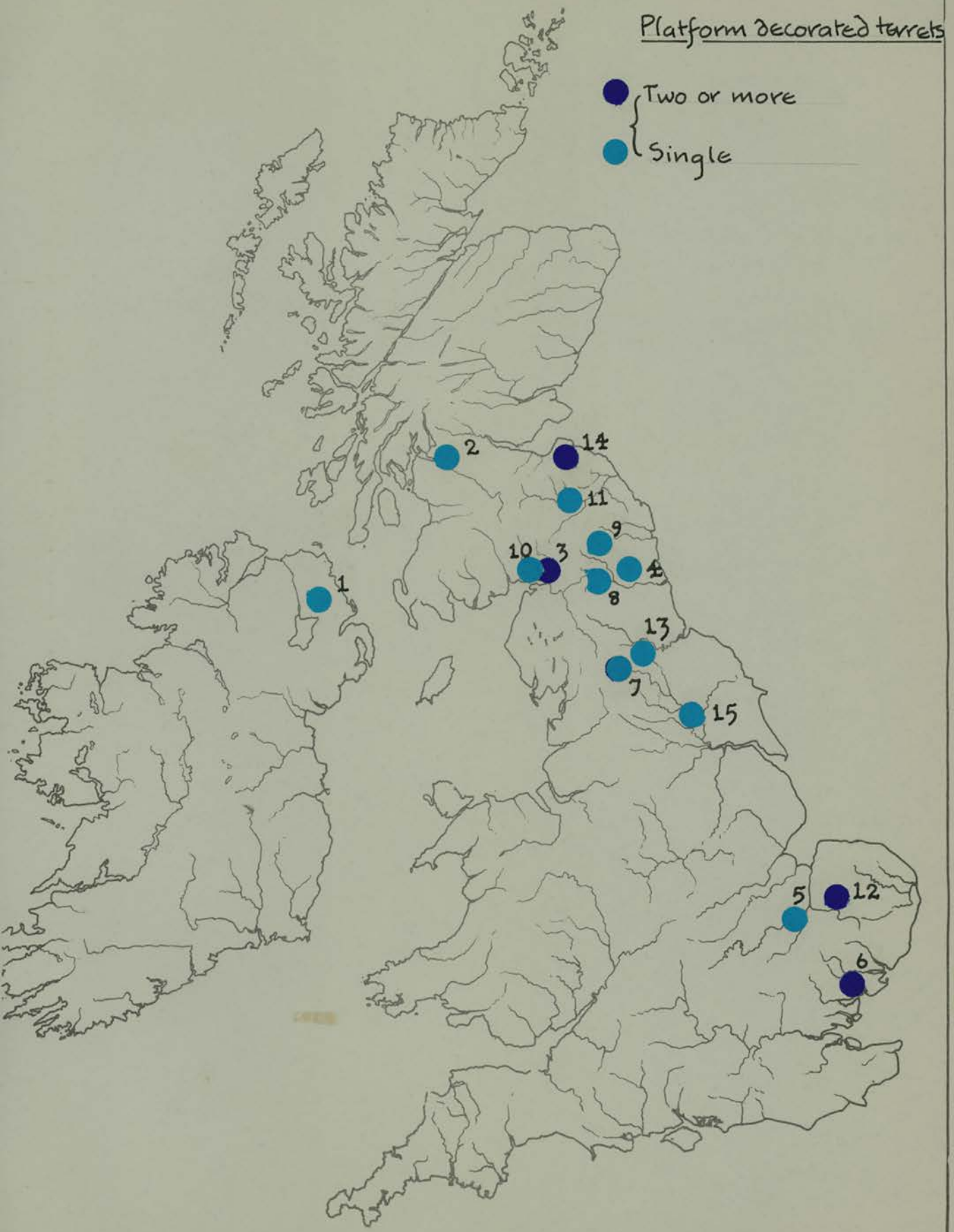
Winged terrets

1. CHESSEL DOWN, I.O.W. V.C.H.Hants, I, 389, fig.19. (1)
2. KINGSHOLM, Glos. Green(1951), 71. (1)
3. LEICESTER. V.C.H.Leics. I, 173. (1)
4. POLDEN HILLS, Som. Harford(1808), Pl.XIX, 2; Leeds(1933)Pl.I, 1(11)


Terrets
Ribbed
Two or more
Single thin Lipped (type 1)
Two or more
Single
Lipped (fat type)
Two or more
Single
Winged type
Two or more
Single
4
8
1
2
11
3
8
6
7
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5
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7
1
1
10

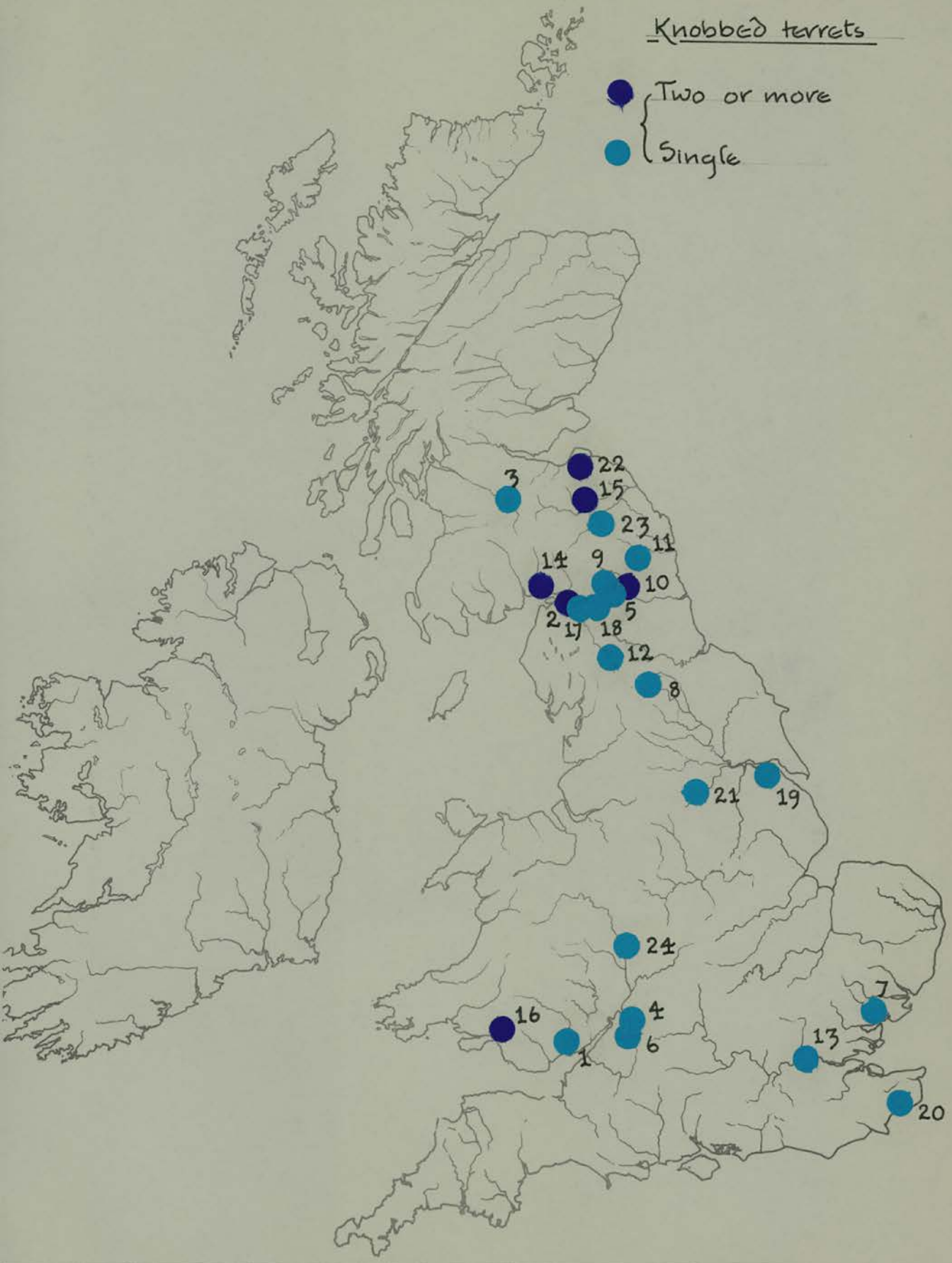
Platform decorated terrets

1. Co.ANTRIM. Jope(1950),57,fig.1,3. (1)
2. BALMUILDY,Lanark. Miller(1922),Pl.LIII,12. No.56 (1)
3. BIRRENS,Dumfries. Nos 57-8 (2)
4. CHESTERS,Northumb. No. 59 (1)
5. CAMBRIDGE FENS. B.M. 80 12-14.11. (1)
6. COLCHESTER,Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947),Pl.XCIX,4 & 5. (1 or 2)
7. FREMINGTON HAGG,N.R.Yorks. Nos 60-61 (2)
8. GREAT CHESTERS(or ? Benwell),Northumb. No. 62 (1)
9. HIGH ROCHESTER,Northumb. No. 63 (1)
10. MIDDLEBIE,Dumfries. No. 64 (1)
11. NEWSTEAD,Rox. No. 65 1 or pos2?(
12. SAHAM TONEY,Norfolk. Norwich Mus. 66.47. (6)
13. STANWICK,N.R.Yorks. No.61. (1)
14. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Nos 66-8 (?3)
15. YORK,Railway Station excavations. York Mus.(? lost). No.69 (1)


Platform decorated turrets
Two or more
Single
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15

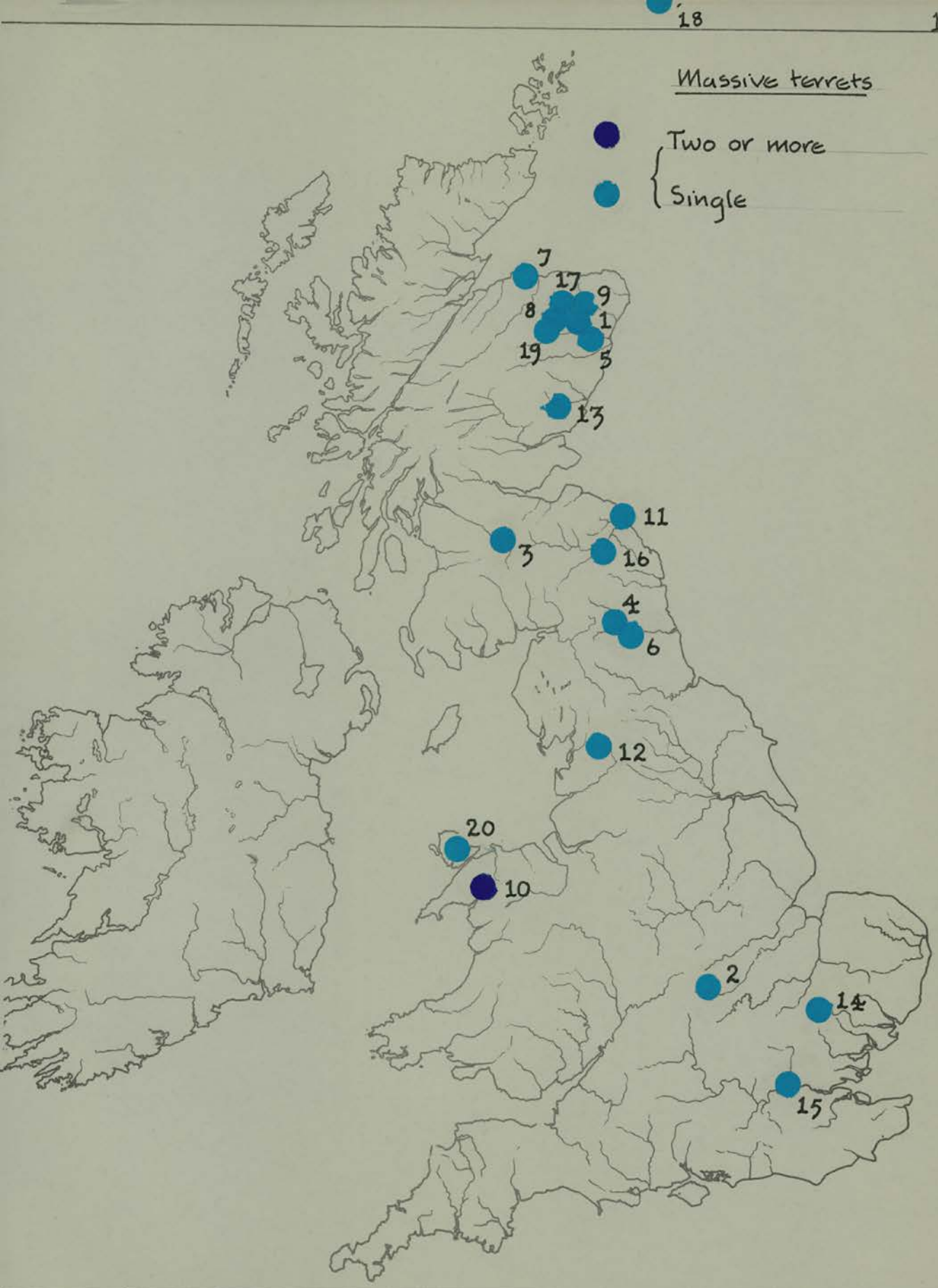
Knobbed terrets

1. CAERLEON, Mon. Nashe Williams(1939), 37, No.28. (1)
2. CARLISLE, Cumn. Nos 70-1 (2)
3. CASTLEDYKES, Lanark. No. 72 (1)
4. CHEDWORTH, Glos. Chedworth Mus. 100A. (1)
5. CHESTERHOLM, Northumb. No. 73. (1)
6. CIRENCESTER(Chesterlodge), Glos. Corinium Mus. A 3. (1)
7. COLCHESTER, Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947), Pl.XCIX, 3. (1)
8. FREMINGTON HAGG, N.R.Yorks. No. 74 (1)
9. GREAT CHESTERS, Northumb. No. 75 (1)
10. HOUSESTEADS, Northumb. Nos 76-7 (2)
11. HUCKOE, Northumb. No. 78 (1)
12. KIRKBY THORE, Westm. No. 79 (1)
13. LONDON, River Wallbrook at Bucklersburyhouse. Guildhall Mus. 20759. (1)
14. MIDDLEBIE, Dumfries. Nos 80-4 (6)
15. MUIRCLEUGH, Berwick. No. 85-8 (4)
16. NEATH, Glam. Grimes(1951), fig.40, 3. (2)
17. NETHER DENTON, Cumb. No. 89 (1)
18. POLTROSS BURN, Cumb. No. 90 (1)
19. SCUNTHORPE, Lincs. Scunthorpe Mus. (1)
20. STOWTING, Kent. Brent(1867), Pl.XIX, V. (1)
21. TEMPLEBOROUGH, Yorks. No. 91 (1)
22. TRAPRAIN, E.Lothian. Nos 92-9 (8)
23. WOODEN ECKFORD, Roxb. No. 100 (1)
24. WYCHBURY, Worcs. Marten(1887). (1)


Knobbed terrets
Two or more
Single
22
3
15
23
11
14
9
10
5
2
17
18
12
8
21
19
24
7
4
16
6
1
13
20

Massive terrets

1. BALLESTRADE, Cromar, Aberdeen. No. 102 (1)
2. BILLING, Northants. B.M.(?lost). (1)
3. CAIRNGRYFE, Lanark. No. 103 (1)
4. CHESTERS, Northumb. No. 104 (1)
5. CLOVA, Aberdeen. No. 105 (1)
6. CORBRIDGE, Northumb. No. 106 (1)
7. CULBIN SANDS, Moray. No. 108 (1)
8. CRICHIE, Aberdeen. No. 107. (1)
9. CULSALMOND(Sheelagreen), Aberdeen. No. 109 (1)
10. DINAS EMRYS. Breese(1930), 353, fig.6, b & c. (3)
11. EYEMOUTH, Berwick. No. 110 (1)
12. GIGGLESWICK, W.R.Yorks. No. 111 (1)
13. KIRRIEMUIR, Angus. No. 112 (1)
14. LINTON HEATH, Camb. Neville(1854), 97-8 & 99, no.XI. (1)
15. LONDON, Moorgate Street. London Mus. (1)
16. OXNAM, Roxb. No. 113 (1)
17. RHYNIE, Aberdeen. No. 114 (1)
18. SHETLAND(probably). No. 115 (1)
19. TOWIE, Aberdeen. No. 116 (2)
20. WERTHYR, Llandrygarn, Anglesey. Information from Mr. Lievens. (1)
21. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN(presumed Scotland). No. 117 (1)
22. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. (? temporarily lost) (1)
23. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. (? temporarily lost) (1)


18
Massive terrets
Two or more
Single
7
17
9
8
1
19
5
13
11
3
16
4
6
12
20
10
2
14
15

Dropped bar terrets

BENWELL, Northumb. Petch(1928), Pl.XXII, 9. (1)
BROUGH, E.R.Yorks. Corder & Hawkes(1936), 43-78. (1)
CARLISLE(Botchergate), Cumb. Carlisle Mus. 18.05.2. (1)
CHESTERS, Northumb. Budge(1903), 376, no.785. Philipson(1886), Pl.XIX, 21. (2)
CORBRIDGE, Northumb. Corbridge Mus. (1)
MUIRCLEUGH, Berwick. No.(also claimed as a simple terret). No. (1)
NEATH, Glam. Fox(1958), 128, fig.78, 15. (1)
POLTROSS BURN, Cumb. No.90 (also claimed as a knobbed terret). (1)
RICHBOROUGH, Kent. Bushe Fox(1926), 45 & Pl.XIII, 16; (1949), 130, & Pl.XXXVI, 124. (2)
TEMPLEBOROUGH, Yorks. No.91. (also claimed as a knobbed terret). (1)

Vase headed linch pins

1. ARRAS, King's Barrow, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),279,fig.21. (2)
2. BIGBURY, Kent. Jessup(1932),105. (2)
3. CAIRNGRYEE, Lanark. No. 118 (1)
4. JEWRY WALL, Leicester. Kenyon(1948),259 & fig.87,5. (1)
5. LLYN CERRIG, Anglesey. Fox(1946),19 & Pl.XV,42. (1)
6. MERLIN'S CAVE, Symond's Yat, Hereford. Trans. Bristol Spel. Soc., IV, Pt.I, Pl.IV. (1)
7. NEWSTEAD, Roxb. No. 119 (1)
8. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos. 75-8. (4)
9. TRAPRAIN, E.Lothian. No. 120 (1)
10. TREVELGUE, Corn. Ward Perkins(1941),65,& Pl.X. (1)
11. WIGGINTON COMMON, Herts. Ward Perkins(1941),65,Pl.XI. (1)
12. WROXETER, Shrops. Bushe-Fox(1916),26 & Pl.XVII,22. (1)
13. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Saffron Walden Mus. (1)
14. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Ashmolean Mus. Oxford. (1)

Vase headed castings

1. BLACKBURN MILL, Berwick. No. 121 (2)
2. COLCHESTER, Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947),329,fig.6,3. (4)
3. COLNE FEN, Hunts. Fox(1961),235-8 & Pl.XLV. (3)
4. SANTON, Norfolk. Smith,R.A.(1909),Pl.XV, & 151,fig.4. (9-11)
5. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Nos. 80 & 81. (2)
6. WESTHALL, Suffolk. Clarke(1939),Pl.XVIII,4. (6)

Ring headed linch pins.

1. BIGBURY, Kent. Jessup(1932),105. (1)
2. (?)ELSLACK, Yorks. May(1911),151,fig.1. (1)
3. LLYN CERRIG, Anglesey. Fox(1946),19,78 & Pl.II,no.43. (1)
4. POLDEN HILL, Som. Harford(1808),92,Pl.XX. (1)

5. ST.MAWGAN-IN-PYDER,Corn. Murray-Threipland(1955),73, fig.36,11. (1)
6. WORTHY DOWN,Hants. Hooley(1926-30),Pl.VI,82. (1)

Vase/Ring combinations

1. MIDDLETON/ENTHORPE,Yorks. No. 123 (1)
2. STANWICK,N.R.Yorks. Nos. 70,71,79. (3)

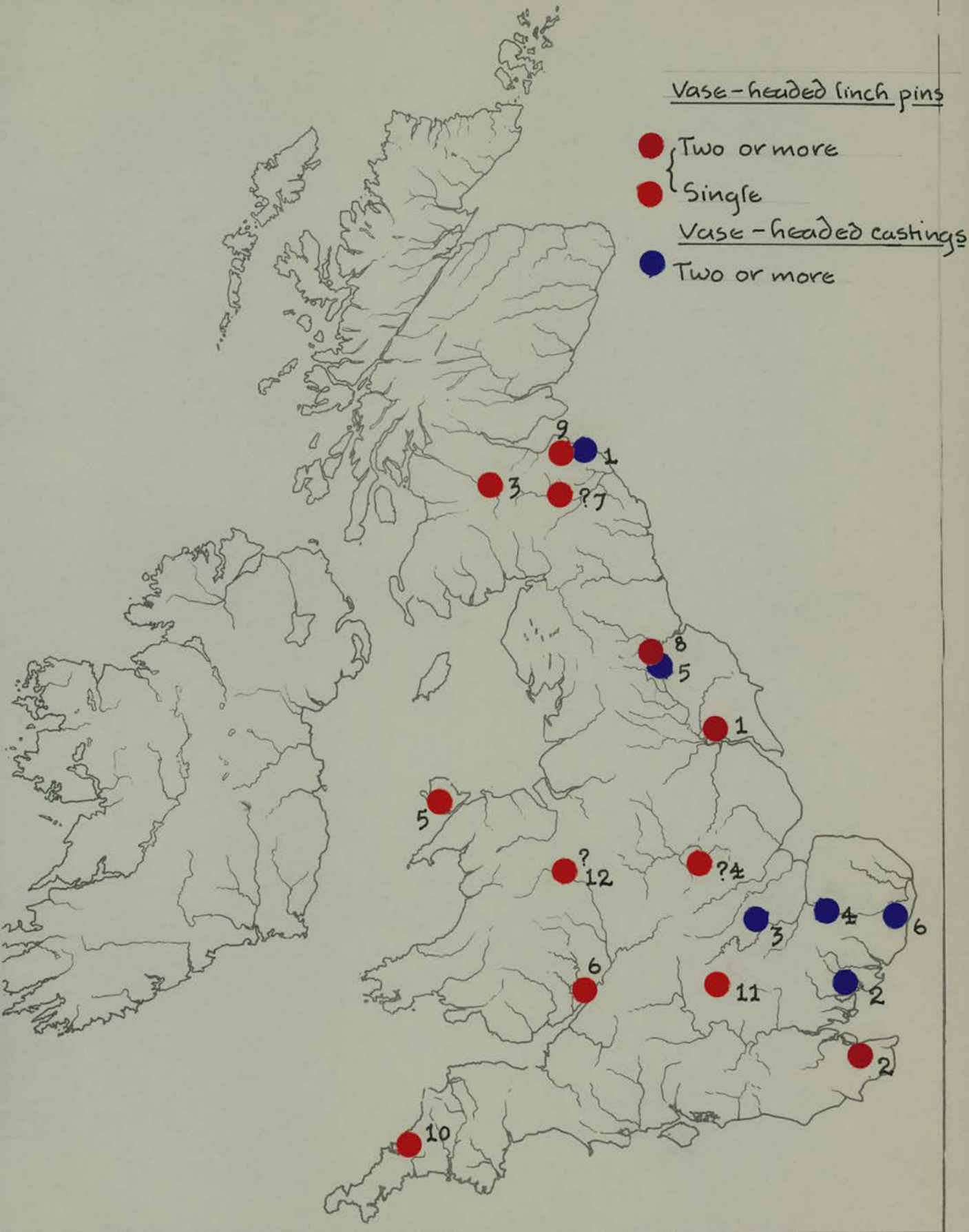

Vase-headed linch pins
Two or more
Single
Vase-headed castings
Two or more
9
1
3
?7
8
5
1
5
?
12
?4
3
4
6
6
11
2
2
10

Plate headed linch pins

1. BALMUILDY, Lanark. Miller(1922), Pl.LIV, 22. (1)
2. BLACKBURN MILL, Berwick. Piggott(1952-3), 43, fig.11, B4. (1)
3. BROUGH, E.R.Yorks. Corder & Romans(1939), 217, fig.10, 8. (1)
4. CARLINGWARK, Kirkcudbright. Piggott(1952-3), 33, fig.C7 & 8. (2)
5. CASTLEDYKES, Lanark. Hunterian Mus. (2)
6. COLCHESTER, Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947), 341. (1)
7. CORBRIDGE, Northumb. Corbridge Mus. (2)
8. ECKFORD, Roxb. Piggott(1952-3), 25, fig.5, E4. (1)
9. HUALCOTE, Glos. Trans. Bristol & Glos. Arch.Soc., LV(1933), 333, fig.8, 2. (1)
10. LAWS OF MONIFIETH, Angus. N.M.A.Edin. (1)
11. MUMRILLS, Falkirk. Macdonald(1928-9), 561, fig.124, 5. (1)
12. NEWSTEAD, Roxb. Curle(1911), Pl.LXX, 1, 3 & 6. (3)
13. TIDDINGTON, Warwick. Fieldhouse, May & Wellstood(1931), Pl. VIII, 4, 5, 11. (3)
14. TRAPRAIN, E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6), 196, nos.358 & 359. (2)

Rectangular headed linch pins

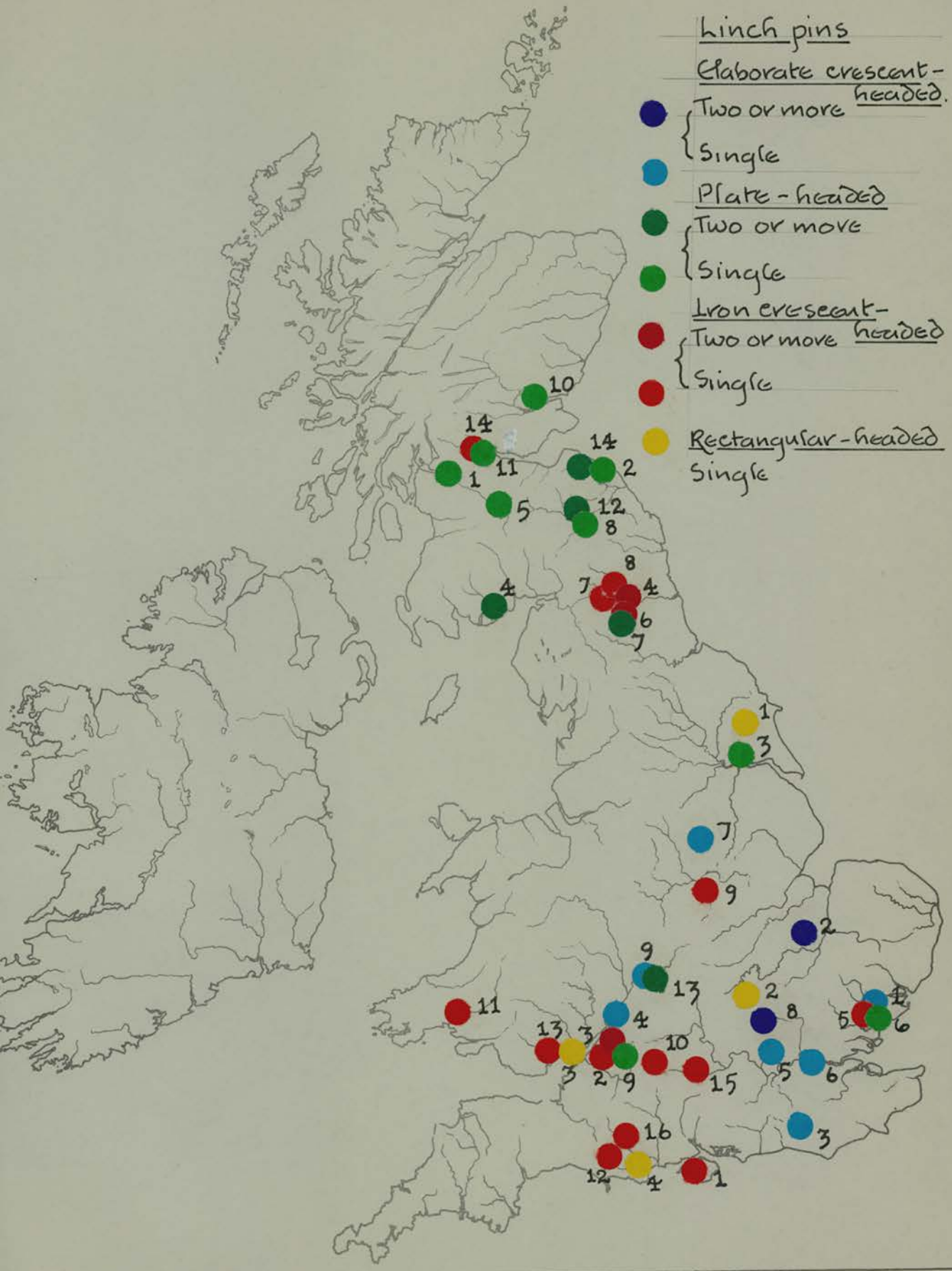
1. ARRAS, Barrow 13, E.R.Yorks. Information from Prof. Piggott. (1)
2. HUNSBURY, Northants. Fell(1936), Pl.IV, B6. (1)
3. MERLIN'S CAVE, Symond's Yat, Hereford. Trans. Bristol Spel. Soc., IV, Pt.I, Pl.IV, b. (1)
4. (?)HOD HILL, Dorset. Brailsford(1962), 18 & Pl.XIII, I, 136. (1)

Elaborate crescent headed linch pins

1. COLCHESTER,Essex. Hawkes & Hull(1947),331 & Pl.XCIX,7. (1)
2. COLNE FEN,Hunts. Fox(1961),Pl.XLV. (2)
3. HASSOCKS,Sussex. Ward Perkins(1940),vii,69-71. (1)
4. KINGSHOLM,Glos. Glos. Mus. (1)
5. KING'S LANGLEY,Herts. Kendrick(1939-40),78-9. (1)
6. LONDON. R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler(1936),218 & Pl.LXII,4. (1)
7. MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE,Notts. Oswald(1938),176-8. (1)
8. ST.ALBANS,Herts. R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler(1936),Pl.LXII,2-3. (2)
9. TIDDINGTON,Warwick. Ward Perkins(1940),362,367. (1)
10. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. (1)

Iron crescent headed linch pins

1. BRADING,I.O.W. Price(1881),Pl.II,fig.3. (1)
2. CHEDWORTH,Glos. Ward Perkins(1940),367. (1)
3. CIRENCESTER,Glos. Ward Perkins(1940). (4)
4. CHESTERS,Northumb. Chesters Mus. (6)
5. COLCHESTER(Essex). Hawkes & Hull(1947),341 & Pl.CV,20. (1)
6. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Corbridge Mus. (2)
7. HALTWHISTLE,Northumb. AA^{3},V,271. (1)
8. HOUSESTEADS,Northumb. Bosanquet(1903),292,fig.50,i. (1)
9. LEICESTER. Leics. Mus. (1)
10. LIDDINGTON CASTLE,Wilts. Ward Perkins(1941),66-7. (1)
11. LLANDOVERY,Carmarthen. A.Fox(1945),144. (1)
12. MAIDEN CASTLE,Dorset. Wheeler(1943),276,fig.90,10. (1)
13. RADYR,Glam. Information from Dr.Savory. (1)
14. ROUGH CASTLE,Stirling. Information from Professor Piggott. (1)
15. SILCHESTER,Hants. Ant.J.,XXXVI(1956),221;A.Fox(1945),141. (6)
16. (?)WOODCUTTS,Dorset. Pitt Rivers(1892),Pl.CLXXXIII,15. (1)


Linch pins
Elaborate crescent-headed.
Two or more
Single
Plate-headed
Two or more
Single
Iron crescent-headed
Two or more
Single
Rectangular-headed
Single

Chapter 4

WEAPONS & DEFENSIVE ARMOUR

A study of swords might seem superfluous, in view of Piggott's well known paper of 1950 and that of Clarke and Hawkes published in 1955; and yet to omit them entirely would be to falsify the picture of Early Iron Age metalwork in North Britain. The situation is further complicated by the imminent publication of Stead's examination of Yorkshire chariot burials, and no doubt also the contents of the few sword burials from this same area. Not wishing to 'poach', I have reached the following compromise; swords and scabbards of Piggott's Groups II and III are briefly mentioned; only those members of Group III not found in sword graves are included in the catalogue; Group IV whose members are of great importance to our study receives detailed attention, emphasis being placed upon their decorative features in relationship to other decorative metalwork of Brigantia. Group V and its rag-bag attendants are more cursorily examined. My attention is solely to expand our information about the last two Groups and to recap upon the previous two.

Group II swords and scabbards

The dagger sheaths of Piggott's Group I have no significance to our study. Our interest commences with his Group II, represented in north England by a single specimen from North Grimston (Mortimer 1905: 154). The entire group is an offshoot of the continental La Tène II series and our specimen is typical---a long narrow blade, tanged and provided with an ogee-arched hilt guard and sheathed in an iron scabbard; regrettably the chape is now missing, although visible in Mortimer's photograph. No hilt fittings survive on any member of the group, indicating their manufacture from some organic substance; but three bronze rings, presumably connected with the sword belt, accompanied our specimen. A strap loop was provided below the scabbard mouth.

In distribution, Group II swords and scabbards comply with the normal pattern of early metalwork in Britain, following the Jurassic Ridge from Somerset to the East Riding with added concentrations in the Thames valley and Cambridge Fens. A lower date for the series is provided by a 1st. century A.D. find from Bredon hillfort, Glos. (Piggott 1950: 10). At the other end of the time scale we must place our specimen, by reason of its association in a grave with an anthropoid hilted dagger. It is reasonable to suspect that our Group II swords come into being around 150-100 B.C., the period during which ancestral forms on the continent achieved their maximum popularity.

Anthropoid hilted daggers (Piggott's Group IIA)

Three of the ten anthropoid hilted daggers found in Britain come from Yorkshire. Those from Clotherhulme (Read 1914-15: 215ff.) and North Grimston (Sheppard 1934: 132-8, fig.1) belong to Hawke's Class F---in each case the human head is sunk, the arms and legs assume an ogee curve, and the grip bears three or more ring mouldings. Five members of this group are known in all; one from Switzerland, another from Haute-Marne and a final example from Sea Mills, near Bristol (Hawkes 1955: 211-12).

Hawkes has detected within his class F the combination of human head (a characteristic of his West European Type B) and ring moulding of the grip (a characteristic of his Central European Class D). This cross-fertilization must have occurred somewhere in western Europe, and in view of the closeness both in form and feeling displayed by the specimens from North Grimston and Chatenay-Macheron, Hawkes would choose France; seeing in the Yorkshire example an import from this region and further proof of the close contact between the continent and Britain in the latter half of the 2nd. century B.C. The part played in the development of future sword

types in Britain is mentioned on p.148 .

The Clotherholme anthropoid hilted weapon on the other hand may well be a local manufacture,displaying features not only of Class F to which it belongs but also such gentle grip moulding as to recall Class B,itself represented in Britain by a sword from Shouldham,Norfolk and a dagger from Cookham(op.cit.,206-9); both apparently pre-date 200 B.C. and are therefore easily to hand for this fushion.

One final unprovenanced specimen(op. cit.,215) is a probable Yorkshire product---a member of Hawke's class G--- with projecting head,arms and leggs arranged in a V or Y shape,grip profile with three or more ring mouldings and a tendency to naturalism as a result of contacts with Rome. A maximum of twelve specimens is known of which three are British finds---that under discussion,the dagger from Ham Hill, Somerset and the famous 'Witham imp'specimen,now lost. The remainder,save for a lone example from Ballyshannon Bay,Co. Donegal,have occurred in France where no doubt the type was evolved from Class F,and where grave groups relegate it to the La Tène III period. This new form must have reached Britain in the first half of the 1st. century B.C.,although no actual imports survive. Our Yorkshire copy is as clumsy as the Witham one is brilliant. That the group survives until the Conquest is attested by Roman features on the Ham Hill scabbard.

Before passing on to Group III,I should like to draw attention to the surprising rarity of Group II weapons,both ordinary and anthropoid hilted in our area,when compared with the massed finds of southern England. Indeed,Mr.Stead in a paper to the Iron Age Conference in Edinburgh(1961) suggested that burial with a sword,and presumably the swords themselves,might well be innovations to Yorkshire,from south of the Humber. It is especially mysterious that no weapons accompany burials in or with chariots,themselves usually

interpreted as instruments of combat. One must presuppose that a warrior's sword was inherited rather than deposited upon his death; otherwise metaphorically speaking the light of battle begins to fade from the eyes of the Parisii. Stead may have a point in referring to the buried vehicles as carts, thus emphasising their more peaceful functions.

Group III swords

Six members of Piggott's Group III are known, two by chapes only, one by a single scabbard plate and the rest by more substantial remains. A close link with the members of Group II is assured by similar proportions, tang and ogee-curved guard in the case of the swords; and curved mouth, decorative studs, half-tubular edge strengthening and struts in the lower section, and incurved U-shaped chape in the case of the scabbards. Innovations are present, the most noticeable being a tendency to heart-shaped and baroque proportions on the part of the chapes, and at least two instances of surface incision for the entire length of the front scabbard plate.

Distribution is almost exclusively north-eastern with two representatives in the East Riding, three in lowland Scotland and one from the River Witham at Sutton Reach.

The Grimthorpe and Bugthorpe swords were found in graves, the former with, amongst other things, bone lance points and/or skewers of a type found in the cemeteries of Arras and Danes Graves(Mortimer 1905: 150). Both the contexts and this association would indicate an early date, although of course the derivation of Group III swords from Group II precludes anything before the second half of the 2nd. century B.C. For chronological clues to the manufacture of other members in the group, we must rely entirely on stylistic detail.

The Glencotho chape(No. 126)has unusually slender proportions; its heart outline has not yet closed at the top and its lip form is unemphasised. These features forge a link with Group II terminals such as that from Lakenheath(Piggott 1950:7, fig2

and betoken an early date for the casting, to which its surface detail does not give the lie; its delicate tendrils with hollowed interiors look back to early north-eastern work as typified by the Torrs pony cap.

The Bugthorpe chape on the other hand seems more highly developed(Piggott 1950: Pl.III). The heart outline is now complete, enclosing a void through which the final tail of scabbard plate incision can be seen. The basal moulding is precisely that multiplied upon terrets of proto-lipped type (see p.76 ff.). The relief detail upon the chape's surface is more of an aid to dating. Silhouetted against a ground of shallow tooling, small, tailed trumpet forms wander unpredictably; their debt to the Llyn Cerrig plaque is obvious(Fox 1958: 34, fig.18), but the treatment is far more reminiscent of that upon a bracelet in the Snettisham treasure(op.cit., 45, fig.32). A date perhaps in the second quarter of the 1st. century B.C. cannot be far wrong for the scabbard in question.

The remaining two chapes from Hounslow, Berwick.(No. 127) and the river Tweed at Carham(No. 125) combine features of both the Bugthorpe and Glencotho specimens---the closed outline and 'fatter' treatment of the former with the everted upper mouldings, and in the case of Hounslow the lip formation of the latter. Furthermore, the Hounslow chape posesses lateral ribs, which vividly recall the outline of Bugthorpe's decorative panels, while foreshadowing that partial sheating so characteristic of products of the early 1st. century A.D. such as the Colchester bronze cup(Fox 1958: 93, fig.58) and the Birdlip mirror(op. cit., Pl.57, b). Sturdily everted arms on the specimen from Carham recall the plate holders of the Mayer mirror no less(op.cit., Pl.56, a)and its paired trumpet mouths predict developments of the Brigantian school at an even later date. Manufacture in the second half of the 1st. century B.C., or even early in the succeeding century is likely.

The use of (?) coral or enamel studs links our examinations

of chape form and scabbard decoration. Into the six 'eyes' of the Grimthorpe chape were fixed 'small rubies, by means of small rivets passing through their centres'(Mortimer 1905:151-2). These apparently have not survived and so their composition is unknown. Two pairs of enamel studs adorn the Bugthorpe scabbard immediately below the mouth. Such colourful details recall the products of Group II(e.g. Amerden, Bucks.(Piggott 1950: 8, fig.3,4a))and IIA(e.g. the anthropoid hilted dagger from the river Witham) and look forward to the unrestrained gaudiness of the Group IV scabbard from Embleton(No. 133).

Scabbard struts on the lower reaches of the Grimthorpe scabbard are treated with a combination of openwork and basket hatching. The former has a respectable ancestry on the continental La Tène II scabbards and is to become a feature of Group IV swords. The latter must be classed with wave-like succession of hatched fronds which inundates the front plate of the Bugthorpe scabbard. All-over decoration may be new to Britain, but the motifs form an obvious link with Group II, although the use of basket hatching inside, not around the tendrils attests to local manufacture rather than southerly import.

Repousse is not a common technique for British sword sheaths; it is however employed upon the Carham front plate to delineate a simplified palmette. This is astonishingly similar to the scabbard locket upon a Group I sword from Standlake, Oxon.(Piggott 1950: Pl.II). The motif however has a very long life and makes frequent appearances on mirrors---noteably that from Nijmegen(Fox 1958: Pl.56,r)so that no chronological significance can be attached to it.

Stylistic analysis suggests for the members of Group III a life span of at least a century with quite probably an extension into the 1st. century A.D. It stresses the debt owed to the predominantly southern products of Group II and foreshadows many of the features of Group IV.

Group IIIA swords

This title has been applied to eleven weapons, scabbards or chapes whose distribution is centred upon Northern Ireland and in particular upon the site of Lisnacrogher in Co. Antrim. It would therefore be of little immediate interest to us were it not for a single representative or variant of the type from Bargany House in Ayrshire---a logical place for its discovery. (No. 128).

The members of this group display a distinctive form of chape, bag-shaped in outline, the neck bridged and/or adorned with paired studs, which are re-echoed within the chape's confines and again in some cases at the termination of the twin V-sectioned arms which unite and strengthen the scabbard plates in their lower reaches. The plates themselves may be centrally ribbed and in all save two instances bear continuous incised decoration for their entire length. It is to be regretted that the British specimen is unadorned.

None is strictly dateable; Lisnacrogher provides the only archaeological context, and as a votive deposit is suspected it is unnecessary to envisage the finds as contemporary.

In 1950 Piggott regarded Group IIIA swords as an Irish offshoot of British III and a visual relic of the 'plantation of Ulster by Yorkshire charioteers' in the 1st. century B.C. He supported his theory with the following facts:-

(a) For a true continental ancestry to the Irish chape form one has to go back to La Tène I times which seems improbably early. (b) The Irish chape form is close to that of our British III Group. (c) An origin in the latter is therefore more likely than in the former and a commencement of the series in the 1st. century B.C. distinctly feasible. (d) This similarity is further emphasised by the Irish scabbard incision, which recalls Bugthorpe in its layout; also the British ~~feature of basket hatching is employed, al~~

feature of basket hatching is employed, although not frequently. Jope's refutal of this argument in favour of a continental ancestry(1954: 81-91) has been cooly appraised by yet another Irish scholar, Rynne(1958:705-9) whose findings endorse the opinions of Piggott.

The Bargany House scabbard must surely be either a North Irish import or a local copy of the same. Certain features do favour the latter theory. The shallow curved mouth is more at home in Britain; the slight terminal knob of the chape is a feature of our Group II; swags lightly incised upon the chape's sides are common in British metalwork. Taken as a whole however the Irish features far outweigh the British---for example the hefty raised bridge is comparable to that on the undecorated scabbard from Lisnacroghera(Piggott 1950: Pl.III).

It is not the only Irish import to western Scotland; witness the ring-headed pins from Coll and Skye(see p. 315), and the brooch from Lochlee(Munro 1882: 129,fig.141); and conceivably comb No. 241 from Langbank crannog(see p.451). Such contacts will be the subject of a later discussion.

Group IV swords (Nos. 129-48)

Piggott's Group IV, called Brigantian, comprises twenty-seven members of which some are virtually entire and many are represented by the hilt guard only. General characteristics are a long narrow blade, gently keeled, with an equally elongated tang ending in a pommel knob. The hilt guard is elaborate---of cocked hat, crown or related outline, and the grip is frequently ribbed. The scabbard is straight mouthed, with a lipped chape and strap loop applied near the middle and extended in both directions as a graduated strip. The swords are in all probability of steel rather than wrought iron, in view of the use of this material for chariot tyres at

Llyn Cerrig(Fox 1946: 75-6). Hilt mounts are frequently of bronze,sometimes combined with bone or perhaps even wood,although naturally the evidence is more negative than positive. Scabbards are invariably of betaſen or cast bronze.

Where present,the sword blades fall between 20 and 24 in. in length; it is interesting to note that Cu Chulainn's sword was just under 2 ft. long and weighed little more than 1 lb.(Jope 1955: 39). The Pilling Moss scabbard however is no more than 11.75 in. long. Breadth varies considerably,between a rapier-like 1.1 in. in the case of the Mortonhall blade---evocative more of the parade groundthan the battlefield---to a sturdier 2 in. in specimens from Hod Hill,Stanwick and Stoke Abbot. The Fendoch blade follows a totally different tradition and is still bgrader. Tangs may be as much as 5 or 6 in. in length,although the grip betokens somewhat smaller hands than today's average.

The distribution pattern reveals a preponderance of discoveries in lowland Scotland and in England north of a line from the Ribble to the Tees Estuary,with a couple from Perthshire,a single specimen from the East Riding and an enigmatic concentration in Dorset where seven specimens have been found in four sites.

Turning to the contexts in which Group IV weapons have occurred,five are unrecorded or stray; eight are hillfort finds,including every one of the south English group,and a lone specimen from Ayrshire; nine,possibly ten,posess a Roman background,forts accounting for seven. Relatively few(three)form part of metalwork hoards. The Thorpe sword may have accompanied a burial.

Evidence for dating is unusually plentifull. The Hod Hill specimens are unlikely to post-date the Roman conquest of this area which was followed immediately by three years of vigorous suppression and a similar argument is perhaps relevant for the Stoke Abbott guard. The Stanwick sword

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is most feasibly a product of the last 20 or 30 years of Brigantian independence. There is ample evidence for popularity during the Flavian period; whatever the total range of occupation at Castlehill, finds include Samian sherds of the late 1st.-early 2nd. century as well as an early dragonesque brooch. Similar material, including a head stud brooch would seem to have accompanied the Dunstanburgh Castle guard. The pommel from Brough and guard from Manchester must be Agricolan or later. If in fact the unprovenanced fitments in Perth Museum come from the fort of Bertha, as is suspected, then a verdict of Flavian or Antonine could be passed. Closest dating is afforded by three of the four finds from Newstead and the single specimen from Fendoch; the former were found in Pits LVII and LVIII with much native material, as well as Flavian pottery and coins; while the fort of Fendoch was apparently built in 82 or 83 by Agricolan troops and peacefully abandoned between 86 and 88. To sum up, while the earlier stages of development of Group IV swords are not clear, their popularity reached a peak in the latter half of the 1st. century A.D.; there is no factual evidence for their survival into the succeeding century although this is suspected.

The derivation of Group IV swords, immediately from Group III and ultimately from the basic La Tène II form, called Piggott's Group II, is convincing.

Detailed study follows---first of the form, then decoration. A pear-shaped pommel outline is shared by the specimens from Brough, Cotterdale and Worton---of which the Embleton form is in all probability a degeneration. The Perth mount is much more likely to fit into this category than to be the chape of a scabbard. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the hilt mounts of previous groups is almost non-existent, but an ivory specimen, illustrated by Franks (1880: 251), reveals that the form was shared by some Roman

weapons. The pommel mounts from Hod Hill and Quatre Bras (not proved but suspected to be of Group IV type)seem more fitted to an ovoid or spherical knob,a type which is well known from both Celtic(Bradford & Goodchild 1939: opp. 14,Pl.VA & VB) and Roman(Curle 1911: Pl.XXXIV,13; Wheeler 1923: 143,fig.64)swords. It may be noted here that the octopus-like shape of mount displayed at these two last sites,as well as a tang fragment from Llyn Cerrig,of unknown grouping(Fox 1946: Pl.XV,12),is admirably suited to protect the organic pommel both from blows and from splitting in the vicinity of the tang's emergence---an obvious point of weakness. The Cotterdale sheathing,being reversed,fulfills the former role but stupidly not the latter.

Ribbing of the grip is both sensible and customary, whether as a solid casting as at Cotterdale and Warton Mere or banding as at Hod Hill,Embleton,Quatre Bras and Thorpe. Although clearly similar to the Roman bone hilt mounts,the former grip treatment was already known in north England during the life of Piggott's Group II swords; and a very close analogy to the modelling of the Cotterdale example is afforded by the anthropoid hilted dagger from North Grimston(Hawkes 1955: 211 & Pl.XXVII,4). Native sectional construction on the other hand is amply proved for in our area by the Group III sword from Grimsthorpe as well as for the south-east by Group V swords from the Belgic levels at Maiden Castle(Wheeler 1943: 277 & 276,fig.90,2-3) and the miniature weapon from Frilford(S.E.Thomas 1965: Pl.263). The combination of metal with bone or wood clearly makes for both strength and shock absorbance.

Piggott has shown how the cocked hat and crown guard forms of his Group IV arose from the transference of the typical Group II scabbard mouth to the base of the hilt;

compare for instance guards of the Grimthorpe(Group III) and Sadberge(Group IV) swords. It is quite likely that anthropoid hilts of Hawkes' Class F also contributed to hilt development in the north-east.

As regards the crown type of guard two of the Hod Hill specimens with their curvaceous outline and refined detail both look and are early in the series; but it would be foolish to attempt a sequence of degeneration when both elegant and clumsy versions occur in the same horizon at Newstead. The shoulder sheathing guards of Embleton, Worton and Thorpe reveal by their very decorative arrangement a strong link with cocked hat guards and it is not too fanciful to envisage a lobe pattern, in the manner of Embleton and Thorpe, adorning a comparable bone section of the Cotterdale hilt, perhaps emerging from its half sheathing in high relief and gaudy colouring.

It remains to mention the chape outline of Group IV scabbards. An origin in products of the north-east Group III is clear. The rather flaccid diverging lips of the Stanwick and Embleton specimens recall the Glencotho chape and even the extremes of Cotterdale and Mortonhall are fore told by the baroque Hounslow mount. That the chape weight was directly connected with the strap loop's position seems only sensible but it is uncertain which feature dictated which.

Decorative detail - (1) Plastic.

The cast pommel and/or hilt guard of swords from Brough, Embleton, Thorpe and Worton displays a simplified version of the lyre palmette motif, executed in fat lobes and raised roundels. The general layout is reminiscent of that upon helmet No. 175 and, incidentally, upon the massive strap junction from York which also provides a parallel for the neat 'swag and drop' effect underlying the main

motif. A further travesty of the lyre palmette pattern adorns the guards from Middlebie and Newstead(NO.137-139), upon these however interpreted through the medium of the slender trumpet. This popular motif by the way is further utilised as an oval frame for openwork on the Mortonhall scabbard and,totally misunderstood,provides an origin for certain mysterious bumps upon the Brough,(?)Perth and Worton pommels. Paired,the slender trumpet is transformed into a muzzle motif,present on the Cotterdale and Mortonhall scabbards just above the chape.

2-Aplied openwork

To overlay a simple sheath of foil,wood or leather with a decorative web is a sensible mode of adornment for equipment which must be sturdy and above all internally smooth---to avoid interfering with swift removal of the enclosed sword. This technique was frequently employed on continental swords no less upon the British products of all groups. It is not surprising therefore to meet the technique with varying degrees of skill upon the scabbards of Group IV,and incidentally upon other products of the north-east such as a bracelet Thirst House,Derby(No.196)and the famous Lochar Moss torc (No.189). This last,together with the Mortonhall scabbard shares an interesting refinement whereby different alloys are used for openwork and background respectively. Characteristically,the rivets are provided with decorative domed heads which form an integral part of the design.

The major motifs executed in the openwork technique are as follows:- Upon the Cotterdale scabbard there is a symmetrised version of twin trumpet coils sharing the one roundel. Best paralleled on a dress fastener from Carlisle(Fig.298)this is nothing more than one half of the popular swash-N---in its plump manifestation. Upon the Mortonhall scabbard there is a top panel consisting of a sinuous saltire executed in terms

of slender trumpets, coiled around boss-headed rivets. The layout is linked to enamelled detail upon a platform terret from Great Chesters(No. 62), a strap junction from Carlisle(No. 16), a cruciform mount from Traprain(No. 26) and the entire series of massive armlets. The lower panel on the other hand consists of twin trumpet coils enclosed within a pointed oval panel. This is astonishingly foreshadowed by the best of the Neath tankard holdfasts(Fox 1958: Pl.66,a1), varying only in execution technique. Further links are with the Lochar Moss torc and, less obviously, with all dragonesque brooches. Much less assured openwork lies below the faintly curved scabbard mouth of Stanwick. A lyre loop, so plentifully employed upon the contents of the hoard is here thin, troubled and incongruously flanked by coils of Cotterdale appearance. Finally, it is to be regretted that the Embleton scabbard's openwork detail exists only in the form of a few fragments and a series of irregularly sited rivet holes to inform us that the pattern cannot have been entirely geometric.

3- Repoussé work

The technique of repoussé work is confined to simple detail upon strap loops. The diverging graded hoops of Cotterdale, Mortonhall and Sedberge relate to more complex motifs such as the sinuous saltire and swash-N. The motif is almost exclusively Brigantian although a comparable arrangement adorns a fragmentary T brooch of late 1st-early 2nd. century date from Lydney, Glos.(R.E.M. & T.V. Wheeler 1932: 77, fig.12,16).

4-Enamelling

This is confined to a very few members of the sword group. For stylistic reasons the Dorset example will be discussed first. From Hod Hill, the guard's surface displays

curved panels of red enamel. There is a distinct likeness to certain trace hooks in the Neath hoard(Fox 1958: 128, fig.78,5)and,even more,to the multi lobe strap junction from Polden Hill(op.cit.,Pl.72,c); therefore,while its shape may be related to Brigantian products,its adornment is more suited to the south. I note that two pommel rings,belonging to the same sword are divided to form regular rectangular cells---whether for enamel or not I do not know. If this is indeed their purpose then we have an early appearance of Leeds' 'Jewelled Style'.

In the case of Embleton pommel,grip,hilt guard,scabbard back plate and chape are all adorned with enamel in red,yellow and turquoise. This takes the form of rectangular panels in transverse bands---doubtless a relic of functional struts--- and bull's eye roundels. There is an obvious link with the Neath horse trappings and with platform terrets such as those from Saham Toney where a comparable polychromy is found. The technique may be briefly represented at Stanwick by fragment 87 and is of course characteristic of Romano-British brooches. The bull's eye roundels on the other hand are best paralleled upon strap junctions from Saham Toney,West Stowe and Chepstow. Arid and more strictly comparable versions are met with on the Place Fell bit and the entire range of dragonesque brooches.

Enamelling on the Thorpe hilt is confined to circular studs pinned on to the bone. The simple tabbard effect of the side studs is paralleled upon an ovoid mount from Corbridge. Analogies for the more elaborate chequer board of the central roundels are not available until one encounters the Castle Newe massive armlets(No. 217)and a square headed dress fastneer from Drumashie(see p. 297). The square motif with projecting sides is clearly a form of swastika; it is duplicated upon the handles of a tub from one of the two Belgic vault burials at

Welwyn(Fox 1958: 78,fig.48). Finally,the concave sided triangle is a commonplace motif. Present in Yorkshire since chariot burial times it is employed on products of the north-east without a break; late appearances adorn the Balmaclellan mirror(No. 239),a disc from Airieoland (No. 163)and several dress fasteners from Traprain(see p. 296). The enigmatic trails of red which flank the lower central roundel on each side of the Thorpe guard are surely slender trumpets gone wrong.

I suspect that once panels of rectangular enamel cells flanked the strap loop of the Sedberge scabbard,overlying its present rough rivets; they are represented now solely by metal discolouration.

5- Pouncing,punching,incision,scoring & milling

Pouncing is commonly used to fill curvilinear panels upon the later products of southern workshops such as the Polden Hill bits and terrets. Its use upon one,if not two of the Hod Hill guards seems to eliminate the possibility of their manufacture in the north and export to the south.

Punching,as opposed to pouncing,is a common feature upon Group IV swords and scabbards. Alternating from one side of a cast fin to the other it produces a wavy line of relief to lighten a groove. Fox(1946: 37)has shown that the motif may have a practical ancestry and indicates its use upon products of south-west Second B Culture,such as the Glastonbury bowl. The trick became well known farther east, witness for instance the ring terminals of the electrum torc from Snettisham and later became of course a feature of Brigantian metalwork,appearing in various guises upon the Worton guard,Lochar Moss and Rochdale torcs and Middleton/ Enthorpe linch pin. Recessed detail upon the Culbin Sands

snake armlet is but a cast variant.

Close-set feathering and ladder-like incision are difficult to parallel in the south. The former adorns a Belgic linch pin head from Mansfield Woodhouse and the latter the Bulbury bulls. It is much easier to find Brigantian analogies in the shape of beaded torcs such as that from Lamberton Moor. It will be noted that feathering upon the Worton scabbard neatly changes direction at regular intervals. I have been unable to parallel this on British metalwork of the Early Iron Age but should like to point out its frequent occurrence in leaf swags upon Samian ware(Hawkes & Hull 1947: PL.XXXV,13,17; Pl.XXXVI,5).

There remains the microscopic feathering on strip edges on the Mortonhall scabbard. This is in fact rocker tracing,a southern trait admirably illustrated by the Old Warden mirror(Fox 1958: Pl.60,b). A northern parallel is to be found on a beaded torc from Benwell(No. 183)and the technique is used on a larger scale to edge a tankard hold-fast from Newstead(No. 252).

Several points emerge from our detailed study of Group IV sword fitments. First is the profound debt owed to the rare north-eastern scabbards of Group III and even more so to the much earlier members of Group II. Structural conservatism is only to be expected; it is the decorative continuity that surprises. Perhaps the most striking example is afforded by a comparison of the Sutton Reach and Embleton scabbard plates,the former assigned by Fox to the early 1st. century B.C. and the latter distant by a matter of 150 years. Many decorative innovations,such as cellular enamelling may be traced to the south-east and this link is supported by structural features of the Pilling Moss scabbard which, despite its small size,recalls the Belgic members of Piggott's Group V almost as much as those of Group IV. A few ~~contributions are suspected from the Roman world~~

contributions are suspected from the Roman world, not the least being an improvement in the actual blade. The Fendoch sword is a sturdy piece of Roman proportions equipped with a recognisably Celtic form of hilt guard, a combination indicative of auxiliary equipment.

The identification of different workshops in the Brigantian area is virtually impossible although it would seem that a hilt form, largely or totally of metal is characteristic of more westerly products.

From the viewpoint of decoration two main streams are detectable, one represented by the Cotterdale and Mortonhall scabbards, the other by the Embleton, Sedberge, Thorpe and Worton specimens; both arise from a common source known to us from the Stanwick hoard sword. The first pair follow the main stream of scabbard adornment so that when comparable applied openwork occurs on torcs and bracelets, one might almost speak of a 'sword school' were this phrase not already in use in a totally different context. On the other hand, the reason for Embleton's aesthetic failure may arise from the employment of a brooch designer or manufacturer upon too large an area of metal for his comfort. These two parallel streams may both be represented in the Stanwick hoard, the one by set A, with its subtlety of modelling and the other by set C, with its flat, utility look and reliance upon a cheap colour effect.

There remains the problem of the southern outliers. It is a personal opinion that their decoration indicates local manufacture, thus weakening Piggott's pleasant theory of piracy from the north. Two alternatives are proferred. In view of their early date and appearance the crown hilt guard may be a southern invention, transferred swiftly to the north for further development. As the alternative the idea may have reached the south there to

be copied in a southerly manner. Either way, the Roman invasion of 43 A.D. and almost immediate capture and suppression of Hod Hill must be crucial; arising from our twin suggestions we may suspect, though never prove either the flight of craftsmen and/or owners to the north as a result of the disaster, or the infiltration of warriors from the north to support their hard pressed fellow countrymen. The former seems perhaps more plausible but, whatever direction one favours the sea provides an obvious route and the west coast a better chance of uninterrupted travel.

Group V swords and scabbards

Four well known scabbards apparently fit into none of the previous groups. They form the nucleus of Group V, augmented by an indefinite number of the swords from Llyn Cerrig and by several scabbard lockets whose leather or wood base has not survived. I have taken the liberty of appending a small series (VA) of dagger and sword chapes which appear related, and have set the Stanwick ditch sword and scabbard (No. 160) in an uneasy V/VI position---VI being itself a small group of knobbed chapes of dubious Roman influence.

The characteristic scabbard of Group V is altogether bigger than that of the preceding group, protecting a blade which may be as much as 31 in. long; it has parallel sides, a straight mouth and rounded chape devoid of any elaboration. There is a tendency to clip the scabbard plates together near the mouth by means of one or several cast bands and it is this alone which permits us to append openwork mounts such as that from Brough Castle (No. 149) and St. Albans (VCH. Herts., IV 1914: 119).

As none of the intact scabbards falls within our grasp it will be sufficient to dismiss them as follows ; they, with

their enclosed swords may be a Belgic innovation, developing side by side with Group III/IV in the north. The type has a good continental ancestry in La Tène III contexts which, however, helps us only to date the development in Britain to the 1st. century B.C. or later. Details of decoration may narrow the range; that emulating strap loops below the mouth of a scabbard from the river Witham is executed in pouncing and spots of red enamel---reminiscent of say the Colchester strap junction; moreover, an early approximation to a swash-N motif underlies this treatment approaching closely the decoration of the King's Langley linch pin. A date in the first half of the 1st. century A.D. is inescapable.

Mouth mounts of Group V are represented in North Britain by one presumed found in the vicinity of the Roman fort of Brough Castle. Like all other examples the rigidity of its upper edge is relieved by a scalloped lower margin. That from Llyn Cerrig is undecorated(Fox 1946: Pl.XVI,10), but the remaining three known specimens, including our one, are symmetrically pierced or moulded. Two slender trumpet coils lie back to back below the mouth bar of the Brough Castle locket, their trumpet sections enclosing circular voids, their domes abutting on secondary units of the same inspiration. The central section approaches closely the openwork roundel no. 1 in the Stanwick hoard, although lacking its refinements of surface modelling.

The artistic affiliations of the St.Albans locket are more difficult to trace(Piggott 1950: Pl.II). A palmette with flanking trumpet coils is neatly laid out and approaches certain casket ornament(see p.391 ff.). The scabbard locket from Lambay Island, Co.Dublin(Macalister 1928-9: Pl.XXIV,5)is one of three bronze fitments which may have accompanied an iron sword in a grave. Several other objects of British origin have been found in the same (?) cemetery, including brooches of

a type current elsewhere by the mid 1st. century A.D. The locket in question bears a design of interlocking Amazon shield motifs---a Belgic trait if one may believe the ornamented strip from Santon(see p. 64)and toggles from Eckford and Polden Hill. The inspiration may be Belgic but the technique is more akin to the tradition of northern openwork as revealed by the Trawsfynydd tankard holdfast.

If Group V swords are a product of Belgic armourers, the appearance of mounts for such weapons whether of local manufacture or not must further stress the link between north England and the south. Several chapes indicate that the type may have received even wider popularity in the north than was formerly suspected. The simplest version,little more than a U-sectioned binding,adheres to a 3 ft. long sword from Carry House Camp,Birtley(No. 152),while a similar,though more refined specimen,is in Newcastle Museum(No. 159),there presumed local. The specimen from the neighbourhood of Brough(No. 153) is more elaborate; its upper reaches are prolonged on either side of the now missing scabbard by leaf-like openwork, incorporating it seems,a characteristically northern muzzle motif.

Dagger chapes of U-shaped outline with crossed struts, simple openwork(some Roman inspired)and a smattering of red and yellow enamel in triangular panels are a common find in the military establishments of the Wall---Benwell,Chesters, Housesteads,Great Chesters and South Shields. A few are illustrated in the Catalogue(Nos. 154~8). This list cannot be comprehensive nor is the connexion with Group V assured,although a foil scabbard locket of similarly crude workmanship from Chesters(No. 150) may lend support to the possibility.

As regards date,our only help comes from the Birtley find. It was discovered during excavation of a rectilinear native settlement of a type which Jobey has proved to produce

Antonine material, although a late 1st. century date is not discounted(1960: 1-38). The Wall finds are more likely to be Hadrianic or later; they may even belong to the peak of civilian settlement in the 4th. century.

A strange object from Hulne Park(No. 151) deserves mention here. It is a solid flat cake of bronze with a tapering U-shaped end and straight upper margin; close to this last it bears a semi-circular panel of crisp incision defined by milling and punching. Its motif is a lyre palmette with flanking trumpet coils on long upswept stems. The object would serve well as a die for mass manufacture of thin foil scabbard mounts. This is of course merely an application of the predominantly Belgic ornamenting technique called casket work(see p. 391). It is sufficient here to note that the lyre and trumpet coil arrangement is closely paralleled by a strip from Lydney and Santon; while arrays of repousse dots, both as a margin and in groups of three are a feature of this mechanical decoration.

While more work requires to be done on the subject of Group V swords or rather their Group VA relatives, it would seem that a distinct thread of Belgic influence is detectable in north-east England among weapons as among many other categories of object; but the part played by Roman craftsmen has not been mentioned largely through ignorance on the writer's part. It is common knowledge that a knobbed chape is a Roman feature. I can point to at least two instances of interaction between Roman and native scabbard repertoires. The first, a minor work comes from Richborough, Kent(Bushe-Fox 1949: 131 & Pl.XXXVII, No.131). In outline and decoration it is identical to our Group VA specimen from Housesteads, while displaying also a terminal knob.

The second is justly famous---the sword, complete with ash wood scabbard and bronze fittings which was found in 1951 at the phase II ditch bottom of the Stanwick fortifications

(No.160). Its loss must fall firmly between 50 and 74 A.D. with a strong bias towards the latter date. It may have formed part of a trophy on a neighbouring post together with the head of the executed prisoner whose skull was found a yard away. The scabbard displays features alien to Group IV, the Brigantian sword Group par excellence. Its broad appearance, straight mouth, sturdy strap loop immediately below and its use of wood with frequent metal bindings are all typical of Group V; only one detail is known to be current in the Brigantian repertoire; paired vesicae with internal dots as displayed on a scabbard locket form one of the motifs most used in set B of the Stanwick hoard. Neither Group IV nor V however can provide a source for the chape knob which is Roman(Hawkes & Hull 1947: Pl.CIII,6).

The scabbard then combines, with a confusion fitting to the political situation a varying percentage of Belgic, Brigantian and Roman features.

Clearly there have been found in north England and Scotland a number of swords whose relationship to the preceding groups is uncertain because of the absence of diagnostic bronze parts. These cannot be dealt with here. Mention however should be made of a single specimen found in the wall tumble of a vitrified fort at Dun Mac Uisneachan, Argyll(No. 161). From elsewhere in the same site came a small cap-shaped mount enamelled with concentric rings of red and yellow which Henry believes is the tang cap.(No.162)

A simple though similar motif adorns both guard and scabbard of the Embleton sword(Group IV)so that influence from the south is not impossible but the relationship between sword and mount can never be proved.

It is perhaps underhand to insert here two objects whose real function is equally unknown. One is the domed stud from Airieoland(No. 163). This could have been a decorative fixture point on any conceivable object---

fulfilling for instance the role of those rosette studs which adorn the Balmaclellan sheeting(No. 307); however,its sturdy casting and signs of heavy wear indicate a more practical purpose. I would suggest the termination of a sword hilt whose iron tang could pass through the central perforation to be burred over on the top. Its incised concave sided triangle is a well known motif in Celtic art but without any dating significance whatsoever,although it may be pointed out that repoussé examples lie central to roundels on the Balmaclellan mirror while enamelled versions are available on the Group IV hilt guard from Thorpe and upon dress fasteners from Traprain (see p. 296).

A second knob whose red enamel detail is highly conjectural was found in a multiple cist burial at Dunbar(No. 164),together with two fragmentary penannular brooches. The excavators hazarded a dress fastener explanation but the shank stump upon the underside displays no sign of that asymmetry which one might expect. Similar siting to the previous piece would be a better bet---were it not for the total absence of the sword itself.

Spear butts

At least six objects,represented by the castings themselves or by moulds from which castings have presumably been removed,now require attention. They resemble nothing so much as an old fashioned brass door knob and are traditionally accepted as spear butts,although alternatives have been offered (See Burley 1955-6: 203); as two examples from Lisnacrogher, Co.Antrim originally adorned the end of a wooden shaft,in one case 8 ft. long(JHAAI,5 1897: 115,fig.3 ; Wakeman 1890-1: 673-5), I see no reason to reject the normal explanation while realising that difficulties emerge from the multitude of functions to which such a casting might be put. Our attribution is strengthened by the statement of Dio Cassius(History: Loeb Ed. Book

LXXVII,12) that natives of north Britain were armed with a 'shield and short spear with a bronze apple attached to the end of the spear shaft,so that when it is shaken it may clash (or rattle) and terrify the enemy'. Our castings are hollow and of sufficient size to permit the insertion of a small pebble,but not I should think large enough to form an echo chamber in the unnerving manner of the Dowris hoard rattles (Eogan 1964: 305,fig.16,7). A point not brought out by Dio Cassius is that such an arrangement would be ideal for trimming the weapon's balance by an increase or reduction of ballast.

The few examples we have fall into two categories,simple and complex. The former(Nos.166 & 170)posess a flattened spherical knob and gently flaring socket; the latter,a similar terminal with the socket bearing one or two mouldings of graded size(Nos.167 & 168). None of the castings seems to posess any means of attachment to the shaft,other than that of wedging.

The distribution of these spear butts is Scottish; apart from this,it could scarcely be more diverse---Bute, Orkney,Aberdeen and E.Lothian. The same may well be said of the contexts of their discovery---- hillfort,broch,hoard and native oppidum; but they do provide the wherewithall for vague assumptions of date. An unpublished study by Miss Leechman of the finds from Dunagoil suggests a certain life span for that site of two centuries (1st. century B.C.-A.D.) with conceivable extensions in both directions. The excavation techniques employed at Harray broch are innocently revealed in the report by the phrase 'clearing out the interior'; without stratification,broch finds are notoriously difficult to date(see Stevenson 1955: 282-94); however stone cups were present to which Steer would give a range of 1st. century B.C. at least to 2nd. or 3rd. century A.D.(1955-6: 243-6). The objects accompanying the Crichie casting included massive

terret(No. 107)to which we have ascribed a mainly 2nd. century date although initiation in the 1st. century and extension into the 3rd. are both feasible. The Traprain castings come from Level 4 of the 1919 excavations which produced coins of the late 1st.- 2nd. century A.D.

Moreover,the description of Dio Cassius is of equipment wielded before the Severan army (3rd. century). Finally, the form was at least remembered as late as the end of the 5th. century for it was incorporated in the complex symbolism of Pictish stones(Thomas,A.C. 1964: 51 & 52,fig.4).

The real difficulties arise over an origin for the door knob spear butt. To understand the situation,it must be made clear that a large number of strictly comparable objects have been found in Ireland[1]. There,a Late Bronze Age commencement is claimed for them by Coffey(1913: 44); he does not however support this statement by any specific association and seems to indicate that many if not all are stray finds. Their total absence from the lists of Eogan(1964: 268-351) further undermines the likeliehood of such an early date. Perhaps Raftery's claim(1951: 214)for La Tene precursors on the continent may have some validity,although I would feel happier if his analagous material were closer than Hungary; Dechelette has no mention.

To revert to our Scottish examples,is it possible to detect a more local Late Bronze Age origin for them ? The answer must be negative. Parallels are occassionally cited from farther south,for example Hereford(Evans 1881: 341,fig. 427) and Cornwall(Hitchins 1802: Pl.II); the first,part of a large Late Bronze Age hoard bears a faint resemblance to our simple door knob examples,although the size of the terminal knob has suffered at the expense of the socket.

Whatever their origin,the Scottish and Irish examples must share a common source of inspiration. It is not possible to support actual import from Ireland because of the presence

of molds in Scotland.

One final point must be made. There appear to be representations of the knobbed form of spear butt from the Wall area. The first is upon a crude repoussé sheet of silver from the Sacellum cellar of the commandant's house at Bewcastle(Wainwright Ed. 1958: Pl.7); there,Cocidius---the native equivalent of Mars---clasped a knobbed spear whose length could neither be classed as short in Caledonian fashion nor long in the tradition of the Lisnacrogher example. Again, a tablet from an unspecified site on the Wall depicts a straightforward Mars this time,yet provided with native equipment (see CIL,VII,1050). Finally,Ratstrick,while talking of the occupied cave site of Jubilee in the W.R.Yorks. states that 'a large hunting spear,socketed,4½ ft. 12½ in. long with the boss for the base of the shaft was got at 4ft.'. I have been unable to track this object and it may be merely a misleading description of the normal,conical 'talon de lance' which abounds at the site of La Tène(Vouga 1923: Pl.XIV,2,22) and which is found in this country in contexts as far apart as the Caburn(Curwen 1937: 258),Stanwick(No.142)and Traprain (Burley 1955-6: 197,no.411).

Neither these representations nor the single dubious example need indicate normal use of such a weapon by natives living near the Wall area; indeed,both the classical record and votive representation may emphasise the alien appearance of this weapon to those who lived on the edge of the Roman world. Depiction in silver and stone may even have followed the famous Caledonian raid of the late 2nd. century.

There are a number of vaguely related objects which may be inserted here. A small,door-knob shaped object from Traprain(No.172)has not been included in the foregoing section by reason of its small size; a pin with washer pierces the casting central to its base and would seem more suited to attachment to a sword tang. Unfortunately nothing similar has

yet been found in situ. Equal doubts are attached to another object from Traprain(No.173). A quarry find and therefore unstratified,it yet bears some resemblance to a casting from the Santon hoard,as Miss Burley has already pointed out(1955-6: 204,no.409).

A curious mould from Dunagoil,whose identification as a spear butt has here been rejected is illustrated by Mann(1925: Pl.40).

Shields

These are a complex and unproductive study in our area. Bronze mounts for a shield were found with a Group III sword and other grave goods at Grimthorpe,E.R.Yorks.(Fox 1958: Pl.23,c). They comprised a pointed oval boss cover,two casings for longitudinal ribs and a pair of flanking panels,bean shaped and edged with a travesty of the Greek key pattern. All decoration is executed in fine incision. It has been suggested that a small relief moulded disc is one of its two ribbed terminals but Mr.Stead would prefer to interpret this as an early disc brooch. If we accept a date in the first half of the 1st. century B.C. for the sword,the shield cannot be too far distant in either direction.

For Celtic shield shapes and layout,the studies of Hemp (1938: 253-84) and Fox(1946: 9-11)are invaluable. The characteristic outline would seem to be a long rectangle with rounded corners,represented by actual specimens from the site of La Tene(Vouga 1923: Pl.XVI-XVIII)and also on Romano-Celtic statuary such as the famous warrior from Montdragon(Moreau 1961: Pl.5). Variations of more oval or angular shape are represented on a Gallo-Roman altar from Nîmes(Déchelette 1927: 680,fig.496)and on a fragment from Magdalensberg(Moreau 1961: Pl.4).

As Hemp demonstrated the majority of British shield mounts owe their shape and layout to the embellishment of intensely practical components---the boss cover and longit-

udinal strengthening strips[2]. While I accept Hemp's basic tenet, I am not happy about the relative positions assumed by the Moel Hirradug and Grimthorpe mounts in his stylistic sequence. The picture may very well be more complex, each representing a parallel development, the former from the spindle shaped arrangement of the La Tène shields, the latter more dependent on the Horath form of boss. At any rate, it is clear from friezes on the triumphal arch of Orange that crescentic curled extensions to boss cover and central strut were still very much in vogue on the continent in the mid-1st. century B.C. One can derive no support for Moel Hirradug's early date from the accompanying square plate whose triskelar decoration would be far more at home in the late 1st. century B.C. or even the 1st. century A.D.

Whatever the subsequent developments of boss form, it seems likely that the oval outline, so characteristic of Celtic shields was still in use or at least remembered as late as the end of the 1st. century A.D. or the beginning of the 2nd. The proof of this lies in a certain type of plate brooch, colourfully enamelled, of which typical examples are illustrated in the Lydney report (R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler 1932: 83, fig.16, 42-3).

Circular shield bosses now demand attention; that they were present in Britain from a comparatively early stage is attested by thetwo famous specimens from the river Thames. There are indeed vague reports of shield fitments from Yorkshire chariot burials. Greenwell records (1906: 281-2 & fig.24) that' circular bosses of repoussé bronze were found in the Charioteer's Barrow at Arras'. He does not relate their exact position in the grave but his accompanying illustration is of a circular panel. From Hunmanby, there came bronze foil, decorated with repoussé scroll work, for the partial covering of a wooden shield; the outline of this is reported as Battersea-like (Sheppard 1907: 483-4) but the arrangement of metal parts is not recorded.

Circular shield boss covers are known in considerable numbers from the 1st. century A.D. onwards---from Stanwick (No.122),Chesters(Chesters Mus. 1956:94:2A),Newstead(Curle 1911: Pl.XXXIV,3),(?)Traprain(Burley 1955-6: 200,no.382) and Blackburn Mill(Piggott 1952-3: 46,fig.12,B30); but we have no means of telling whether they are Roman or native. The legionary carried a rectangular shield(Webster 1956: Pl.II,a), the auxiliary a circular targe(Toynbee 1964: Pl.LXVII,a) and both were equipped with a circular umbo. Admittedly decoration may help us to differentiate as in the case of a very Roman-looking boss from the river Tyne(op. cit. Pl.LXIX,a)and there may have been a Celtic preference for bronze as opposed to iron,but the majority are totally unadorned and so our discussion comes to an unsatisfactory halt. That the natives of the north continued to defend themselves as best they could with traditional shields can be proved only by representations such as the Bridgeness slab(Richmond Ed. 1958: Pl.6),dateable to the mid 2nd. century and the larger of the two silver votive plaques from Bewcastle,executed in the 3rd. century A.D.

Helmet

Very few Celtic helmets have been found in Britain. That from the river Thames at Waterloo is outside our present field of study,but an unlocated specimen now in the British Museum(No. 175) may safely be claimed,in view of its original inclusion in the Meyrick Collection,supported by the obvious northern character of its decoration.

In shape it balances uncomfortably upon the knife edge dividing Roman from native work. Italic helmets of jockey-cap shape were imported into Gaul during the La Tène I period to become models for local products such as the magnificent specimen from Amfréville(Jacobsthal 1944: No.140). These were usually provided with lateral attachments for cheek pieces or a chin strap as well as a central plume holder. La Tène III

helmets are rare but conform to the traditional shape (Déchelette 1927: 672,fig.491). A widespread feature was the increasing use of decorative studs,their faintly convex surface prepared by scoring for the retention of enamel.

Turning to Roman equipment,there were apparently two forms of helmet of which the lighter version only makes an appearance in Britain(Webster 1956: 26). This was a shallow jockey-cap form with at least one plume holder,broad neck guard,hinged cheek pieces and an additional brow band whose purpose was to project further forward than the wearer's nose,thus fending off any blow to the face. From scenes on Trajan's Column it would seem that the plume with its holder was removable and worn only on parade; one can see why by examining the squint-eyed figure of Mars on the South Shields sword(Toynbee 1964: Pl.LXVII,a).

Lindenschmitt(1900: Vol.V,114ff. & 186ff.)lists twenty examples of this type from the northern provinces,to which Brailsford(1951-2: 17-19)adds several,bringing the total in all to twenty-four of which only three finds are British--- from the sea off Chichester(Colchester Mus. Exhibit. Cat. 1950: No.38),Sheepen,Colchester(Hawkes & Hull 1947: 336-7) and London(Brailsford op.cit. Pl.VIII,a). To these may be appended specimens from St.Albans(V.C.H.Herts.1920: Pl.1); Northchurch, Herts.(op.cit.); between Tring and Berkhamsted(B.M.); Corbridge (Corbridge Mus.); Newstead(Curle 1911: Pl.XXVI & XXXV,8); Lincoln(Lincoln Mus. Pub. No.14,4 & Pl.1,1). Doubtless there are more.

Brailsford has demonstrated by reference to helmets from Hoffheim and the Rhine near Mainz that the type was in use in the 1st. century A.D. The sackfull of fragments from Colchester must have been deposited between 61 and 65 A.D.; the iron specimen from Newstead lay in Pit XXII of the late 1st. century A.D.

Sharing a common ancestry,Celtic and Roman helmets

could scarcely fail to resemble one another. Our unprovenanced specimen combines a breadth of neck guard and central perforation of that feature for a strap loop---both reminiscent of Roman examples---with decoration which is totally Celtic. Then again, it has scratched upon it the Roman numeral II but lacks the characteristic brow guard or perforation for its attachment. It is a tall cask like form common to neither group but best paralleled by the Italo-Greek example from Canosa(Déchelette 1927: 664, fig.486). The size by the way indicates a small head, if one takes into account the presence of necessary padding. There could never have been sufficient room for an inner iron shell such as was customary with legionary helmets. The problem of inspiration can never be solved until there is found in Britain a definitely pre-Roman helmet of jockey-cap form.

In this contexts, it is interesting to remember a find made in 1818 at Castell y Lligiad, Glam.(Arch.XLIII, 1871: 553-6). This comprised bones, a few pieces of bronze chain, several iron 'daggers', one or two bronze skull caps and two helmets 'the skulls still in them'. All were lost in transit to London but sketches exist. The iron daggers are in fact fiercely barbed points of a type found in a Roman context at Tulliehouse, Carlisle. It is reasonable to suspect then that the helmets were equally genuine. If so their decoration is in the Celtic tradition, however uninspired. Neither specimen posesses a neck guard but one closely approaches our helmet in outline and both display comparable plume holders. Lateral decoration on each consists of a lyre palmette of red enamel apparently hinged and obviously reminiscent of cheek pieces although far too small to be functional; each pair was apparently tied up by means of wire rather in the manner of deerstalker flaps. The picture is completed by a band of blue enamel round the brow edge---a feature which must relegate them to the mid 1st. century A.D. or later. They may be late, and aesthetically

unpleasing but at least our unprovenanced helmet no longer stands alone.

The decoration of this piece is very conservative. It consists of a central lyre loop with flanking symmetrical lobes. The entire design is executed in repoussé, pinpointed by a triple arrangement of enamel bosses. In the following analysis, a differentiation has been made between the analogies for design and execution.

In British Early Iron Age art we can trace the lyre loop with its attendant scrolls as far back as the 3rd. century B.C.; a very creditable parallel to the decoration under discussion is provided by the Torrs pony cap. Though masked by complexities, the arrangement is ~~revealing~~ inherent in many mirror designs. By their very outline the Polden Hill horse brooch and many multilobed mounts are comparable; the former's internal detail enhances this comparison---witness the small pendant curls which flank the central loop unit. That a trumpet coil inspiration has moulded the shape of the flanking units on the helmet seems likely. Our next comparison is with the Elmswell panel where the lyre loop may be upside down but is still comparable; it provides parallels for the flattening and widening of the lyre loop itself, for the pinpointing of design by small roundels---in this case beaded rosettes---and by the partial envelopment of these in a half-moon grasp. The Elmswell layout is clearly more complex than that upon the helmet but whether this is due to difference in age or merely to aesthetic sensibilities is not clear. Ever increasing simplification of layout is visible on the Balmaclellan mirror plates and on the Brough and Worton sword hilt guards.

So far comparisons have linked the helmet with products of every 'school' but emphasis has been on the mid 1st. century A.D. A closer look at the repoussé technique is enough to confirm the northern manufacture. There is a lavish thickness about the use of the metal which comes from long established traditions

reaching back as far as Torrs. A novel use is made of what appears at first sight to be ribbed definition of the decorative units, but which in fact is a mere parallel incision along the summits of decoration. It is an approximation to one of the diagnostic features of southern casket ornament in the 1st. century A.D.(see p. 391ff).

Small curvilinear panels have been cut out---another casket feature---and raised with a simple design before attachment to each side of the helmet by means of twin decorative rivets; they emerge from a stepped and curled lower edge which forms one half of a hinge intended to engage with the now missing cheek pieces. Neither of these panels is itself in good condition, but restoration is possible; the motif can be traced back to the 1st. century B.C. or earlier. Each is in fact a short-hand version of the Llyn Cerrig plaque triquetra. It makes a dateable appearance on a strap junction from Letchworth whose accompanying pottery belongs to the late years of the 1st. century B.C. An engraved variation adorns the Group V scabbard from the river Witham; beyond, it plays an important role in the development of the swash-N motif.

In conclusion, the unprovenanced helmet is the work of a Brigantian craftsman with a knowledge both of the techniques and motifs of earlier workers in his area, yet owing a debt to southern developments of the first half of the 1st. century A.D. There is no sign of Roman influence in the decoration although there may be a trace in the shape, while Roman ownership is perhaps attested by the scratched letter II. Manufacture is likely to have occurred between 43 A.D. and 71/74 A.D.---probably nearer the latter than the former. I envisage its manufacture under the patronage of Cartimandua's nobility, perhaps to be worn in battle against her former husband, either by a native chieftain or an auxiliary to the Roman forces.

The Deskford Carnyx

The bronze foil boar's head(No. 174)whose function for many years puzzled archaeologists was finally identified by Piggott as the mouthpiece of a Celtic war trumpet or carnyx (1959: 19-32). Any further comment can only summarise his paper.

The find was made c. 1816 while peat cutting. Approximately ten years elapsed before the initial publication where the depth was then recorded as 6 ft. and comment was made upon the presence of many hazel nuts and upon an underlying bed of clay. It is possible then that its deposit was votive. Smith carefully described the object in 1866-8, by which time the eyes had apparently vanished from their sockets. Its ommission from Leeds' study of Celtic ornament (1933) is surprising; indeed it was not until 1951 that the first photograph was published(Piggott & Daniel 1951: No.61). In its present condition the head consists of a tube, elaborately decorated in repoussé about the two eye sockets; to this, half tubular pieces, representing the upper and lower jaws are affixed---the former rigidly, the latter apparently moveable in the original state and swivelling upon pins at the corner of the jaw. A ribbed sheet representing the palate is now incorrectly sited within the mouth. The back of the head has been torn away and exists as a separate dished plate with ragged central perforation. Missing parts must include, as well as the eyes, an intervening section between the face and the back of the head, probably tubular in section and equipped with ears; the entire trumpet tube and mouthpiece, followed for some distance for below the head by a representation of the boar's crest ; a frontal plate to strengthen and neaten the muzzle; and a wooden tongue, said to have been hinged within the mouth. As it stands, the maximum measurement is just 8½ in., but an original length of around 5 ft. is quite feasible.

The find will be seen to occur in an area relatively barren of Iron Age metalwork, yet situated upon the edge of the massive armlet distribution.

There being no other method available, an approximate date must be sought by stylistic means. Before embarking on this precarious course one can at least obtain an idea of time span by a glance at historical and archaeological evidence for the carnyx, both in Britain and abroad.

Polybius, writing in the 2nd. century B.C. records the use of the carnyx by both Celts and Galateans, and this is supported by a very creditable representation on an ox-headed specimen on the balustrade of the Temple of Athene-Nicephorus at Pergamon(Powell 1958: Pl.48). Further classical depictions are listed by Déchelette(1927: 685). The subject abounds on Celtic coinage and is used with effect upon the Gundestrup cauldron. Actual though fragmentary instruments are cited by Piggott from Le Mans and Durnau, this last attributed to the mid 1st. century B.C. Finally, there is the well known find from the river Witham at Tattershall Ferry which forms the subject of the first half of Piggott's paper(1959: 19-24). Though apparently destroyed in the late eighteenth century, a contemporary drawing permits its allocation to the 1st. century A.D. That it is probably Belgic is hinted by its find spot and supported by a repoussé binding strip of casket type(see p.391). The chronological range would therefore seem to cover at least three centuries.

From the above resume it will be clear that the boar is not the only animal pressed into decorative use as a carnyx mouth. We have representations of the ox, perhaps even the wolf, as well as a curiously bulbous head with widespread lips reminiscent of beaked horses on coinage. The boar however clearly posessed symbolical significance to the Celts Many small models are known from Britain and Ireland(see p.384 ff) and an even greater number from the continent.

The decorative focus of the Deskford boar's head is without doubt the eyes. Each circular socket lies within a raised vesica shaped panel, defined by two keeled mouldings of graded width. The whole is tightly enclosed within a ring of conjoined slender trumpets, which last motif is also employed to portray the eyebrows; at the temples each eyebrow is symmetrised by a second slender trumpet with which it proceeds in a narrow double rib under the chin. The net result is in no way evocative of a boar but seems rather to display a delight in manipulating current motifs in such a way as to approximate to the layout of an animal's muzzle. This is not just stylisation of a natural theme; it has become an experiment in geometry and an intellectual exercise both on the part of the craftsman and of his patron; it is all the more astonishing to realise that a naturalistic representation of the mouth interior is incorporated.

The almond shaped eyes are characteristic of the Celtic world, making their first minute appearance in Britain on the Torrs horn terminal A(No.249)and amply demonstrated on both humans and animals in the succeeding centuries. The Marlborough vat deities display puffy eyelids from which it is but a little step to the keeled frames of Deskford. Even closer analogies are provided by the human masks from Stanwick(No.103) and the interesting anthropomorphic terret from Aldborough(No.296). Both these last are Brigantian products of the third quarter of the 1st. century A.D. A comparison with massive armlets and especially with the keeled frames of their terminal perforations (No.214 for instance)permits us to reconstruct the boar's eyes as flat discs, brilliantly enamelled---perhaps in rings of red and yellow in a manner reminiscent of the Embleton scabbard studs, many times magnified.

The origin of the slender trumpet motif has already been touched upon. It is sufficient to state here that from disorganised beginnings in the 1st. century B.C., the motif may

be traced via atypical forms at Stanwick(No.82)and upon the Elmswell panel(No. 297)to a popularity in southern Scotland at the end of the 1st. century A.D.(e.g. on the hilt guard No. 139 from Newstead). Beyond the Tay,slender trumpets are also widely employed upon the earlier massive armlets such as that from Belhelvie(No. 215) and the pair from Castle Newe(No. 217). The actual layout employed upon the boar's head is easily linked to lowland Scottish products; the inner framework of slender trumpets surrounding each eye recalls the petal outline of petal and boss fame. On the other hand,the eyebrow arrangement,with its juxtaposed, crisply executed domes is very closely echoed by casket strip from an Agricolan context at Newstead(No. 299).

We have seen how some pieces of the Middlebie hoard at any rate cannot be far distant from the Boudiccan revolt; and we can forestall our chronological conclusion upon massive armlets by revealing their major popularity to lie at the very end of the 1st. century and in the larger part of the 2nd. century A.D. It looks as though manufacture of the Deskford carnyx may fall within the third quarter of the 1st. century. In a wild flight of fancy I see it brandished against the invading forces of Agricola. Of course,the problematic location of Mons Graupius once more raises its weary head (Crawford 1949: 130-2). If the vicinity of Stonehaven is favoured,then the find spot is some fifty miles distant as the crow flies. It is interesting to note however that a short cut,overland from the east coast,using the valley of the river Don could lead to the shores of the Moray Firth in precisely the Deskford area. If the second choice of Inverness is postulated,then of course there is little difficulty. Whether or not the Deskford carnyx was ever actually blown on this northern battlefield,it is difficult not to view its manufacture as part of the preparations for resistance.

A mere glance at the juxtaposition of slender trumpet

forms on the temples of the boar should bring to mind those enigmatic dished plates of Irish manufacture(Piggott 1959: Pl.XI,C); this topic will be relegated to p. .

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1. I have been quite unable to find out just how many are involved; the site of Lisnacrogher produced seven or eight (Munro 1890: 384 & 383,fig.124,28-30); Cooke states(1903: 226) that 'they may be seen in most of the important collections of Irish antiquities'; at least two have found their way to Alnwick Castle Mus.(Collingwood Bruce 1880: 83, Nos.436-7).
2. To his list,can now be added:- 1. A miniature representation from the ritual site of Frilford, ~~Oxon~~ Berks.(S.E.Thomas 1965: No.263). 2. Two examples from the Tall y Llyn hoard(Savory 1964: 18-31). 3. In all probability one from the metalwork hoard of Ringstead,represented by the flanking plates only(Clarke 1951: Pl.XVIII,4-5). Fox(1946: Pl.XXV,17-18) illustrates two bean shaped panels which would fit admirably over the lateral attachments of his shield boss; he does not recognise their association.

Brigantian(Group IV) swords and scabbards

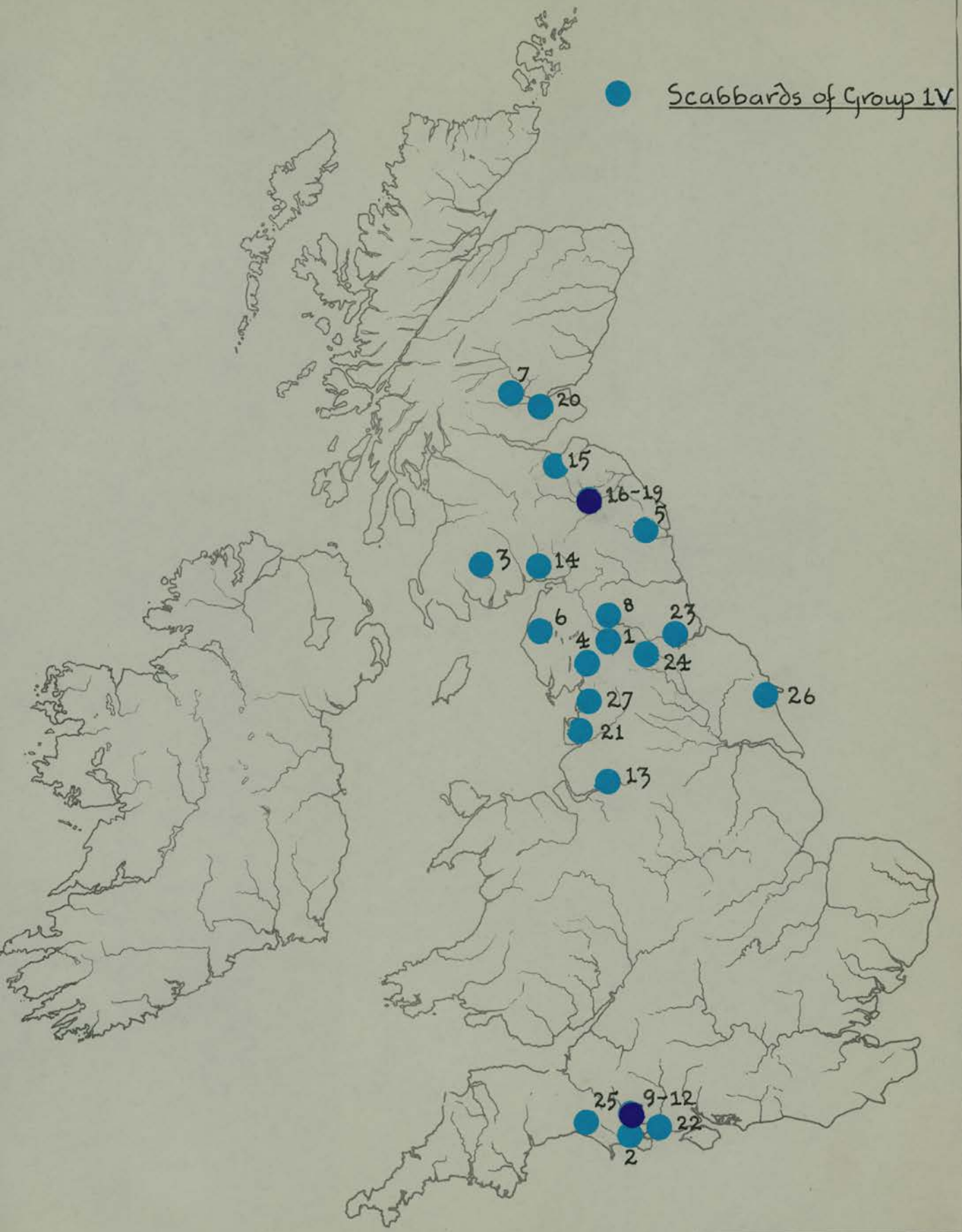
1. BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE,Westm. No.129
2. BULBURY,Dorset. Cunnington(1884),Pl.VI,7.
3. CASTLEHILL,Dalry,Ayr. No.130
4. COTTERDALE,Yorks. No. 131
5. DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE,Northumb. No. 132
6. EMBLETON,Cockermouth,Cumb. No. 133
7. FENDOCH,Perth. No. 134
8. FLASBY,Skipton,W.R.Yorks. No. 135

9-12. HOD HILL,Dorset. Brailsford(1962),fig.1,A2,3 & 4. Piggott(1950 Pl.II.

13. MANCHESTER,Lancs. No. 136
14. MIDDLEBIE,Dumfries. No. 137
15. MORTONHALL,Midlothian. No. 138

16-19 NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Nos. 139-42

20. (?)PERTH VICINITY. No. 143-4
21. PILLING MOSS,Lancs. No. 145
22. QUATRE BRAES,Peverell,Dorset. Information from Prof. Piggott.
23. SADBERGE,Co.Durham. No. 146
24. STANWICK,N.R.Yorks. No.123;29,fig.2.
25. STOKE ABBOT,Dorset. Bridport Mus.
26. THORPE,Bridlington,E.R.Yorks. No. 147
27. WORTON,Lancs. No. 148


Scabbards of Group IV
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16-19
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Chapter 5

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS -- TORCS, COLLARS, BRACELETS & ARMLETS.

Torcs.

The most characteristic Celtic ornament was the neck ring, or 'torc', an erroneous title suggested by classical authors and retained in more modern times (Powell 1958: 71). The type forms a suitable bridge between on the one hand, weapons and objects of a defensive nature, and on the other, more strictly everyday and domestic equipment; for the torc, in life at any rate, was considered a male ornament, and viewed with magico-religious powers which rendered it suitable for wear in battle. It appears frequently in classical depictions of Celtic warriors, and no less in Celtic representations of local deities. An original adoption from Persian jewellers is suspected (Jacobsthal 1944: Pl. 222).

A considerable number of torcs have been found in this country, and a valuable study produced by Rainbird Clarke was prompted by the discovery of the Snettisham treasure (1954: 27 - 86); but no attempt seems to have been made to obtain an overall picture; tables have been compiled and inserted here but I am well aware of their deficiencies, revealed only too clearly by the number of examples whose precise form is not known to me.

I have collected the material under two main headings ---

penannular (I) and entire (II). Within the former group, two further divisions are clear --- into twisted (A) and simple bar (B) torcs; the members of twisted (group IA) may be further sub-divided on grounds of terminal form --- whether loop, ring, spatulate or buffer; the last of these forms only is shared by the simple bar torcs of group B. Both forms rely on the springiness of their metal to enable them to be put on or taken off; but one of the simple bar examples is provided with a mortice and tenon joint. Group II, designated entire also comprises torcs of two different kinds --- beaded (A) and collar-like (B). As their name suggests, beaded torcs incorporate real or simulated beads, covering approximately half of their hoop, the remainder being treated as a bar of circular or rectangular section. Collars on the other hand are entirely flat, their upper surface elaborately adorned in low relief. The former employs the mortice and tenon type of articulation; some of the latter at least are hinged. The small series of tubular torcs should be appended to group IB, although they do not concern us here.

Before discussing the North British representatives of these groups and sub-groups, a reminder is inserted that the torc had a long life in Britain. Greenwell records the discovery of two examples in graves of the Parisii at Arras and Hesselskew (1906: 275 & 301); both are lost and our information is restricted to the facts that the one was c. 5½ in. in diameter and of iron, and the other 'pretty entire'. They continued to be made long after the Roman invasion; a pewter torc with twisted ring and everted terminals was found at Wroxeter in an area not occupied before 80 - 90 A.D. (Bushe Fox 1913: 30 & Pl. 10, fig. 2, 16);

and there is some evidence that torcs were awarded to legionaries, at first for individual or collective deeds of bravery, then as a symbol of rank (Simpson & Richmond 1941: 23 - 5). If this practice was as common as the authors suggest, then it is surprising that torcs have not been found in greater numbers.

Pennanular twisted torcs (Group IA).

At least 78 twisted torcs are known to belong to the British Early Iron Ages; I hasten to add that of these fifty-five come from the Snettisham hoards[1]. Our attention is drawn to the group by the presence of four specimens from lowland Scotland, and a conceivable fifth.

It must be at once conceded that, massed together in this way, the group lacks uniformity. The size varies from 8 in. diameter to bracelet dimensions. The materials employed run the whole gamut of metallurgy electrum, silver gilt, bronze tin, bronze-coated iron and iron itself. The hoop may comprise a single wire, twisted, or as many as sixty-four, grouped in eight groups of eight. Even the methods of obtaining a twisted appearance vary --- from a simple torsion of a square-sectioned rod, to elaborate plaiting, or to the wrapping of wires around a plain rod. Terminals, as already stated, may be simple loops, flattened plates, or elaborate doughnut-shaped rings, and their decoration covers all categories from simple to complex. Indeed, there is much to be said for Clarke's sub groupings; but one feature emerges from a more general treatment --- the predominant south-western distribution with an extremely important secondary outcrop in what Fox would term the East Central Region.

The finds are mainly hillfort or hoard context. Dating tends to be in some cases a matter of personal taste; the Clevedon torc is variously attributed to the 3rd. century B.C., seconds half of the 2nd. century B.C., and second half of the 1st. century B.C. Our most valuable dating evidence is afforded by the large torc from Snettisham Hoard E, one of whose ring terminals enclosed a mint condition coin of Allen's Gallo-Belgic Dc class (Allen 1958: 111); a worn specimen of the same type was included in the Le Catillon hoard of 56 - 51 B.C., thus indicating a date for their manufacture around 80 - 70 B.C. and a very similar date for the manufacture of the torc in question. The earliest coinage represented at Snettisham, however, was Gallo-Belgic A, apparently brought to Britain by Belgic invaders in the late 2nd. century and long in use in the south-east. It seems as if twisted torc manufacture was thriving by the early 1st. century B.C. at least. It is to be suspected that the vogue continued into the succeeding century; there is an atypical specimen in the Polden Hill hoard; the fort of Ham Hill has produced not only Iron Age material but also a late 1st century hoard of Roman coins; and the Hengistbury ring terminal was associated, but not closely, with material of the late 1st. - early 2nd century A.D. Stylistic considerations help to place certain other finds in chronological sequence. The unique Needwood Forest specimen must be early --- probably the earliest in the series. The three, lost, looped torcs from Ulceby accompanied, among other things, two bridle bit rings whose decoration suggests to Fox the mid 1st. century B.C.; up-dating of the Snettisham finds would now indicate an earlier date. I would disagree with Clarke's relegation of the North Creake terminal to the 1st

century A.D.; whatever the actual date of its loss, its relief detail seems bad rather than late.

The question of origin is bound to be complex, in view of the great variety displayed by this group. Loop torsion is at no time common on the continent and the logical accompaniment of loop terminal with its derivative ring form virtually unknown.[2] As Hawkes suggested in 1937 - 8 (3 - 4) it is a likely inheritance from Bronze Age traditions in the Atlantic coast lands; to support this, one may cite the hook and eye terminals of a pair of torcs which accompanied the famous tubular neck ring from Broighter, Co. Derry (Armstrong 1933: Pl. XII, 82 & 83) and a perfectly good late Bronze Age ribbon torc found coiled within a box of equally reputable Early Iron Age date at Somerset, Co. Galway (Raftery 1960: 2 - 5, Pl. I, 156 - 8).

The four torcs which prompted this discussion are lowland Scottish finds (nos. 177-9). Their exact location, for long misunderstood, was finally clarified in 1957 - 8 by Feacham (112 - 6). At various times attributed to Cairnmuir, 2½ miles north-west of West Linton in Peebles-shire and also it appears to Dolphinton, across the border in neighbouring Lanarkshire, the find is now securely placed near the house of New Cairnmuir on Shaw Hill and probably on the Peeblesshire side of the march dyke which here forms the county boundary, The torcs were found in 1806 and formed the major part of a small hoard of gold alloy, the residue consisting of 'upwards of forty' globular, much worn coins (Arch.Scot., IV, 1833: 217 - 9). Two of these coins and the most fragmentary of the four torcs alone exist today, although illustrations of the missing rings

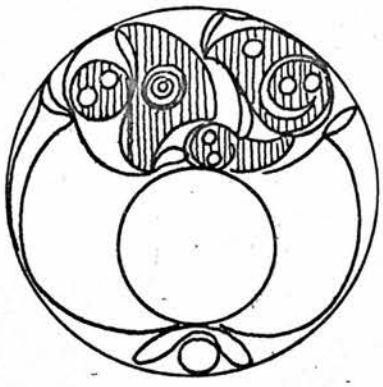
are available. Of these last, two are of looped terminal type, their hoops comprising two thick wires of circular section, twisted widdershins. They are easily paralleled by many of the Snettisham examples. The third, with its simple square-sectioned rod and spatulate terminals is unique. The extant fragment for long defied identification as a torc terminal, being variously described as a sceptre head or terret. Its close resemblance to the terminals of the multistrand torc from Snettisham hoard E banished such theories in 1949 (Clarke 1949: 59 - 61). Examination revealed that nine twisted groups of wires had originally entered the base of the new Cairnmuir terminal, but upon the torc's dismemberment, these had been wrenched out, and the ragged basal edges subsequently beaten over and under.

Its closest structural analogies are clearly with the Snettisham torc just mentioned and, to a lesser degree, to the finds from North Creake and Hengistbury Head, so that even before a glance at its decoration, manufacture in east-central or south-eastern England seems highly probable.

All the surface embellishments are cast with the exception of the basket hatching and pouncing, which was afterwards carried out with a series of small punches. Much of the edging has skeuomorphic tendencies, already well known in Early Iron Age art --- the stitched effect from simple loops such as that from Llyn Cerrig (Fox 1947: Pl. XXX, 46) and the high-relief 'nailing' from, for instance, the Waterloo helmet (Fox 1958: 50, fig. 36). The former motif is plentifully employed on the Snettisham torc; the latter is replaced by the equally well known ring of 'nail heads' arranged around their central perforations in a manner









precisely comparable with our New Cairnmuir specimen.

Viewing the decoration as a whole[3] those objects most relevant to a study of the New Cairnmuir terminal are:- (1) the multi-strand torc from hoard E at Snettisham, (2) bridle bit rings from Ulceby (Fox 1958: Pl. 24) and (3) the Bugthorpe scabbard chape (op. cit.41, fig. 27 & Pl. 53, c). All display totally unpredictable layout, incorporating keeled coils and trumpet shapes with basket hatching in a clearly rudimentary stage; in fact all are in the durable tradition of the Llyn Cerrig plaque. If one 'strips down' the Cairnmuir decoration it will be seen to make much greater use of Llyn Cerrig forms, both positive and negative, than any other of the above mentioned objects. Its entire layout delimits a Llyn Cerrig void; its major panels are totally composed of such shapes in their purest form (op. cit. 44, fig. 31), even punctuated in one case by a central boss, comparable with the now missing enamel or glass bosses of the Llyn Cerrig plaque; the summit of its design is supported on a triple arrangements of lobes, such as clasp the Llyn Cerrig roundel and there is a coherence and balance about the whole conception which indicates that, while there cannot be much difference in age between the New Cairnmuir and Snettisham terminals, the former is if anything earlier, or at least better, from the viewpoints of both design and execution.

A few final details deserve comment. Concentric ringing of the occasional protuberance must surely be a mechanical version of the snail coil, used with such effect on the elongated shield boss from the river Witham. Microscopic denting on the nail heads is present elsewhere only on the Waterloo helmet, although score-topped versions are

found much later on a lipped terret from Ditchley, Oxon. (Radford 1936: 55. fig. 10).

If our comparisons are correct, it is necessary to view the Cairnmuir torc terminal as a product of Iron Age B craftsmen living in East-central Britain and as earlier in execution than its Snettisham relative, yet later than the Llyn Cerrig plaque. Such an arrangement would necessitate a slight updating of this last work to the late 2nd. century B.C. rather than Fox's original estimation of c. 70 B.C.

Upwards of forty pellet-like coins[4] were found with the New Cairnmuir torcs, of which only two now remain. They belong to Allen's Gallo-Belgic XB class (Allen 1958: 104) a type common in the Soissons-Chalons region of the Marne, traditionally attributed to the Suessiones and found in Continental hoards with Gallo-Belgic E coins. This last was current between 75 and 50 B.C., but Allen suspects a slightly earlier inception at least for XB counage; but we can have no idea when these Continental coins reached Britain, whether their arrival at all coincided with the manufacture of the accompanying torcs; nor can we have any conception of the date of their transport to Scotland far less of their final deposit on Shaw Hill. That is both the frustration and the fascination of our subject.

Penannular rod torcs (Group IB).

The bar neck ring with buffer terminals is perhaps the most common form of torc on the continent. I know of nine specimens in this country. Their measurement varies from approximately 5½ in across, to bracelet size, and bronze in the main material used. The hoop may be

a simple bar of sqaare or circular section. While the buffer terminals of twisted torcs resemble miniature bowls, fitted over the collective strands of their hoop, those of bar torcs are cast in one with the hoop and possess a more severe outline, reminiscent of the vase head form of certain linch pins and chariot horn caps. Decoration is limited and consists of simple striation on the Walbrook and Aylesford examples[5].

With the exception of three specimens, all have been found in an area of south-eastern England bounded by the Medway and Thames in the south and the Wash in the north; it would perhaps be rash to linger over this distribution but Belgic manufacture is probable.

A long life is suspected for the type. A torc found on site F at Maiden Castle may well have been lost after 43 A.D. but pre-Conquest manufacture is probable. A gilt bronze specimen from Slay Hills Saltings formed part of a small hoard comprising Roman finger rings, a silver object likened to the Polden Hill torc, fragments of a snake bracelet and coins of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.).

This small series of torcs must surely be derived from the continent. There, the type is known from earliest La Tene times. A hoop of circular section[6] is the rule in La Tène I and II, while the final phase of La Tène development (Déchelette 1927: 723) distinguishes a square sectioned type known from the site of La Tène itself (Vouga 1923: Pl.XXI, 9 - 11), from the oppidum of Alesia, where occupation ceased in 54 B.C. and from a legionary's grave at Chassenard, Allier, dateable to the reign of Gaius (Déchelette 1903: 244 fig. 4.).

That actual torcs of Continental manufacture found their way to the British Isles is of course attested by a gold specimen from

Clonmacnois, Co. Offaly (Armstrong 1933: Pl. XIII, 98). It seems likely that our series is the result of continued contacts with France in the later phases of torc development, rather than an initial inspiration followed by'long stewing in British juices'.

The Clonmacnois torc is penannular in name and design only --- not in execution; when this occurs, the hoop must be of a sufficient diameter to slip over the head; failing this and invisible junction must be devised, the simplest form of which is the mortice and tenon. Though not common on the Continental penannular torcs it was known on those entire, and therefore totally rigid, neck hoops whose decoration erupts from the ring surface at three equilateral spots (Jacobsthal 1944: no. 242; Déchelette 1927: 722, fig. 516, 5 & 6) and was of necessity employed on the sturdy buffer torcs of La Tène III.

Nos. 181 and 180 from Yorkshire and Dumfries respectively are relevant here; both are comparable in appearance to our south-eastern specimen but the latter possesses a moveable section, articulated by mortice and tenon joints. It is accompanied by an undateable bronze ring; the former, however, was found with a series of terrets (Nos. 60-1, 74) and a strap junction (No. 17) whose decorative features indicate manufacture not far from 71 - 4 A.D. It is safe to assume that both torcs reflect however dimly, the fashions of south-eastern Britain; they may even reveal a knowledge of Continental trends in neck ornament, witness the mortice and tenon joint of the Dungyle specimen; but mortice and tenon joints are known from early times in north Britain --- upon a bracelet from Queen's Barrow, Arras and a second from Cowlam (Greenwell 1906: 299, fig 47 & 256, fig. 3), so that a more local, though in the long run equally Continental,

inspiration is conceivable. One thing is certain; such joints are a feature of Brigantian beaded torcs; the Dungyle example could reveal the source for this detail but could equally well be " a local application of the more elaborate fastening to a simpler type" (Stevenson 1947-8: 293 - 4). Our dating is insufficiently clear cut to permit a choice to be made between these theories.

Tubular torcs.

As no specimen of this uncommon group has been found in the North, a glance will be sufficient to demonstrate their bridge position between the torcs of penannular and entire forms. Five are known, four from Snettisham and one from Broighter, Limavady, Co. Derry. Each gold alloy ring consists of two, tubular half-hoops joined and overlapped at the nape by a binding. In front, twin buffer terminals are slipped over the tube ends and locked, in the case of the Irish specimen, by an ingenious slot-and-tap joint. It is unlikely that the Snettisham examples are much different in date from the rest of the Treasures' contents; the rear moulding of one bears raised lobes and swirls against a tooled ground, whose effect is totally unlike that of more famous torc and bracelet, but whose roots are equally in the trumpet coils of the Llyn Cerrig plaque (Clarke 1954: 37). The accompanying Irish material is unhelpful, and we must rely upon stylistic considerations for a date. Leeds (1933: 132 - 3) favoured the latter part of the first century A.D., comparing layout and treatment with the massive armlets of Scotland; but details of both technique and design forge a link with the Snettisham specimens. Whether a product of Ireland or Eastern England, its debt to the latter area is very clear, and

an attribution to the latter part of the first century B.C. or early first century A.D. would be equally suitable.

On the Continent, tubular torcs form a small sub-group of the buffer series. Clarke refers to unusually thick examples from the site of La Tène itself, Alsace and the hoard of Frasnes-lez-Buissenal, South Belgium, which contained also coinage of the period 75 - 50 B.C., and brings almost within the chronological grasp of our British specimens, the tap-and-slot form of joint, otherwise a feature of La Tène II torcs.

A neck ring from Dorchester, Dorset would seem to create a valuable link between tubular torcs on the one hand and the beaded forms and collars on the other; regretably it is without context, unpublished and known only to me from an inferior photograph. The hoop is in two equal parts of solid circular section, invisibly joined at the nape by insertion of the briefly narrowed end of one half, into a corresponding expansion of the other. The front fastening, now incomplete, probably comprised twin, juxtaposed buffers, the one slotted, the other bearing a simplified tap projection. Its decoration grouped at four points on the ring's circumference is in the 'spotty' tradition, favoured in the first half of the first century A.D.; and plentifully employed upon collars of southern manufacture. Its moulded trumpet coils closely approach those of the Wraxhall specimen.

Beaded torcs (Group IIA).

This is the most common ornament in the North British Iron Age. Of the fifteen examples known, all but three come from an area defined on the south by a line from the Humber to the Mersey , and, on the north

from the Forth to the Clyde. Bronze is the chief material employed, although in several cases the beads are threaded upon an iron rod, which in the case of the Hyndford specimen at least may have been prolonged to form the unbeaded section, as a mass of rust was recorded by the finders. The Tre'r Ceiri beads display signs of gilding. Average external diameter would seem to fall between five and six and a half inches, although of course this may be reduced internally to as little as four and a half inches across, by the size of the beads.

Approximately one half of each ring consists of a simple bar of circular, square or rectangular section; the remainder bears from ten to thirty beads, whether real (threaded upon a metal hoop) or simulated in which case the section is cast as a single unit. Tenons projects from this last part to engage in mortice holes at the bar terminals. The entire ring was clearly worn with its beads resting on the chest and its bar against the back of the neck; the fit must have been quite snug.

The distinction between true and simulated bead sections is a valid one, supported by secondary differences of construction and decoration. The seven members of the former group are on the whole more skilfully made; their bar form, where preserved is always angular with, in three cases, characteristic girder-like cross section; the beads are deeply grooved (in two cases cruciform) and interspersed with simple spacers; there is much surface detail, both on beaded and bar portions.

On the other hand those seven torcs[6] which display simulated beading are executed with less care and finesse. Their bar sections are square, or in one case circular; no spacers are required

and the beads assume an oval or washer-shape at no time deeply grooved; decoration is restricted to a neat but uninspired milling of both sections.

The distribution pattern has clear westerly tendencies within our area. These are further emphasized by the location of the three outliers --- from Worcester, Caernarvon and Dublin respectively. A subdivision into torcs of true and simulated beading is not wholely vindicated by their find spots, but it would seem that the former have a much wider geographical range, while the latter are far more localised --- two (or three) oval-beaded forms in the West Riding, one in the East Riding, with a stray in Berwickshire; and the only two washer-beaded examples from Carlisle and its suburbs. In the case of the torcs from Lochar Moss and Rochdale, similarity of appearance flouts geography.

Of the twelve specimens whose contexts are recorded, one is a stray find, single examples come from a hillfort, occupied cave site and crannog respectively, one --- possibly two --- may have been grave goods; three were included in metalwork hoards and a further two were also intentionally concealed, but unaccompanied; Roman forts provide a setting for the last remaining few.

Dating, while not as close as one would wish, is nevertheless comforting in its solidarity. Finds from Hyndford crannog included predominantly first century Samian ware. Occupation of Tre'r Ceiri hillfort commenced shortly before 43 A.D. and continued for three or four centuries, but a lull in activity renders the period 50 - 100 A.D. most likely for the use and loss of its particular beaded torc. Amongst the Lambay Island material was a thistle brooch, rarely found in Britain, but

there attributed to the Claudian period or slightly later, and a group K form whose popularity was on the wane there by 70 A.D.; therefore a maximum range of 43 to 70 or 80 A.D. seems reasonable for our lone Irish representative. On the other hand, the torc from Benwell lay in a builders' trench which immediately post-dated the first phase of construction on Hadrian's Wall. That from Stanwix was found in the upper fill of a ditch dug just before the construction of the Vallum in 128 A.D. Finally, the Lamberton Moor hoard contained amongst other things a dragonesque fibula and two early head stud brooches indicative of a late 1st. - early 2nd. century range, and four Roman paterae which Curle (1931 - 2: 363) would see as Antonine, but which could be as late as the 3rd. century. The Skerne neck ring was accompanied by Roman coins of unspecified date, now regrettably mislaid.

The above considerations reveal that true beaded torcs in the main pre-date the simulated forms -- as could only be expected. Their popularity is confined to the century following 50 - 75 A.D.

In the case of beaded torcs at least, there is no need to bolster chronological findings with tenuous stylistic analogies, and yet such analysis has value in another sphere --- that of defining Brigantian fashions and demonstrating cultural links with both south and north.

The first step is to find the source of inspiration. It has already been demonstrated that angular hoop section, mortice and tenon jointing and general heaviness of treatment are all features of rare La Tène III torcs on the Continent. The idea of partial beading was inherent in torc design from earliest La Tène times, being particularly favoured by the inhabitants of S. Germany and Switzerland (Déchelette 1927: 721

and Jacobsthal 1944: 224 - 36); and it is precisely those specimens which make use of twin joints, situated at the sides, as opposed to the nape and front arrangement of tubular torcs. Yet there are obvious differences apart from the most important one of chronology; for instance, the Continental beading is always simulated and the beads are 'mounted' against rather than 'strung upon' their hoop segment. More immediately relevant are the Buffer examples from Tombe de Répont (op. cit. 222) and decoration in a manner reminiscent of the Perdeswell beads and their bad imitation at Benwell. Chronological disparity may render this comparison ridiculous but it is quite possible that the Perdeswell beaded torc is intentionally antiquarian in its appearance.

The swirl-grooved beads of Lambay Island and Rochdale must imitate those glass ones so popular in La Tène III oppida such as Stradonice (Déchelette 1927: 826. fig. 576) and Manching (Kramer 1958: Taf. I, 33 - 36); surface detail on our British examples can then be explained as a substitute for polychromy. Similarly, melon beads are responsible for the straight-grooved form of Lochar Moss and Hyndford; it is interesting to note that metal melon beads are known on the continent --- however infrequently (Kosd Tomb 7; Jacobsthal 1944: no. 87 & Intercisa II (Dunapentele) Pl.LXXVIII,13). The type of bead displayed upon the torcs from Attermire, Embsay and Lamberton Moor may also be glass-inspired. Examples encircled by wavy lines were included in the Queen's barrow, Arras (Fox 1958: Pl. 8a) and this type still survived at Newstead (Curle 1911: Pl. XCI, 17 & 19); in view of its longevity, magical properties must be suspected.

We may therefore summarise by stating that (1) the idea of

partial torc beading is well known on the continent in the La Tène II period when (2) it is frequently combined with double mortice and tenon joints; (3) these are retained by La Tène III torcs where (4) square section becomes customary. (5) The British contribution was to substitute true beads for sham and to base their form and decoration upon glass beads of local and Continental manufacture.

The part played by S. Britain in this development is obscure; square bar section may be a contribution from buffer torcs such as that from the river Medway; and, quite possibly, the girder bar form owes its existence to collars of southern manufacture such as Wraxhall and Llandyssul (Fox 1958: Pl. 61a and Pl. 12d). An unpublished iron neck ring found in 1852 at Goodrich Castle, Hereford may symbolise a half-way house between the Continental and north British employment of twin mortice and tenon joints. It lay apparently by the legs of a skeleton, but, being the only grave good is regrettably undated[8].

Decorative details require attention. The edging of Benwell's girder bar is executed in a minute, feathered incision which is obviously inspired by rocker tracing --- if not in fact that very technique. The trick, it will be remembered, was never common in the south, but occurs on a shield plate in the Tal y Llyn hoard (Savory 1964: Pl. VII), on the boss cover from Llyn Gerrig (Fox 1958: 43, fig. 29) and on a comparatively late mirror from Old Warden, Beds. (op. cit., Pl. 60,b); we have already encountered it in the north upon the Mortonhall scabbard (No.138) and will do so again on the snake bracelet from West Grange of Conan (No.202). Large scale feathered incision demarcated the change from beaded to bar sections on the Lochar Moss torc, and this of course, is a feature of Group IV scabbards.

Bands of 'fjase wave' pattern are shared by this last torc and the Rochdale specimen. The technique involved the casting of alternate raised and sunk strips, the former then being punched from alternate sides. This is clearly related to the 'wavy fin' motif of southern Britain, and is also present on the side seams of the Worton hilt guard (No.148) and a late linchpin from Middleton/Enthorpe (No. 123). Midriff waves on the Embsay beads however appear truly cast and are more strictly comparable with the bronze spindle whorl from Hanging Shaw (No.244) and with rather similar lead versions from the occupied cave site of Grassington, Airedale (Raistrick 1939: fig. II, 8).

Close-set milling on the Stanwix washer beads recalls certain southern objects such as toggles in the Polden Hill hoard (Fox 1958: Pl. 72, g); that on the Lamberton Moor examples is equally reminiscent of southern buffer torcs; but closer analogies for both are available in the north --- for example on scabbard No. 146 from Sadberge and terret No. 87 from Muircleugh. Large areas of texturing such as adorn the ends of the Lamberton torc bar must be a simplified substitute for basket hatching[9]. A southern prototype is perhaps afforded by the bulls form Bulbury, Dorset (Fox 1958: Pl. 44) but the trick is predominantly northern --- witness the entire range of Groupe IV scabbards. Embsay's hoop detail is clearly related to the so-called 'torc' from Newstead (No.207). The imbrication which fills two small panels on the Hyndford torc is less easy to parallel. I can think of no pre-Conquest application, the earliest being engraved upon a brooch from N. Ireland (Leeds 1933: opp. 96, fig. 30d) and enamelled upon an unlocated cruciform mount (Kemble 1863: Pl. XIX,5).

Two punched saltires adorn the inner circumference of the Rochdale torc; this detail is unpredendented, and in view of its location, would seem to be more magical than decorative in its intent. One is reminded of diaphragm detail on the Llyn Cerrig chariot horn which Fox maintained was a later addition by an inferior, (?) Northern craftsman to a southern import (1947: 19 & Pl. XV, 41).

We turn finally to the Lochar Moss torc with its unique sophistication. Grooves on its melon beads are rib-edged in a manner recalling rosette studs such as those from Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6: 192, no. 328) and Balmaclellan (No.307). Openwork of a different alloy is attached to the bar segment by means of small dome-headed rivets; every feature of this technique is present on the Mortonhall scabbard, and every one foreshadowed in a more southerly context; for instance, metal colours are exploited on two discs from the puzzling Tal y Llyn hoard[10]; domed rivet heads make a famous debut on the Glastonbury bowl and are simulated on many Iron Age products from the Hengistbury Head torc terminal to the Llandyssul collar (Fox 1958: Pl. 12, d).

The above techniquesare employed on our torc to form a running frieze of broken backed S-curves whose layout very much recalls the above mentioned collar, in addition to other Welsh finds such as the Trawsfynydd tankard holdfast (op. cit., Pl. 64); more immediate, however, are the links with the Mortonhall scabbard's oval panel and with the entire range of dragonesque fibulae. In fact, each unit is nothing but a pair of conjoined trumpet coils in which differentiation between dome and trumpet has been eliminated; Llyn Cerrig plaque ancestry is once more assured.

Beaded torcs therefore were made by Brigantian craftsmen working in the latter half of the first century A.D. and the first half of the second. Both form and design reveal a debt to south Britain and to the Continent but their closest contacts are with local work, in particular the scabbards of Group IV.

Collars (Group IIB).

Six neck ornaments form a small but distinctive group for which the name collar would be appropiate, in view of their flattened appearance; apart from this diagnostic feature, they display many differences, both of construction and decoration. A single specimen from Stichill, Roxburgh (No.194) is the reason for the following discussion.

The material used is predominantly bronze, although there is one case (Trenoweth) which is lead[11] overlaid with brass or golden bronze. External measurements vary between 6 and 7.7 in., internal between c. 6 and 6 in.

Three examples at least are without context (i.e. Trenoweth, Weymouth and Wraxhall), and the remaining three come from a hillfort (Llandyssul),(?) hoard (Stichill) and grave (Portland Island) respectively. Only the last two provide us with any clue as regards a date. The possible hoard, if it can be dignified by such a title may have comprised the collar under discussion and massive armlet No.223 whose date must lie somewhere in the second century A.D. The Portland Island specimen is said to have been found in a stone coffin 'with a pear-shaped bead-rim pot of dark smooth-faced ware, a second century Samian ware platter and a socketed bronze knife of Late Bronze Age type' --- on whose authority I

am not sure; Leeds considered the association to be highly suspect (1933: 59) and favoured an earlier date, but it is possible to combine both ideas, and presuppose manufacture in the late 1st. century A.D. followed by consignment to the tomb in the succeeding century.

Forced to rely upon stylistic considerations, our ignorance of 1st. century Dobunnic casting as opposed to mirror engraving becomes painfully clear. The collar from Weymouth is penannular and therefore unjointed; its free ends widen in a manner reminiscent of the Wraxhall specimen. This last is formed of two sections, the joints falling at the nape and front and technically of 'joggle' type, which in layman's terminology means a variant of a mortice and tenon; the similarity to the Dorchester torc is clear. Llandyssul and Trenoweth on the other hand originally employed a simple, flat, cast hinge at the nape, and presumably a similar front fastening with removable pin; in this they resemble the four cast armlets found with 1st. century material in the cemetery of Stamford Hill, Plymouth (Spence Bate 1865: 502 - 3 & Pl. XXXI, 1 & 2). The collars from Portland Island and Stichill display a variant of the hinge system made necessary by a sophisticated change of plane in their surfaces, whereby the nape section lies parallel with the spinal column while the pectoral part rests flat over the collar bones. The nape hinge in each case is a neat, beaten triple-tube through which a pin is passed; the front joint at Stichill is of similar construction, its pin provided with a knobbed head; that of Portland Island is apparently more akin to the joggle form of the Wraxhall torc. Such hinges are characteristic of a small series of strap brackets to be discussed on

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p. 207, of which two at least would seem to belong to the 2nd. century A.D. An earlier date is however feasible, in view of the precisely similar hinge form used to attach cheek pieces to the unprovenanced helmet No. 174. Two last structural details deserve mention; one is the bead-like outline of the frontal portion of the Portland Island example; this clearly recalls northern beaded neck rings. The other concerns the mode of decoration displayed on the front of the Stichill collar; there, répousse panels are attached to a cast base by means of decorative domed rivets; the constructional technique is precisely that used for strap armlets, and is to be related to the casket ornament of Southern Britain, see p. 391 ff .

All collars display running scroll work in low relief; decorative emphasis is laid upon the frontal section, and secondary lateral clusters occur in the case of Wraxhall and Portland Island. Considerable play is made with circular settings; in the last mentioned case, these would seem never to have been filled; but both the Trenoweth and Weymouth collars display an unusual use of glass as opposed to enamel. One recollects that shaped panels of blue glass were inserted into horse trappings by Belgic craftsmen of the mid 1st century A.D., while glass nostril and eye bosses are encountered on the snake armlets from Snailwell (Lethbridge 1952: 25 - 37) and zoomorphosed spur from Pakenham, Suffolk (JBAA,III,1848: 119). The Wraxhall torc is perforated for the insertion of such bosses, to be mounted presumably on stalk-like rivets whose other end could be burred over on the casting's underside; but we have no means of telling whether glass or enamel was intended. In either case, a close approximation to the 'spotty' appearance of some of

the Polden Hill finds must have been the result. The Llandyssul torc on the other hand displays round protuberances of cast bronze --- in fact non-functional rivets heads inserted after casting; these are clearly related to, on the one hand the decorative enlargement of functional rivet heads as on the Glastonbury bowl (Bulleid & Gray 1911: frontis.) and, on the other, to the mass representation of pseudo-rivet heads as on the Hengistbury torc terminal and, later, the entire range of casket ornament. Bronze bossing upon the Stichill collars is the product of three different techniques; eight are decorative enlargements of actual rivet heads, a further eight are executed in répousse with their surrounding panels, and the remainder are cast.

A closer examination reveals that the running scrolls of Llandyssul and Wraxhall are to be related to pot decoration from the Glastonbury and Meare lake villages (Grimes 1952: 166 - 7 & fig. 6); however, trumpet coils tucked between each scroll on the former example are an unprecedented elaboration and surely foretell the northern development of the 'petal boss'. In the sphere of metalwork, Wraxhall's curves vividly recall the Polden Hill shield boss (Smith 1925: fig. 164), while its ponderous treatment of material is more akin to that of the Sudly Castle mount (Fox 1958: Pl. 52d); both comparisons indicate a mid 1st. century date. It is interesting to note on this collar forerunners both of the 'slender trumpet' and of that 'dragonesque' curve as portrayed by the prototype from Lakenheath (op. cit., Pl. 41 b).

Ornament on the Portland Island collar is difficult to parallel, beyond a certain resemblance to that of Wraxhall and the circular-sectioned torc from Dorchester; its relief is so low as to be a

mere ruffling of the surface, but amongst the many misunderstood motifs one can detect approximations to the swash-N, a feature of the second half of the 1st. century A.D. and perhaps a little beyond so that the collar's association may not be entirely erroneous.

Decoration of the Trenoweth collar is equally degenerate, but executed almost entirely in incision. The crude palmettes with flanking, but unattached trumpet coils are to be connected with bit decoration in the Polden Hill hoard.

Surface details include:-

(1) pseudo-beading in a short stretch of the Llandyssul decoration; this is precisely paralleled on the so0called 'dolphins' of the Polden Hill hoard (op. cit., Pl. 75c);

(2) faked wavy seams on Wraxhall; this is already well known to us from the northern beaded torcs of Rochdale and Lochar Moss, but in all probability had southern beginnings, witness its application to the terminal of a shield mount from St. Mawgan in Pyder, Cornwall --- of south-western but not immediately local manufacture, so Sir Cyril thinks (op. cit. 115, Pl. 67b);

(3) background pouncing on the Portland Island collar may also be seen on the last mentioned mount as well as on many other products of the south; an annular variant displayed by the Trenoweth collar is much less frequent, while probably owing its existence to South-Western Second B pottery decoration; the only comparable treatment of metal is to be seen surprisingly, on a dress fastener-like object from the Stanwick hoard (No. 24).

The above considerations lead us to suspect a southern

inspiration for the Stichill collar and an approximate range of sixty or seventy years for the group, commencing shortly before 43 A.D. with perhaps, the Llandyssul specimen. It remains to be seen whether details of the Stichill decor are compatible with southern manufacture; Piggott, in a brief but lucid study (1955: 232 - 3) thought not.

Its ornament is executed in two different techniques, being cast at nape and sides and beaten at the front. While it is possible that the whole was designed and executed by one man, yet I feel that we have here a conscious collaboration between two craftsmen, working in different media --- molten and foil metal respectively --- and each drawing upon slightly different funds of traditional design. One thing is certain however, and that is the debt owed to previous centuries of metalworking in northern Britain. A major part of Stichill's ornament is based upon Piggott's 'mushroom-shaped motifs', traceable to an early beginning on the Torrs pony mask; the only difference is the attachment of elbow-like frames of trumpet coil ancestry to the lateral knobs of each mushroom.[13] Other features for which a respectable ancestry can be quoted are:-

(1) The spring-coil with webbing to link its outer circumference to the arriving or departing stem; this, in a fluted form is already present on the Torrs horn terminal A, but the most striking application is probably upon the famous Witham scabbard locket (Fox 1958: Pl. 22b).

(2) The leaf-like tailing away of design towards the nape section; this is well known upon the Wandsworth and Witham long shield bosses (op. cit. Pl. 14b & 15 b) and appears on both Yorkshire and Irish scabbards of Group III and IIA respectively.

(3) The small depressed circles ringed by narrow ribs which immediately precede feature (2) on the Stichill collar are similarly encountered on a Group III chape from Glencotho (No. 126).

There are however, links of a more contemporary nature. The entire layout of lateral scroll work, the form assumed by each coil and the termination in two, lobed units at collar bone position, indicates a knowledge of southern collar design such as Wraxhall - which was only to be expected in view of the structural similarities. On the other hand, the low, wiry somewhat lifeless interpretation of nape and side neck scrolls is far more akin to motifs on Samian ware, especially of the pre-Flavian period, of which a representative series is readily available for comparison in the Camulodunum report (Hawkes & Hull 1947: Pl.s XX-XXXVIII).

Stichill's repoussé panels are clearly in the casket ornament tradition and thus forge another link with the south. They display attractive and highly developed versions of Leeds swash-N motif. This last, I feel sure, is one of several means whereby Celtic craftsmen of the early Roman period in Britain strove to fill decorative panels of the hitherto unknown, but now much favoured, square shape. Its roots must surely lie in that shorthand version of a Llyn Cerrig triquetra which consists basically of an S with trumpet coil terminals, in one of which two trumpets share the one boss, thus giving an eared effect. Such detail adorns transitional B.C. - A.D. products such as the Group II scabbard from Meare (Piggott 1950: 8, fig. 3) and the strap junction from Letchworth (Smith 1913 - 14: 240, fig. 3). A swash-N of the type displayed on repoussé strips from Rodborough Common Glos.

(Smith R.A. 1925: 146, fig. 169) is nothing but a balanced version of this motif; repoussé decoration on the Broighter torc is surely relevant.

Clearly the southerly contribution to the swash-N is considerable, but it was in workshops further north that the characteristic hollow joint of disintegrating trumpet coil form was incorporated[14]. Enamelled, the motif is a favourite on seal box lids from Chesters, Lincoln and 'unprovenanced but probably northern' (Henry 1933: 144, fig. 46, 1, 6 & 4); also from Humby, Lincs. and Castle Hill, Notts. (Oswald 1927: 28, fig. 2, Pl. VI, 7). While the majority of their associations are unrecorded, the last returns a Flavian date --- ans this for a version which could well be considered late or at least highly developed. The Stichill collar could therefore be relegated as easily to the mid 1st century A.D. as to the early 2nd.; at any rate, it is probably no later than Antonine. On the other hand, Thomas (1964: 57) would see in his symbol 33 a representation of just such a collar, thus supporting a retention of the memory as late as the 5th. century.

Nothing has yet been said concerning the origin of our small series of collars. There is a type of Continental torc in which the frontal segment is spread rather in the manner of an Egyptian pectoral (Aldred 1965: 109, illust. 103; Déchelette 1927: 722, fig. 516, 4), and this could conceivably form a starting point for the group; the mode of fastening however involves two mortice and tenon joints. As the hinging of the Portland Island and Stichill collars could be a Roman contribution, it is sensible to suspect further influence from that sphere. Surely the transverse cast stripes upon the last mentioned ornament are to be related to those solid plates which evenly space out

multi-strand necklaces such as that found with the famous Aesica brooch in the fort of Great Chesters; of silver chain, this is unfortunately no longer available for examination (PSA Newcastle VI, 1893 - 4: 241). The type first appears at Pompeii (Sivière 1954: 133, no. 164, 5). It is interesting to note that while this necklace does not provide an analagous fastening, hinges are employed upon a silver band bracelet set with cornelian from the same hoard. One is reminded further that the single chain necklaces of Greek or Graeco-Roman manufacture found with the Broighter torc are fastened by means of 'bolts or double pins' sliding hinge-like into decorative loops (Evans 1897: Pl. XXII, 1 & 2). Classical prototypes were therefore available to British craftsmen in the 1st. century A.D.

The Stichill collar is, therefore, a complex piece, owing much to both native and Roman products available in south Britain; yet revealing a knowledge of North English/South Scottish patterns at a stage of development reached by the late 1st. century A.D. or early 2nd. century.

Strap bracelets.

A small series of strap bracelets represented here by Nos. 196 & 195 from Thirst House, Derby. and Plunton Castle, Kirkcudbright. display Roman and native features in awkwardly varying proportions. At present only five are known to me, of which two are a pair from Braich y Dinas, Caernarvon (Arch Camb., XCII, 1937: 161 - 4 & Ant.J., XVII, 1937: 318 - 9); and the specimen as yet unaccounted for come from Rhayader in Radnor (Arch. J., XVI, 1899: 259 - 67 & 261, fig. 2).

Each is a broad wrist band of thin metal, oval in plan and longitudinally ribbed; a hinge on one flattened side is permanently articulate, while a similar hinge opposite opens and shuts by means of removing its small, dome-headed pin. Decorated plates flank each hinge, partly to reduce the strain. The bracelets are of small dimensions; two at least return maximum diameters of 2 - 2.5 in. Four are made of bronze, the remaining example from Rhayader is of gold. Decorative techniques include casting, repoussé, metal-on-metal openwork, granulation, filigree and enamelling.

There are too few examples to discuss distribution -- beyond pointing out that at present the fashion appears to be strangely confined to Fox's Highland Zone.

The Plunton Castle bracelet is a stray find from a moss. The Thirst House and Braich y Dinas examples come from settlement sites and that from Rhayader from a hoard of jewellery. These contexts provide only a vague indication of date. Samian sherds of the period 100 - 250 A.D., second century brooches and coins ranging from 154 - 270 A.D. were found in Thirst House Cave, while a worn sestertius of Trajan occupied the same level as the Caernarvonshire pair, albeit some distance away. The Rhayader hoard contained a finger ring with a gnostic bezel whose symbolism is more appropriate to the second century than to the first. The range then is probably short.

Turning to decorative features and the first to the strap itself, the soldered wire and granulation of Rhayader and the cast imitation of the Braich y Dinas pair is totally alien to the Celtic repertoire;

not so the recessed, 'wavy fin' lines of Thirst House which, it will be remembered, made an early appearance on the Snettisham ring terminal torc, became very popular as an edging to bowl rims (e.g. Glastonbury: Bulleid & Gray 1911: frontis.) and is best represented in the North English/South Scottish province by detail on the Newstead 'torc'.

The strengthening plates of each bracelet, with the exception of the Braich y Dinas pair display some form of swash-N motif; at Rhadyer, its execution involves blue and green enamel -- a native trait -- although the cloisonne application is exceptional. The form assumed by the swash-N is plump and eared, reminiscent of a small series of Romano-British belt plates from Caerleon (A.Fox 1940: 128, no. 10 & 131, 10) Richborough (Bushe Fox 1949: 123 & Pl. XXXIII, 73) and Temple-brough (May 1922: 73 & Pl.XV, A15); also of detail on a brooch from Corbridge whose form suggests, by Collingwood's scheme, a date c. 100 A.D. On the other hand, the swash-N motifs at Plunton Castle and Thirst House are sinuous and provided with that hollowed joint already experienced on the Stichill collar, to which the repoussé execution of the first example is a further link. The Plunton Castle version, however, is well on the way to total disintegration, the terminal trumpet coils floating virtually, or actually, unattached. Two features of the Plunton panels reveal their debt to the stamped foil products of southern England; the first is the continuous border of 'pseudo rivets' to be found edging the strips from Lydney (REM & TV Wheeler 1932: Pl. XXIX, 138) and Rodborough Common, Glos. (Smith 1925: 146, fig. 169); the other is the triple clusters of such 'nail heads' which occur on a small square of

foil from Silchester (Fox 1958: Pl. 77a) and negatively upon a triangular clay stamp from the villa of North Wraxhall, Wilts. (Devizes Mus. Cat. 1934: Pt. II, 202, fig. 34). The domed heads of truly functional rivets lead on to the final specimen from Thirst House where a swash-N, even more strictly comparable with Stichill, is executed in a metal-on-metal openwork technique exactly paralleled by the Lochar Moss torc and Morton Hall scabbard. I have not had the opportunity of examining the actual fragment but suspect that differing alloys may likewise fulfill a decorative role. Certainly such a play on metal colouring is present in the Braich y Dinas pair whose crude adornment is in no other way comparable. Upon these, a simple arrangement of ring and dot incision recalls bonework rather than metal. Each plate is however, secured by means of two dome-headed rivets, both of which are enclosed in the 'ring' of a ring and dot unit, thus lending some depth to the design; while recalling of course, the great play on dome-headed rivets, both real and fake in British Early Iron Age metalwork. Encircling incision is not quite so easy to parallel, but actual rivets are so surrounded in the Lochar Moss torc and variations on this theme become popular on late metal vessels such as the cauldron from Kincardine Moss (No.267) and buckets from Great Chesterford (Henry 1933: 85, fig. 8, 8) and Mountsorrel (Hawkes 1951: Pl. IX,1).

The two strap armlets which have particularly engaged our attention are, therefore, local manufactures most probably of the early 2nd. century A.D. In view of the Rhodaye and Braich y Dinas finds, it is reasonable to suspect Roman inspiration for the series. Admittedly

hinged bracelets do occur in the Continental Iron Age (Déchelette 1927: 731, fig. 519, 3) but these are narrow and of semi-circular section with clumsy cast hinges. A superficial glance further afield reveals that the slender band armlet has a long history in the Near East and Mediterranean region. Penannular forms were favoured by Hellenistic workshops (Minns 1913: 199, fig. 92, 2). They make rare appearances at the summit of Etruscan civilization (Randall McIver 1924: Pl. 28, 5 & 6 & Pl. 29, 3 & 4), although some would envisage these as ear-rings (Bloch 1958: Pl. 70 & 253). That hinges are absent from the specimens cited must be due to ignorance of the material, as comparable foil hinges were incorporated in jewellery of the Near East as early as the 7th. or 6th. century B.C. (Harden 1963: Pl. 104); while hinged bracelets are common finds from later Roman Byzantine contexts (Minns 1913: 215, fig. 118; Dalton 1921: 133 & 135, fig. 81). Three strap necklets, longitudinally ribbed and hinged and found in a Graeco-Scythian grave of the 1st. century A.D., at least reveal that the idea was in the air for zealous British craftsmen to emulate.

Snake bracelets.

A small group of bracelets, eight in all, are of spiral forms with snake's head terminals (Nos. 197-203). All are of bronze, cast as a straight bar and subsequently annealed into three or three and a half coils; a central full coil is in many cases transversely ribbed, as opposed to the frequent longitudinal grooving of the remainder. Overall size varies from nearly 4 inches to as little as 1.95 inches;

this last could have been worn only by a child. The remainder seem more suitable to female wrist and hand measurements.

All save one, from Snailwell, Cambs., (Lethbridge 1953: 25 - 37) are Scottish finds, predominantly east coast with three examples known from Perthshire, one each from Aberdeen and Morayshire, and an outlier from the island of Skye. Unfortunately, one half of the known number consists of stray or unlocated finds, so that attention must be focussed on the remaining four. That from Snailwell accompanied a Belgic cremation whose additional grave goods indicate a date within a year or two of 43 A.D. The metalwork hoard of Bunrannoch apparently comprised two armlets 'and some other small articles all in a vessel of some kind which was broken to pieces at the time of finding'; only the two armlets, one of spiral snake form (No. 197), the other massive (No. 216) exist today. A date for this last somewhere in the 2nd. century A.D. is argues on p. 233 ff . The specimen from Hurley Hawkins (No. 200) came from one of several rectangular huts apparently erected against the internal wall of a broch. Among the many finds were sherds of late 1st. century Roman ware. The final armlet to provide any chronological clue, however vague, is that from West Grange of Conan (No. 202) which occurred in a souterrain accompanied by sherds of Roman amphorae.

From these paltry snippets of information, one can at least assume that the lone English example precedes its Scottish counterparts. It is less easy to provide an upper date for their popularity. All one can say is that it is unnecessary, though perfectly feasible, to

extend their popul rity farther than the 2nd. century.

Support for these vague assumptions emerges from the stylistic examination of the bracelets in turn. On the Snailwell terminals, elements of both ram and snake are present, thus causing difficulty in the choice of title for various anatomical details. It is to be hoped that the following will be acceptable and easily identifiable -- nostrils, muzzle, ruff, spine and horns. Each individual feature can be matched on specifically Belgic , or at any rate, south British animal representations of the first half of the 1st. century A.D. While the nostril arrangement, viewed from above, recalls strongly the eared ring-holders of two-link bits, their actual enlargment and indentation for some colourful filling is best paralleled by the Harpenden rams(Fox 1958 Pl. 50). Facial texturing, while related to the widespread southern tradition of pouncing is closest to punch work on the Youlton bowl escutcheon, itself supposedly a representation of a ram[15]. The deep cross ribbing of horns and ruff is perhaps insufficiently specialized as a motif, to possess any stylistic weight, but it does appear on the moustaches and hair of the Welwyn masks (op. cit.Pl. 33b). A double 'wavy fin' follows the Snailwell spine; while no application to actual animals can be cited, this motif is, of course, a feature of the bowls whose mounts provide us with a high percentage of the animals referred to (see p. 366). Finally, the use of amber coloured glass is best paralleled by southern products such as the collars from Weymouth and Trenoweth.

All the indications are therefore, that the Snailwell armlet is a southern piece, not an import from Scotland. Details of

the heads, including their retroussé outline afford the distinct possibility of manufacture by craftsmen trained in the production of bowls and their escutcheons.

The Culbin Sands armlet displays a sophistication of design and execution which seems incompatible with its find spot. Its similarity of form to the Snailwell specimen was early recognized (Lethbridge 1952: 36 - 7 & Piggott 1957 - 8: 74) and this similarity extends to features of superficial adornment. Admittedly the twin nostrils of the English example are replaced by a single setting on the Scottish, but the idea is basically the same. Horns and ruff of the former seem perpetuated, albeit, in a misunderstood fashion, upon the latter; and the spinal recessed zig-zag of Culbin Sands is nothing but a cast version of Snailwell's 'wavy fin'. The tiny eye studs of opaque blue glass are to be seen on a first century spur from Pakenham, Suffolk (Shortt 1959: 61 - 76 & Pl. XV, 19). The'slender trumpet' in its fully developed form makes a southern debut on the Wraxhall torc (Fox 1958: Pl. 61a) and the dragonesque fibula from Lakenheath (op. cit. Pl. 41b). The delicate head incision is surely to be related to mirror hatching in its later stages and to decorative texturing upon South-Western Second B pottery. Finally, the central coil is knobbed along the spine; the contiguous frame of each pair of knobs forms a symmetrical but curved saltire arrangement, well known on the later crescent terrets from London and Eauze.

All the analogies cited above, with the possible exception of the last, precede the Boudiccan revolt, although in many cases by only

a matter of ten or twenty years. They seem to provide a firm terminus post quem for the manufacture of this delightful armlet.

In fact, even closer parallels for each decorative motif may be cited from the repertoire of the succeeding 40 - 60 years in the north English/south Scottish area. Theses are listed below:-

(1) Juxtaposed slender trumpets: these adorn the Middlebie cruciform mount No. 20 and, more important from a dating point of view, the Group IV hilt guard from Newstead (No. 139) dateable to the last twenty years of the 1st. century A.D.

(2) Muzzle motif: this enlarged variation upon the paired slender trumpet is known upon a Flavio-Trajanic mount from Corbridge (No. 13) and continued in popularity until the mid 2nd. century A.D., witness the toggle-like object (No. 37) from Birrens. The Culbin Sands version --- forming the ruff --- looks early.

(3) Wiry knob ended coils: while neither arranged in pairs like the volutes of an Ionic capital, nor centred upon glass insets, these do appear upon the Stichill collar (No. 194).

(4) Curved saltire: much play is made of this upon Group IV scabbard loops whose popularity cannot penetrate far into the 2nd. century.

(5) Arcading: in its swag-like form with oval drop this occurs on the Balmaclellan mirror (No. 239), Brough and Worton pommels (Nos. 129 & 148) and, more important from a chronological viewpoint the Flavio-Trajanic mount from Corbridge, already cited.

(6) Spinal column: while I can cite no parallel for the chevron, recessed along the armlet's surface cast versions of the wavy fin do occur

on the Embsay torc (No.185) and on a spindle whorl from Hanging Shaw (No.244).

(7) Panels of fine parallel incision on a curved surface: this is a feature of the best beaded torcs such as those from Rochdale (No.190) and Lambay Island.

(8) Similar incision incorporating 'partings': this simplified version of basket hatching occurs on the end scrolls of the Balmaclellan crescent (No.303); whatever its place of manufacture, this must surely be a late 1st. century piece (see p.412).

We have now compared decorative features of the Culbin Sands armlet first to southern and specifically Belgic products of the period c. 20 - 60 A.D. then to north English/south Scottish material of the period 60 - 120 A.D. In both series, copious points of similarity have been distinguished. Even closer, however, are the products of N. Scotland, in particular the Deskford carnyx head (No.174) and those members of the massive armlet series whose adornment is paradoxically least 'massive'. Perhaps most telling is the treatment and arrangement of slender trumpets around the eyes of our two animal studies; in addition, slender trumpets of comparable development adorn the Belhelvie armlet (No.215), as do curved saltires. These last are best paralleled by the jointed specimens on the armlet from Pitkelloney (No.220). Castle Newe (No.217) is particularly relevant for lateral arcading; and all, of course, make copious use of recessed decoration, although none is totally comparable.

Clearly the Culbin Sands armlet bridges what little stylistic gap there was between the products of the inter-wall area and

the massive armlet school. It is definitely earlier than the Castle Newe armlet which was found with a denarius of Nerva (96 - 98 A.D.); and probably a little later than the Deskford boar whose manufacture is suspected to fall closer to 75 than to 50 A.D. To support this highly contentious dating, I would proffer a repousse fragment from Newstead (No. 299); firmly dated to the period 81 - 100 A.D., it displays a degenerate, or at least misunderstood, version of the slender trumpet eye frame displayed by the Culbin Sands snake.

Mercifully, less requires to be said about the remaining six snake armlets. As the designer of the Culbin Sands armlet incorporated many features of his Snailwell-like model, but rejected others, such as the obvious ram content, while adding novel details such as the fore-head bump, even so the craftsman responsible for at least three of the remaining Scottish armlets would seem to have striven to emulate a Culbin Sands type. The three in question are Nos. 202, 199 & 203 from West Grange of Conan, Duntulm and location unknown respectively. All display differential coil decoration and one, from Conan, spinal incision; on this last, at the transitions from longitudinal to transverse grooving there are two curvilinear panels (best described as one half of an amazon motif), which seem to recall more elaborate transition passages on the Culbin Sands example. The eyes are similarly oval, with strongly marked brow ridges, but they, like the rest of the facial features, are only carelessly indicated. The most obvious relics of Culbin Sands adornment are the paired 'streamers' which on both replace the Snailwell horns, and, of course, the adjacent ruff. It is notable that only the unlocated

specimen possesses forehead bumps in the manner of the Culbin Sands example. Other points of difference are (1) a central protruberance on the muzzle of Conan which seems to echo more directly than even the Culbin Sands example the layout of texturing on the Snailwell faces; (2) scoring at the position of the nostrils on the Duntulm specimen and (3) the use of lattice incision upon the mouth and hoop proper of the unlocated example; this is a characteristic of Roman snake representations (Nevill 1849: Pl. opp. 17, no. 2; B.M. Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain, 1958: 13, fig. 6, 2 & 3). A final detail is the faint rocker-tracing which follows the spine of the Conan specimen; this may well derive ultimately from the techniques of mirror decoration, but closer analogies, both in appearance, location and time are afforded by the Group IV scabbard from Morton Hall (No. 138) and the Benwell torc (No. 183).

A further two snake armlets from Pitalpin and Bunrannoch while closely related, yet seem to follow a different model. Their central coils are transversely grooved as before and the first retains a memory of those curved 'bridge passages' between tooled and plain hoop surface. Eye notches are likewise similar but the streamers behind each head are considerably more horn-like and stumpy. Mention must here be made of the ingenious and unique spinal decoration of Pitalpin. The asymmetry of each miniature saltire may be accidental, but I think not, in view of this motifs popularity in the Scottish and North English decorative repertoire.

There remains the specimen from Hurley Hawkin (No. 200)

differing again in that its head contours are shaped -- as opposed to the attachment of relief features to an unshaped bar. Only the Conan example hints at such a treatment.

This small series then pre-supposes the arrival in Scotland of Snailwell-like snake armlets of varying patterns, either on the wrists of Belgic refugees or, figuratively speaking, in the heads of Belgic craftsmen forced into an itinerant trade by unsettled conditions. The Culbin sands example is a particularly exotic result of this transfusion, manufactured probably in a more lowland area than its find spot would suggest, although not necessarily south of the Tay. These from West Grange of Conan, and possibly Pitalpin, need not be much later and the remainder, drawing on successive local copies could extend well into the second century; quite how far we have no means of telling.

Spiral armlets with zoomorphosed terminals may be traced back to the jewellery workshops of Achaemenid Persia. In the Oxus treasure for instance, there are many with ribbed hoops ending in lion or goat heads (Dalton 1926: Pl. XVII, nos. 138 ' 118, and Pl. XX, no.132. The magical signifance attached to snakes in the Greek world may underlie their substitution by Hellenistic craftsmen, whose products found their way to Tuscany, there to be inserted in graves of the Senones at Montefortino (Dechelette 1909: 22 - 3, and fig. 18a); and to Spain, where local copies are included in the hoards of Cheste (<u>op. cit.</u>, fig. 18b), and Javea (Paris 1906: 425). These examples belong to the 4th. and 3rd. centuries B.C. There is apparently no tradition of snake bracelets in La Tène Europe.

The type, no doubt, early entered the Roman repertoire. While it is, therefore, possible that it reached Britain considerably in advance of the Roman invasion, yet it seems more convenient to envisage its introduction not long before, probably as one of the imports from the civilized world into Belgic Culture. We do know, for instance, that the slender gold examples were being produced in Egypt in the 1st. century A.D. (Dennison 1918: Pl. XLVII). Although it must be admitted that the penannular form was more favoured in post-Conquest times one-headed, and presumably, spiral examples are known from the 2nd century hoard of Llandovery, Carmarthen. (B.M. Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain 1958: 13, fig. 6, 3), and from St. Albans (V.C.H.Herts., I, 1904: Pl. XI), and spiral finger rings incorporating snakes heads are, of course, a common feature of the later 1st. century A.D. and a major part of the 2nd. (Charlesworth 1961: 10 - 11).

An armlet closely comparable to our British series has been found in Switzerland (Funfundvierzigstes Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft fur Urgesichte 1956: 202 & Taf. 22a). Unfortunately without context, it is probably a parallel development, arising also from Roman inspiration, as are too the pair from a late 2nd. - 3rd. century grave at Wesiory Wybudowanie in Poland (Invent. Arch. IV, Pl. 27, nos. 4 - 5).

At this point a few comments on the penannular snake armlets must be inserted. As already stated these seem Roman rather than native, according to our by no means foolproof classification. They are almost exclusively confined to the southern half of Britain, so that the few northern outliers have achieved a somewhat spurious Iron Age

attribution which must be cancelled.

Penannular snake bracelets fall into three categories dependent upon the hoop form, whether strap, rod or narrow ribbon. Broad strap forms of base silver or bronze provide most chronological information. I know of at least seven specimens[16]. The examples from Castle Thorpe and Bury date to the latter halves of the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries A.D. respectively and the earliest appearance of this form would seem to be in the Slay Hill Saltings deposit where silver fragments accompanied coins of Marcus Aurelius (B.M.Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain 1958: 13 - 14). Ribbon versions, which must surely be slender, and possibly degenerate versions of the above type cover the late 2nd. century and the whole of the 3rd. and 4th centuries (R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler 1936: 210 & 211, fig. 45, 44; Penn 1959: 22, fig. 10, 4 etc). A strange bracelet from Cairnrable (No. 205) may belong here although I have my doubts; its serpent content is open to question.

It seems unlikely that our final series of broad bracelets can much, if at all precede the 2nd. century, in view of their similarity of head treatment to the ribbon versions; the best known is a somewhat atypical specimen from the Llandovery hoard (B.M.Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain 1958: 13, fig. 6, 2). It is to this group that the rare northern examples belong. One, unprovenanced, and now in Newcastle University Museum is best paralleled by a more sophisticated gold pair from a child's grave at Southfleet, Kent (Banks 1803: Pl.VIII, 3 & 4). Another well known ribbed example from Fell of Barhullion (No. 204) is virtually identical to a lost pair found in the lead works of Meliden,

Flints. in 1704, but now known only from an illustrated letter to Edward Lhuyd (Davies 1949: 243 - 4, and fig. 89).

It is quite clear that for chronological reasons, the Roman snake bracelets known at present cannot conceivably have inspired our native Scottish series. The initial spark may have been alien, but most of the credit should be awarded to the Belgic craftsmen.

Both British and Roman forms of snake bracelet must surely have played a part in the development of zoomorphic pins and penannular brooches (Savory 1956: 49, footn. 43a.).

Long before snake armlets make their appearance on the British scene, the serpent would seem to have been revered throughout Celtic Europe. Clasped by the horned god, it appears on rock carvings of the 4th. century B.C. at Val Camonica (Anati 1960: 172 and Pl. 31), and at a later date on the silver cauldron from Gundestrup (Klindt Jensen). The association is not forgotten as late as the 2nd. century A.D., when, on an antefix from Silchester a fusion of classical Medusa and Celtic horned god is accompanied by a snake (Ross 1957 - 8: 30). Unaccompanied serpents also occur; they may well have been regarded as an evil-averting symbol. One, carved in high relief, wriggles along the threshold stone of the 'Sanctuaire des Cranes' at Entremont in Provence (Benoit 1955: Pl. XXV, 5). A coiled pair with rams' heads adorn a bronze casting from Aveyron (Varagnac 1956, Metal et Ceramique, Pl. 40).[17]

The superstition also occurs in Roman contexts, where for instance, in addition to copious armlets, worm-like creatures cavort upon

the parade helmet from Guisborough, Yorks. (Toynbee 1964: Pl. LXVIII,b). It is even possible that the snakes from Llandovery and St. Albans mentioned on p. 221 , with their naturalistic treatment and twisted state may never have been intended for coiling into spiral armlets; the cast head and sinuous neck of a votive model has been found in the temple at Caerwent (Barnet 1960: Pl. VII, 2); and in this context it is interesting to remember that bracelets of degenerate form were preserved in such great numbers at Lydney that votive intent is suspected (R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler 1932: 82).

Plain spiral bracelets.

Three bracelets display spiral form -- in one case more truthfully overlapping -- without zoomorphic features. The atypical specimen (No. 206) is unprovenanced; the second (No. 208) from Wester Craiglockhart Hill was accompanied by various unrevealing Iron Age objects, such as a bronze finger ring and fragment of shale armlet. The third, from Newstead (No. 207) is firmly dated to the period 81 - 100 A.D. Curle (1911: 335 - 6) and all succedding authors have regarded it as a large and excessively slender torc. Indeed Lethbridge suspected a similar intention for the Snailwell snake, with a change of plan after casting as a straight bar --- purely on the strength of our Newstead specimen. The argument works both ways; and as the latter's rod was folded and crumpled on discovery, only subsequently to be 'restored' to torc appearance, I feel sure its original execution as a spiral bracelet. In length it is somewhat shorter than the Snailwell example --- 37.75 in. as opposed to 40.5 in.; it would anneal admirably into three

or three and a half coils, the central section only displaying surface pattern, precisely in the manner of the Wester Craiglockhart Hill example.

So far as one can gauge, therefore, the type would seem to be at home in Lowland Scotland towards the end of the 1st. century A.D. The paltry decorative details do not refute this vague statement. Firstly, all three display knobbed terminals; these recall instantly to mind the fashion for knobs which flourished in the inter-isthmus region at the close of the 1st. century and beginning of the 2nd. --- the entire range of knobbed terrets for instance. Adjacent milled collars on the Newstead specimen are paralleled by detail on lipped terret (No. 55) from that same site, as well as hook 18 from the Stanwick hoard, and many local brooches such as the early head stud specimen from Dalnotter Estate, Dumbarton. (Glasgow Mus.: 02 - 73 KY). Differential arrangement of hoop decoration displayed by the two provenanced examples forms an additional link with spiral snake bracelets, over and above that of actual form. The transverse ribbing of No. 208 is best paralleled by that from Duntulm (No. 199), while 'bridge passages' between plain and decorated hoop sections are shared by the Wester Craiglockhart type as well as three of the eight known snake armlets. The angled slashing of one-third of the Newstead hoop recalls most clearly the Embsay torc (No. 185) and is, of course, merely a different application of milling. Wavy fin pattern such as adorns its central facet has been frequently encountered in the course of discussion, both in simulated and cast form; but the true punched version displayed here is much more at home on

metal,vessels of the south, such as the Glastonbury and Roseasa bowl, and Welwyn tub (see p. 365 ff.).

Our two provenanced examples, therefore, are probably local products to be related to the development of spiral snake armlets in Scotland. There is less need to establish a source for the inspiration; however, astonishing and inexplicable parallels both to the overlap and true spiral types are afforded by grave goods from Ford Green, Hunts. (Artis 1828: Pl. XXXI, 1, 2 and 7). Both have knobbed terminals and geometric incision. Their early Italian appearance is enhanced by the presence of a brooch whose type is Villanovan or Early Etruscan. While I do not presume to place any weight on this similarity, it could point to a continuity of tradition in the Roman world which I have been unable otherwise to track.[18]

The Blackness Castle bracelet (No. 209).

This unique object is penannular, with slightly expanded terminals and a uniform flattened oval section; its general appearance approaches that of an example from one of 16 Yorkshire chariot graves (Fox 1958: Pl. 2b); its milled bands, however, and dotted chevrons would not be totally out of place in this inter-Wall area at the close of the 1st. century A.D., or slightly later. Its context does not militate against an Iron Age date, as cist burials are not infrequent;[19] but one cannot dismiss the possibility of manufacture in the Dark Ages (see Piggott 1950 - 1: 115).

Massive armlets. (Nos. 211 - 24)

Twenty, possibly twenty-one, massive armlets are known to me; of these five, including the dubious one, are totally lost, although two were probably identical to the extant examples, and one is represented by an admirable cast. A further three in private collections have been examined at second hand --- again from casts --- and the lone Irish example from photographs only.

All are of tin bronze, the alloy varying considerably. A sample taken from the Stanhope specimen revealed it to be 'true'; one of the Aboyne pair (N.M.A.Edin. FA 21) incorporated 4.41% lead and 1.4% zinc, and the other (FA 22) as much as 9.13% zinc. Both ingredients were beginning to appear in Late Bronze Age alloys, the former intentionally, the latter accidentally (Tylecote 1962: 51); yet it must be admitted that widespread and conscious inclusion of zinc is a feature of Roman metallurgy.

All the armlets are sturdy castings, varying in weight from 1 lb. 4 oz. to an excessive 3 lb. 13½ oz. in the case of the larger example from Pitkelloney. It seems highly possible that some at least were cast flat, and subsequently shaped by annealing, though this is unlikely in the grosser cases. The average maximum measuement, taken internally, falls between 4 and 4.5 in. Width across the back can be as narrow as 1.5 in. (No. 219), or as broad as 3.6 in (No. 214); most lie between 2 and 3 in.

All subsequent studies owe a great debt to the pioneer work of J.A.Smith, whose collation of the material was read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1879, and finally published in

1880 - 1 (316 - 363).[20] Previous study had been confined to brief donation and discovery notes, and a meagre mention by Wilson in his Prehistoric Annals of Scotland (1863: 139 - 40). From this sound beginning, the Iron Age date of massive armlets was never in question. Anderson's study of 1883 (140 - 56) adds little to the information proferred by Smith, but, sometime later in 1903 - 4 (460 - 6), we have this author to thank for his disentanglement of find spots and identities. Evan's comparison of the armlet decoration with that upon the Aesica rooch (1896: 191) was far in advance of his time; it was not until 1933 that Leeds briefly, but cogently, fitted them into the national scheme of Iron Age artistic development. The latest illumination has been provided by Piggott (1959: 19 - 32). In view of this long history of competent discussion, I must apologize in advance for raking over old facts.

Massive armlets are penannular in shape, with expanded and centrally perforated terminals, for the insertion, for some cases at least, of circular enamelled plaques. They fall into two categories according to their form. To these, Smith gave the titles 'oval' and 'folded' which will be retained here at the risk of referring occasionally to 'Smith's ovals', a phrase more reminiscent of dog biscuits. The oval type of armlet is a solid casting, symmetrical in both outline and decorative detail; there are twelve known examples. Two of the seven folded armlets are executed as a series of linked and contiguous strands, while the remainder retain a reminiscence of this origin in the asymmetry of their shape and decoration; (the arrangement is impossible to define

briefly; (a glance at the flattened drawings will illuminate the situation). Surface detail varies from elegant low relief to excessive 'bumpiness', this last, plus the tendency to large size, being the reason for the title.

There is a clear tendency for massive armlets to occur in pairs, whose appearance is very similar though never identical.[21] The realization that the Pitkelloney pair between them weigh 7 lb. 7¼ oz. calls for a discussion of their actual use. It must surely be assumed that they were intended to adorn limbs --- whether animate or inanimate is the question. There are several facts to support the theory of human adornment. Firstly, their dimensions are not improbable; even the largest, from Mains of Auchenbadie, could be envisages as one of a pair clasping the biceps of some well developed gentleman, with, for some measure of comfort and additonal bulkiness, a thick garment between metal and flesh. Admittedly, they could just as easily adorn the calves, as Professor Atkinson has suggested in conversation, although two rather frivolous objections would seem to demolish this theory. Worn as a pair by anyone not suffering from excessive bow-leggedness, they would result in an undignified gait and lucicrous clanking noise; and should either slip from its position below the knee, the resulting damage to foot and ankle can well be imagined. Where recorded --- and that in itself is rare --- the find spots seem more compatible with everyday, or at least, secular use (see p. 230). The final support for human adornment is that small amount of wear visible on the armlets from Stanhope and Seafield, to be found on the inside of the back along each edge.

The arguments against human use need not apply to such moderate versions as those from Aboyne and Glamis, 'Perth', Stichill and even Belhelvie, Seafield and Stanhope, but they become vociferous for the remainder. None of the larger examples display any sign of internal wear; the rubbed appearance of their protuberances could be explained by modern handling. Most persuasive of all, is the total disregard for weight displayed by the crude patching of Auchenbadie and the iron fitments of Pitkelloney and possibly Castle Newe. In addition, the mode of retaining the enamel diaphragm would seem insufficiently secure to withstand activity on the part of the wearer. Is it a flight of fancy to imagine these armlets upon representations of local gods? Never common, they do exist, and Scotland has a representative in the Ballachulish figure (Christison 1880 - 1: 158 - 78). Its precise date is, of course, unknown, but the recent discovery at the Source of the Seine of one hundred and ninety wooden statues dateable to the 1st. century A.D. makes a comparable age not impossible (Martin 1964: 256 and Pl. 77), and Rebild, Denmark (Riismoller 1952: 119 - 32) give added support. The only problem is that many seem to lack arms.

It is ,of course, quite reasonable to select the best of both arguments. One thing is certain --- their very size plus the links of form and design existing between massive armlets on the one hand and ring torcs and spiral snake bracelets on the other (see p. 236) reveal their importance to the community responsible for their existence --- whether social, political or magico-religious.[22]

With one exception, from Newry, Co. Down, massive armlets

are exclusively Scottish. Their find spots lie along the east coast from Peebles and Roxburgh, in the south, to Sutherland in the north, with a strong emphasis on Aberdeenshire (eight examples), and a secondary concentration in Perth and Angus (five examples). This is precisely the territory later to be described as Pictish but, as Wainwright warns (1956: 2 - 3) there is no literary support for the projection of the title beyond the year 297 A.D., when it was first mentioned in a panegyric by Eumenius. We can merely ascribe the manufacture of massive armlets to proto-Pictish tribes under the group name of Caledonii --- in the sense used by Dio Cassius that is --- and perhaps also to that other amalgam the Maeatae (op. cit. 52 - 3).

Turning to the problem of context and association eight finds, accounting for eleven of the twenty-one armlets are totally unrewarding, no doubt as a result of their early and accidental discoveries. Greasy-black material, mixed with bone and charred wood may have marked the position of a settlement site close to the Mains of Auchenbadie find spots. Of the remainder, the three from Aboyne and the pair from Castle Newe were associated with souterrains, the former only loosely, the latter from soil over the entrance. A further two (Bunrannoch and Stanhope) formed part of small metalwork hoards and the problematic Stichill example(s) perhaps likewise.

Dating is very difficult. The chronological range of souterrains is too long to be of much help, although Wainwright suspects a peak of popularity in the 2nd. century A.D. A denarius of Nerva (96 - 8 A.D.) was, however, unearthed close by the find spot of the

Castle Newe pair and this is virtually our only clue,[23] as the hoards can afford little help. That from Bunrannoch was accompanied by a vessel and some other small articles all of which have long since vanished; also snake armlet No. 197 to which on purely stylistic grounds we have attributed a date sometime in the 2nd. century A.D. (see p.217). The Stanhope hoard included a Roman patera about whose date neither Bosanquet (1927 - 8: 246 - 54), nor Curle (1931 - 2: 301) would commit themselves, beyond a general tendency to favour the 2nd. century; the remaining contents comprised two ovoid horse trappings (Nos. 14-15) of a type which at Corbridge (No. 13) is dated to the Flavio-Trajanic period.

Upon this flimsy chronological support we may suspect, therefore, that the type has its roots in the latter part of the first century A.D., while the succeeding 100 years likely saw its floruit; Thomas (1964: 57, no. 32) has recognized their portrayal on Pictish stones of his Class I; but it is not necessary to stretch our small series of objects to span four centuries; in such symbols, a conscience antiquarianism is only to be expected in view of the recent interpretation put upon them (op. cit. 31 - 97).

With the paucity of our legitimate dating evidence in mind, deductions based on stylistic considerations cannot but better the scene. I shall attempt to deal first with points of difference and similarity within the group, before considering it in the wider scope of British Iron Age metalwork. In both, I shall have to make several unashamed presumptions about the decorative and formal development, which in less desperate situations would be justly frowned upon.

The two armlet shapes, 'oval' and 'folded' are closely related. Terminal outline is virtually identical, while the decorative layout scarcely varies. When viewed in a flattened diagram, the form assumed by folded armlets seems illogical, and there is considerable puzzlement about the decorative treatment of the 'loose ends'; therefore one must commence by assuming (a) that oval and folded armlets overlap in their dating, and that (b) should one form be a little earlier in its beginnings than the other, this forerunner is most likely to be oval.

The argument may seem obvious, but it serves to draw attention to a puzzling feature of certain oval types --- namely, an irregular, but smooth indentation of the armlet edge at one side only, behind one or both terminals; this is particularly noticeable in the three from Aboyne, and the remaining specimen from Stichill; faint traces are visible also on Belhelvie and Stanhope. It could be postulated that this feature is a recollection of 'folded' arrangement incorporated in skeuomorphic fashion in the later oval form; but there are other explanations. For one thing, these scallops do not occur at two diametrically opposing points on the hoop edge, as one might reasonably expect. In fact, only the Aboyne pair display two such features on one armlet, and they are both at the same side. Symmetry of outline could have been damaged by excessive paring of the model, or by damage to the mould; or, if cast flat, this is precisely the area in which one would expect weaknesses to appear during annealing, and over-enthusiastic removal of a cracked margin could result in just such an indentation. It is, therefore, impossible to place any weight of argument on this problematic feature.[24]

The next set of assumptions to be proferred and tested is again concerned with the most general and superficial of features. Given that (a) meticulous craftsmanship, reasonably subtle and low relief and the actual presence of, or evidence for, enamel insets are likely to be early features, while (b) slovenly craftsmanship and/or excessively three-dimensional treatment, misunderstood motifs and absence of colour may indicate later work; then in what order do the armlets at our disposal arrange themselves? Amongst the oval series, only the Castle Newe pair fit category (a), but Belhelvie and Stanhope lack only evidence for the enamel diaphragms. The Stichill find lacks subtlety of surface treatment, but otherwise leans towards the specimens already mentioned. On the other hand armlets from Auchenbadie, Aboyne and 'Perth' conform with the characteristics classed as (b), although the first mentioned was originally provided with enamel. The late relegation of the last two is affirmed by ommission of adornment on the central panel of the Aboyne example, and by ommission of the actual panel itself in the case of the 'Perth' one. Turning to the folded series, the representative from Glamis, plus the Pitkelloney pair are clearly the best candidates for our early group, more especially when it is realized that they alone retain actual structural proof of the separation of their various hoop strands. Newry occupies a middle position with careful execution and enamelling to qualify for an early date, but high relief to lead on to the later series of Rogart, Bunrannoch and Seafield --- none of which, however, looks as late as the oval specimen from 'Perth'.

If the scene be widened a little to permit comparison with

the clearly related boar's head from Deskford (No. 174), and spiral snake bracelet from Culbin Sands (No. 198), then the position becomes less perilous. It has been shown that these objects best comply with the artistic and to a lesser extent political milieu of c. 70 - 90 A.D.; also, we have reason to suspect firstly, that the Castle Newe armlets fall early in the massive series to which they belong and secondly, that their date of manufacture cannot be far distant from 100 A.D.; therefore, the Deskford and Culbin Sands finds may be said to provide a terminus post quem for massive armlets; it now becomes imperative to bolster this shaky assertion by stylistic details.

A feature of both boar and snake essays is the plentiful use of the slender trumpet. Comparable motifs are employed on the terminals of the sole surviving Belhelvie armlet, where they are even grouped and juxtaposed in a similar manner. Less clearly, slender trumpet formations encircle the apertures of Castle Newe and Stanhope, but none appears on oval armlets, which we have suspected of a later date; nor upon any folded armlet, which is a further clue to their slightly later inception.

A second important feature of the Belhelvie, Castle Newe and Stanhope armlets is the saltire; formed by the juxtaposition of two centrally jointed or broken back curves which on examination are revealed to be nothing but paired slender trumpets, each pair sharing the one trumpet dome. Symmetrised, this motif defines bumps on the spine of the Culbin Sands snake. Its early date is supported by an absence on the Auchenbadie, Aboyne and 'Perth' armlets; yet it does occur upon

the early folded versions from Glamis, Pitkelloney and Newry, thus supporting their qualifications for a relatively early position in the stylistic sequence. The alteration of keeled diagonals as a decoration for the back panel may be merely a simplification of this elaborate arrangement; already used in conjunction with saltires on the earliest representatives of both oval and folded groups, its rigid application as the sole motif is characteristic of later specimens --- such as Stichill and Auchenbadie of the former series, and Bunrannoch and Rogart of the latter. Its curious transformation into golf club-like trails on the Aboyne single specimen and those from 'Perth' and Seafield must surely be a degenerate and late development.

The discussion has been largely conjectural. There may be false assumptions such as the interpretation of poor craftsmanship as the deterioration of design due to the passage of time. Certainly, there are anomalies; the slender trumpets of Belhelvie would seem to declare its prime of place in the sequence, and yet doubt is shed upon this by its saltire and keeled diagonal features, so inferior to the adornment of the Castle Newe armlets. A salutary warning is sounded by No.220 from Pitkelloney on which saltires of Belhelvie- or Stanhope-like appearance occur side by side with versions of a stick-like malformation, that cry our for relegation to the last stages of the series. Yet our sequence must contain some element of truth, if only because in its present state it cannot be reversed, so that the last become chronologically the first. If anything, its merit lies in the identification of early motifs, for analogies to which the more southerly metalwork may now be sifted.

As an origin for the form assumed by massive armlets is highly conjectural, it is, perhaps, most fairly regarded as one facet of stylistic analyses. It was Piggott who first drew attention to the formal links between oval armlets and ring terminal torcs such as the famous electrum specimen from hoard E at Snettisham. Members of both series share penannular shape, expanded, curve-ended terminals with central perforations. The main difference lies in the hoop construction; but even here, the longitudinal channeling and keeled diagonals of oval armlets could be envisaged as a cast reflection of the multi-strand twists of such torcs. That these were available in Scotland for emulation is attested by the New Cairnmuir torc terminal and the analogy becomes less strange, when viewed against the mounting evidence for contacts between Scotland and southern England. An additional ingredient is required to account for the pseudo-spiral construction of folded armlets; this is afforded by the Scottish series of spiral snake bracelets, which again seems to owe its existence to Belgic forerunners. Indeed, could not the enamel filling of massive armlet ends arise from the muzzle inlay of snake bracelets such as that from Culbin Sands? It is to be noted that the early folded specimens come from precisely that region which has been most productive of spiral snake bracelets; also, in the Bunrannoch hoard, a late folded armlet was accompanied by a late seeming spiral snake bracelet. (No. 197).

Turning to the decorative layout and to the mode of its expression one's immediate reaction is to class massive armlets as and alien development, unaccountable within the framework of British

Early Iron Age art as it is known at present; and yet this is not so. The only true novel feature is the scale of treatment employed. One is left to marvel rather at the Celtic genius for limitless variation on a very few themes. Take for instance, the terminals of the Stanhope armlet. Given a sub-oval area with a central focus, the designer has produced a decorative solution which differs little from that on the Torrs pony cap, the Battersea shield's end roundels or the crescent terret from Richborough, although in each case the mode of expression is totally different. Again, the contiguous zig-zags, so much a feature of massive armlets, unwittingly emulate the lyre scroll frames of, say, the Wisbech scabbard (Fox 1956: 1, fig. 2), already 400 years old. The inspiration in both these extreme cases can be traced to the lyre palmette, but it is doubtful whether the manufacturers of massive armlets possessed even the vaguest notion of that source.

At this stage it will prove least cumbersome to discuss each motif under a separate heading:-

1. Vesica with flanking everted arms --- as seen on all armlet terminals in a variety of interpretations; this simple arrangement is exactly paralleled by enamelling on a winged terret from the mid-1st. century Polden Hill hoard, but its most common application is on slightly later Brigantian products, where, upside down, it becomes their 'swag and drop' motif, as seen on the mirrors from Llechwedd-ddu, Merioneth (Fox 1958: 100, fig. 66, 6), and Balmaclellan, Dumfries (No.239) as well as the Group IV sword pommels from Brough and Worton (Nos.128-148). Its long life, however, is attested by a Roman plate brooch inlaid with chalcedony found in Clement's Lane, Lond (London Mus. Catalogue No.3,1930:

99, fig. 29, 33).

2. The saltire both sinuous and symmetrical; this like the swash-N motif to which it is inextricably related may have a southerly origin (see p. 75), but in its fully developed form it is a feature of Brigantian and south Scottish metalwork. Symmetrised versions appear in repousse upon the strap loops of group IV scabbards, and an enamelled plate from Traprain (Burley 1955-6: 194 no. 34) may attest to its survival into the late 2nd. century or beyond. Sinuous forms are met with on the Mortonhall scabbard-locket, there equipped with trumpet coil tips, and on cruciform mount No. from a late 1st.-2nd century level at Traprain. Simplified, in enamel, it occurs on a platform terret from Great Chesters (No. 62)25½ and it is this motif which underlies the central panel of massive strap junction No. 32 from Drumashie. The stick-like form employed on one armlet from Pitkelloney is, on the other hand, more reminiscent of enamelled studs on the Group IV sword hilt from Thorpe (No. 147).

3. Jointed or broken-backed scrolls, as illustrated par excellence in the Castle Newe and Belhelvie armlets are also less recognizably present on those from Glamis and Pitkelloney. They are, in fact, the voids created by linked saltires of the sinuous category, but are also motifs in their own right. Arising probably from the Celtic taste for occasional piquant angularity in otherwise smoothly flowing designs, the motif seems to make an unheralded appearance on the Broighter torc (Leeds 1933: 133, fig. 35b) where its internal modelling reveals its origin in a pair of diametric slender trumpets conjoined at the dome. Strictly comparable English prototypes are hard to find, but it seems

likely that the Wraxall torc partly fills the gap in our knowledge; from c. 50 A.D. the motif becomes increasingly popular --- perhaps initially in a Belgic or Iceniam repertoire,[26] certainly in that of northern England and Southern Scotland where the popular dragonesque brooch is nothing but a zoomorphosed broken back scroll. The Lochar Moss torc displays a linked chain of such motifs, and on a less exalted scale, a bowl from the 2nd. century Lamberton Moor hoard (No. 256) was once equipped with a similarly shaped patch.

4. Massive trumpets; on the earlier armlets, differential modelling of each ovoid bump --- one side crisply defined, the other gradually emerging from the metal surface --- reveals that we are dealing with a massive trumpet moulding whose roundel has vanished, whose trumpet is the adjacent panel of background and whose dome alone is immediately recognizable. It is small wonder that this subtlety rapidly vanished, so that by the Auchenbadie and Seafield stage, little trace of trumpet inspiration remained. The motif's origin, of course, lies far distant in detail from the Llyn Cerrig plaque, but the crispness of treatment is more reminiscent of the Snettisham and New Cairnmuir stage in its growth, and the massive quality is best foreshadowed by the Group III chape from Hounslow (No. 127) and, incidentally, by units on the Broighter torc. The well known muzzle motif is really nothing but a duplicated trumpet executed in massive or slender form.

5. Slender trumpets; these have already been met with (see p. 33) It will be sufficient to trace their inception to the Snettisham stage of trumpet development, their gradual growth in popularity on such early 1st. century products as the Wraxall collar, their hesitant use at

Stanwick, and their enthusiastic employment thereafter in northern England and Lowland Scotland (see Mortonhall scabbard No. 138). Attention must, however, be drawn to pairs of slender trumpets domes which facing in opposite directions, underlie the enamelled diaphragms of the Castle Newe armlets; an unusual arrangement, this is engraved on several of the Loughcrew bone slips (Crawford 1925: 19, fig. 9 and 21, fig. 54); to my knowledge it is employed nowhere else in Britain.

6. Vesicae central to the terminals; from an early stage (Belhelvie and Stanhope) some would seem to have been regarded as non-trumpet in ancestry. These oval protuberances, from whose summit a segment has been removed, are akin to the eye formation of the Stanwick horse.

7. Keeling; the sharp frames which most noteably enclose the Auchenbadie terminal perforations are perhaps similarly inspired. The application of the diagonal crest to a raised ribbon has of course, a much longer history, traceable from the Wandsworth long shield boss (Fox 1959: Pl. 14, b) to products of the Snettisham school. Such keeling makes a comparatively rare appearance on the southern products of the 1st. century A.D. --- for example, the Lakenheath dragonesque brooch, but its widest application is more northerly; noteably on the Trawsfynydd tankard (op. cit. Pl. 64), and Aesica brooch (No. 225). The Irish discs too must not be forgotten (see p. 450). An arrangement unique to the Glamis folded armlet is the replacement of a sinuous saltire by a pair of gently curving keeled ribbons, joined at one end, and abutting at the other on a trumpet dome; this is precisely echoed by the jaw modelling of the Stanwick horse.

8. Channel detail; present on all save the armlets from Stichill, Aboyne, 'Perth' and Glamis, the decoration which fills the longitudinal grooves is varied. The convex ribbing of Pitkelloney is unique, approached only by cast detail on the Worton sword pommel. Similarly, ladder incision as displayed by Bunrannoch and Newry is, of course, nothing but milling on a large scale, for which analogies are easily available (Newstead and Muircleugh terrets Nos. 55 & 87 , Sadberge scabbard No. 146 , Carlisle and Stanwix torcs Nos. 184 - 192). Incised feathering on the Castle Newe and Auchenbadie specimens is akin to the side seams of the Group IV pommel from Brough and, of course, to engraved detail on the Embleton Scabbard (No. 133).

9. Enamel; only four armlets retain their enamel diaphragms. In the south their exclusive use of red and yellow would be classed as early (Henry 1933: 118), but in the north it can have no dating validity. It should, however, be noted that the four-petal arrangement of Pitkelloney is but a slight elaboration on that of the Saham Toney platform terrets; and is curiously reproduced in incision on one of the Loughcrew bone slips (Crawford 1925: 25, fig. 43). The chequer pattern of Castle Newe can best be paralleled on the Thorpe hilt (No. 147) and Drumashie dress fastener --- this last, it will be remembered, accompanied by a massive strap junction (No. 32).

The alien appearance of massive armlets has dwindled. Their debt to the south-east is one of initial inspiration; to Brigantian and south Scottish products they owe all their decorative features, even perhaps a certain largeness of treatment. Their links with

Ireland are close, emphasized by the actual presence of one specimen in that country. The only contribution made by the local craftsmen of Perthshire and Aberdeenshire are those of assembly and scale. Stylistic comparisons emphasise the period 50 - 150 A.D. The Deskford boar and Culbin Sands snake, obvious prototypes of the style, reduce the possible time span at the lower end: the upper is purely arbitrary. We emerge with no new information of the precise location of manufacture and no conclusive dating, but with a mental impression of the proto-Picts, not as wild and wooly inhabitants of an isolated country, but as a series of inter-related tribes, fully aware of artistic and, no doubt political developments in the south; even harbouring fugitive craftsmen from that area and benefiting from their miraculous skills. A great deal of the Brigantian and South Scottish features may have arrived as an aftermath to the Agricolan penetration, but it is safe to assume some measure of infiltration before this date as a direct result of the revolts of Boudicca and Venutius.

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1. I include in this number the recently discovered ring terminal torc, a pair to the famous example from Hoard E (as yet unpublished; information from Miss Green).
2. But note a gold twisted neck ring with looped terminals from Sopron, Hungary (Jacobsthal 1944: No.71).
3. For ease of understanding I illustrate on the opposite page the Snettisham and New Cairnmuir designs, not totally flattened by rather circumscribed by a circle as they were no doubt conceived.
4. They are in fact unique to Britain although Feachem draws

attention to a report of the discovery of 'small golden bullets at Dunnichen, Angus(New Stat. Account, XI, 1845: 146).

5. Incision upon the Shepherd's Fen piece is compared with the zoomorphism of northern pins and brooches; the comparison is not valid.
6. For example Ste.-Etienne-au-Temple, Marne(Jacobsthal 1944: No.214).
7. In paste, these have an astoundingly long life, being found even in late Minoan Crete.
8. When Way made a sketch of this it was in the hands of a Rev. J.Webb of Tretire; I have no knowledge of its present location.
9. The panels so tooled are sheath-like and surely inspired by similar details upon many terrets.
10. See Savory(1964: Pl.V); their design would seem to stem from the Llyn Cerrig shield triskele, but this does not coincide with Savory's dating.
11. Employment of lead is usually regarded as a late feature but in this case manufacture could have occurred within a matter of ten years of the Conquest; after all, inscribed lead pigs dating to 49 A.D. have been found in the Mendip region---that source closest to the collar's find spot(Tylecote 1962: 82).
12. I have been unable to trace the Weymouth example.
13. Trumpet coils are of course a comparatively late development, hence their absence from Torrs.
14. This last detail makes several appearances in contexts other than the swash-N, witness the Moel Hirradug triquetra and the foil scrap from Rhostryfan, Caernarvon.
15. Although see A.Fox(1964: 243, note 83-4).
16. I know of at least seven specimens---a single one from Darfield, Yorks.(Baggaley 1955: 120); a pair from Carlswark, Derby.(Bagshawe 1867-8: 113); and further pairs from Castlethorpe, Bucks. (V.C.H. Bucks.1908: 6) and Bury, Lancs.(Bolton Mus.).
17. The association of serpents with pagan Celtic religion may underlie the charming tale of St.Patrick banishing the creatures from Ireland, and the not so pleasant tradition of burning snakes

alive in a wicker column, recorded as a Pyrenean festivity by Frazer(1954 ed.: 655).

18. This problem of what date to attach to an ephemeral Roman prototype---whether pre-Conquest or whether contemporary with the Roman advance into Scotland resembles that chronological quandary arising from the presence of several early Italian brooch forms in Britain, as far north as Cumberland (Ridgeway & Smith 1906-7: 112, fig.20) and even Lanarkshire (Kelvingrove Mus., Glasgow 26-59C).

19. Blackrocks, Gullane, E.Lothian(Ewart & Curle 1907-8: 332-41)
Eddertoun, Roxburgh. (Joass 1862-4: 311-15)
Moredun, Midlothian. (Coles 1903-4: 427-38).
Craigie, Dundee, Angus(Hutchison 1902-3: 233-40)
Torwoodlee, Selkirk(Piggott 1952-3: 96-105)
(?)Kippit Hill, Lanark(Callander 1920-1: 45-52)
Lochend, E.Lothian(Disc. & Excavation 1962: 29)
Burnmouth, Berwick. (Craw 1923-4: 143-60).

20. Supplemented by a note in 1882-3: 90-92.

21. Aboyne, Castle Newe, Belhelvie, Pitkelloney, Tillychetly and possibly Stichill.

22. I cannot seriously entertain---nor I think did he---Smith's comparison to armlets of the African Mitoos 'which apparently have no other object than to make a single combat as effective as possible'; it conjures up a fascinating scene.

23. In all fairness it must be stated that the association is not close.

24. One further explanation is wear; this would necessitate a revision of the long accepted armlet interpretation.

25. A possible prototype appearance is upon the crescent terret from the Fayum.

26. It will be remembered that the prototype for the dragonesque brooch series comes from ~~Mildenhall~~ Lakenheath, Suffolk.

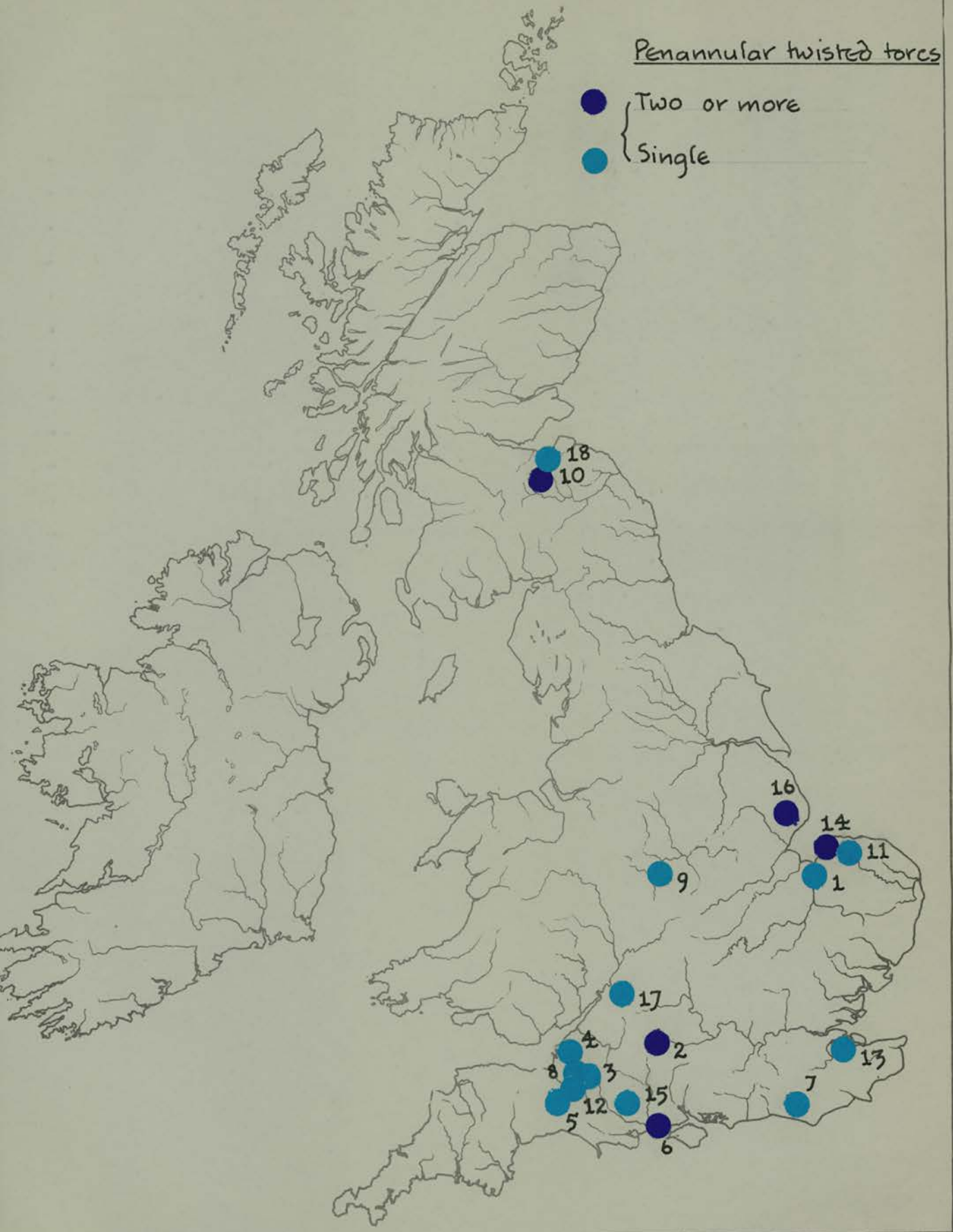
XX.

Penannular twisted torcs(Group IA)

1. BAWSEY,Norfolk. Maryon(1944)149-51. (1)
2. CLENCH COMMON,Wilts. Devizes Mus. Cat.,(1934),II,204,fig.34a. (2)
3. CLEVEDON,~~Wilts~~ Som. Fox(1958)Pl.25b. (1)
4. CROSS AXBRIDGE,Somerset. Hawkes(1941)113. (1)
5. HAM HILL,Somerset. Thomas(1965)Pl.270. (1)
6. HENGISTBURY HEAD,Hants. Bushe Fox(1915)26,60,Pl.IX,5. (3)
7. HOLLINGBURY HILL,Sussex. Proc. Arch.Inst.York,1846,3. (1)
8. MEARE,Somerset. Bulleid & Gray(1953),Pl.XLIX,E139. (1)
9. NEEDWOOD,Forest,Staffs. Hawkes(1936-7),3-4 & Pl.IIc. (1)
10. NEW CAIRNMUIR,Peebles. Nos. 177-9 (4)
11. NORTH CREAKE,Norfolk. Clarke(1949),59-61. (1)
12. POLDEN HILL,Somerset. Harford(1803),Pl.XIX,6. (1)
13. SLAY HILL SALTINGS,Kent. Smith(1925),149. (1)
14. SNETTISHAM,Norfolk. Clarke(1954),27-86. (55)
15. SPETTISBURY RINGS,Dorset. Hawkes(1941),112-14. (1)
16. ULCEBY,Lincs. Phillips(1934),115-16. (3)

Atypical

17. BIRDLIP,Glos. Green(1949),Pl.XXV. (1)
18. BRAIDWOOD FORT,E.Lothian. No. 176 (1)

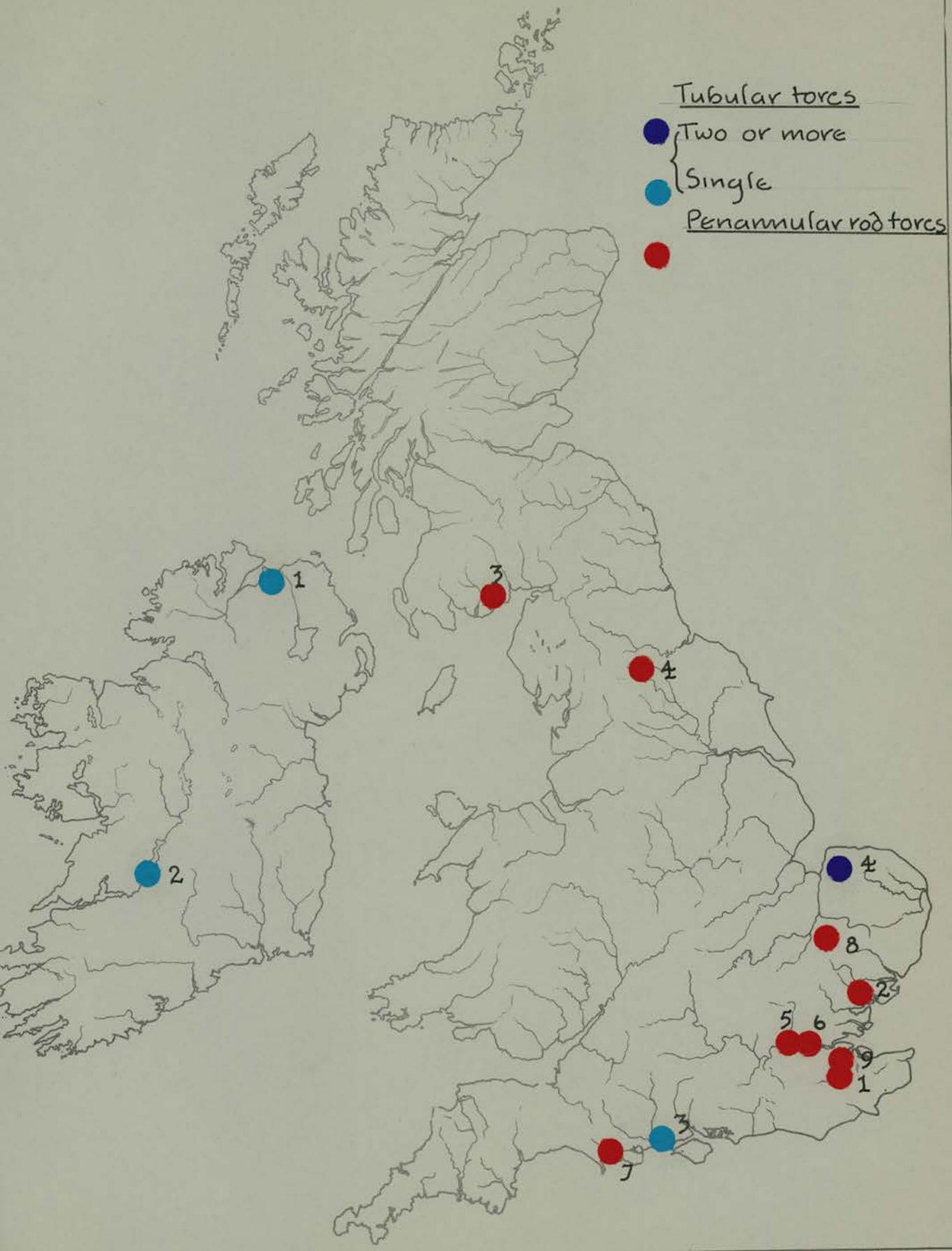

Penannular twisted torcs
Two or more
Single
18
10
16
14
11
1
9
17
4
2
8
3
13
7
15
12
5
6

Penannular rod torcs

1. AYLESFORD, River Medway at, Kent. Fox(1958), Pl.26b. (1)
2. COLCHESTER, Essex. Smith(1925), 149. (1)
3. DUNGYLE, Dumfries. No. 180 (1)
4. FREMINGTON HAGG, Reeth, N.R.Yorks. No. 181 (1)
5. HAMMERSMITH, river Thames at. London Mus. (1)
6. LONDON, river Walbrook at. Guildhall Mus. 118.661. (1)
7. MAIDEN CASTLE, Wheeler(1943), 277 & 276, fig.90, 11. (1)
8. SHEPHERD'S FEN, Mildenhall, Suffolk. Lethbridge & O'Reilly (1931), 152 & Pl.VI, fig.1. (1)
9. SLAY HILL SALTINGS, Upchurch, Kent. Smith(1925), 149. (1)

Related torcs of tubular and/or entire form

1. BROIGHTER, Limavady, Co.Derry. Evans(1897), Pl.XXII, 13. (1)
2. CLONMACNOIS, Co.Offaly. Jacobsthal(1944), No.49. (1)
3. DORCHESTER, Dorset. Leeds(1933), 59. (1)
4. SNETTISHAM, Norfolk. Clarke(1954), 27-86. (4)
5. SNETTISHAM, Norfolk. Unpublished example found 1965. (1)

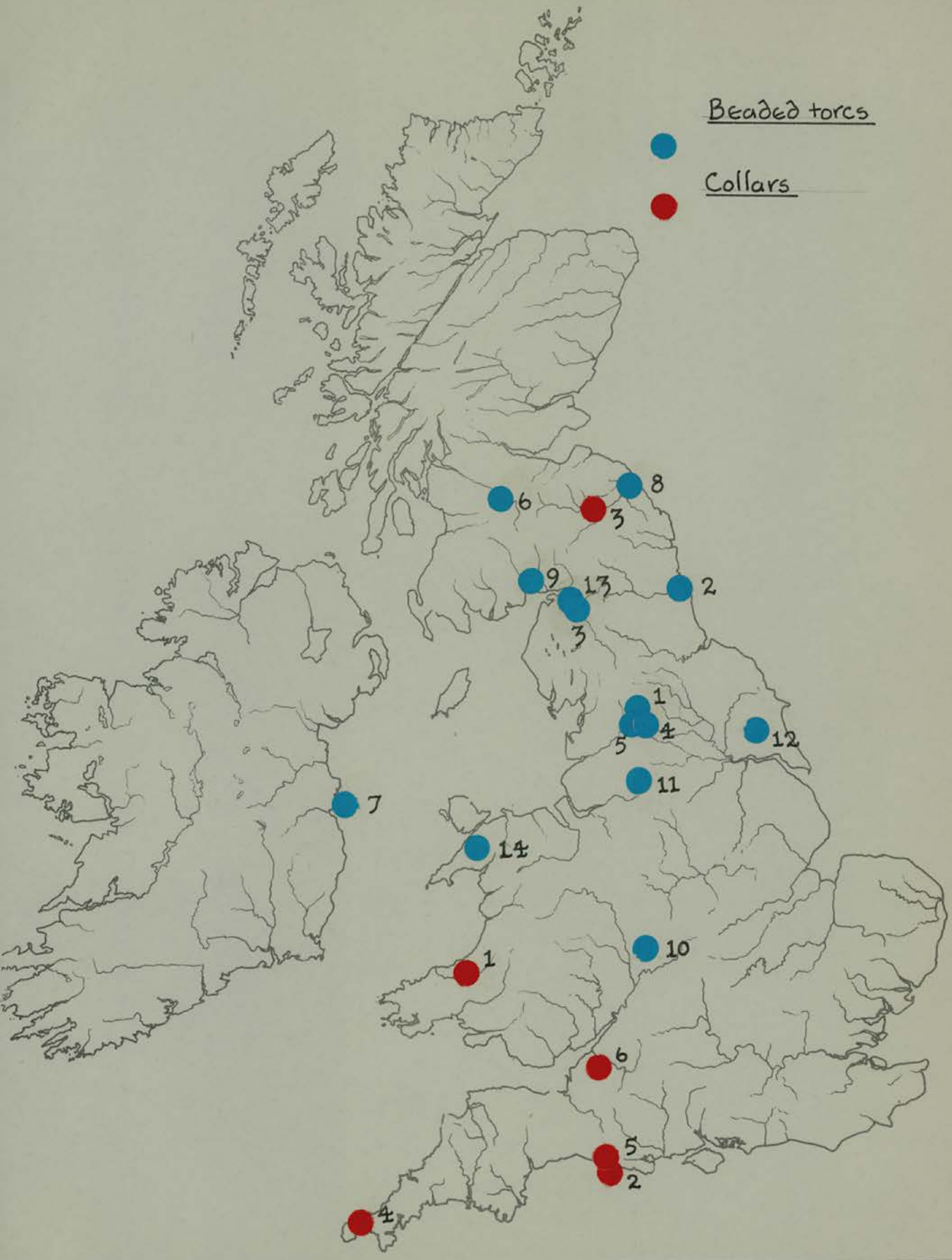

Tubular torcs
Two or more
Single
Penannular rod torcs
1
2
3
4
4
8
2
5
6
9
1
3
7

Beaded torcs

1. ATTERMIRE CAVE,W.R.Yorks. Raistrick(1939),115-50. No.182
2. BENWELL,Northumb. No. 183
3. CARLISLE(English Street),Cumb. No. 184
4. EMBSAY,W.R.Yorks. No.185
5. (?)GIGGLESWICK,W.R.Yorks. No. 186
6. HYNDFORD,Lanark. No. 187
7. LAMBAY ISLAND,Co.Dublin. Macalister(1928-9),Pl.XXIV,3.
8. LAMBERTON MOOR,Berwick. No. 188
9. LOCHAR MOSS,Dumfries. No. 189
10. PERDSWELL,Worcs. Arch.XXX(1844),Appendix.554-5.
11. ROCHDALE,Lancs. No. 190
12. SKERNE,E.R.Yorks. No. 191
13. STANWIX(Rickerby Park),Carlisle,Cumb. No. 192
14. TRE'R CEIRI,Caern. Hughes(1907),42,fig.2.
15. LOCALITY UNKNOWN(probably Derbyshire). V.C.H.Derby,I(1906),248. No.193

Collars

1. LLANDYSSUL,Card. Grimes(1951),Pl.XVIII.
2. PORTLAND ISLAND,Dorset. Smith(1925),150,fig.176.
3. STICHILL,Roxb. No. 194
4. TRENOWETH,Corn. Carew(1805),137-8 & Pl.X.
5. WEYMOUTH,Greenhill,Dorset. Smith(1925),151.
6. WRAXALL,Som. Appendix.Arch.,LIV(1892),495-6 & Pl.XLVIII.

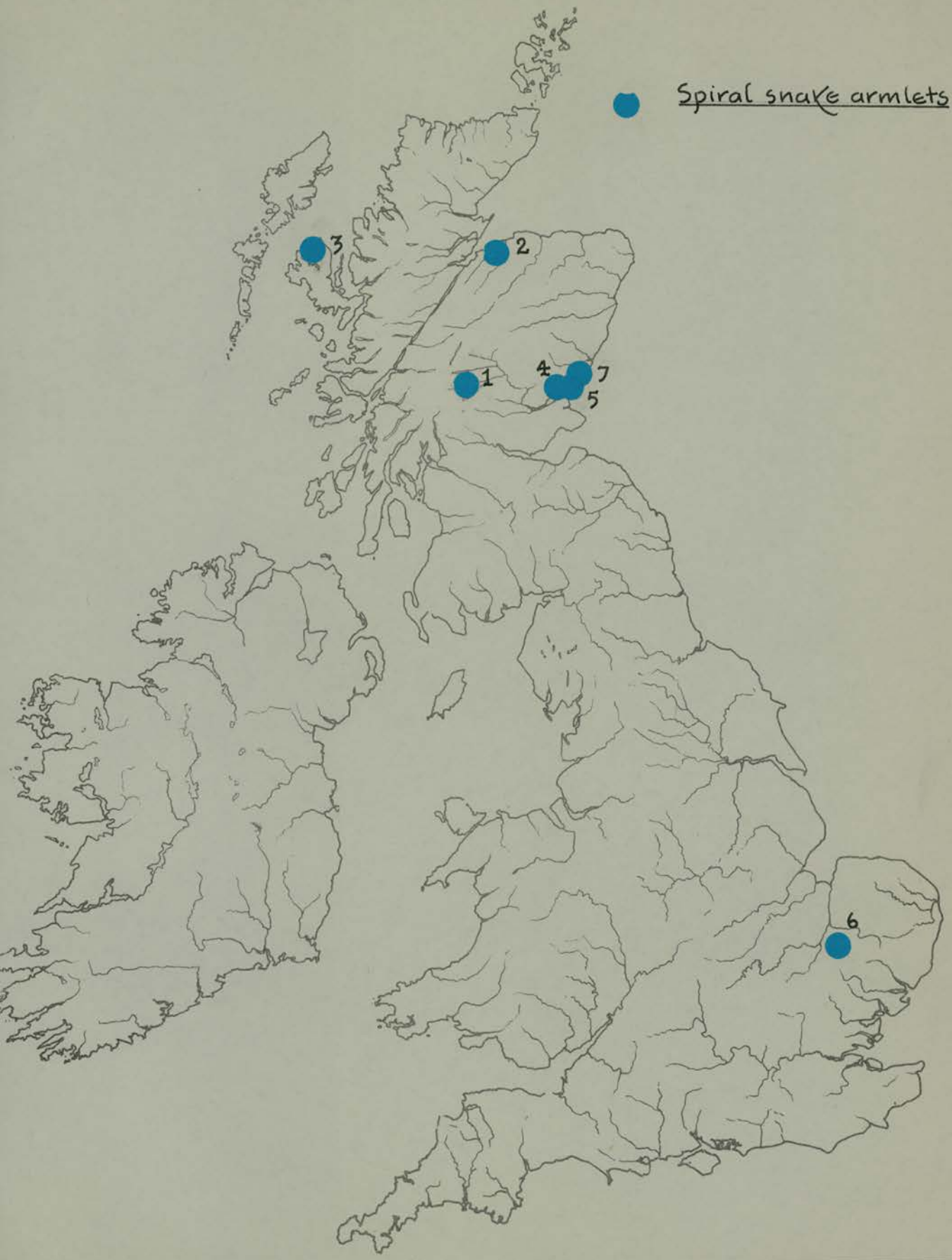

Beaded torcs
Collars
6
8
3
9
13
2
3
1
4
5
12
11
7
14
1
10
6
5
2
4

Torcs of unknown or unclassifiable form

1. ARRAS, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),275. (1)
2. DORCHESTER, Dorset. Smith(1925),150. (1)
3. GOODRICH CASTLE, Hereford. MSS notes, Burlington House. (1)
4. HESSELSKEW, E.R.Yorks. Greenwell(1906),301. (1)
5. LISNACROGHER, Co. Antrim. Armstrong(1923),8. (1)
6. MILDENHALL, Suffolk. Clarke(1960),99. (1)
7. RUDBAXTON, Pembroke. Smith(1925),149. (2)
8. WORLEBURY, Som^{l} Dobson(1931),119-20. (1)

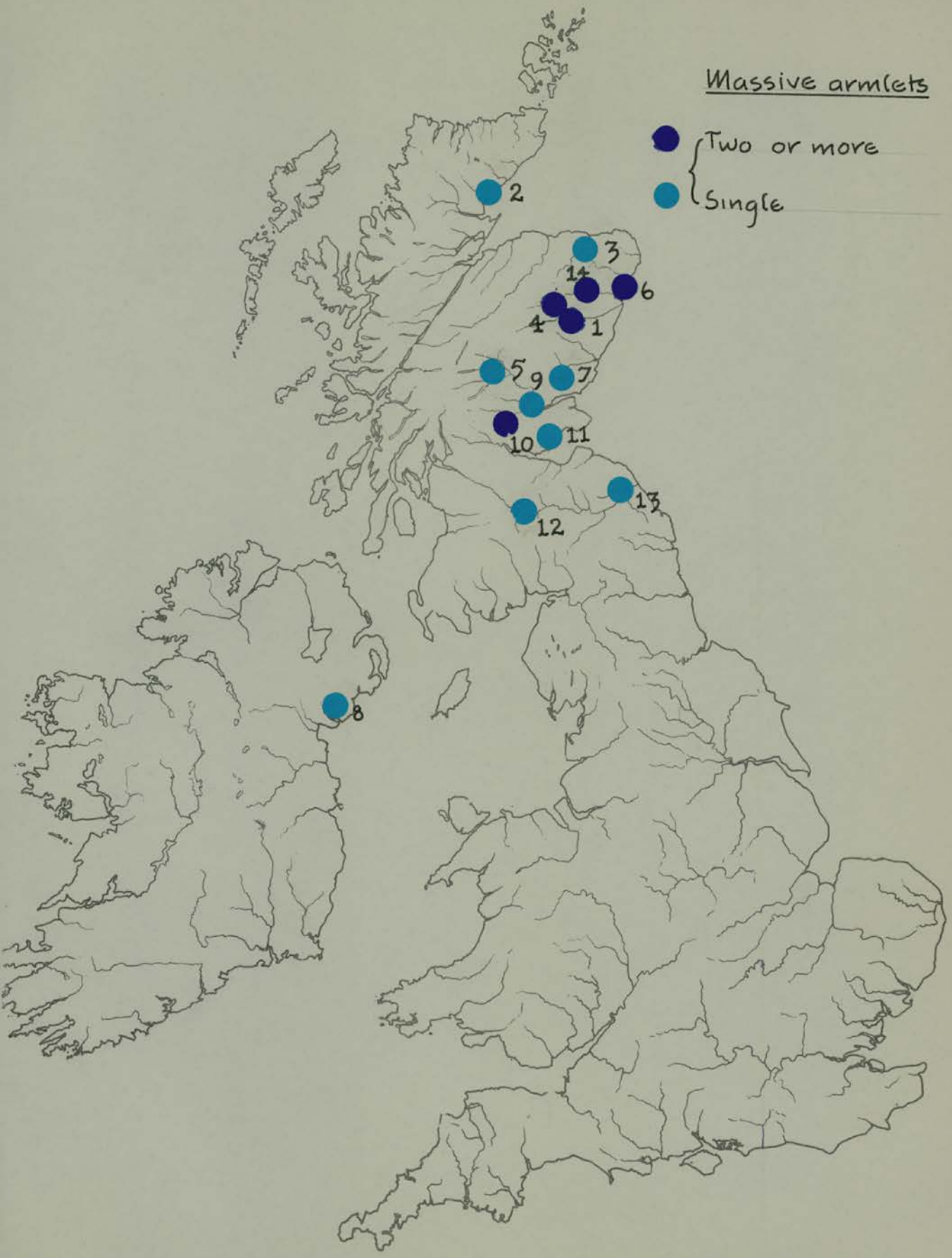
Spiral snake bracelets

1. BUNRANNOCH, Schiehallion, Perth. No. 197
2. CULBIN SANDS, Moray. No. 198
3. DUNTULM, Skye. No. 199
4. HURLEY HAWKIN, Angus. No. 200
5. PITALPIN, Angus. No. 201
6. SNAILWELL, Cambs. Lethbridge(1953), 25-37.
7. WEST GRANGE OF CONAN, Angus. No. 202
8. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. No. 203


Spiral snake armlets
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Massive armlets

1. ABOYNE, Aberdeen. Nos. 211-12 (3)
2. ACHAURAIL, ROGART, Sutherland. No. 213 (1)
3. AUCHENBADIE, ALVAH, Banff. No. 214 (1)
4. BELHELVIE, Aberdeen. No. 215 (2)
5. BUNRANNOCH, SCHIEHALLION, Perth. No. 216 (1)
6. CASTLE NEWE, Aberdeen. Nos. 217 (2)
7. GLAMIS, Angus. No. 218 (1)
8. NEWRY, Co.Down. Smith(1880-1), 362-3 & fig.31. (1)
9. (?)PERTH VICINITY. No. 219 (1)
10. PITKELLONEY, Muthill, Perth. Nos 220 (2)
11. SEAFIELD, Fife. No. 221 (1)
12. STANHOPE, Peebles. 222 (1)
13. STICHILL, Roxb. No. 223 (1 Or 2)
14. TILLYCH ETLY, Alford, Aberdeen. Nos. 224 (2)


Massive armlets
Two or more
Single
2
3
14
6
4
1
5
9
7
10
11
13
12
8

Chapter 6

I now turn to the smaller objects of personal adornment whose very numbers forbid actual inclusion in the accompanying catalogue and to whose complexities I am forced to pay scant attention for obvious reasons of time and space. The material falls into four categories, capable of interminable sub-division.

I. Brooches.
II. Dress fasteners.
III. Looped studs.
IV. Dumb-bell buttons.
V Pins
VI Finger rings
VII Pendants

Discussion will be brief, drawing heavily upon the findings and conclusions of experts in their various fields.

I. Brooches.

A. La Tène brooches.

In Scotland, there have been found five representatives of the La Tène I(c) group of brooches, as defined by Fox in 1927 (68 ff.) The characteristics are a spring of four to six small coils, chord external to the bow and foot aligned on the crest of the bow. Three of the Scottish specimens are iron and two bronze, a feature which is not necessarily of chronological significance.[1] Paucity of numbers deprives their distribution pattern of significance; however, all have been found in or in the vicinity of hill forts - that from

Dun Fheurain came in fact from the midden below that site.

It was the appearance of vitrified ramparts at three of these sites which prompted Childe (1935: 233) to see in La Tène I(c) brooches a facet of his 'Abernethy Complex', others being the ring-headed pin and spiral finger or toe ring. Admittedly, there is no trace of timber-lacing, either burnt or unburnt at Bonchester Hill: but it would seem that the introduction of fort building plus the unheralded appearance of three new types of personal adornment must indicate an influx of newcomers to the North. Initially Childe favoured direct immigration from Gaul to the Moray Firth, taking place in the third century B.C. Closely comparable material emerged however from the Maiden Castle excavations in 1943 (Wheeler 1943) to provide a nearer source. The correspondingly lower date then affixed to the brooches' arrival in Scotland (see M. Piggott 1949 - 50: 131) has been weakened by the reappraisal of Hawkes (1959:181), so that Childe may not have erred too much in this respect. If this is the case, the Dun Fheurain brooch betokens an astonishingly long life for the type - or a late clearing out of the fort interior during which the brooch and Samian sherds became accidentally juxtaposed in the resulting midden.

The peculiarly insular facets of brooch development named flat-bow and involuted fall within the realm of Doctor Stead and will no doubt be dealt with in his forthcoming work on Yorkshire chariot burials. They contain however a salutary warning, in that, inspired by La Tène II brooches, they may yet be as early, or even earlier in some cases, than Scottish La Tène I(c) forms discussed above (Fox 1958 : 829).

Of the true La Tène II brooch, we have only one Scottish representative - from the floor of a house contained within the 'wall fort' of Craig's Quarry, East Lothian (Piggott 1957 - 8 : 71, 6, 1 and 72 - 3). More particularly this lone specimen approaches the sub-group IIB[2] whose characteristics are a highly arched bow, chord enclosed within the spring, and recurved foot attached to the bow by a small collar or wrap-around. These last features have been named B1 and B2 respectively, and while not strictly comparable with either group, our Scottish specimen is more akin to the latter. The series is otherwise strictly Southeastern in its distribution pattern, to be regarded as a facet of Belgic culture, and to be relegated to the first century B.C. or the first half of the succeeding century. At Craig's Quarry, subsequent slighting of the fortifications was accompanied by sherds of second century Samian ware; clearly the brooch must pre-date that century. This small object adds to the mounting evidence for contacts between North Britain and the South-east (see page 438).[3]

No northern representatives of the Belgic brooch par excellence - named La Tène III or 'Aylesford', are known to me. A heavily encrusted iron brooch from the Cist Burial of Moredun, East Lothian (Coles 1903 - 4: 432 3) is a more likely candidate for the derivative 'dolphin' class. In terms of our arbitary classification therefore it is more Romano-British than La Tène. However, a single 'Nauheim' example with rod bow and solid catch-plate has been found at Newstead (Curle 1911 : plate LXXXV, 1). This type has a long history on the Continent, reached South Britain late in the first century B.C. and was then subjected to local experimentation (Hawkes and Hull type VII; 1947 : 312 - 3 and plate XCII, 55 - 64). The vast majority are to be found south of a line from

the Wash to the Severn, where their popularity survives to the third quarter of the first century A.D. A very few penetrated into Brigantian territory, and one, with flattened bow, from a grave at Donaghadee, County Down, may have accompanied a refugee from the advancing Belgic or Roman conquest. (Jope 1957 : 76 - 9 and plate V). The Newstead example occurred at the lowest level of the Principia and may have been an out-moded trinket belonging to one of the fort's builders.

There is a sparce North English scatter of other early brooch types[4]. One form, represented by a decayed specimen from the Stanwick fortifications (Wheeler 1954 : 50, fig. 15, 1) is paralleled by an unpublished example from the Genoch Dunes, Luce (information in Jope 1957 : 90 footnote 41). That from Yorkshire occurred in the same level as a trumpet-headed brooch of Collingwood's R1 series, already in existence by the eighties.

The paucity of La Tène brooches in North Britain is strangely at variance with the scene in the South, and is in open contrast to the unprecedented enthusiasm displayed in early Romano-British times. Indeed, this whole-hearted adoption could conceivably reflect the influence of Belgic fashions in dress in the North.

IB. Romano-British brooches.

It is clearly impossible to cope in detail with this vast and exceedingly complex topic. Major contributions to the study will be quoted, after which discussion will be restricted to those groups and individual specimens which affect our

knowledge of pattern development in North Britain. Particular attention must be paid to the famous Aesica brooch.

In this sphere the debt owed to Collingwood (1930a and 1930b : 37 to 58) is inestimable. There have been minor changes of chronological range, but his conclusions have largely withstood the test of time. Valuable comments on the more southerly material have been made by various authors in the reports of the Society of Antiquaries of London; and the Scottish material illuminated by the studies of Curle (1911 : 317 - 28) and Burley (1955 - 6 : 154 - 67). Dragonesque brooches are well documented, thanks to the work of Bulmer and Feachem (1938 : 146 - 53 and 1951 : 32 - 44); and Penannular brooches owe much to the pioneer work of Kilbride-Jones (1935 - 6 :124 - 38) and subsequent studies by Savory (1956: 40 - 58) and Burley (1960 : 149 - 77).

Dolphin brooches (Collingwood's type H)

Such brooches are the direct descendants of the La Tène III series; an intermediary stage being represented by Hawkes and Hull's type IV (1940 : 310 - 11), of which perhaps the best known is a splendid specimen from the Polden Hill hoard (Dobson 1931 : 123 fig. 16). They are characterized by a sturdy humped bow, and an increasing number of spiral coils, now encased. Probably not earlier than 50 A.D., they were yet in use before the Boudicaan revolt. They are fairly common in our geographic area, where specimens from Newstead (Curle 1911 : plate LXXXV, 4 and 5) and Poltross Burn Milecastle (Haverfield 1919 : plate I, 4) reveal a continued popularity

up to the mid second century.

The only specimen deserving our attention is from Polmaise, Stirling (Callander 1917 - 18 : figs. 1 and 2). Substitution of a hinge for the more normal spring renders a second century date most likely.[5] Two linked trumpet coils are carefully executed in openwork upon the catchplate, a unique elaboration in the history of the dolphin brooch but present on trumpet brooches such as that from Risingham (see page 270ff). At first sight the motif seems but a logical outcome of artistic development in Iron Age Britain. The technique is foreshadowed by the fretwork of true La Tène III brooches, and is well known in the North English - South Scottish province, where it takes the form of metal-on-metal adornment on scabbards (see numbers 131, 138) and at least one torque and bracelet respectively (numbers 189, 196)[6]. Yet there is an inconsequential juxtaposition of trumpet units which savours more of imported openwork such as that from Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6 : 190 and plate XIII, 316) and Newstead (Curle 1911 : plate LXXVI, 2) about which more will be said on page 454 .

Our study of the Polmaise brooch as the product of a North English or South Scottish craftsman, working in the first half of the second century A.D. under influence from Gaulish imports, has helped us to define the possible range of that Brigantian fashion of openwork decoration.

The Aesica brooch

By far the most interesting of Romano-British brooches, from our specialist view-point, is the gilt bronze brooch from the Hadrianic Wall fort of Great Chesters or Aesica - number 225 in the catalogue. Since its discovery it has been the subject of many outstanding discussions, of which perhaps the most illuminating was that by Corder and Hawkes in 1940 (351 - 2 and plate LIVc).

In 1894, the brooch apparently tumbled from the roof of a tunnel caused by unorthodox excavation in the West Guard Chamber of the South Gate. The director's absence at the time of the event has thrown some doubt upon its precise stratigraphical position; but it would seem to have lain two or three feet above the Hadrianic floor level and approximately 3 feet 6 inches below the modern surface. The jewellery hoard of which it formed part, comprised a square-headed trumpet brooch of silver, a silver chain necklace with carnelian set pendant and two rings, one of gold with an agate bezel and the other of base silver with a gnostic bezel of jasper. These last objects have been stolen in comparatively recent times.

Gibson (1903 : 22 -4) was inclined to date the deposit to the late third century, basing his opinion upon the presence elsewhere on the site of a similarly dated coin hoard, deposited shortly before the destruction of the site by Northern tribes taking advantage of the Wall garrison's temporary withdrawal circa 296 A.D. His argument that both are reflections of the same period of unrest seems reasonable and this late date is in part supported by detail on the gold ring's hoop, for which third century analogies are available (Charlesworth 1961 : 6 - 7). Also, the 'Abraxas' ring is more

highly developed than a comparable late second century example from Housesteads; however, concealment in anticipation of the earlier disaster of 197 A.D. is not entirely out of the question.

From our point of view, this discussion is purely academic, for we have reason to suspect that the hoard's contents are of varying dates. The chain collar first appears at Pompeii (Siverio 1954 : plate 133 no. 164,5); the trumpet brooch displays features of group Riv, relegated by Collingwood to the third quarter of the second century A.D.; and it has long been realized that the gilt bronze brooch is most readily at home in the latter part of the first century.

Structurally, the Aesica brooch[7] consists of a rectangular head plate from whose upper edge emerges the cast head loop and to whose lower edge is attached without a break the cylindrical spring case; from this last, the bow protrudes, to be fused at a central point only, with the dished disc of the plate, while its lateral points terminate in three calyx-like 'drops'. This fusion with the underslung plate is necessary to augment the narrow joint of plate with spring case. The plate itself expands into a fan-tailed outline, concealing the pin's catch trough. The brooch's mechanism need not detain us; all decorated parts are cast and overlain with gold. The influence of classical craftsmanship could account for this last feature, shared by the trappings of Stanwick Set A, mail mounts from Lexden (Laber 1927 : plate LV, 2) and a related brooch from Wroxeter (Bushe-Fox 1913 - 25, fig. 9,3); but a pre-Roman debut is recorded upon the Witham scabbard locket (Kemble 1863 : 191 plate XVI).

The brooch's most immediate impression is one of size. Talking of the silver brooch, Collingwood (1930b : 51) maintains

that "it betrays an over-ripe school of art, getting new effects by sensational exaggeration of its features and an insistence on sheer size". Such a criticism could equally well be levelled at the gilt bronze specimen, but it is dangerous to equate 'exaggeration' with late date - more especially in this last case whose ancestry includes some of the largest brooches on the archaeological scene.

It was Evans who early realized that an origin must be sought in the Romano-Gaulish brooch type called 'thistle' (1896 : 179 98) - later to be designated 'X' by Collingwood. By this type the Continental time span is Augusto-Claudian. Pre-Conquest importation into Britain is not impossible, but the majority must belong to the period 43 - 50 A.D., an early range echoed by a preponderantly Southern distribution.[8] Both large and small specimens are known, the latter no doubt giving rise to a simplified form resembling a curved key-hole (for example Hawkes and Hull 1947 : plate XCIV, 80 - 4) and accompanying a Claudian-Neronian time span. The major Southerly contributions were then an expansion of the plate's lower edge, and the replacement of the traditional openwork plate adornment by repoussé foil of the then flourishing school of 'casket-ornament'. A new designation - 'bow-and-fantail' is now applied (Collingwood 1930b - 39, fig. 2) and a specimen from Wroxeter reveals its continued popularity to the early years of the second century A.D. The assimilation of alien features from contemporary brooch types was inevitable; one from near Canterbury (Ant. J. IV 1934 : 153) may reflect a knowledge of the La Tène III brooch at its Birdlip - Ham Hill stage (Green 1949 : 188 - 90). Other (for example Hook Norton, Oxon. Leeds 1911 : 406 - 7) are provided with knobs in a manner more reminiscent of Aucissa and Hod Hill

brooch forms current until Neronian times at least.

The point has perhaps been laboured, but it is an important one. The development of the bow-and-fantail brooch is a Romano-Belgic event; it occupies the forty or fifty years from circa 60 A.D. In its northerly setting the Aesica brooch savours of the south, both in form - though not in the technique of execution employed - and in some decorative motifs - but not in all. There is no need to envisage it as the prototype or culmination of bow-and-fantail series; rather must it be regarded as an offshoot of the intermediary stage, preceding that displayed by the Wroxeter specimen and not far distant in time from the regrettably undated Hook Norton and Winterbourne Bassett examples - Devizes Museum Catalogue 1934 207 - 8 and plate LXIV ~ 7). The one structural factor which might cause relegation to the second century is that combined rectangular headplate and cast head-loop, which is alien to the bow-and-fantail series[10] and much more at home on developed trumpet brooches of that century; however, as Hawkes so ably points out, wire head loops were already available for imitation on trumpet brooches of early Flavian times, and the cast execution of that upon the Aesica brooch (usually regarded as 'late') can have no such chronological overtone in this particular case, in view of its obviously decorative and non-functional role.

Before leaving considerations of form, mention must be made of the only other bow-and-fantail brooch of northern manufacture, cast execution and elaborate adornment; this, from the Tre'r Ceiri hill fort, Caernarvon (Fox 1958 : 107 - 8 and fig. 70) is now fragmentary but may have been a somewhat simpler version, akin to that from Camerton, Somerset (V.C.H. Som. 1906 : 293, fig. 60) and in all likelihood earlier than

the Aesica brooch. Its berried rosettes are found on the Elmswell panel of circa 60 A.D., and its trumpet coil and palmette forms are best paralleled by sets A and B respectively of the Stanwick hoard, whose manufacture must fall between 43 and 70 A.D. The last quarter of the first century A.D. would seem then a very likely date for manufacture of the Aesica brooch and is moreover supported by stylistic considerations.

It seems impossible to follow a moderate path of appreciation when discussing the artistic merit of the Aesica brooch; opposing points of view are stated by Collingwood and Hawkes; but personal opinions aside, the subtlety of lay-out must be apparent to all. The head loop and rectangular plate motif is reversed and weighted by 'muzzle' overtones upon the fantail; follow-through from circular disc to fantail is assured by juxtaposition of two coils in a neat S scroll, and "trompe l'oeil" tricks are present:- trumpet coils wriggle off the rectangular headplate; free-standing bow drops merge with the underslung disc decor; the horse muzzle on the bow is provided with alternate pairs of eyes, now on the headplate, now on the coil cylinder in a manner foreshadowed by those endearing creatures on the Battersea shield (Fox 1958 : plate 16).

Professor Hawkes has admirably demonstrated (in Corder and Hawkes 1940 : 351 - 2) the close decorative relationship between the Aesica brooch and other products of Southern Brigantia, such as the Elmswell panel and the Balmaclellan mirror; on this subject little more requires to be said, but a quiet picking over of stylistic bones will not be in vain. For simplicity, individual motifs will be dealt with under descriptive headings.

Lyre loop.

This motif, divorced from its classical palmette content, was much favoured by north-eastern craftsmen; it appears early on the Torrs pony mask and recurrs virtually unaltered on the decorative trappings of Stanwick Set A. The Aesica specimen displays summit faceting, which may be a substitution for the Stanwick lip mouldings.

Lyre loop with flanking trumpet coils.

A simplified version of mirror lay-out, this motif is current both in the South-east (for example Santon strip: Fox : 1958 : plate 67c) and in the North-east (again Stanwick Set A).[11] The peculiarly tortuous form of trumpet coil is however unique, approached only by detail on the St. Albans and Battersea scabbard mouths; they belong to Piggott's group B and are probably of Belgic manufacture (Piggott 1950 : plate II and 19 fig. 10,6). A feature unique to the Aesica trumpet coils is the substitution of lateral lobes for the more traditional 'domes'; a later stage in this transformation may be seen on the unprovenanced helmet no. Paired 'single trumpet' as seen briefly at Stanwick (no 82) and on the bow of the Tre'r Ceiri brooch fuse lyre loop and trumpet coils together, and beneath this is a facetting of the triangular void which relates to the 'swag-and-drop' motif of the Balmaclellan mirror plates and Worton and Brough pommels.

Horse mask

A stylized face adorns both spring case and bow, ingeniously straddling two planes. Its application to a brooch may ultimately be a Belgic contribution - remember the La Tene III from Birdlip and Ham Hill - a tendency to 'zoomorphose' which with different results is shared by the Mildenhall brooch (Fox 1958 : plate 41, b). The Aesica 'horse' is a close relative of the Stanwick one, sharing its lyre loop muzzle, depressed nostrils, and sinewy cheek modelling; the dished eyes with protruding pupils however are best paralleled on Belgic cow studies from Felmersham, Beds. (op. cit. 74 fig. 46) and in more abstract and mechanical works such as the scabbard locket from St. Albans and casket strip from the Llyn Cerrig hoard (Fox 1946 : viii). Each eye at Aesica is framed by a pair of trumpets forming a decorative unit which can be traced back to the first century B.C. and which is to make a major contribution to the 'swash N' (see page 206).

Heart or spade-shaped panel

Beneath the horse's muzzle are two trumpet coils, joined mouth to mouth in a manner reminiscent of the Tre'r Ceiri brooch's underpart. The void so enclosed however recalls details of the Elmswell enamelled strip and like it may have been inspired by vine scrolls on Samian ware (for example Hawkes and Hull 1947 : plate XXVI, 1, 16 etc.).

Roundel decoration.

Faced with a circular panel with a dished centre the Aesica designer has devised a lay-out which approaches to an astonishing degree the end roundels of the famous Battersea shield.[12] The balanced, tightly coiled and keeled scrolls at top and bottom of the Aesica lay-out are best paralleled by a roundel from Stanwick Set B; and the balancing lateral motifs are minature broken-back curves, arising out of the Broighter torc and foreshadowing details of the Lochar Moss beaded torc.

Fantail decoration.

Fusing disc and fantail adornment is an arrangement of two juxtaposed coils, the upper of which (on the disc section) is flanked by curved upswept arms; this is strongly reminiscent of incised and enamelled motifs on a Group V scabbard from the river Witham, links (Fox 1958 : plate 49b) and a crescent-headed linch-pin from King's Langley, Herts. (Op. cit. plate 52, A). Below, muddled echo of lyre loop with trumpet coils and possibly horse mask overtones completes the decorative lay-out.

This reappraisal of decoration upon the Aesica brooch confirms that Belgic - at any rate southerly - contribution which we suspected from the form. Even the surface handling gives added support. Admittedly, twin curves on the fantail are uniquely treated, each comprising "two keels in intimate contact; one rises to form the dominant knife edge, while the

other slides down the slope ....."; the Battersea shield (to which this quotation refers) provides the closest parallel, although comparison will reveal the Aesica version to be much inferior and reminiscent more of piped slip. Yet the remainder of the Aesica patterns are executed with a kind of crested crispness which is more suited to repoussé work rather than casting. Narrow ribs of unvarying width define both the outline and internal detail of each motif; this is a recognizable feature of that 'casket ornament' so favoured by the Belgae in the mid - late first century A.D.[13] The overt debt to Rome owed by the Elmswell panel is also though less obviously shared by the Aesica brooch.

Trumpet brooches (Collingwood's class R)

Trumpet brooches are characterized by an expanded head which partially conceals the spring, a projecting head loop, bow adorned with a simple cushion or alternatively acanthus moulding, and a foot knob. Collingwood's original derivation from the La Tène III brooches of Southern England would seem to have been set aside in favour of a more exctic origin in the Pannonian version of that same brooch (Hawkes 1940 : 492-5).

The type's importance to our present study lies in the close dating which can apparently be attached to individual examples, according to the type of mechanism employed, the technique of head loop's execution and the form of bow moulding favoured; in all fairness, however, it must be admitted that this degree of accuracy may have been exaggerated by

wishful thinking. Those sub-groups named simple knob (Ri), acanthus knob (Rii) and half-acanthus knob (Riv) were apparently developed in rapid succession, perhaps in that chronological sequence, but all were established by the last years of the first century A.D., as finds from Newstead have proved (Curle 1911 : 321 - 3); and all were manufactured contemporaneously although the last-mentioned series may have outlived the other two. In general, the half-simple knob (Riii) type may be later, but as its members are suspected to be of southern manufacture, they are of lesser significance to our study. All forms of trumpet brooch reached a peak of popularity in the first half of the second century A.D. and had virtually vanished by the end of that century.

It is due largely to the trumpet brooches that we may watch the crumbling of decorative motifs whose ancestry may be traced back to a period far beyond the Roman invasion; the triskele for instance is to be seen in its 'regular' form upon a specimen from Lochside, Moray (exhibition note P.S.A.S. LIV 1919 - 20 : 213) and, even more surprisingly, in its peculiarly 'Celtic' guise of imbalance on the catchplate of acanthus knob brooches from Backworth and Risingham, Northumberland (Brewis 1924 : plate I and plate V, fig.II respectively); the first-mentioned forms part of a hoard of precious metal, no coin of which was later than Antoninus Pius (139 A.D.) (Charlesworth 1961 : 3 - 4). On a 'poor relative' and possibly Southern copy from Llanferres, Flints., disintegration has progressed further (Thompson 1963 : 290 fig. 2). This motif after all is nothing but a simplification of the Llyn Cerrig plaque lay-out! Again, the lyre loop displays an astonishing capacity for survival, but it is the use to which this last is put that is so interesting. Utilizing the trumpet out-

line, brooch designers have devised an animal head, in which the lyre loop's terminals act as eyes. Animalizing tendencies on brooches have already been discussed in connection with the Aesica brooch (page 268); whatever the idea's initial place of origin it is impossible to deny the contribution of the Stanwick horse (no. 102).[14]

One of the most convincing lyre faces is that displayed by an Riv brooch from Lydney Park, Glos., which the excavators interpreted as a northern import - as must also be a specimen from the Thames at London Bridge, whose eyes are in fact trumpet coils (London Museum Catalogue 3 1930 : 97 fig. 28, 27). Specimens from Newstead, dateable to the years immediately preceding 139 - 40 A.D. reveal the pattern's disintegration - lyre upside down (Curle 1911 plate LXXXV, 11), eye coils only (op. cit. plate LXXXV, 12). The ultimate stage is a senseless juxtaposition of geometric units[15], or a kind of floral growth[16]. While not claiming a chronological sequence for the above, a general loss of 'animal intention' is discernable by 150 A.D.

Traces of brooch-making activity have been discovered at Brough, Westmorland, Stanwix, Traprain etc. Were the craftsmen totally out of contact with developments in other fields, or can certain of their products be affiliated to metal work other than brooches? I feel that they can. Their very use of precious metal - silver or silver gilt - would single out those pairs from Backworth, Northumberland and Chorley, Lancs. (British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain 1951 : 19, 9, 18); add to this the conservatism of their motifs, the use of a double-engraved out-line, and the total absence of polychromy, and it becomes natural to view them as manufactures of the Aesica school. To this small group must be

appended the silver brooch from Aesica, despite the unusual feature of a rectangular head plate. Its acanthus knob once besported snail coils, last encountered on the wellknown brooch from Tre'r Ceiri and even then considered an extraordinary survival from the pre-Roman Iron Age. It will be remembered that the silver brooch from Aesica was attributed by Collingwood to 150 - 175 A.D.; it may be the last product known at present of our supposedly southern Brigantian workshop.[17]

The majority of trumpet brooches can more suitably be named trinkets rather than jewellery; and almost all, save the totally unadorned specimens are enamelled in a garish juxtaposition of red, blue, yellow - frequently all three together. This polychromy, even the application in small patches, some curvilinear, most angular, is characteristic of a small series of enamelled horse trappings from Northern England and Southern Scotland.[18] Could it not be that as the demand for equipment of belligerence faded, the makers of equestrian panoply turned themselves to more peaceful products. An Icenian or Belgic ancestry has been claimed for this style of enamelling; it seems quite likely that the tradition also survived in the South to produce, at the same time as the above Northern products, such major pieces of enamel work as the alter plaque from the river Thames (Henry 1933 : 111, fig. 24, 5).

To sum up, trumpet brooches reveal to us the last phases of two separate and complementary North English trends in decoration; the one reliant upon the subleties of metal colouration and time-honoured motifs; the other upon the brilliance of enamels and the geometric and disintegrating interpretation

of these same motifs; one sophisticated and the other brash; one the final gasp of luxury production for the well-to-do, the other conversion of obsolete horse-trapping skills to meet the demands of the masses.

Head-stud brooches

A second major vehicle for the enamelling skills of N North England and possibly Lowland Scotland was the head-stud brooch. The features diagnostic of the series are a curved bar of square section, expanded foot, head loop and stud immediately below, whose setting alone freguently remains. The type would seem to derive ultimately from the pre-Roman La Tène III brooch. The characteristic head-stud would seem to have been added only after circa 75 A.D. if the coin evidence of the Honley hoard (Woodhead ed. 1924 : 84) is accepted. Collingwood openly admitted in 1930 that the date of its precise appearance was unknown to him. Guessing, he chose to commence the series circa 100 A.D. Yet excavation at Richborough produced two highly developed specimens, one apparently from Pit 222, whose contents were firmly ascribed to the period 75 - 90 A.D. (Bushe-Fox 1928 : 114 - 5 and plate XXVIII, 34 and 35). It would seem that a Flavian beginning is likely; the series, for its entire life, runs parallel with the development of the trumpet brooch, tailing off like this last into degeneracy in the latter half of the second century A.D. Interaction is suspected; the rectangular head plate displayed by the Richborough specimens already mentioned may have contributed to the structure of

the silver brooch from Aesica.

As with the trumpet form, head-stud brooches reflect contemporary decoration. The stud setting tends to be modelled as a petal shape and it will be remembered that from hesitant beginnings in the Stanwick hoard, this motif became extremely popular on horse trappings, dress fasteners etc. The early form of head-stud brooch, with wire head loop, is particularly prone to this feature,[19] but later specimens with cast loops are not without it either (witness the unprovenanced example now in N.M.A. Edin. FT 70 and a southern copy of the type from London - British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain 1922 :55, fig. 63); theoretically at any rate such specimens could be as late as the second half of the second century A.D.

The majority of head-stud brooches are heavily enamelled, each cell on the bow being rectangular[20] or diamond-shaped with, of course, interleaved triangles (the Lochlee specimen is a particularly good example). Early use of enamel in rectangular cells is well-known from the horse trappings of the Neath hoard; a minute fragment may be included in the Stanwick deposit (no. 87); but its heightened popularity coincided with the development of the head stud brooch. It is tempting to see the Embleton scabbard mount (no. 133) as a by-product of brooch manufacture. The use of diamond cells may be traced back to the terrets of the Boudiccan Saham Toney hoard,see page .

On rare occasions the spring cover or concealment for the hinge mechanism becomes the situation for a more elaborate decoration than the normal geometric cells. Chester's Museum Catalogue no. 1410 displays on each shoulder a pair

of conjoined trumpet coils, the outermost of which consists of two trumpets sharing the one roundel[21]. This motif, it will be remembered, played a considerable part in the development of the 'plump' form of Swash N (see page 32), an attractive version of which adorns another head stud brooch - this time from Corbridge; the resemblance to detail of the Birrenswark bit (no. 2) is very close; yet another specimen from Kirkby Thore (Gillbanks Bequest, Carlisle Museum) possesses a degenerate version of the same motif. The final example to be mentioned is that unprovenanced example in the National Museum at Edinburgh already referred to; upon its shoulders are 'sinuous' saltire' motifs, such as we have met on the platform terret from Great Chesters (no. 62) and the Carlisle strap junction (no. 16).

It is a sore disappointment that at present our dating of head-stud brooches should be so vague. All one may say is that the motifs mentioned above were in existence between 80 or 90 A.D. and 150 A.D.; only the unprovenanced specimen with its 'sinuous saltire' need necessarily approach the latter date.

Disc brooches

Disc brooches were for long considered a Roman invention, to the decoration of whose later phases, Celtic skills were bent. It now seems that they could be 'home-grown'. Stead identifies as early representatives those roudels from the Grimthorpe and Bugthorpe burials, which have hitherto been regarded as mounts for a shield and sword respectively

(Dymond and Stead 1959 : 208 - 13). Continental antecedents are available (Jacobsthal 1944 : nos. 348a and 349). No further examples are known in Britain until the first century A.D., when the truly characteristic mode of construction - a cast hinge disc with repoussé roundel soldered to its upper surface - makes its first appearance. The technique is that of Fox's 'casket ornament', of which disc brooches are merely one facet[22]. The motif of an early specimen from Circencester (Fox 1949 : 277 - 8 and plate IB) supports this theory; while employing trumpet coils in a manner astonishingly reminiscent of the Grimthorpe brooch, the actual treatment is best paralleled by casket strip from Rodborough Common, Glos. (Smith 1925 : 146 fig. 169) which Fox would ascribe to the period 30 - 50 A.D.

Two decorative themes, one animal, the other human, and both probably inspired by coinage, are restricted to the South and are therefore outside our sphere; yet they provide a chronological clue for our more northerly representatives; I know of four disc-ant brooches bearing animals[23]. At least five disc brooches depict a scene involving several humans.[24] Of the former series two belong to the third quarter of the first century A.D. Of the latter, one was stratified in a second century deposit, and all are based on Hadrianic coin types.

Our study of disc brooches has so far revealed that a local origin is possible, but that the majority would seem to belong to the latter half of the first century A.D. and the second century A.D. where their distribution was preponderantly Southern and their execution a reflection of 'casket ornamenting' techniques.

Another small sub-group whose diagnostic feature is triskelar decoration displays an entirely different distribution with emphasis on Northern England.[25] Of the ten known to me, eight come from Westmorland, Northumberland and the West Riding of Yorkshire. In view of the three specimens from Brough-under-Stainmore, manufacture in the vicinity seems likely - even in the fort itself, for there is evidence for brooch making activities there. Richborough, one of the two southerly sites has already been mentioned as the find spot of a clearly Northern terret.(Bushe-Fox 1926 : 45 and plate XIII, 16), so that the presence of a triskelar disc brooch should not surprise.

With the exception of two from the native cave settlements of Settle, all have been found in Roman contexts, but regrettably none is recorded in a closely datable layer.

In 1933, Leeds claimed this small series as one of the last chronological outposts of Early Iron Age art. It has been demonstrated that the evidence of Southern disc brooches renders this theory untenable. It seems unlikely that our series outlives the second century A.D., a statement which details of style do nothing to undermine[26].

Precise parallels for the equal-armed triskele, used on disc brooches, are not easy to find. An iron die from Wroxeter for the execution of 'casket ornament' included such a motif in its repertoire (Atkinson 1942 : plate 52). Also, the unprovenanced example now in Newcastle, is but a step beyond the roundels of the Elvedon tankard (Fox 1958 : plate 54b). There is no difficulty in supplying analogies to individual features of the triskelar treatment; thin, wiry ribbons, as displayed to extreme by one of the Brough

specimens are characteristic of Southern 'casket ornament'. The hesitant slender trumpets and disintegrating trumpet coils of the Silchester brooch are but a re-arrangement of those on the Rodborough Common strip. Dots, arranged in clusters of three, as on one of the Settle specimens are plentifully employed on casket panels from Silchester (op. cit. plate 77, 17) and on a triangular die from Wraxhall, Wilts (Devizes Museum Catalogue 1934 : 202, fig. 34). Grouped to form a barried rosette they adorn the unprovenanced brooch how at Newcastle, and, for comparison, are a feature of strip from the Santon hoard (Fox 1958 : plate 67a) and the Elmswell panel (no. 297).[27] All the other brooches employ void fillers in the form of curls or crescents with adjacent rim thickening; this trick has its origin in Llyn Cerrig plaque decoration, but is more immediately paralleled by the square sheet from Moel Hiraddug which Fox would allocate to the early first century A.D.

Yet there is one feature for which Southern analogies are not available, and that is a writhing form of stemmed trumpet, well demonstrated on the brooch from Doncaster. It is precisely this which protrudes from the rectangular head-plate of the Aesica brooch. Another Northern contribution may be the transformation of the triskele arms into bird's heads, as displayed by the Richborough example.

Triskelar disc brooches then may be regarded as another facet of that once flourishing Brigantian school of metal working whose source of inspiration was Southern 'casket ornament' and the summit of whose achievement was the Aesica brooch.

A disc from Dowalton Loch Crannog (no. 226) is relevant here. It is not immediately recognizable as a brooch, having suffered at the hands of a 'restorer'. Openwork and enamelling single it out from the normal run of triskelar disc brooches. The ring is formed of three lobes, from whose fatter ends the triquetra arms emerge to swirl inwards, abutting on an equilateral triangle with central perforation. The entire surface was once enamelled in large curved cells of presumably red colour. Its overall appearance is strange, alien, and capable of a dozen different triskelar interpretations; yet its basic ingredients are commonplace in North English - South Scottish work of the first two centuries A.D.; the lobes are but slender trumpets whose dome definition is lacking, and whose junctions with the triskele proper are 'broken back' joints.

In fact, this brooch may be a local imitation of openwork triskeles which are usually regarded as Gallo-Roman imports to Britain. Some of these may have been provided with a hinged pin and catchplate; others are merely equiped with studs on the underside for attachment to leather. I know of only one representative in Scotland - from Clova, Aberdeenshire (no. 227) and this, in view of the crude execution, is almost certainly a local copy, not an actual import. Two examples however are available from the forts of Hadrian's Wall; Corbridge has produced both imported examples and 'home-made' versions which closely approximate to the specimens from Aberdeenshire. Admittedly, many seem compatible with the development of Early Iron Age craftsmanship in their area; all employ slender trumpets, one complex pair from South Shields even making use of the 'broken-back' scroll; but, in some places including this last, the similarity

is superficial. A close affiliation to the Roman world is revealed for example by the insertion of cockle shell motifs into a triskele from Caistor-by-Norwich (unpublished : in Norwich Castle Museum). Such products must be the "trompeten-muster" of German archaeologists about which more will be said on page 454. This continental fashion centred on Namur and the Rhineland, reached a peak in the Antonine period, and more elaborate pieces than those which concern us here, were owned and no doubt prized by occupants of Newstead (Curle 1911 plate LXXIV, 2) and Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6 : 190 and plate XIII, no. 316).

Openwork triskelar brooches of suspected Gallo-Roman inspiration must therefore have been in fashion simultaneously with the 'home-made' repoussé type. Interaction is to be expected, but the former seems to have arrived too late to provide inspiration for the latter series.

Penannular brooches

The most recent study of this complex subject is that by Mrs. Fowler (1960 : 149 - 77), whose classification will be used and to whose lists and distribution maps reference will be made. The series is of particular importance, commencing as it does in the pre-Roman Iron Age, and surviving the Roman interlude to flourish brilliantly in Early Christian times.

The earliest sub-group is characterized by a heavy hooked, humped pin with tongue-like end and simple knob (A)

or blunt expanded (Aa) terminals. Examples are found in the second B Context of the Yorkshire chariot burials, where they must date to third century B.C. No Marnian predecessors are known, which suggests to Mrs. Fowler a local development arising from an attachment of local La Tene II brooch features to the ring-headed pin. Type Aa is present in Scotland, forming one facet of Childe's Abernethy Complex to which reference has already been made in connection with La Tène Ic brooches for example those from the The Lawes, Monifieth, Angus and Dun Fheurain, Argyllshire. The close similarity of these examples to the Yorkshire forms is a strong argument for contemporary date, thus 'pushing back' the suspected Iron Age invasion of Scotland atleast to the second century B.C. Two further specimens come from the Cist burial of Craigie, Angus (Hutcheson 1902 - 3 : 235, fig. 1) and Moredun, East Lothian (Coles 1903 - 4 : 433, fig. 4); the latter was accompanied by a second iron brooch of probable 'dolphin' type and a scant but continuing popularity is attested by specimens from the Antonine fort of Canelon, Stirlingshire, and from our mid - late second century deposit at Newstead (Curle 1911 : 327 and plate LXXXVIII,)7). This last is of especial interest to us, as, inlaid with silver and situated to one side there is a 'last gasp' of the broken-back curve.

Types A1 - 4 displaying a thinner ring, less humped pin and variously treated knob terminals are plentiful in our area. They occur both in native contexts such as the Settle caves, Traprain and even the Midhowe Broch in Orkney; and in Roman ones such as the Wall fort, Newstead and the Langton Villa, Yorkshire. There is an especial concentration in the region between the two Roman Walls, Traprain alone

producing twenty-seven specimens. All types are current from the late first to the third century A.D., and some survived even longer. Although a continuous popularity from the second century B.C. is possible, an introduction from the South is perhapsmore likely for these sub-groups; certainly, a peak was not reached until the arrival of Agricola in the North.

There are no early Northern representatives of Mrs. Fowler's group B which was apparently a Southwestern development based either on British 'A' penannulars or Iberian prototypes. From their very find spots - Corbridge and Newstead - our rare specimen B2 must Agricolan or later.

That form of penannular brooch favoured by the Belgae has curled or coiled terminals jutting out from the ring surface. It appears to have arisen out of Type B, and displays a predominantly Southeastern distribution and a time span covering the first century A.D. Only two examples are met with in the North, one from Corbridge, the other from Eldbottle, East Lothian. Nor is the derivative form B with grooved and bent-backed terminals very common in our area, although specimens have been found both on native (Traprain, Covesea Cave and Midhowe Broch) and Roman sites (Corbridge, Housesteads, Newstead and Roman villa at Langton). None requires to be earlier than the late first century A.D.; but it is this form which provides an origin for the well-known series of proto-zoomorphic (Type E) and zoomorphic (Type F) brooches. The actual source of this important innovation is open to doubt. Kilbride-Jones (1935 - 6 : 124 - 38) favoured Scotland; Savory (1956 : 48 - 50) the South, probably Wales; Mrs. Fowler's opinion, as yet unpublished in full, would stress the inter-Wall area, if not



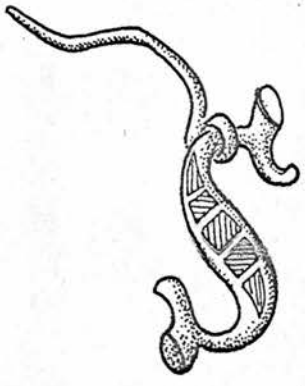
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4



5



6



7



8



9

1/1

1. Corbridge
4 Faxfleet
7. South Shields

2. Corbridge
5. Victoria Cave, Settle
8 Carlisle

3 York
6 Corbridge
9. Brough. E.R

actually Scotland; she notes that zoomorphic pins are found in this area but not farther South. At Traprain, the proto-zoomorphic form of brooch was already in use by the second century A.D. Wherever the final conversion into true zoomorphism occurred,[28] it was certainly not at this last site where one specimen only has been found; representatives occur as far north as Okstrow Broch, Orkney and as far south as Minchin Hole, Glam.[29]

The zoomorphic penannular brooch escapes from the scope of this study to culminate in such magnificent metallurgical exercises as the Hunterston, West Ness and Tara brooches, and in doing so display a persistence paralleled only by the ring-headed pin.

Dragonesque brooches

Dragonesque brooches have been the subject of several studies. The work of Bulmer (1938 : 146 - 53) and Feachem (1951 : 32 - 44) is particularly valuable. To the sixty-five specimens cited by this last author, I have only four to add.[30] To the related 'wire coil' group must be appended a further three examples.[31]

The type may be defined as an S-shaped plate with thickened middle, and zoomorphosed terminals; a very few are of inverted S form. The pin is bowed to make room for the cloth, and attached by wrapping around the uppermost of the two 'necks'; to keep this in position more than one half of the known specimens are provided with a strut joining 'chest

and chin'.

Feachem has distinguished four sub-groups, according to the type of enamelled decoration displayed. These are as follows:-

(i) Circular device
(ii) Lozenge motif
(iii) Panel of squares
(iv) Single row of squares

There is also a small and amorphous group of plain, unenamelled brooches.

The distribution pattern is interesting. Lone specimens have been found in Belgium, Germany, Holland, Hungary and two in France; there is a sparse scatter in South England and the Midlands, but by far the majority of examples come from north of a line joining the Humber and Mersey estuaries, and south of a similar line between the Forth and the Clyde. When the distribution of the various sub-groups is platted, no clear pattern emerges. The most common type in the South is that with lozenge pattern (six examples), and representatives of the remaining series are restricted to two or three in each case.

Both native and Roman contexts have produced dragonesque brooches. Into the former category fall six from the native oppidum of Traprain, one from a hill fort in Ayrshire, nine from cave settlements in Yorkshire and Derbyshire and one from a corresponding Scottish site at Borness, Kirkcudbright, one from a Lowland Scottish hoard and one from a Suffolk inhumation. This accounts for nineteen of the the sixty - three known British specimens. Several of these last are

stray finds - for instance, that from Great Bedwyn which turned up on a Bronze Age site, but the majority have come from Roman establishments, predominantly of a military nature. This last milieu affords an explanation for the Continental examples - no doubt carried 'by the movement of personnel within the Roman empire'.

The evidence for dating the individual sub-types is as follows:-

Unenamelled brooches

A brooch from Braughing, Herts. is said to have come from a context 'little if at all later than the Claudian invasion'; however, Feachem's no. 6 occurred in the late first - second century level of Traprain.

Circular device

This is one of the better dated series. Number H4 from Castle Hill, Ayrshire was currently accompanied by a Samian sherd from a Flavian bowl[32]. A second from Milking Gap (H2) will have been lost some time between 110 and 128 A.D., if, as seems likely, that settlement site was requisitioned to clear the land between the Vallum and Hadrian's Wall (Richmond ed. 1958 : 62 - 3). Yet a third (H3), from its position in the fill of the Vallum at Stanwix must post-date the original excavation of that structure and, in all probability, fell in during its slighting around 140 A.D.

Panel of squares

The Lamberton Moor hoard in which one specimen was found (D2) included Antonine paterae. Thirst House Cave, productive of another (D4) contained also Samian sherds of 100 - 150 AD., coins of 154 - 270 A.D. and second century brooches of other

varieties (V.C.H. Derby I 1905 : 234).

Single row of squares

The head of a dragonesque brooch from Borness Cave (C5) would seem to be belong to this series, by reason of its small size, slender treatment and smooth forehead (see page 289). From the same site, in probable association, came a sherd of Samian of late first century date (Curle 1931 - 2 : 373). The unpublished specimens from Faxfleet was found with or near Romano-British pottery of predominantly late first century date and a 'dolphin' brooch; but second century wares were also present. The Caernarvon specimen is dated to circa 100 A.D. (Bulmer 1938 : 152) and the two from Traprain (Feachem's nos. 18 and 19) are more likely to belong to the first half of the second century, rather than the preceding years in view of the other brooch types which accompanied them (Burley 1955 - 6 : 33 and 34).

Lozenge

A similar argument is offered in the case of the two lozenge specimens from that site (op. cit. 32 and 35). That from Wroxeter was accompanied by coins, the latest of which is a dupondius of Hadrian (121 - 2 A.D.). A late second century - even third century - date is proffered for the specimen from the Deanery Field, Chester (Bulmer 1938 : 152).

The chronological range therefore is of a hundred years or more from the Claudian conquest to the mid or perhaps late second century A.D. The earliest specimen is a plain one after which those with circular devices and simple rows of squares have first claim to an early date, although, relying on contexts, none need necessarily be earlier than Flavian. What little evidence we have ascribes the panel

of squares examples to the early second century, where the vast majority of lozenge types surely belong. As Bulmer was swift to point out, "many of these groups must have been in use , or even in manufacture at the same time" (1938 : 150); yet stylistic considerations support this general sequence of events. For instance, the head form with a smooth brow from crest to nose is characteristic of the plain, circular device and single row of squares series, while the brow ridge is favoured on the lozenge specimens; the final panel-of-squares series conforms to the smooth brow division, but there is one exception to this rule (D3). Again, with the passage of time, there would seem to be a definite increase in the importance of the eyes.

It is impossible to progress however without formulating some opinion on the origin of dragonesque brooches and , at the heart of the matter, lies that unique specimen from Lakenheath (Feachem's no. 7). Its decorative features are not incompatible with its find spot. The slender trumpets which ingenuously form the creature's two heads, are to be found on that pelta motif which the Birdlip mirror handle upholds against its plate; and even more closely, upon the Wraxall collar; while the simple swirl of two such features, forming by their slender coils and domes a kind of yin-yang divided roundel, is echoed in uninspired openwork on the catchplate of a La Tène III brooch from Ham Hill, Somerset (op. cit. 93, fig. 59c), in stamped monotony on casket strips from Rodborough Common, Glos. and in red enamel on one of the Santon multilobed mounts.

The animal content of the Lakenheath brooch is latent, but was definitely there. One is astonishingly reminded

of those duck-headed coils which enliven the cap part of the Tors assemblage and the Brentford horn cap (op. cit. plate 4) at the very beginning of Iron Age art in Britain; but there is no need to delve so far the past when cup handles of Keshcarrigan (Jope 1956 : 92 - 6) and Somerset, Co. Galway (Raftery 1960 : plate I, 162) are available. The fact that both these have Irish find spots, does not deter Jope from ascribing to the former at least a Belgic origin - and that probably early in the first century A.D., or possibly slightly before. The addition of crests on dragonesque brooches does nothing to detract from this strong aroma of 'duck'.

The dragonesque brooch is not the only charming creature with an uptilted nose to be born in South Britain in the first century A.D.; I should like to envisage the 'dolphin mounts' from Tooley Street, London and Camerton, Somerset (Fox 1958 : plate 75b and d) as an application of this theme to objects of different - though unknown - purpose;[33] and to see in the group V scabbard mount from Lambay Island as a perfectly comparble zoomorphosed triskele.

All the analogies cited for the Lakenheath brooch belong to the South and to the first half of the first century A.D. or thereabouts; therefore, it is highly likely that the little masterpiece is at home in our Belgic context and in the period 40 - 60 A.D. as Fox has already claimed. It must then be ancestral to virtually the entire series of dragonesque brooches. In this role, it becomes the latest of yet another claim for Belgic influence in Northern Britain.

No mention has been made of a fourth for the mechanism of dragonesque brooches; but it is unnecessary to look any further afield when it is realized that the dragonesque

brooch is nothing but an S-shaped variation on the penannular theme which during the period under discussion was enjoying a particular popularity.

It may seem rash to derive the large series of dragonesque brooches from two Southern prototypes. The relationship is a precise replica of that existing between the cruciform horse trappings of the inter-Wall region (nos.19-26) and that lone representative in the Saham Toney hoard. Yet I do not think it is possible to reverse the situation in either case, envisaging the Norfolk and Suffolk finds as a sparse penetration of Northern types. The decorative detail of several enamelled dragonesque brooches would seem to bolster this creaking edifice, while tying in with other products of Northern craftsmen.

The single row of squares form of decoration, tailing off by means of narrow triangular cells is first encountered on a crescent terret from Colchester (which must be Boudiccan) and on matching horse trappings in the Neath hoard; in Northern England, we see it on the underside of a grip mount belonging to the Embleton scabbard (no. 133). A unique variation on this sub-group, from Newstead (Feachem's no. 13), displays curved triangles of pouncing on its crest; this is a well-known Southern feature which looks alien when encountered in the Stanwick hoard (no. 24 of that catalogue).

Turning to the diagnostic features of the circular device group, that arrangement displayed by H1 from Corbridge[34] is precisely similar to the platform decoration of of a terret from Balmuidy, Lanark (no. 56) which itself is closely allied to the Saham Toney hoard.[35] A great many of the eyes in this series, and the lozenge one also, share

with the circular device of no. 28 from York a target arrangement of enamel which is paralleled by, on the one hand the Saham Toney cruciform mount and the other by the bull's eyes of a platform terret from Middlebie (no. 64) and of course the Embleton sword scabbard (no. 133). The amassing of geometric enamel cells, unrelated to the shape they cover (as on H4 from Castle Hill) is a feature shared by that very same mount from Saham Toney and by the regrettably unlocated example illustrated by Kemble (1863 : plate XIX, 5) - a piece which also provides an analogy to the inbrocated arrangement of dragonesque brooch 29 from Le Toupin. Finally, it is in the openwork and 'bossy' treatment of examples from Kelco Caves (40) and Edgerston (41) and in the pseudo-beading of a related specimen from Attermire Caves(34) that the dragonesque brooch reveals its close relationship with such local products as the Lochar Moss torc.

A characteristic feature of the lozenge group, shared only by a circular device brooch from Corbridge is the application of enamel to the crests of the dragons, in curved triangles which flank a central keel; the cruciform mount from the Middlebie hoard (no. 20) has very similar features at its 'petal' tips. Turning our attention to the midriff, a simple lozenge pattern such as that on F4 and 5 from Faversham is fore-shadowed by hoop detail on the Saham Toney terrets; it is of course well-known in the inter-Wall region and upon head-stud brooches of the late first and early second centuries. Niggling, net-like spreads of diamond cells, as displayed by G2 and 33 Corbridge are best paralleled on the platforms of terrets from Birrens whose relegation to the mid second century A.D. is set out on page 82. Much more fascinating are the flanking panels of enamel, where curvi-

linear triangles combine with or are converted into slender trumpet coils in varying stages of misinterpretation and disintegration. The 'better' specimens are to be equated with that stage reached by the Backworth trumpet brooches, which it will be remembered, were accompanied by a denarius of Antoninus Pius.

Three of the recent finds require attention - the fourth from Doncaster, I have not seen. By far the most attractive is that found in 1966 during excavation in the grounds of Tullie House at Carlisle; and in a level dateable to within ten years of 90 A.D.; its enamelled detail is a unique mingling of dark red and turquoise, forming an S motif with trumpet coil terminals; though somewhat misunderstood, they are best paralleled on mounts 5, 6 and 23 in the Stanwick hoard. There is no hint of a simple device, whether circular or lozenge; yet such an arrangement clearly underlies that of the flanking panels in both these groups.

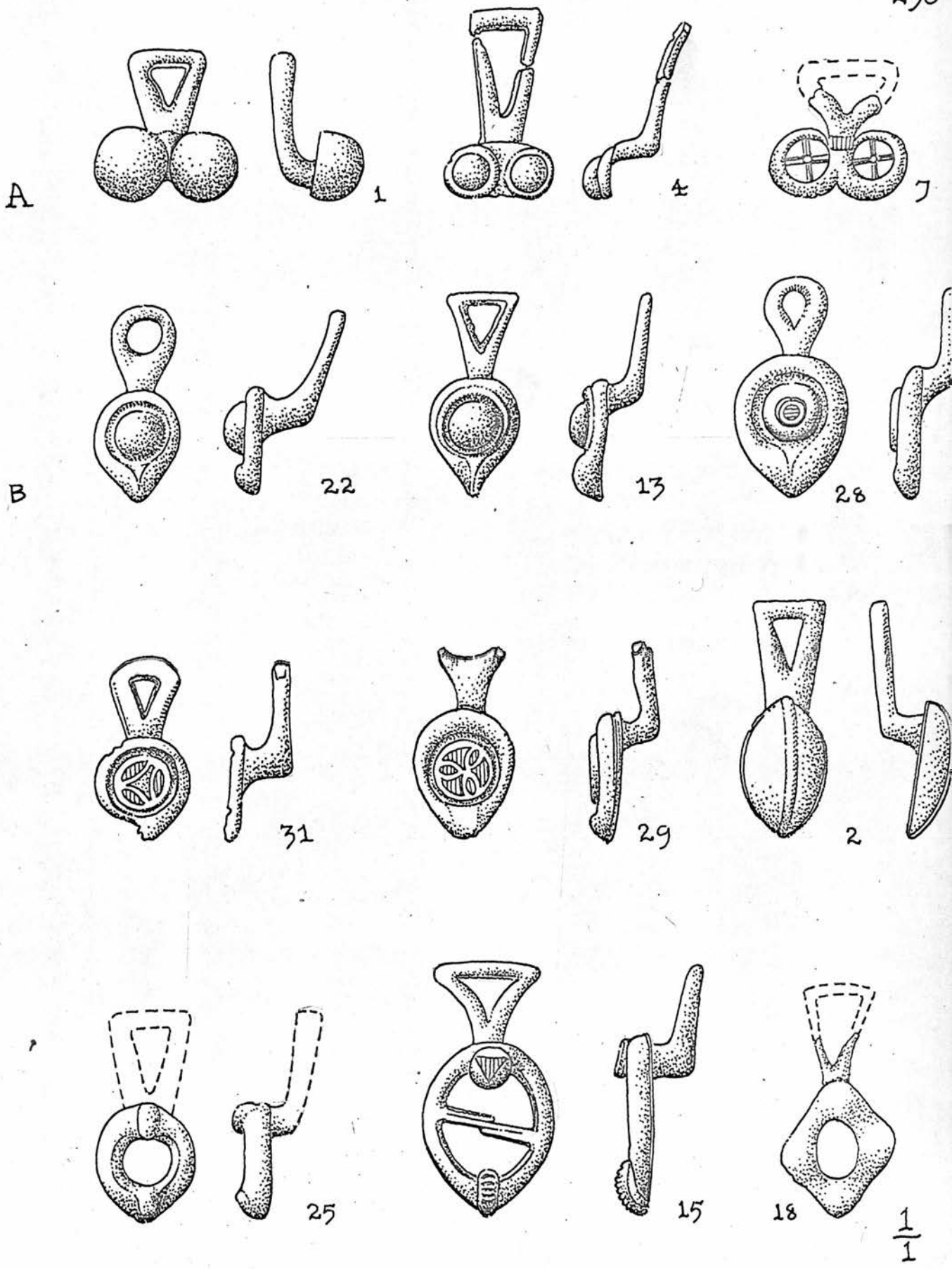
The second new specimen, from Brough, East Riding, is of interest more for its head formation; treatment of the body approximates to that of the late specimen from Chester (Feachem's no. F1); but the nose is now curved down to join the chin, as on two other Yorkshire specimens from the Attermire and Kelco Caves (nos. 39 and 38 respectively). Clearly, this a local aberration - probably a late one at that.

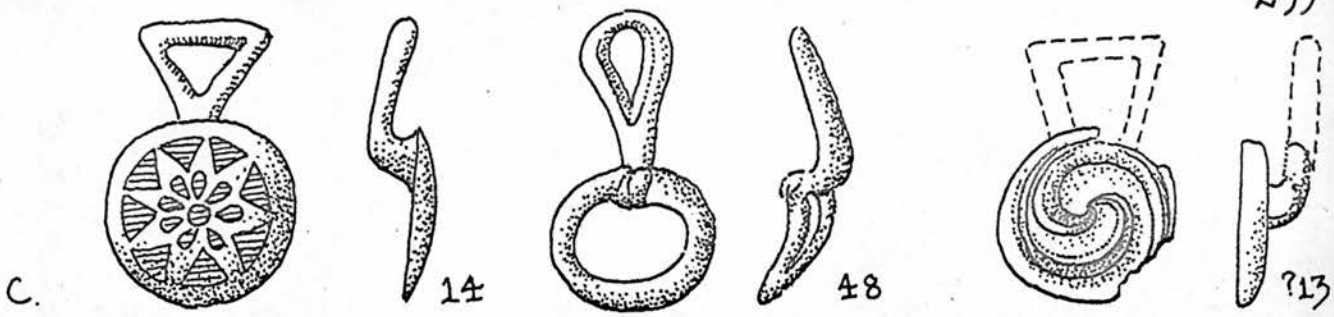
The third new find to merit attention is that from Faxfleet. Upon this, single row of squares type, the heads are neatly executed slender trumpets with pronounced domes. It is this last feature, coupled with an even more exaggerated form on a brooch from Brough-under-Stainmore (no. 22) which leads me to suspect some influence from the Continental

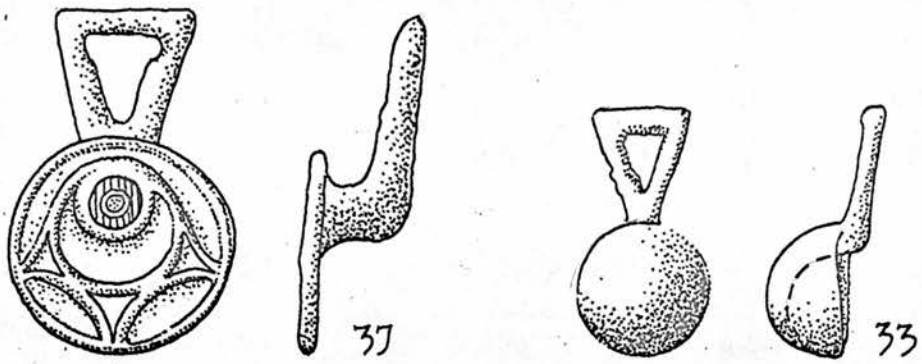
"trompetenmuster" as mentioned on page 454. A peak of popularity for this work was reached in the second century A.D., and Curle, concerned with representatives at Newstead was inclined to ascribe them all to the Antonine period or later; but this Gallo-Roman fashion was already in full swing in the first century A.D. and the wealth of pieces, both imports and one suspects local copies, from occupation debris at Corbridge leads me to suspect an earlier arrival in the country. Certainly it is to this category that we must turn for an explanation of the S brooch from Corbridge and the duplicate from Victoria Cave (Feachem's IIIa and b)

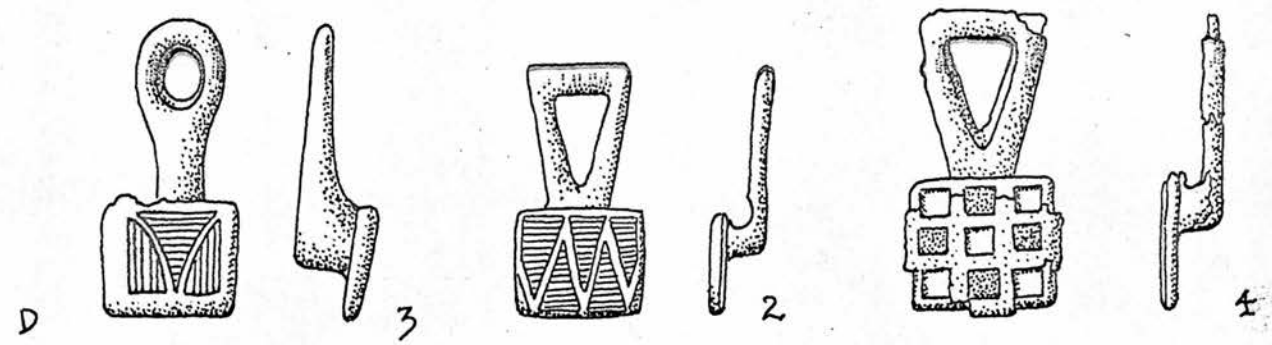
While on the subject of Continental influence, attention may be drawn to a delightful creature from South Shields which alone among dragonesque brooches truly deserves the description 'dragon'. I am inclined to regard this an import from Germany, where I note two specimens (there must be more) with characteristic slender shape and elongated crest. One from Worms (Lindenschmitt "Die Alterthumer...." vol. II : Band II : Heft VI : Taf. 5,5) possesses a head and a tail as opposed to two heads, and is adorned with rectangular cells of enamel;[36] the other from Zugmantel is less convincingly zoomorphic, but none the less relevant. It is probably to be dated to the period of Trajan or Hadrian (Romisch-Germanisch Kommission Bericht, 1908 - 11: Museographie fur das Jahr 1907 - 8 Abb. 6, 26). An added support for the foreign origin of our South Shields specimen lies in the two splendid triskele mounts from that same site (Blair 1883 : 90). Clearly of Continental manufacture, their recurved arms precisely reflect the 'dragon's' narrow muzzle and knobbed snouts.

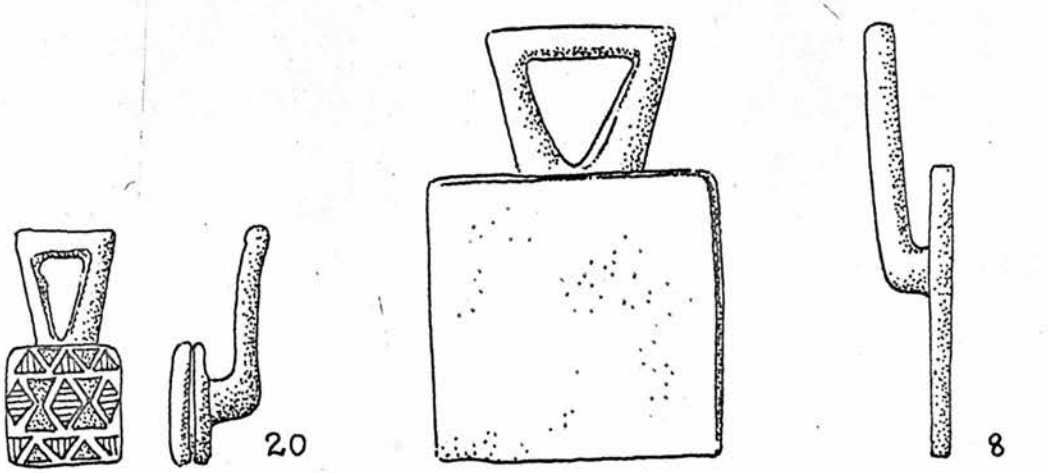
It remains to draw attention to those S brooches whose shape is obtained solely by the rolling up of a piece of wire - a sort of poor man's dragonesque brooch. They are found on sites productive of the real thing and are presumably contemporary. Proof lies in a fragment from Chesters (Chesters Museum no. 285) which combines the thickened body of a normal dragonesque brooch with terminals of cast coil form. Yet another, a complex looped specimen, with normal coiled terminals displays a knowledge of the wire head loop and collar of trumpet head-stud brooches - which is surprising as these three major brooch types are found in the same geographic area, draw on similar sources of inspiration, follow similar courses of popularity and degeneration and cover approximately the same range of time. With their aid we have been able to distinguish a continuance of tradition in design to the mid second century and a little beyond; it scarcely seems possible to penetrate farther.


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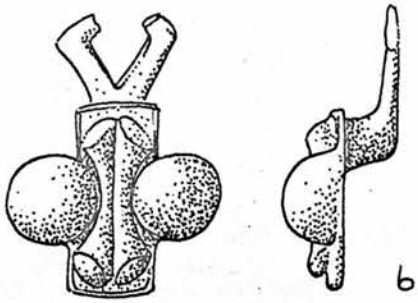




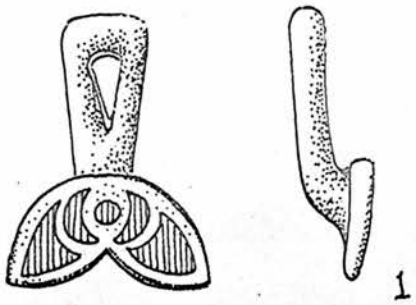




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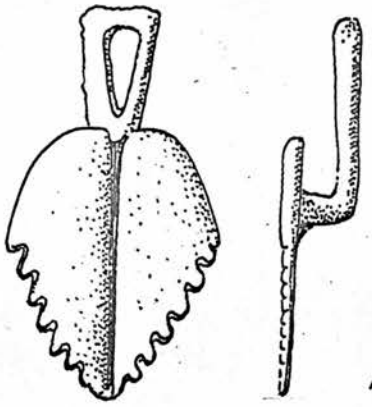


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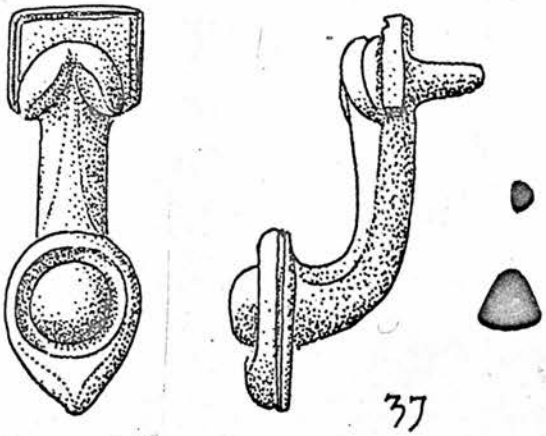


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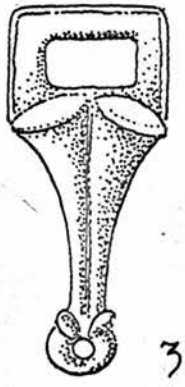
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II. Dress fasteners

A brief but penetrating study by Gillam (Richmond ed. 1958 : 79-90)mmust be the foundation for any further investigation of that curious series of objects called dress fasteners. Gillam's definition cannot be bettered - "a button with a pierced triangular shank; the shank springs from the centre of the back, is bent over at right angles into a plane parallel with the button and projects well beyond the edge". An average maximum length would lie between 1 and 1.5 inches; bronze is the chief material but rare specimens of bone are known. Enamelling is common.

Various suggestions have been made as to the use of the objects. Junction of two pliable surfaces - cloth or leather - is clearly intended, and the fragility of many examples precludes any great strain. Beyond these generalizations it is impossible to go. Specimens from the Stanwick and Middlebie hoards are best envisaged on ponies. On the other hand, a single specimen from the Roman cemetery at York was placed in a casket and proves a more personal application; the name therefore is rather misleading.

Gillam cites eighty examples. A revised list is appended here which approximately doubles the known numbers, and there must have been more. My additions do not however drastically change his conclusions, although they do reveal the picture to be more complicated than he perhaps imagined.

This author distinguished four different types of dress fastener according to head shape, whether double, petal, disc or square; 121 specimens conform to these categories; of the remainder, four are represented by loops wanting a

head, sixteen from Stanwick are for several reasons atypical (nos. 23 - 36 and 85 - 6 in that particular catalogue); and thirteen more from various sites are unique for one reason or another. Finally four mentioned in Gillam's list have not been traced for want of references; they are Chapel House Northumberland, Edgerston, Roxburgh (two examples) and Hagbourne Hill, Berkshire. The provisory total is 158. The 121 conforming specimens are divided into groups as following:-

Double : 7 examples
Petal : 38 examples
Square : 24 examples
Disc : 52 examples

The distribution pattern created in 1958 (op. cit. 83) is little altered. It reveals a thick concentration in Lowland Scotland and Northern England, a fair number in Yorkshire and the Welsh Marches, and a mere sprinkling in Southern England. Differing pictures emerge if one plots separately the various categories. Double-headed examples are seen to be very scattered, with as many representations in the South as in the North; on the other hand only four with petal heads are known South of a line from the Humber to the Mersey, and of the remainder precisely one half has been found North of the present Border. Square headed dress fasteners are scarcely represented at all in South England, and again their numbers are equally shared between Lowland Scotland and Northern England. Not so disc headed dress fasteners, of which thirteen come from the South and Wales, a much higher percentage from the Wall establishments and comparatively few (11) from Scotland. The reasons underlying this differential distribution will be clarified in the course of dating and in the attempt to establish an origin for the entire group.

The dress fastener is one of those awkward objects which sits on the fence between Roman and native archaeology Gillam describes this well - "when it appears at Drumashie beyond the farthest limits of Roman penetration, it carries a sense of Rome; when it appears at the Roman chartered town of Colchester it carries a sense of the Celtic North; at Traprain Law it is at home" - just how much at home is revealed by the thirty-one representatives from that site, and by the presence of moulds for their manufacture.

A glance at the appended list will show that approximately one third of all known dress fasteners have a native setting; but the proportion varies considerably from sub-group to sub-group. Four of the seven double-headed specimens (Glastonbury - two examples; Lakenheath and Lydney) possess an Iron Age background; sixteen of the thirty-eight petal types; thirteen of the twenty-four square-headed types; but only ten of the fifty-two disc fasteners are so equipped. In terms both of distribution and context, this last type is diverging from the previous three. The variety of native context by the way is quite astounding - dress fasteners have been found in hill forts, open settlement sites, one lake village, two crannogs, and several caves; Two have apparently accompanied burials and four metalwork hoards; this last number however can be augmented by the sixteen from Stanwick.

As is suggested by the distribution, Roman military sites have been most productive of dress fasteners; in the South, major towns take their place, but at least two villas (Folkstone and Castle Villa, Caernarvon) are know, to refute Gillam's stand on this theme.

Evidence for dating reveals an astonishingly long life and some variety in the chronological emphasis of each group. Two double-headed dress fasteners were found at Glastonbury lake village, whose life Hawkes would envisage as stretching from circa 150 B.C. to the Claudian invasion. A further two, from Lakenheath and Lydney may very well be pre-conquest also; on the other hand, the example from Brough must be Flavian, and those from Halton Chesters and South Shields are unlikely to precede the reign of Hadrian.

A bar-shaped variant upon the double-headed dress fastener was found at Eastburn in what appears to be a Yorkshire 'sword burial', which on the most conservative estimate cannot possibly be later than the early first century B.C.

The dating of petal dress fasteners is much more concentrated. By far the majority of the Traprain examples come from the late first - second century levels; those from Brough, Corbridge and Newstead must in the main be Flavian; those from Dunstanburgh and Chesters, Hadrianic; still others, from Wroxeter, could be either. A survival into the late second century is conceivable, but rests entirely upon the somewhat dubious evidence of the Traprain excavations.

Turning to square-headed examples, several from Wroxeter Corbridge and Traprain could belong to the last first century A.D.; more of the evidence however emphasizes the Hadrianic and Antonine periods (Stanwix, Chesters, Dunstanburgh, Red House, Corbridge). That from Golden Hill, Duntocher is almost certainly Antonine. Again, at Traprain, there is a vague hint of continuance into the late second century.

With disc-headed dress fasteners we return to a wide range once more. A small example with its accompanying hoard from Ringstead, Norfolk is usually attributed to the first half of the first century B.C. at least, and a lone specimen from Glastonbury upholds this claim to a pre-invasion presence. The Hod Hill four cannot stray far from this last event. The Corbridge examples are perhaps likely to be Flavian, those from Benwell, Chesters and Housesteads more definitely Hadrianic; that from Mumrills, Antonine. There seems to be evidence from Caerleon and Traprain for the type's occasional survival into the third or even fourth century.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above statements are as follows:-

(1) Double-headed and disc-headed dress fasteners have a claim to pre-conquest existence.

(2) Petal forms are most common in the Flavian and Hadrianic period.

(3) Square-headed in the Hadrianic - Antonine period.

(4) At which time despite single examples from Glastonbury and Ringstead the disc series is also at a clear peak of popularity.

Decorative details merit a little attention, first those of basic shape, then of internal and superficial adornment.

A number of dress fasteners belonging indiscriminately to the double and disc series make use of unadorned bosses. They are in fact small representatives of Leeds' 'boss style' in its purest form. It will be sufficient here to point out that this fashion of late first - early second century work

in North England and Lowland Scotland, is yet fore-shadowed in the domed pivot heads of Glastonbury and in the repousse decoration and enamelled knobs of South/eastern caskets and horse trappings respectively.

The subject of the petal outline, so often an accompaniment of bossing, has also been touched upon. Ultimately traceable to trumpet coils of the Llyn Cerrig plaque stage, in a rudimentary form it is met with on casket ornament from Santon and in horse trappings of the Stanwick hoard. All that is lacking in the last example is the final symmetry and total detachment from the linking stems.

Ring forms, of circular and petal outlines are rare; the idea may have been present in pre-conquest times (for example Lydney). A very high percentage of the known specimens is confined to the Stanwick hoard, where lip mouldings are attached to the ring surfaces. This last feature may account for details of the Caerleon and Traprain representatives of this small group; but a rememberance of two-part manufacture could easily be responsible, the stems or shanks having been simply wound round the head.

The simpler forms of enamel detail displayed by rare members of the double-headed and petal series and by a large number of square-headed dress fasteners can be traced back to the early cellular work of the South as revealed by the Saham Toney and Neath hoards and by individual horse trappings of similar background from Westhall, West Stowe, Chepstow, and unlocated members of the series in the British Museum and Uffizi Museum respectively. One of the most telling resemblances is that between the square-headed dress fastener (no. D22 in the accompanying list) from Wroxeter

and the decoration of the quadrilobe mount in the Saham Toney hoard. All save this last motif are echoed on North English or South Scottish products other than dress fasteners - the cruciform pattern of the South Shields (A7) on Middlebie mount no. 20 , the bull's eye motif of a Corbridge disc-headed dress fastener on the Embleton scabbard, the interlocked triangles of Chesters (E2 in our catalogue) on platform terrets from Birrens; while the concave sided triangle surrounded by three vesicae, which adorn a pair of petal dress fasteners from Traprain (B30 and 31) is almost exactly paralleled on the Thorpe sword hilt.

Finally, note the similarity of enamelled lay-out displayed by the South Shields and Drumashie dress fasteners on the one hand and Pitkelloney and Castle Newe armlets on the other; add to this the actual find spot of the Drumashie dress fastener and its association with a massive strap junction (no. 32); could it not be that, through the eminently portable medium of the dress fastener, the makers of massive armlets learnt to add an exotic touch of colour to their products?

A few dress fasteners display much more ambitious use of enamel for design in the Celtic vein. The swash N upon one from Chesters (D1) is best paralleled on a head-stud brooch from Corbridge; an unfinished casting of the square-headed type from Stanwix (D8) is large enough to support an even more elaborate motif; and a disc-headed specimen from Milton Loch Crannag (C37) combines a bull's eye motif with an arrangement of vesicae and curved triangles which recalls the Drunashie strap junction.

Nothing has been said about the enamelled daisy patterns

which adorn most disc dress fasteners. As they occur nowhere else on objects of native affiliation, and moreover are usually absent in purely native contexts, they would seem to be a native attempt perhaps to cater for the Roman market. Gillam's "sense of Rome" even more clearly enfolds two disc-headed examples from Corbridge (unpublished) and Chesters (C10); the former is lightly punched with a bedraggled eagle, the latter is a converted roundel with mask decoration almost identical to that on the Bowalton Loch patera (Toynbee 1964 : plate LXXV, c) whose Italian manufacture is attested by the stamp of Publius Cipius Polibius.

It is therefore true to say that decoration of a native flavour adorns dress fasteners of the petal and square-headed group; whereas, with the exception of rare 'boss' members, those of the disc class are more Romano-British or even Roman in this respect.

Seven of the unique dress fasteners require attention. That from Carlisle was compared by Henry to the decorative motifs displayed on a vase-headed linch pin in Saffron Walden Museum (1933 : 88 fig. 11, 1); in fact each design is really a pair of trumpet heads, sharing the one central dome. Such an arrangement is of course well-known in the inter-Wall region where two such motifs, linked by a cross-over stem, form the plump version of swash N on the Birrenswark bit (no. 2) for example. On a dress fastener from Lochspouts Crannog paired bosses flank another familiar motif - the 'muzzle' pattern formed by conjoined slender trumpets; this, it will be remembered, has been found in a Flavian - Trajanic context, and also in a mid second century one. The motif is employed on another unique dress

fastener from Traprain, whose concealed strap bar is akin to many in the Stanwick hoard, as well as to a square-headed example from Richborough. The single specimen from the Middlebie hoard is undoubtedly of petal form; but internal details are of interest. Both the knob with enamel inset upon its summit and the milled collar which adorns its tip are to be encountered on the strap junction from Carlisle (no. 16). The diagonal bar is not so easily paralleled , although the idea of filling the void does occur on several of the Stanwick specimens.

No native content can explain the Hop Pringle dress fastener. Rather is it a metal version of the stylized vine leaf so favoured by the designers of early decorative Samian ware.[37]

There remain three objects whose structure relates to dress fasteners but whose size and decorative appearance is foreign to the group. That from Newstead (No. 228) was found in the Flavian filling of Pit LIX; the remaining two are without location, but may have come from the fort of Bertha. As Curle remarked (1911 : 303) the Celtic affinities of the Newstead specimen are open to doubt; indeed nos. 228 and 230 in their original state must have resemble bunches of grapes; while the triangular drop shape of all three recalls Roman harness pendants (op. cit. plate LXXV, 10 for instance). Yet I am inclined to endorse native manufacture for all and a preponderantly native inspiration for two at least (nos. 228 & 230). What could be more 'bossy' than their surfaces in the intact state? The effect is not unknown in earlier Iron Age contexts - the Polden Hill trace hooks for instance, and an unpublished strap junction from Caistor-by-Yarmouth. In addition, the Newstead example reveals

milling of its end mouldings, which recalls that of a lipped terret from the same site, as well as of course beaded torcs from Carlisle etc. This same specimen has twin 'creases' which relate to the swag-and-drop feature of the Balmaclellan mirror (no. 239) and Brough pommel (no. 129); and must also in its original state have displayed a bull's eye arrangement of enamel in the centre of its upper margin. Of the more northerly specimens, one (no. 230) seems to reflect a knowledge of the petal motif in its outline. The other (no. 229) is a totally different kettle of fish. Once more its knobs relate to the prevalent 'bossiness' of the late first - early second century; its paltry enamelling to the thin washes of colour on contemporary brooches; but its openwork is pure 'tkompetenmuster', not only in the heavy-mouthed trumpet forms with slender stems but also in their actual composition.

The problem of origin for dress fasteners is a complex one. They were apparently made and used (for whatever purpose) by people of Southwestern and eastern second B cultures. Yet it is only after the Roman invasion of 43 A.D. that they achieve a notable popularity, Bulleid and Gray (1911 : 219) claimed to have found Continental prototypes in the finds from Marin lake dwelling in Switzerland. This reference is not available to me, but there are possible antecedents from the better known site of La Tène (Vouga 1923 : 34 - 6 etc.); and yet a harried, guide-ridden visit to the Museum of Pompeii this summer brought to my attention copious numbers of bone disc-headed dress fasteners, identical to the example from Ham Hill. This situation is not clarified by the presence of many dress fasteners in the Roman forts of Pannonia and German Limes.[38] At Saalburg, Zugmantel etc.

such finds are likely to belong to the early second century when the interchange of auxiliaries between Britain and the Continent were commonplace. All are the familiar disc-headed type of dress fastener which we have come to recognize as more Roman than native; but one double -headed specimen, precisely similar to that from Halton Chesters has been found in the Claudian - Neronian setting of Hofheim (Ritterling 1913 : Taf. XIX, 13). It may be that the comparable British dress fasteners from Glastonbury, Lakenheath and Lydney did not pre-date the Roman invasion by many years, so that the claim to unaided British development of this type is weakened; but we cannot so demolish the Eastburn and Ringstead finds.

This discussion has posed more problems than can be answered at present. The dress fastener is an insufficiently distinctive type to claim a unique origin; otherwise it might be regarded as an unusual piece of Roman borrowing from a Celtic context for use even in the homeland itself.

III. LOOPED STUDS.

Many of the foregoing statements and conclusions may be applies also to a series of small studs, from whose under-sede emerge curved or angular loops. While a dress fastener in Romano-British couture fulfilled the function of a hook, so the stud must be a button. No attempt has been made to collect these common objects, but a short list is appended which will give an approximate idea of the form assumed. It will be noted that the studs fall into precisely the same categories as dress fasteners, according to the decorative motif employed.

The petal form differs in minor points. Where used singly to conceal the strap loop, its outline is a pointed oval, rather than pear-drop shape; its origin in two trumpet forms coiled around the one roundel is particularly noticeable in the asymmetry of one from Newstead (Curle 1911: plate LXXV, 2); several from Traprain such as Miss Burney's No. 322 retain the moulded distinction between trumpet and dome. Still other studs consist of paired petals, joined at their rounded ends; in this case the form is identical to that of petal dress fasteners. Ring versions of both single and double types are also known. The latter, Traprain No. 326, displays shrunken bosses at the rounded ends of the petals; Miss Burley viewed this as a degenerate trait; but it is suspiciously like the arrangement of boss, petal and void favoured by cruciform mounts from Middlebie (No. 20), and Saham Toney, not normally considered 'late'.

None of the petal studs contributes materially to the date indicated for petal dress fasteners; but neither does any one contradict it.

Concerning square studs, little need be said. One from Traprain (No. 334) bears a lozenge pattern in red and blue enamel, which we have already encountered on many inter-Wall products - platform terrets, harness mounts, brooches, etc.. Yet another colourful example (this time blue and yellow) from Kirkby Thore, Westmorland, displays a raised central row of cells. This interesting trick is met with on horse trappings such as the unlocated one illustrated by Kemble (1863: Plate XIX, 5).[39]

Disc headed studs may be single or double like their petal counterparts. Double specimens from Carrawburgh, Newstead and Mildenhall are in perfectly good 'boss' style. Three variations on the disc theme assume a rosette shape. That from Traprain with its segments defined by radial, rib-edged grooves is important for its relationship with the Balmaclellan and Newstead rosette forms (Nos. 307 & 299) and, as Miss Burley realised, with the Lochar Moss beaded torc (Nos. 189). It is not difficult, however, to envisage some Roman influence in view of the mail mounts from Stanwick hoard (Nos. 118 and 119). The stud from Wroxeter is quite comparable, though apparently of a later date than one would imagine - after 150 A.D.

As with dress fasteners, there are several studs which defy allocation to any group; such are the peculiarly Roman cockleshells from Lowbury Hill, Berkshire (Atkinson 1916 : plate XIII, 39) and a satyr mask now in Corbridge Museum.

With such a generalised object, it would be futile to discuss cultural affiliations. It is sufficient to say that these studs merely augment the distribution pattern of dress fasteners.

IV. DUMB-BELL BUTTONS.

During his lecture to the participants of the Iron Age Conference (held in Edinburgh, 1961) Gillam referred to a series of small dumb-bell shaped objects; and quoted their distribution as support for his inter-Wall school of metalworking. I suspect that he had in mind the bronze type - only rarely executed in bone - measuring between 0.75

and 1" in length, with well defined terminal knobs and central bar of cylindrical section; frequently, collars defined these three parts.

I know of only thirteen examples, but suspect that there may be more. With one exception, they are to be found in North England and Lowland Scotland where the majority come from Roman contexts; the geographical exception is a specimen from Wroxeter,[40] and the native 'strays' are from a midden site at Ghegan Rock, from the Settle caves and from Traprain. Very few have been honoured by any record of their stratigraphical position. The Traprain examples occurred at late first/second, and late second century levels respectively; that from Wroxeter is more likely to occupy the former time span. Our third century date is allocated to the specimen from Brough-under-Stainmore, but I suspect this to rely upon an accompanying disc brooch, whose triskele decoration has been considered more likely in the second century (page 278).

An origin may well lie in those small toggles with a central loop found at Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray 1911 : 220, fig. 44), Meare (Bulleid and Gray 1953 vol. 11 : plate XLVI, E26 and E125), Hengistbury Head (Bushe-Fox 1915 : 61 and plate XXIX, 9) and Colchester (unpublished; now in the British Museum).[41]

We have ample evidence of the use of simple dumb-bell buttons by the native occupants of Scotland; less elegantly designed, these specimens are usually of horn, bone or occasionally re-used Roman glass, and occurred not only at Newstead but also, more Characteristically, in the cave sites of Borness and Archerfield, Gurness Broch and Lochlee crannog. Where it is possible to wrest from these contexts a hint as to date, the late first or second centuries seem indicated.

To summarise, the dumb-bell button may be a 'home grown' fastening for clothes. In the more sophisticated Romano-British milieu of Lowland Scotland or northern England, it assumes characteristics of the local boss style of decoration; in more native context, its ornamental value dwindles. Its continuance into the Dark Ages would seem to be assured for Ireland at any rate by finds from Lagore and Clones (Hencken 1950 : 139, fig. 67/1471 and J.H.A.A.I. 5, X(1900) 224, No. 10).

Five neat bone objects from Corbridge and Chesters - and a further two apparently from the Romano-British site of Hambledon, Bucks. (Cocks 1921 : 196) - resemble yet are not strictly dumb-bell buttons. In each , one end consists of a small flat disc; the other usually a small knob. The general effect is of a modern collar stud. Such objects are definitely Roman: they occur in considerable numbers at Pompeii.

V. PINS.

As in the case of brooches, quantity and complexity preclude a detailed study of pins in our northern Iron Age context. The pioneer studies are those of Smith (1903 - 5 : 344 - 54) and Dunning (1934 : 269 - 95), upon whose findings Stevenson has based his important contribution (1955 : 282 - 94). Distribution maps are provided by Mrs. Fowler (1960 : 162, fig. 8 and 168 fig. 13).

There are, of course, many forms of pin represented by a single or a few specimens only; for instance, one from Kirkby Thore,

Westmorland, has a coiled wire head whose relationship to Feacham's 'S' fibulae is clear; but by far the most significant group is that of ring-headed pins, whose life span in Britain covers well over a thousand years.

The basic form is that in which the ring head lies in the same plane as the pin shank; the rare crook-headed version is clearly related. Both bronze and iron are employed; wire and cast versions are equally represented. There is, however, no proof that material or execution technique has any chronological significance.

At least fifteen examples have been found in Scotland, ranging from Roxburgh in the south to Inverness in the north, and within this belt, from both west and east coasts. The majority are from hillforts with timber-laced walls, less commonly with simple revetted-rampart construction.[42] The locations of stray examples such as Clairinch, Loch Lomond (C.M.Piggott 1949 - 50; 130) and Eignag, Inverness (Dunning 1934 : 283, fig. 7, 4) do not detract from the suspicion that here we have yet another small ingredient of Childe's "Abernethy Complex"; whose La Tene I(c) brooches and spiral rings have elsewhere received attention (page 256 & 391). An elaborate cast specimen from Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6 : 167 No. 95) must have been an heirloom when deposited in an upper level of that site; its minutely knurled edges are comparable with those of a heavy cast ring from Dunagoil, Bute (unpublished). The type is unique to Britain, developing in the fourth century B.C. out of the Hallstatt form designated 'swan's neck'; an unprovenanced specimen of this rare type, now in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, should be put on record. Popular in both A and B cultures

of the south (see Wheeler 1943 : 267 - 70), its route to the north is perhaps pin pointed by a find from Merthyr Mawr, Glam. Elaborate cast versions of slightly later date and larger size are met with in the East Second B cemeteries of Yorkshire (for example Danes Graves Fox 1958 : Plate 9, B and Sawdon Dunning 1934 : 277 fig. 4, 10), thus providing an alternative source for our large, stray specimen from Carsphairn, Galloway (P.S.A.S. XLVI 1911 - 12 : 179 - 80).

The idea of heightening the pin's decorative impact at one side is an English development; witness the application of a coral stud to the bent shank of the Danes Graves example, or the sprouting head ring of a specimen from Holt, Worcs. (Allies 1856 : 149 plate 4,7); but it was in Ireland that the summit of achievement was reached with specimens illustrated by Crawford (1922 : 178 - 9), Dunning (1934 : 285, fig. 8 and plate 1) and Seaby (1964 : 68, fig. 1, 69, fig. 2). This last author would envisage a continuance into the first or even early second century A.D. - an opinion supported by the keeled openwork triskele of one unlocated specimen, now in Belfast (op. cit. 69, fig. 2a); its similarity to the scabbard mount from Lambay Island requires no comment. I am uncertain as to the significance of a comparable pin, recently found in a 'Cairnfield Cemetery' at Alnham, Northumberland, and await Mr. Jobey's conclusion with interest; but, no doubt, can possibly be cast on the Irish manufacture of an example from the Island of Coll, now unfortunately lost (P.S.A.S. XV 1880 - 1); and a second recent discovery from Sassaig Sleat, Skye, now in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.

Our second form of ring pin whose head projects forward

from the shank is encountered in considerable quantities in Scotland. Once again its history may be traced back to the Coral-set, involuted versions of third century Britain, such as that from Cold Kitchen Hill (Dunning 1934 : 279 : fig. 5, 2). At this stage, interaction between the two forms of ring-headed pin is proved by the parallel development of their decoration, although the projecting head series apparently never reached Ireland.

The presence of projecting ring-headed pins in Scotland is revealed by actual specimens, by moulds and by their impression upon pottery. Again, both bronze and iron, both wire and cast forms are found. At least two have occurred in or near vitrified forts (Dun Fheurain, Argyll Anderson 1894 - 5 : 282, fig. 5; and The Lawes, Angus P.S.A.S. XVII 1882 - 3 : 301, fig. 2); but it would be safe to say that the majority have turned up in later contexts. The six known examples and three moulds from Traprain are from second to fourth century levels (Burley 1955 - 6 : 167 - 8); the head of an iron specimen was recovered from the Moredun cist, in which lay also a (?) 'dolphin' brooch (Coles 1903 - 4 : 433, fig. 5). One from Jarlshof, Shetland came from a wheel-house of immediately post-broch date (Hamilton 1956 : 64, fig. 34). Further wheelhouses in the Hebrides have been productive (Stevenson 1955 : 288) as has the Midhowe broch, Orkney (Callander 1933 - 4 : 500 fig. 44, 1 - 3); and it was in settlements such as these that pins were employed for pot decorating (Young 1952 - 3 : Pl. IX). Finds at Dunadd, Argyll (Christison, Anderson and Ross 1904 - 5 : 316, fig. 49) and Sithean a Fhiobaire, S. Uist make Stevenson suspect a continuance even as late as the 7th century A.D. or beyond (1955 : 289).

From this long-lived type stem a variety of pins, the decorative treatment of whose projecting head permits their description as rosette, proto-hand and ibex.

In the first small group, the simple ring is replaced by a series of conjoined pellets, which may be large or small in size. Traprain has produced eight (of which one is an unfinished casting) and one actual mould to prove their manufacture on the Law. All are firmly dated to the 3rd. and 4th. centuries and help us to date further. examples from Coveaea Cave, Moray (Benton 1930 - 1 : 194 - 5 and fig.16, 3), Lingrow broch, Orkney and a stray from Tentsmuir in Fife.

A further series with three to six 'beads' cast on the upper part of the ring only has been termed proto-hand pin by Stevenson to emphasise its part in the development of the well known hand-pin, itself beyond the scope of our brief survey. The type is again well represented at Traprain by actual castings and moulds while single specimens are as far flung as N. Uist, Morayshire, Northumberland and Ireland. Arising out of the rosette type, it is scarcely like to be earlier than the 4th. century. Raftery (1951 : 202 - 3) has ingeniously drawn attention to the similarity between proto-hand pin heads and beaded torcs such as Lochar Moss, drawing support for the comparison from the narrow, spacer-like fillets which lie between each pair of 'beads'. It will be remembered, however, that beaded torcs are predominantly a fashion of the late 1st. - mid 2nd. century, and that within this time span, it is those torcs with circular sectioned neck rods --- not girder --- which lay most convincing claim to a late date.

There remains the complex problem of the ibex-headed pin

and its related forms. True versions display three waisted beads in the lower ring section and a corrugated upper hoop. For long allocated to an early phase in the development of projecting ring headed pins (and thus affording an alternative origin for the proto-hand series), this type has now been allocated to the 4th. century A.D. Stevenson has successfully undermined the evidence for its early appearance at Newnham, Cambs. and Sandy, Beds., although I am not entirely happy with this dismissal of the 1st. century A.D. association at Dunfanaghy Co. Donegal (Graham and Jope 1950 : 54 - 6). The type is rarely encountered in southern England. At present the majority of find spots are Irish and only one is known from Scotland (Benton 1930 - 1: 195, fig. 16, 8) but related forms are recorded from Covesea, Moray. (op. cit. 195, fig. 16, 10), Bowermadden broch and Reay, Caithness (P.S.A.S., IX, 1870 - 1 : 247 and P.S.A.S, LXI, 1926 - 7 : 109 - 10 respectively). Its last gasp may be registered by a triple horned specimen from the wheel-house of Bruthach a Tuath, Banbecula (Stevenson 1955 : 289, fig.B, 13).

In conclusion, the ring headed pin was brought to Scotland by the earliest Iron Age immigrants. It undergoes a long series of decorative experiments at the hand of the Votadini of Traprain and the nameless occupants of brochs and wheelhouses far to the north; and emerges transformed in the Hiberno-Scottish floruit of the 7th. and 8th. centuries.

The only other pin which deserves brief mention is the zoomorphic or more correctly proto-zoomorphic form. Eight examples emerged during the Traprain excavations; further Scottish representatives

are known from Covesea (Benton 1930 - 1 : 187, fig. 9, 9) and the Roman fort of Newstead (Curle 1911 : Pl. XCII, 11) and rare specimens are found in the Wall or Stanegate forts such as Halton Chesters (Smith 1960 : 23, and Pl. XI) and Corbridge (Headley 1923 - 4 : opp . 205, IV). One from Yorkshire, a couple from south-west England and an unlocated example from Ireland complete the list. Their very presence in quantity at Traprain supports the northern claim --- whether lowland Scottish or military zone --- to the invention of proto-zoomorphism on the clearly related penannular broches. At this site, pins with rounded head treatment and only vague animal appearance, come from the lowest, that is late 1st. - 2nd. century levels; while the angular and highly developed versions appear in a suitably later context; the Newstead example is apparently an Agricolan loss. It is quite possible that duck heads, such as on the Ballymoney mirror handle (Jope 1954 : 92 - 6) and Culbin Sands mount (No.251) partook in the development of zoomorphism.

VI. FINGER RINGS.

The appearance of spiral finger rings in north Britain has attracted the attention of Mrs. Piggott (1949 - 50 : 131 - 3) and Jope (1957 : 79 - 81), both of whom provide distribution maps. The appended, doubtless incomplete list is based upon their findings and upon a basic collection of the material by Bulleid and Gray (1911 :

209 - 12).

I know of twenty-eight examples whose claim to native as opposed to Roman manufacture is strong. The majority of specimens are executed in bronze although two gold examples come from Buston. The number of coils in each varies from two and a half to four, the section is normally rounded and there is occassional surface detail in the form of transverse striations and/or a rounding and constriction of the terminals. One specimen from Dunsinnan, Perth. seems to have carried this proto-zoomorphism to its logical conclusion; the eyes and scales of a serpent were 'carved regularly and very minutely' on the back; unfortunately the ring is lost.

A high percentage of native spiral finger rings have been found in lowland Scotland and immediatley to the north in Perthshire; there are outliers however in Argyllshire, Morayshire, Caithness and Sutherland. It will be noted that no conclusively pre-Roman specimen is known from north England.

As regards the contexts of their discovery, five have come from hillforts, seven from oppidum of Traprain, six from crannogs, three from brochs; the full complement is reached by means of two from a hoard, three from graves (of which - Watten - is dubious) and a single stray from the Culbin Sands.

Viewed alone, the type is extremely difficult to date; but a glance at the hillfort sites which have produced spiral finger rings --- Castle Law, Dunagoil, Dun Fheurain, Dunsinnan and the Laws --- is sufficient to indicate that here is yet another facet of 'Childe'st

'Abernethy' complex. The problematic dating of this first Iron Age invasion of Scotland has already been touched upon in connexion with La Tène Ic brooches (p. 256) and so needs no elaboration here.

The south of England is clearly the source from which our spiral finger rings are to be derived. Popularity among both Iron Age B and Belgic peoples is attested by copious finds at Glastobbury (Wheeler 1943 : 265, fig. 86, 10 - 27). In Dorset, the type continues well into the Roman period; at Colchester, seven examples belong to the period 43 - 61 A.D. (Hawkes and Hull 1947 : 330 and Pl. XCIX, 1). It is not surprising, therefore, to meet spiral finger rings in a variety of Scottish sites, such as crannogs to which generally speaking, a later date is affixed by the presence of Samian ware etc.. The only rings, however, to which a relatively close date may be awarded are those from Granton and Lamberton Moor; the former accompanied a penannular brooch of D4 type (Fowler 1960 : 167), known to have been devised in the early 1st. century A.D. and largely superseded by type D5 at the close of the same century; the latter pair was found with Romano-British brooches of the late 1st. - early 2nd. century and Antonine paterae.

The absence of spiral finger rings from the archaeological record of north-eastern England favours a western route for their original arrival in Scotland; and this is strengthened by rare finds in Wales, such as that from Dinorben, Denbigh. (Gardner and Savory 1964 : 135) and by the Irish finds listed by Jope in his discussion of the important Donaghadee burial (1957 : 73 - 94) --- which last by the way combined a spiral ring with a La Tène III brooch of c. 50 A.D.

The popularity of such trinkets in later years is confused by Roman fashion. There are numerous rings from Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh (Budge 1907 : 393, no. 69 - 82) and even a broken example from Corbridge (unpublished) which are indistinguishable from the native type. Several specimens from Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6 : 173 - 4, nos. 147 - 53) are distinguished from their native precursors by a Roman predilection for silver; as a general rule however, the snake content of Roman spiral rings is higher. A native origin for this Roman fashion is not necessary as the type has respectable Hellenistic ancestry; it finally disappears in the late 2nd. century, while the native equivalent apparently survives into post Roman times (Charlesworth 1961 : 10 - 11).

I suspect that spiral finger rings played some part in the development of spiral armlets; for instance, in the alternation of ribbed and plain coils as displayed by examples from Dun Fheurain and Buston, although this last site is a notoriously dangerous one from a chronological point of view (Stevenson 1955 : 283). The ring from Dunsinnan is of particular importance to the argument, hinting as it does at a possible local and early origin for the bracelets without any need for intervention of Snailwell-like products from the south; but the mere fact of its discovery in a 'vitrified' fort does not necessarily prove its early date --- witness the discovery of Samian sherds in the Dun Fheurain midden. The Dunsinnan ring could just as easily have been a development contemporary with the spiral armlets themselves, rather than a precursor.

Two rings of non-spiral form demand brief mention. One was found under a stone near the edge of the Wardlaw Cairn, Ayrshire

(No. 232); the other is a stray find from Forfar. (No. 231) Neither has an unadulterated claim to native manufacture.

The addition of a bezel, be it round, oval or square, is a Roman trait. In several native copies the engraved gem is replaced by less costly and more readily available enamel. Six examples are known from Traprain (Burley 1955 - 6 : 174, no. 154 - 9) of which several are from the lower levels, and solitary examples occur in Victoria Cave, Settle (Boyd Dawkins 1874: frontis. fig. 4) and as strays in the Culbin Sands, Moray. and Tentsmuir, Fife (Callander 1932 - 3 : 32 - 3, and fig. 8, 1 and 3). The type culminates in those millefiori specimens from Ireland which O'Riordain published in 1947 (53, fig. 4 and Pl.II,4).

The Wardlaw ring, a massive casting devoid of any inset, whether precious or not, may likewise be a native copy of a Roman type adorned with bezel only and lacking in gem insertion. Such rings are frequently executed in jet; but an extremely close analogy is provided by a bronze specimen from South Shields which Charlesworth would consign to the 3rd. century A.D. (1961 : 13 and Pl. II, 17). In particular the modelling of the hoop is very similar.

The second finger ring is altogether a more delicate affair. Once more the presence of a bezel reveals Roman influence, but application of openwork to its adornment is extremely rare (op. cit. 16 - 17). The motif is a simple, keeled triskele whose like we have already met with on an openwork(?) brooch from Clova (No.227). It will be sufficient to summarise the dilemma there dealt with. On the one hand legitimate comparisons may be drawn with the Group V scabbard mount from Lambay Island and with the Trawsfynydd tankard hold fast.

On the other hand, such a motif and treatment is greatly favoured by Gallo-Roman imports of, at the earliest, the last years of the 1st. century A.D. At present it is impossible to choose between these two alternative inspirations.

VII PENDANTS.

Of neck-ornaments other than torcs and collars, there is little trace in Early Iron Age Britain. A bronze petal shape with enamelled centre and perforation for hanging round the neck was apparently found in Merioneth (Arch.J., VIII, 1851 : 219). One only need concern us --- a jet roundel from Lochspouts crannog, Ayrshire (No.233).

The use of jet or shale for a variety of major ornaments is, of course, quite common. In the north examples would be the fashion for armlets of that material, the large pin heads which, for instance, accompanied a massive torret and spear butt from Crichie, Aberdeenshire (Nos. 107 & 166); and the occassional fat ring such as Stanwick No. 143 which itself may be a sort of pendant. Nor is the flat disc-like form with projecting suspension loop totally unknown in Early Iron Age contexts --- witness the coral inlaid specimen from Queen's Barrow, Arras (Fox 1958 : Pl. 9a).

It would be true to say, however, that the elaborate carving of jet is a feature of the Romano-British period and of the 2nd. - 4th. centuries in particular. No jet finger ring is earlier than this and to this period belong such products as the jet melon bead and articulated bracelets (Kenyon 1948 : 270 and fig. 94, 2) and, of course,

the Medusa pendants (Home 1924 : Pl. opp. 176). As their name suggests, these last may be relevant in shape, but are not in decorative content; non-figurative forms of pendant are, however, known in Roman contexts; a rosetted example for instance, was found at Red Ven, Forest Gate near Marlborough (Devizes Mus., unpublished).

It is likely, therefore, that some element of Roman influence is present in the pendant under discussion. Its cruciform fill is, on the other hand, equally at home in Celtic and Roman repertoires. Analogies are cited on pages 25 and 26 of the Stanwick report so that it will be sufficient here to note the motif's magical properties in the eyes of both races. The ring-and-dot adornment is executed with a bit drill and can be related to bone working techniques as displayed by weaving combs, toggles, etc. The geographically closest applications of this techniques are probably those upon a toggle from Borness, Kircudbright. (Corrie, Clark and Hunt 1873 - 4 : Pl. XXI,32) and a whistle from Dunagoil (Mann 1925 : Pl. X 50).

Supported by the facts that from Lochspouts crannog there are no finds demonstrably earlier than the last years of the 1st. century A.D., and that 2nd. century Samian and medieval sherds have turned up on the site, it is reasonable to relegate this piece to the 2nd. - 4th. century; keeping in mind always a possibility of manufacture in the post-Roman period, about whose fashions I admit a total ignorance.

1. Bonchester Hill,Roxb. (C.M.Piggott 1949-50: 122,fig.6,2); Castle Law,Abernethy,Perth.(Christison & Anderson 1898-9: 32,fig.17); Dun Fheurain,Argyll(Anderson 1894-5: 282-3); Dunagoil,Bute(Mann 1925: Pl.43 & 44,1); Rahoy,Argyll(Childe Thorneycroft 1937-8: 40,fig.10).
2. As defined by Dunning in R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler 1932: 69-71.
3. Piggott rightly envisages(1957-8: 74) the above-mentioned brooch type as ancestral to an Irish specimen from Navan Rath (Armstrong 1923: 13,fig.8,1); in view of the lone Scottish representative it seems unlikely that north Britain acted as intermediary.
4. e.g. Haverfield 1919: Pl.1,6a ; Hildyard 1954: 73-4,no.2; this last from Rudston is the most northerly representative of the Hod Hill type which,in the south,scarcely outlasts the reign of Nero but which here was associated with a typically 2nd. century brooch.
5. The knobbed terminal is another unusual feature for a dolphin brooch but is paralleled by a strange pair,one functional and one dummy among the Lambay Island finds(Macalister 1949: 246,fig.35,5 & 6); and by a late silver specimen from Manchester(Watkin 1880-1: 221).
6. It is interesting to note that the last-mentioned object was found in association with a hinged dolphin brooch allbeit an undecorated one(Cox 1891b: 103-5).
7. The title,applied to the gilt bronze specimen alone,is misleading but traditional.
8. There is one perfectly good example in the Kelvingrove Mus., Glasgow,for which however a findspot is not available; were it local,it would be of considerable interest.
10. Only one other is so equipped--an enamelled specimen from Wylye Camp,Wilts.(Goddard 1908: 405 & fig.24).
11. The peculiarly tortuous form of trumpet coil is approached by detail on the St.Albans and Battersea scabbard mouths of Piggott's Group V.

12. No chronological significance is of course attached to this comparison.
13. The best analogy for this tortuous form of trumpet coil is to be found on a casket strip from Kettering(Bull 1911: opp. 500,No.2).
14. The Aesica brooch beast is of course too late to have influenced the earliest trumpet brooch attempts; the opposite is more likely to be the case.
15. Corbridge(unpublished); Traprain(Burley 1955-6: 156,no.14); Bonsall,Derby.(DAJ,XXXI,1909: 224 & Pl.); exports are common---London(London Mus. Catalogue,III,1930: 97.fig.28,28); and Heddernheim(Collingwood 1930b : 51,fig.8).
16. e.g. Traprain(Burley 1955-6: 156; nos.13 & 16).
17. The only other trumpet brooch of comparable size comes from the vicinity of Perth(Callander 1917-18: 29,fig.3); this piece posesses a cylindrical spring cover and huge head loop; the similarity to the Aesica brooch is heightened by surface modelling reminiscent of muzzle detail.
18. e.g. the Birrenswark bit,Corbridge ovoid mount and High Rochester elongated strap junction.
19. The Richborough specimen mentioned; Lanarkshire(Kelvingrove Mus.,Glasgow); Lochlee crannog(Munro 1882: 130,fig.143).
20. e.g. The Richborough specimens; Dalnotter Estate,Dumbarton. (Kelvingrove Mus.,Glasgow).
21. This motif it will be remembered played a considerable part in the development of the plump swash-N.
22. Another must surely be Castor Ware; note the recurved coils of a vessel now in Peterborough Mus.(Haverfield 1905-6: opp. 200,fig.9).
23. Lancing,Sussex(Leeds 1933: fig.30a); Santon,Suffolk(Clarke 1960: 105,fig.27); Westhall,Suffolk(Clarke 1939: 66,fig.12); Wookey Hole,Somerset(Balch: 1910 :565).
24. Brough,Westm.(RCAM,Westm.,1936: xxxix,A10); Cold Kitchen

Hill,Wilts.(Devizes MUs. Cat.Pt.II,1934: 128-9 & fig.23); Wigginholt,Sussex(Goodchild 1941: 1-8).

25. Brough,Westm.(RCAM,Westm,1936: xxxix,A8; B.M.Guide to Ant. of Roman Britain,1958: 23,fig.11,39 ; Leeds 1933: fig.36a); Corbridge(Knowles,Forster & Haverfield 1909: 406,fig.22); Doncaster,W.R.Yorks.(Doncaster Mus.); Richborough,Kent(Bushe Fox 1949: Pl.XLV,no.170); Settle,W.R.Yorks.(Boyd Dawkins 1874: 95,fig.25 ; Saffron Walden Mus.); Silchester,Hants.(Leeds 1933: fig.36a); Provenance unknown(Newcastle Mus. 1956: 160A).
26. Professor Haseloff suspected this in 1961,in his Rhind lecture No.1 delivered in Edinburgh.
27. On this last brooch,the running scroll border virtually duplicates that on casket ornament from St.Mawgan-in-Pyder.
28. Typified in brooches of group E by squared terminals,delicate snout and ear formation,accompanied by rudimentary barrel form of pin head.
29. One specimen from Traprain(Burley 1955-6: 166 & 165,fig.2,90) obstinately refuses to conform to any category; see this ref. for the problem.
30. Brough,E.R.Yorks. and Faxfleet,E.R.Yorks.(both in Hull Mus.); Carlisle(Hogg 1964: Pl.VIIa); Doncaster,Yorks.(Doncaster Mus.).
31. Chesters(Chesters Mus. No.285); Near Attermire Cave,Yorks. (Ant.J.,VII,1927: 64-5); Lochspouts crannog,Ayrshire(N.M.A.Edin.) Feachem's list will be referred to throughout; individual refs. are given only in the case of misleading representation by him or in view of important dating evidence.
32. J.Smith(1918-19: 129,fig.4,1); Feachem's drawing is unfortunate.
33. These strange objects seem to develop from a conscious misunderstanding of classical dolphin mounts; they may therefore be considered too late to take part in this trend; but as Fox points out,there is no reason why such Celtic fantasies could not be based on Roman imports of pre-invasion date.
34. And also employed on the ears of a 'lozenge' brooch from Kirkby Thore.

35. A second, No.36 from York, more directly recalls this last hoard and also enamel detail on the Rise bit.

36. However, an identical specimen has just come to my attention--- from Bucklersbury House, London (Merrifield 1965: Pl.133,1); found with coins no later than 155 A.D., this example may be thought to destroy my suggestion, which savours rather of the tenet---when in doubt derive it from the continent.

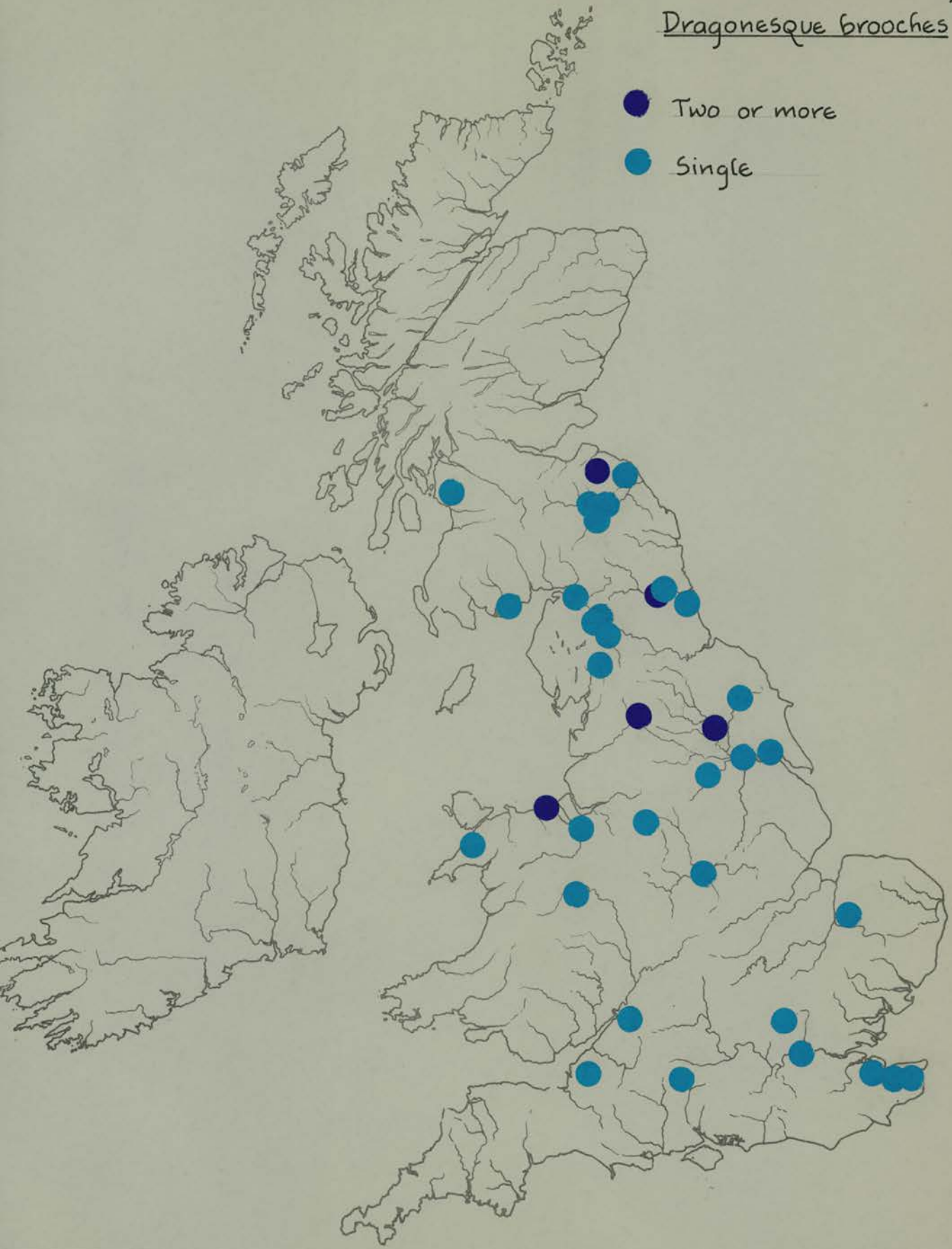
37. e.g. Hawkes & Hull 1947: Pl.XXXII,4 & Pl.XXXVI,9c

38. Sellye 1937: Pl.VI,VII etc.; Saalburg Jahrsbericht, 1908, Pl. IV,20; Jacobi 1897: Taf.LII,12 & 13.

39. I have unfortunately failed to trace a dress fastener version of this, illustrated by Gillam (Richmond ed. 1958: 39).

40. A perfectly good example with however a long central portion accompanied a female inhumation at Donaghadee, Co.Down; the inclusion also of a La Tène III brooch makes an early-mid 1st. century date likely (Jope 1957: 81 & Pl.V.)

41. The Eastburn 'dress fastener' could almost qualify for this category.


Dragonesque brooches
Two or more
Single

Dress fasteners

A-Double headed

1. BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE,Westm. Carlisle Mus. RF 237.
2. GALSTONBURY,Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911),Pl.XLII,E159.
3. GALSTONBURY,Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911),E 174.
4. HALTON CHESTERS,Northumb. Newcastle Mus. H58 HK
5. LAKENHEATH,Suffolk. B.M. 1912. 3-28. 45
6. LYDNEY,Glos. R.E.M.& T.V.Wheeler(1932),fig.11,b.
7. SOUTH SHIELDS,Durham. Drawing in scrapbook in local library.

B- Petal headed

1. BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE,Westm. Carlisle Mus. RF 226.
2. CARLISLE,Vicinity of,Cumb. Carlisle Mus. Netherby Colln.
3. CARLISLE,Vicinity of,Cumb. Carlisle Mus. Ferguson Colln.
4. CATTERICK BRIDGE,Northumb. Hildyard & Wade(1951),419,fig.2.
5. CHESTERS,Northumb. Chesters Mus. 1250.
6. CHESTERS,Northumb. Collingwood(1930A),268,fig.67,h.
7. COLCHESTER,Essex. B.M. 70.4-2.76
8. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Corbridge Mus.
9. DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE,Northumb. Bosanquet(1936),283,fig.2,3.
10. HARDKNOTT CASTLE,Cumb. Ferguson,Dymond & Calverley(1893),opp. 433.
11. LOWBURY HILL,Berks. Atkinson(1916),Pl.XIII,6.
12. MANCHESTER,Lancs. Bruton(1909),Pl.92,13.
13. MIDDLEBIE,Dumfries. N.M.A.Edin. FA 53.
14. MIDDLEBIE,Dumfries. N.M.A.Edin. FA 54.
15. MIDDLEBIE,Dumfries. N.M.A.Edin. FA 69.
16. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),302 & Pl.LXXV,7.
17. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),302 & Pl.LXXV,8.
18. QUEEN MARY'S CAIRN,E.Kilbride,Lanark. Ure(1793),Pl.I,79,fig.5.

19. TEMPLEBOROUGH,Yorks. May(1922),76 & Pl.XVI,32.
20-31. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),nos.222-9 & 231-4.
32. WILDERSPOOL,Cheshire. May(1907),opp.41,fig.7.
33. WROXETER,Shrops. Bushe-Fox(1914),14 & 12,fig.5,15.
34. WROXETER,Shrops. Bushe-Fox(1914),14 & 12,fig.5,16.
35. YORK,Railway Station. York Mus.
36. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. York Mus.
37. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. (no number).
38. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. 74 3-28.65.

C- Disc headed dress fasteners

1. BENWELL,Northumb. Newcastle Mus. 1936.5.
2. BENWELL,Northumb. Petch(1927),Pl.XL,2.
3. CAERLEON,Mon. Nashe-Williams(1932),90,fig.38,11.
4. CAERLEON,Mon. A.Fox(1940),131,fig.6,18.
5. CAERLEON,Mon. A.Fox(1940),133,fig.7,31.
6. CAERLEON,Mon. Lee(1862),Pl.XXXV,8.
7. CHESTERS,Northumb. Philipson(1885),Pl.XVIII,9.
8-12. CHESTERS,Northumb. Chesters Mus. Nos.1159,1311,1313,1360 & unnumbered.
13-17. CHESTERS,Northumb. Corbridge Mus. No.1784 & unnumbered.
18. DOG HOLES,Lancs. Jackson(1913),56.
19. FOLKESTONE,Kent. Information from Professor Piggott.
20. GLASTONBURY,Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911),Pl.XVII,E 151.
21. HAM HILL,Som. Leeds' notes in Ashmolean Mus.
22. HIGH ROCHESTER,Northumb. Collingwood Bruce(1880),146,no.786.
23. HIGH ROCHESTER,Northumb. Collingwood Bruce(1880),146.
24. HIGH ROCHESTER,Northumb. Collingwood Bruce(1880),146,no.792.
25-8. HOD HILL,Dorset. Brailsford(1962),4,fig.5,Nos.A 127-30.
29. HOUSTEADS,Northumb. Housteads Mus.
30. KIDLINGTON,Oxon. JRS,XL(1949),100,fig.19,8.
31. KIRKBY THORE,Westm. Carlisle Mus.
32. KIRKBY THORE,Westm. Carlisle Mus.
33. LOCHSPOUTS,Ayr. Munro(1884),14,fig.3.

34. LONDON BRIDGE. London Mus. 27.37.
35. MANCHESTER,Lancs. Bruton(1909),158,Pl.92,12.
36. MANCHESTER,Lancs. Bruton(1909),158,Pl.92,12.
37. MILTON LOCH CRANNOG,Kirkcudbright. C.M.Piggott(1952-3),145, Fig.9.
38. MUMRILLS,Stirling. Macdonald(1928-9),554,fig.115,13.
39-41. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),Pl.LXXXIX,22 & XCII,5 & 9.
42. RINGSTEAD,Norfolk. Clarke(1954),Pl.XIX,c.
43. SLACK,W.R.Yorks. Way(1867),299.
44-48. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),no.235-9.
49. YORK. York Mus.
50. YORK,The Mount Cemetery. Dickinson & Wenham(1957),304,fig.13, 89a.

51. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. (No number).
52. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. B.M. (No number).

D- Square headed dress fasteners

1. CHESTERS,Northumb. Collingwood(1930a),268,fig.67,g.
2. CHESTERS,Northumb. Chesters Mus. 1310.
3. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Corbridge Mus. (no number).
4. DRUMASHIE,Inverness. PSAS,LVIII(1923-4),11-13 & 12,fig.2.
5. DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE,Northumb. Bosanquet(1936),283,fig.2,4.
6. DUNTOCHER,Dunbarton. Robertson(1957),70-1 & fig.12,1.
7. RED HOUSE,CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Daniels(1959),156,8.
8. STANWIX,Cumb. Collingwood(1931),38 & Pl.VI,8.
9-20. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),nos.210-20 & 230.
21. WROXETER,Shrops. Bushe-Fox(1913),Pl.X,fig.1,4.
22. WROXETER,Shrops. Bushe-Fox(1916),Pl.XVI,15.
23. YORK,Railway Station. York Mus.
24. YORK,Railway Station. York Mus.

E- Unique

Unique

1. CARLISLE(probably),Cumb. Henry(1933),88,fig.11,3.
2. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Corbridge Mus.(no number).
3. EASTBURN,E.R.Yorks. Sheppard(1939),Pl.I,6.
4. HOPPRINGLE,Midlothian. PSAS,I(1851-4),101.
5. HOUSESTEADS,Northumb. Bosanquet(1903),290.
6. LOCHSPOUTS,Ayr. Munro(1882),117,fig.1,75.
7. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. No.
8. PERTH,vicinity. No.
9. PERTH,vicinity. No.
10. RICHBOROUGH,Kent. Bushe-Fox(1928),Pl.XX,38.
11. RICHBOROUGH,Kent. Bushe-Fox(1926),Pl.XV,28.
12-36. STANWICK,N.R.Yorks. Nos.23-36.
37. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),Pl.XIII,no.319.
38. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),Pl.XIII,178,no.221.
39. WILDERSPOOL,Cheshire. May(1898),Pl.IV,2.

Petal headed studs

1. BORNESS,Kirkcudbright. Corrie,Clark & Hunt(1872-4),Pl. XVII,79.
2. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Forster & Knowles(1911),Pl.IV,opp.178.
3. MIDDLEBIE,Dumfries. N.M.A.Edin. FA 69.
4. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),Pl.LXXV,9.
5. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),Pl.LXXVII,14.
6. (?)TEMPLEBOROUGH,E.R.Yorks. May(1922),75 & Pl.XV,B,8.
7-13. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),Nos.320-6.
14. YORK. York Mus.

Disc headed studs

1. ALDBOROUGH,Yorks. Aldborough Mus.
2. BIRRENSWARK,Dumfries. Christison,Barbour & Anderson(1898-9), 247.
3. CARRAWBURGH,Northumb. Budge(1903),Pl.opp.168.
4. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Corbridge Mus.
5. MILDENHALL,Wilts. Devizes Mus. BC 62.
6. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. N.M.A.Edin. FRA 560.
7. RICHBOROUGH,Kent. Bushe-Fox(1949),Pl.XXXVI,122.
8-9. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),Nos.329-31.

Rosette headed studs

1. BROUGH,E.R.Yorks. Corder(1935),32,fig.8,8.
2. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),192 & Pl.XIII,No.328.
3. WROXETER,Shrops. Kenyon(1939),223,fig.15,5.

Square headed studs

1. DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE,Northumb. Bosanquet(1936),291,fig.4,7.

2. KIRKBY THORE, Westm. Proc. Arch. Inst. York. Vol., (1846), Pl.I, 6.

3-6. TRAPRAIN, E.Lothian. Burley (1955-6), 193, Nos. 333-36.

Dumbell buttons

A-'Boss' style

1. AIRHOUSE FARM,Roxb. PSAS,LXXXI(1936-7),189 & 192,fig.1,4.
2. BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE,Westm. Cowper(1903),opp.71,Pl.III.
3. CARR HOUSE,Durham. Middleton(1885),Pl.opp.114,no.4.
4. CORBRIDGE,Northumb. Corbridge Mus.
5. GHEGAN ROCK,E.Lothian. Laidlay(1868-70),375,fig.6.
6. MUMRILLS,Stirling. Macdonald(1928-9),554,fig.115,16.
7. NEWCASTLE,vicinity. Curle(1911),150.
8. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),Pl.LXXXII,8.
9. SETTLE,Yorks. Saffron Walden Mus.
10. TENTSMUIR,Fife. PSAS,LXV(1930-1),259.
11. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),177,no.208.
12. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6),177,no.209.
13. WROXETER,Shrops. Bushe-Fox(1914),14 & 12,fig.5,17.

B-'Native' style

1. BORNESS,Kirkcudbright. Corrie,Clarke & Hunt(1873-4),497 & Pl. XXII,141.
2. DIRLETON,East Lothian. Cree(1908-9),251,fig.5,3.
3. GURNESS BROCH,Orkney. N.M.A.Edin. GAA 359.
4. HIGH TORRS,Wigtown. Wilson(1880),16,fig.17.
5. LOCHLEE,Ayr. Munro(1882),137,fig.154.
6. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),Pl.LXXXII,6.
7. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Curle(1911),Pl.LXXVII,16.

Pre-Roman or non-Roman spiral finger rings

1. BUSTON, Ayre. Munro(1882), 228-9, figs.224-5. (2)
2. CASTLE LAW, Abernethy, Perth. Anderson(1898-9), 31, fig.16. (1)
3. COVESEA(Sculptor's Cave), Moray. Benton(1930-1), 192, fig.13, 7(1)
4. CULBIN SANDS, Moray. Black(1890-1), 507, fig.32. (1)
5. DUNAGOIL, Bute. Mann(1925), Pl.IV, 19. (1)
6. DUN FHEURAIN, Gallanach, Argyll. N.M.A.Edin. HD 410. (1)
7. DUN MOR VAUL. MacKie(1965). (1)
8. DUNSINNAN, Perth. Christison(1899-1900), 91. (1)
9. ERIBOLL, Sutherland. Arch.Scot., V, Pl.XVI, u & v. (2)
10. GRANTON, Midlothian. Wilson(1863), 1, 474, fig.99. (1)
11. GULLANE, E.Lothian. Ewart & Curle(1907-8), 334, fig.2. (1)
12. HYNDFORD, Lanark. Munro(1898-9), 383 & 383, fig.10. (3)
13. LAMBERTON MOOR, Berwick. Anderson(1904-5), 374, fig.4. (2)
14. LOCHLEE CRANNOG, Ayr. Munro(1882), 132, fig.146. (1)
15. THE LAWS, Monifieth, Angus. PSAS, (1882-3), 302, fig.4. (1)
16. TRAPRAIN LAW, E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6), 173, nos.140-6. (7)
17. WATTEN, Caithness. N.M.A.Edin. DO 35. (1)

Chapter 7

DOMESTIC EQUIPMENT --- MIRRORS, COMBS, TWEEZERS, SCOOPS, VESSELS AND CASKET ORNAMENT.

For the purposes of this study, it is necessary to touch only the fringe of that realm of mirror studies of which Fox is the acclaimed king. A certain form of mirror handle called 'bar' is found in the more northerly areas of Britain. As its name suggests it consists of a rod, simple or moulded, with a ring at one end and some form of attachment plate at the other. Bronze is the normal material and length varies from c. 3 in. - 6 in. By reason of their very absence, iron is suspected for the mirror plates. The most comprehensive study is that made by Fox in 1949 (24 - 44) where bar handles form his category I. To his list the specimen from Ballymoney, Co. Antrim may be appended.

Unlike the more numerous Group III 'loop' handles[1], the distribution of bar handles is predominantly western and northerly; all save the Arras two qualify for the first category; all save that from Stamford Hill for the second. Clearly, the earliest representatives are from the East Second B burial ground of Arras to which Hawkes would attribute a time span of 200 years or more commencing in the early 3rd. century B.C.; and for these, Fox would deduce a Continental origin, amounting even to import in one case and local emulation in the other

(Fox 1958 : 7 and Pl. 7a). Of the remaining six handles, two --- Lambay Island and Stamford Hill --- have been found in similarly funerary contexts, though of the mid-1st. century A.D. or thereabouts; while one, from Carlingwark was included in a metalwork hoard, which Piggott would assign to the later years of that century. No direct help is forthcoming from the Balleymoney, Ingleton and Merlsford finds. (Nos. 234-6)

Even as Fox noted a similarity of moulding between the Ingleton bar and that of the side links of the bit 51 from the Llyn Cerrig hoard, thus securing the latter's manufacture in the northern half of England (1958 : 98 - 9), so the moulding of the Ballymoney, Carlingwark and Merlsford handles may also reveal cultural affiliations. The close set ribbing of Ballymoney is akin to the central detail on the Rise bit (No. 10) and this supports execution in Yorkshire and export thereafter to Ireland.[2] On the other hand, the Carlingwark handle may be a more local find, approaching as it does the baluster mouldings of three elongated strap junctions from the Middlebie hoard (No. 30). The fragmentary Merlsford handle recalls the simulated beading of certain Brigantian torcs.

Application of animal ornament is the final feature to merit discussion. While stylized birds are suspected by Jope, on the plate support of a loop handled mirror from Old Warden, Beds.[3] it would be safe to say that this is virtually exclusive to bar handles, and to a very few members of the group at that. There is a small bull head from Lydney, Glos. (R.E.M. and T.V.Wheeler 1932 : 74, fig. 11, 12) which would admirably augment the numbers; its grooved crest would form a seating for the mirror plate, with attachment by means of a rivet

holes through both units. Such a construction of course, pre-supposes an actual mirror whose plate, handle and pair to the existing mask are all now lost; but the triangular enamilling in red and turquoise, and rudimentary muzzle pattern on the nose would at least equip this charming creature with a suitable time range; while its western location is another point in its favour.

The application of zoomorphic ornament to bar handles is merely one facet of the 'animalising' tendencies of 1st. century craftsmen. Differentiation between bull and cow masks on the Ingleton handle is clearly to be related to Belgic bucket mounts from Felmersham, Beds. (Watson 1949 : 123 - 37), although the actual treatment of Ingleton is unique; the bulls' heads from Lydney, (mentioned above) and ~~Kirkby Londsdale~~ BURROW, LANCS. (No. 274) display certain points of similarity.

The birds of Ballymoney have received attention from Jope (1954 : 92 - 6) and Megaw (1962 : 24 - 9). Both have stressed the long tradition of bird stylisation which preceds this study, with particular reference to a small Plastic style handle from the Macon area. I shall confine myself to more contemporary analogies such as retrousé-billed creatures on the Polden Hill shield boss (Dobson 1931 : 122, fig. 15); or the Camerton 'dolphin' (Fox 1958 : Pl. 75d); and to the suspicion that swan-headed bucket hoops and casket handles of Early Roman and Gallo-Roman imports may have been in part responsible for the renaissance of this trend (e.g. Bushe Fox 1928 : XPl. XXI, fig. 1, 45).

Conscious of sticking my neck out I would claim as

mirror handles a bronze object from Lochlee crannog, Ayrshire (No.238) and a bone one from a wheelhouse at Bac Mhic Connain in North Uist (No.237). Both have a terminal ring, that of the former being rectangular sectioned in the manner of the Carlingwark handle, that of the latter more diamond sectioned and so reminiscent of Merlsford. The grip of each consists of twin diverging arms and as such is perhaps more reminiscent of a cross between bar handle form and those late representatives of Fox's simple looped handles (Types IIIAi and Aii). There is nothing surprising about such a combination; Fox suspects a reverse influence --- of bar upon loop type in Billericay I; while it will be remembered that representatives of both major series were found together at Stamford Hill. Alternatively, our Scottish examples could well have arisen from a change of structural proportions in the Ballymoney handle. Certainly, the links with this last are close --- a grooved upper margin for the insertion of an iron plate, even a central rivet in the Lochlee specimen for this plate's further security, and, most telling of all, that curious ridge which separates ring terminal from grip on the North Uist object; this must, surely, relate to the twin lobes which in low relief adorn the Ballymoney ring surface. On the strength of these similarities, one is tempted to reconstruct zoomorphic finials of bone for attachment to the side tenons of the former specimen.

In conclusion, brief mention must be made of those mirrors represented on Pictish symbol stones. As could only be expected they are normally of bar form with ring terminal and ring attachment plate (e.g. Thomas 1964 : 85, fig. 14, 39). There is one, however, from Glen Urquhart whose appearance closely approximates to the Lochlee and North

Uist specimens in their intact state (Mackay 1885 - 6 : 358 - 60).

The entire mirror from Balmaclellan, Kirkcudbright. (No. 239) is unique --- the sole representative of Fox's shaped handle class (Type II). Second only to the Nijmegen mirror in size, it is executed entirely in beaten bronze; both plate and handle have been cut out in one piece, and subsequently edged by separate lengths of bronze binding. The handle displays a simple cut out triskele; decoration is completed by identical repoussé panels on both sides at the junction of plate and handle, and probably by additional pieces overlying the upper reaches of this last, now represented solely by discolouration and six proud rivets. The mirror formed part of a small metalwork hoard comprising Nos. 303 - 8 in the Catalogue.

As Fox pointed out in 1949, the handle formation strongly resembles that of Roman paterae whose import into Britain cannot possibly have begun before 50 - 60 A.D. --- the date of their first manufacture in this form. Openwork involving three-legged motifs is known upon such objects, but only at a later date; Bosanquet would not envisage manufacture of the Crichton patera before the early 2nd. century A.D. (1927 - 8 : 249), and the triskele attached to the base of a patera from Kyngadle, Carmarthen. (Allen 1901 : 20 - 44) would seem by reason of the accompanying coins to be a product of the 3rd. century. We may safely assume then that the simple triquetra arrangement of the Balmaclellan handle is a native addition. Concentration upon the metal itself, as opposed to the voids, reveals that the three, linked arms possess club-like swellings; elsewhere these are a frequent occurrence

on the decorated pottery of Meare lake village and lurk, as Grimes showed (1952 :167, fig. 6) beneath the surface of the Moel Hiraddug motif; comparison with the Mayer mirror plate confirms their origin in a simplification of the trumpet coil. The Balmaclellan voids, on the other hand, approach closely the enamelled underside of a damaged steelyard weight in the Santon hoard (information from Mr. Mansell Spratling) --- whose side, by the way seem to make use of those very same club-shaped units.

The application of ornament to the Balmaclellan plate's base, surely reveals a knowledge of the common mirrors with complex looped handles whose two-part structure dictates a camouflaged attachment panel at this very poiht. The comparison is particularly valid when one realises that the Balmaclellan motif is a disguised lyre palmette with flanking trumpet coils; a similar imspiration underlies the attachment plates of a type I mirror handle from Stamford Hill and type III specimens from Birdlip, Desborough and Nijmegen. In the repoussé panels we are clearly dealing with an offspring of the casket ornament style complete with beaded edging, as on strip from Rodborough Common (Smith R.A. 1925 : 146, fig. 169); scalloped margins, as on panels from Lydney (R.E.M. and T.V.Wheeler 1932 : Pl. XXIX, 138) and Elmswell (No. 297); and curves defined by narrow ribs and a copious use of keeled curls, both features being well displayed by the recently published brass panel from London (Merrifield 1965 : Pl. 140).

The layout is, as already stated, the favourite lyre loop with flanking trumpet coils, albeit in a highly disintegrated state. The central panel may be related to individual motifs on the

Great Tower Street strip, each with its roundel surmounting a crescentic lobe (Corder and Hawkes 1940 : Pl. LIII, a), but by far the c closest analogy is provided by the Elmswell panel as Hawkes was swift to realise (op. cit. 348 - 9). There, by reversing the central lyre loop, omitting the adjacent curls and retracting the terminal trumpets one may compose one's own variation on the Balmaclellan theme. Turning to individual details, the swag and dot motif which forms a base for the Balmaclellan concoction is known on a Type IIIb mirror from Llechwedd-ddu, Merioneth (Fox 1958 : Pl. 56, b.1) and, of course, becomes incorporated into the northern repertoire on the Brough and Worton pommels (Nos. 129 & 148). The concave-sided triangle which fills each roundel is not so distinctive and is, therefore, unreliable as a stylistic pointer. Present in Yorkshire since chariot burial days (Greenwell 1906 : 284, fig. 27), it is, nevertheless, most popular in southerly contexts on Group II sword scabbards, on mirrors and on lesser known objects, such as the enamelled bronze nail head from Canhurst Farm, Berks. (J.R.S., XXII, 1932 : 198 - 229). Northern representatives of the l tter half of the 1st. century A.D. adorn the sword hilt from Thorpe (No. 147).

Hawkes, in his study of the Balmaclellan decoration, noted that its petalled form of rosette was Roman as opposed to the more native buried form of Elmswell. The differentiation is valid, although the form displayed at Balmaclellan is not so rigidly classical as that of mail mounts from Stanwick (Nos. 118 and 199). It is interesting to note that rosettes of Balmaclellan type are exceedingly common in Samian decoration of the pre-Flavian period (Hawkes and Hull

1946 : Pl. XXVI. 15 - 22 etc.).

It will be safe to assume then that the Balmaclellan mirror and its decorative panels are mongrel products of one or more craftsmen working in the Elmswell tradition and well aware of ornamentel trends in the south. The debts owed include the very idea of a mirror in the first place, the application of a palmette-derived pattern to the plate's base, and finally the fashion and techniques of casket ornament. As Hawkes pointed out in 1940, it is unlikely to be as late as the Agricolan strip from Newstead, nor as early as the Elmswell panel itself. A date c. 70 - 80 A.D. cannot be far wrong. Whether the Balmaclellan mirror was actually manufactured in Brigantia, or by a Brigantian in south Scotland depends largely upon its maker's political affiliations during this troublous time.

Fox has pointed out that a few of the Pictish mirror representations on symbol stones seem to favour the Balmaclellan type. Its claim to unique status must then, be purely an accident of survival and discovery; however, in these simple engravings, it would be difficult to distinguish between a Balmaclellan and a Lochlee type of mirror handle.

II TWEEZERS.

The pair of tweezers from Kettleburn Burch (No. 242) must have some domestic function; it is difficult to imagine precisely what. Miniature depilatory forms are a frequent find in La Tène III - Gallo-Roman graves on the Continent (Déchelette 1927 : 777 - 80). On native British sites such as Traprain , they bring with them a sense of Rome,

although they do also occur at Glastonbury lake village (Bulleid and Gray 1911 : 226); but such objects are not really comparable with our broch specimen, which in size and proportion is unique.

The decorative hinge treatment reminds one of lipped embelishments on certain terrets; the feathered incision we have already encountered on Brigantian scabbards and sword pommels, and on Scottish massive armlets. Perhaps the most revealing feature from a stylistic point of view, however, is the tweezers' outline, which perfectly duplicates that of bone weaving combs. The study of these objects falls outside our immediate concern. Used probably to push the weft threads home, they are a feature of Iron Age B culture from the south coast to Shetland. Lindsay Scott and Childe see in their presence in north-west Scotland proof of migration from south-west England. Since then the intervening gap has been filled by Miss Henshall (1950 : 147, fig. 5), whose distribution map demonstrates the type's frequency in eastern England, thus providing a closer source. The situation has been summarised by Thomas (1963 : 17 - 18) whose conclusions in the realms of animal art further support this contact (See p. 387).

The Kettleburn tweezers could be a local manufacture, but their skillful casting suggests not. They may have been imported from eastern, or lowland, Scotland, or even ultimately north-eastern England.

III COMBS.

Two small combs of more personal use deserve mention here. One from a midden site at Ghegan Rock (No.240), the other from Lang-

(No. 241)

bank crannog. With their small size, and semi-circular shape (the teeth following the straight edge of course), and perforation for suspension, they approach a Continental openwork type known from such sites as Stradonice (Déchelette 1927 : 791, fig. 456) and Hagenow (Mecklenburgisch Altertumer, 1959 : Pl. 58). Nearer home, the only other Scottish example known to me comes from Bowermadden broch which also produced a bronze variant of an ibex-headed pin (Stevenson 1955 : 291 and 289, fig. B. 12). Even closer, however, to our lowland Scottish finds are a single comb from a promontory fort at Close Ny Chollagh, Isle of Man (Gelling 1958 : 97 and 95, fig. 4, 10). There, occupation probably began in the 1st. century B.C. and ceased c. 75 - 80 A.D.; and a series of thirteen combs in all from the Loughcrew workshop in Co. Meath (Crawford 1925 : 23, fig. 15 and 16; 27, fig. 84 - 92).

The decoration of both Scottish specimens is lyre-palmette inspired, the one more obviously than the other. The Langbank arrangement of circles, supported on twin everted curves, is to be found in the repertoire of the Meare potters (Grimes 1952 : fig. 3), although the flanking curves with their hint of trumpet coil ancestry are more in the line of mirror decoration.

Still closer decorative analogies are provided by the Loughcrew bone slips where the use of compass drawn motifs and of pounced filling is commonplace. The circle-within-circle arrangement of Langbank is echoed by Crawford's Fig. 10, and the lateral mounts with their trumpet coil and slender trumpet undertones by his Fig. 6, 15, 16, 35 and 84; while the dot ringed side units of Ghegan Rock are exactly paralleled by his Fig. 64. Decoration on the four unlocated

Irish scoops and a lone example from Cardigan is relevant too (See p. 351) and serves to augment a gradually growing picture of contacts between western England, North Wales, Ireland and the Solway-Clyde area of Scotland in the 1st. century A.D.

IV WEAVING EQUIPMENT.

Objects of purely domestic use such as weaving equipment are rarely decorated and so escape our attention. The majority of long handled combs, if adorned at all, bear simple geometric incision which Thomas (1963 : 20) would see as a contribution from English Second B traditions of potting. One from Gurness broch, Shetland bears a more ambitious arrangement of converging curves which is familiar to us from the strap loops of Group IV scabbards; but this site was long occupied and the object's stratigraphical position unrecorded, so that we have no means of telling whether the analogy has any chronological significance. It is interesting to note that Thomas would see in the outline of many northern bone combs an approximation to fish shape and an echo of actual engravings of fish from Midlothian and Fife (1963 : 25).

Yet another piece of weaving equipment is the bobbin whose distribution largely complements that of weaving combs though not, strangely, penetrating north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus. One from Victoria Cave, Settle (Boyd Dawkins 1874 : 92, fig. 23) bears ambitious decoration centred upon three ring and dot units --- a feature of the series; from each, emerge four curved lines, forming a kind of sinuous saltire and defining two opposed panels of pouncing. Once again the closest analogies are provided by certain of the Loughcrew slips (Crawford

1925 : 19, fig. 10). In Britain, it will be remembered, the motif was greatly favoured by craftsmen of the inter-Wall area and north-east Scotland in the late 1st. century and after. The cave from which this particular object emerged has produced coins of 117 - 353 A.D.

Of the following objects (Nos. 243 & 244), one is definitely and the other possibly a spindle whorl. That from Dunagoil differs from the numerous other examples from that site only in having a faintly incised motif of undoubted trumpet-coil ancestry. Eccentrically from the two linked coils, there emerges yet a third simple curl. The entire arrangement is exactly paralleled by details on Group II scabbards from Hunsbury, Northants. and Amerden, Bucks. (Piggott 1950: 8, fig. 3, 1c, and 4a) and less clearly on a Group III scabbard from Bugthorpe (op. cit. fig. 2, 5). The object is all the more important because of its lack of intrinsic value. Prize pieces of metalwork may be transported hundreds of miles before their final deposit; that cannot be true of an insignificant roundel of stone such as this; and in any case, Miss Leechman suspects it to be of reasonably local material. This provides evidence for a surprising knowledg of decorative developments in the south Midlands and Yorkshire in the 1st. century B.C. and added proof for the contribution of these areas to the cultures of western Scotland. Alternatively, the sinuous pointed treatment of the trumpet coils may be thought to link with those on the Lochlee board (No. 298); in which case, a 1st century A.D. date is more feasible, but the inferences remain the same.

The little ring from Hanging Shaw, Yarrow (No. 244) has other affinities. Its discovery in a small embanked enclosure is of

little aid to dating. The form assumed, with a central rouleau expansion is similar to that of much larger rings in the Stanwick hoard (Nos. 92). Its cast wavy line is in the Celtic tradition of seam adornment as first recognized by Fox (1946 : 37). False wave patterns are more common than true cast versions in north English and Lowland Scottish finds, witness the punched-after-casting techniques of the Newstead spiral armlet (No. 207) and the Lochar Moss torc (No. 189). A close parallel may be proferred by beads on the Embsay torc whose decoration looks cast, but examination is impossible as this object is lost. Vague support for the comparison is afforded by biconical cast lead whorls from Jubilee Cave, Settle and Grassington, Airedale (Raistrick 1939 : fig. 11, 6 - 7).

V SCOOPS.

Two pairs of spoon-like objects have been found in Berwickshire and Westmorland (Nos. 245-8). They conform to a small series whose characteristics are a shallow bowl of rounded shape with pointed tip, opposite which the handle emerges as a disc or lipped expansion or combination of the two. They frequently occur in pairs, the bowl of one perforated near the margin, that of the other incised with a cross. The handles of all are decorated. Bronze is the sole metal, in several cases apparently of a high zinc content. Casting is perhaps, the most common technique, although the use of sturdy sheet bronze, cut by means of a template and hammered into a shallow die is suspected in several cases. An average length would lie between 4 and 5 in., width about 2½ in. All details of discovery and illustrations

are provided by Way (1863 : 52 - 96) and Craw (1923 - 4 : 43 - 60).

The purpose of these enigmatic objects is unknown, although there have been many wild guesses ranging from castanets to christenings. Fox, in connexion with one from Cardigan, suggested manufacture for and use in funerary rites; this is supported by several contexts (see below), but signs of wear on the Thames specimen and one of the two Irish pairs would seem to refute the idea of brief employment. Still some ritual application is to be suspected. Way early commented on their tendency to occur in watery surroundings --- by a spring, in a river or march. More convincing is the bold incision, perhaps a reflection of the four- or more-spoked wheel amulets which, apparently laden with apotrophaic powers, occur in La Tène III contexts both on the Continent (Déchelette 1927 : 804 - 5), and in Britain (see Stanwick report p. 26).

A Continental origin is suspected for this series of scoops, by reason of the discovery of a pair with a female inhumation at Pogny in the Marne district (Déchelette 1927 : 783, fig. 552, 1 and 2). They were wrapped in cloth, and placed in a small bronze vessel, apparently revealing no clue as to date.[4]

Twenty-one scoops are known from the British Isles, comprising eight pairs and five single examples. The majority of discoveries, as opposed to individual specimens, have been made in south Britain, with Ireland not far behind; Wales accounts for two finds and North England and Scotland for one each.

In only three cases is the contexts of discovery recorded and of significance. Those from Penbryn underlay a pile of rubble within

the hillfort of Castell Nadolig. The pair from Burnmouth accompanied a male inhumation in a long cist; the only other grave goods were an iron knife and some pig bones. Another pair, this time from Deal, were found in a Romano-British cemetery. It is interesting to note that both these last pairs lay close to the head of the dead person, although this could be sheer coincidence. Neither discovery can indicate more than a vague time span. Cists burials are not infrequent in the Scottish Iron Age; but, of the grave goods, only a dolphin brooch from Moredun (Coles 1903 - 4 : 427 - 38) affords any clue as to date, and even this identification is not entirely certain.[5]

We are forced back upon a closer examination of the detail on the spoon handles, and the first to attract attention is the concentric ribbing about a circular boss, in the main favoured by the more southerly representatives. For some time a derivation from Roman paterae handles has been suspected (Fox 1958 : 111). Here anomalies crowd in. Firstly, if any such influence is present, it must surely be that of the bases not the handles, which are rarely encircled by more than one moulding and moreover, are perforated. These Roman cooking vessels were not manufactured before 50 - 60 A.D. (Davies 1945 : 132) and the footrings not elaborated until Flavian times at the earliest. To accept patera influence in scoop handles is to banish our series to the second half of the 1st. century A.D., and this is totally at variance with a date early in the 1st. century B.C. which Fox deduces from underside decoration on the Weston handles (Fox 1958 : 36 - 7). The impasse is partly resolved by a technical point; concentric ribbing in the Weston, London, Deal, Llanfair and, presumably,

Kilhua Castle spoons would seem to have been cast from a lathe-spun mould, or at least, model. The precise time at which this new technique entered the repertoire of British craftsmen is not known. The Glastonbury bowl has been relegated to the mid 1st. century B.C. by Lady Fox. By jettisoning paterae influence, one may date the earliest spoons to the 1st. century B.C., but not quite so early in that century as Fox has envisaged. Admittedly, the free hand adornment on the Weston spoons includes motifs quite at home on the Newnham Croft bangle (Fox 1958 : 10, fig. 6, a), Torrs pony cap (No. 1) or Standlake scabbard locket (op. cit., Pl. 22, a); indeed the design of one seems almost ridiculously early; but one of the oldest-seeming motifs --- a lateral coil emerging from the lyre loop's exterior --- still staggers on in the enamelling of a mid 1st. century A.D. horse trapping of unknown location, now in the British Museum (Henry 1933 : 104, fig. 20,3); while the right hand spoon in Fox's illustration recalls in its chaos, if not the actual technique of execution, the more frenetic experiments of mirror decoration.

The Weston spoons then possess the best claim to an early date. Decoration on a single specimen from London and another from the Thames is not incompatible with local manufacture and a slightly later date, although neither fits easily into the artistic scene as it is known at present. The Penbryn spoons may partake of an early Welsh equivalent of the boss style; but it is the engraved scoops which are of most concern for the Scots and North English examples display this form of decoration, as do also one from Wales and two pairs from Ireland.

It is difficult not to envisage the rocker-tracing of the single decorated Burnmouth spoon as a legacy from the south where such a technique, though never common, is lavished upon plates from the Tal y Llyn hoard and the Old Warden mirror plate.[6] A heavier handed version is displayed upon the scoops from Crosby Ravensworth and by one of the Irish pairs. Appearances on the Middleton/Enthorpe linch pin, Flasby hilt guard and Worton Pommel (Nos. 148) have already been referred to; and the neat effects of the Rochdale and Lochar Moss torcs could easily be related.

Turning to the decorative layout, a lyre loop with asymmetric coil filling instead of a palmette is shared by the Burnmouth spoon and one of the Irish specimens (Way 1869 : opp. 66, fig.13); the Gibbs and Great Chesterford mirrors are close (Fox 1958 : Pl. 56, b and 1960 : 207 - 10). It is, however, the more prosaic products of south-western craftsmen such as pottery and woodwork that provide the closest analogies. The diagonal hatching of the Burnmouth and Crosby scoops is a commonplace feature. The Crosby triskele is but a lopsided variant of that on the pot bases of Meare (Bulleid and Gray 1948 : Pl. VIII, P69, 109, 232,100); while the curious malformed lobes displayed by both Crosby spoons are best explained by a comparison with Pl. V, P27, P1, VI, P49, Pl. VII, P97 of that same publication. Decoration on the Cardigan specimen is to be equated with the Gibbs mirror form of pattern disintegration; while the Irish pair illustrated by Way (1869 : opp. 67 and 68, fig. 14 - 15) make clear use of that palmette-derivative to which Grimes first drew attention in 1952

(164 - 5, figs. 3 - 4). One interesting point is the Irish use of pounced filling as opposed to hatching. It would seem that this is scarcely known on lake village pottery or bone work; yet it is of common occurrence on southern metalwork around the time of the Roman invasion --- e.g. the Sudely Castle mount, Polden Hill horse trappings, Trenoweth collar etc. There is no need, however, to derive the actual spoons themselves from a southerly place of manufacture; both Irish pairs are closely linked with the tryout slips from Loughcrew; and their local manufacture is without question. Parallel development in Ireland and north England would account for the decorative similarity which exists between the Crosby spoons and an Irish spear butt of elongated form from Co. Westmeath (Armstrong 1923 : 21, fig. 12, 1).

Bronze scoops then are primarily a southern form, with a possible ancestry on the continent. Most are likely to belong to the 1st. century A.D.; at precisely what point they commence depends largely on the personal choice of date for the Weston pair. The idea of the spoons themselves would seem to have reached north Britain and Ireland from this area and would seem to have been accompanied by a knowledge of southern motifs, not normally applied to the spoons in that area. The precise date of this event cannot now be settled, but it will be demonstrated that both features contribute to the evidence for much travel, trading and cultural contacts around the shores of the Irish channel in the 1st. century A.D.

VI TANKARD HOLDFASTS.

Three tankard mounts, all from Scotland, make it necessary

to review this series of objects. The major study is that of Corcoran (1952 : 85 - 102); to his detailed list must be added specimens from (1) Burwell Fen, Cambs.(Corcoran op. cit. 239 and Pl. XXCIII); (2) Caerwent, Mon. (Unpublished); (3) Puddlehill, Beds. (Corcoran 1957 : 233 - 4, Pl.XXVIII); (4) Welwyn No. II, Herts. (Fox 1958 : 78, fig.48). This maked a total of twenty-nine known specimens. All are of bronze; an average length would be c. 3 in. but one from Bredon, Glos. returns a mere 1.5 in.

Corcoran divided tankard 'handles' into five categories according to features, both structural and decorative. I am not entirely convinced that the differentiation between his first three classes (I-openwork centre; II - moulded centre; III - hybrid), or at least the last two, is signifacant; but classes IV (mirror handles) and V (sheet bronze and plain) are valid. The complexity of the subject stands revealed when it is realised that of the four additions above, none fits with ease into the accepted groupings.

A Continental ancestry is suspected by Corcoran who draws attention to a tankard from the early 1st. century B.C. cemetery of Ornavasso in N. Italy. Surely, an intermediate stage and a much closer prorotype is illustrated by Henry (1933 : 85, fig. 8, 5). The oppidum of Bibracte was the site of its discovery and indicated a date in the same century, but nor necessarily so early. Admittedly, its T-shape with a rim strut perforated for two rivets, and a single rivet hole at the lower end, has not yet been found in Britain, but I should not be surprised if the Puddlehill fragment turned out to be the

central section of just such a handle; its small size and the position of its fractures would support this theory. Found in a Belgic settlement site, it was associated with sherds of the early 1st. century A.D., or conceiveably, the end of the prededing century.

Four actual tankards have been preserved in Britain, thus enabling us to imagine the appearance of those whose holdfast only remains. Around 6 in. high and 6 - 7 in. in diameter, they are stave built and bound or occasionally sheathed in bronze. Unfortunately, none is a northern find and, while solid wooden vessels are not infrequently encountered in our area,[7] yet there is scant evidence for sectional construction; a "slender stave" is recorded among the wooden finds from Lochspouts crannog (Munro 1882 : 177) and a 'milkmaid's' pail from Pit XXIII at Newstead assures a knowledge of the technique by the early 2nd. century, at least (Curle 1911 : Pl. LXIV, 4). Indirect proof is afforded by the construction of a spoked wheel from Bar Hill, Lanark. (Macdonald and Park 1902 - 6 : 92 - 9), flush to whose wooden nave a wavy band of iron has been inserted to strengthen and to counteract shrinkage. Just such a trick in bronze, and on a smaller scale, is to be found on the base of the Trawsfynydd tankard staving (Fox 1958 : Pl. 65, b).

One final point concerns the descriptive phrase 'holdfast'. It is a conscious attempt to avoid the word 'handle'. As Corcoran demonstrates, use as a true handle is unlikely, for reasons of weight and balance, size, personal discomfort and aesthetics. The Burwell Fen and Welwyn II castings alone may have been actually gripped

by the drinker; the remainder must be regarded as a mere anchorage for the fingers of one hand clasped round the tankard body.

By far the most elaborate Scottish holdfast is that from the metalwork hoard of Carlingwark, Kirkcudbright (No. 250). It belongs to Corcoran's class IIb with moulded central section and double perforation of the attachment plates. As such it must resemble most closely those examples from Aylesford and Neath IV; and to a lesser degree, those from Castor and Welwyn I. Together they offer a predominantly a south-eastern distribution, Belgic background and a range of date commencing with the Aylesford specimen, which Miss Birchall's studies would place in the period 50 - 10 B.C. (1964 ; 21 - 9) and finishing with that from Castor, a 2nd. century Roman town (although manufacture of this last could belong to the preceding century).

As Corcoran realized, the Carlingwark holdfast is an essay in humorous zoomorphism. It is not the only one; outside this particular class, a perky pony head emerges from the upper regions of the holdfast from Burwell Fen; more relevant is the zoomorphism, latent but surely there, of the Aylesford mounts.

Carlingwark's debt to the south is strong and includes the dual arrangement of central roundels (as in Welwyn I and Hod Hill I); the intervening transverse channel (as in Neath I and II, Hod Hill I and Stoke Abbott; these last two examples with Corcoran's 'peaked-up blobs' seem to echo even its adjacent modelling); and the paired settings for attachment rivets (as at Aylesford once more, and also Neath IV and Hod Hill I, whose very trumpet coil surrounds seem to foreshadow

Carlingwark's lobe-like ears). For this last detailm however, there is a much closer analogy in the form of an unpublished fragment from the Roman town of Caerwent. Its loss must fall in the last quarter of the 1st. century A.D., but its casting may be earlier. This holdfast may be the parent of our Scottish example, lacking only its animal content.[8] The one remaining terminal has a central palmette with flanking trumpet coils, whose treatment recalls the Ashmolean triskele (Fox 1958 : Pl. 69, a) but whose almost total symmetry and vesica definition of dome from trumpet is but a plastic version of that engraved upon the Desborough mirror.[9]

Despite the above links with the south-east and (?) south-west the Carlingwark holdfast could be a local, or at least, northern manufacture. Its central modelling is to be viewed as a series of muzzle motifs, and although rudimentary versions are know in the south-west, from the Lydney bull for instance (R.E.M. and T.V.Wheeler 1932 : fig. 11, 12) and an early trumpet brooch from Beckhampton, Wilts. (Goddard 1908 : 404 and fig. 22), still the major popularity of this motif lies in the north where mount No. 13 from Corbridge and toggle No. 37 from Birrens attest to its use in the Flavo-Trajanic and early Antonine periods. Again, the use of enamel in concentric rings --- if indeed it ever filled such interstives in our holdfast --- may be seen on a strap junction from Chepstow, Mon. (Fox 1958 : Pl. 70, c), but also on Scottish finds such as platform terret No. 64 from Middlebie or the disc-headed dress fastener from Milton Loch crannog (see p.297). Indeed it is another crannog site, Lochspouts, which provides the best

argument for local manufacture of the Carlingwark holdfast, in the shape of the unique dress fastener illustrated on p. 298 .

The second Scottish tankard comes from a Flavian context at Newstead (No. 252). It belongs to Corcoran's class V whose members are characteristically made of sheet bronze. Distribution is southerly with a slight emphasis on the west, although with five examples only it is difficult to put much trust in this pattern. The earliest known specimen may be no. V from the Neath hoard. Whatever the date of the other holdfasts in this hoard, a deposit after initial clashes with Roman invaders would seem likely, in view of the fragments of cavalry equipment which the hoard contains (Davies 1963 : 28 - 9); so holdfast V could belong to the mid-twenty years of the 1st. century A.D., Specimens from Greenhill, Dorset and Bartlow, Essex probably belong to the early 2nd. century A.D., while that from Shapwick, Somerset, still accompanied by its tankard, may belong to the 3rd. or 4th. century. The time range is, therefore, long, but our Newstead specimen displays certain early features. The first is the fish-tail outline of its terminals which at one and the same time reminds us of Neath V and the Caerwent and Carlingwark representatives of a totally different class. Again, may not the scalloped edges of the terminals be an echo of casket ornament tricks? A holdfast from Bartlow may have been similarly treated (Gage 1834 : 8 and Pl. III, fig. 9); it was accompanied by a coin of Hadrian. Faint incision is shared with specimens from Greenhill and Neath V; in the Newstead example this is rocker traced --- an eminently southern trick.

Our final holdfast No. 253 from the broch site of Okstrow

in Orkney, likewise belongs to Group V. It would seem to have been accompanied by Samian sherds of the late 2nd. or ~~early~~ early 3rd. century A.D.

An interesting feature is the strut which it shares with the Shapwick holdfast, and in a more fragile and more rudimentary form, with that from Trawsfynydd; no doubt this was an attempt to reduce strain on the vessel wall. Despite obvious links with the Newstead mount, it is, perhaps, in Trawsfynydd that the closest analogies are to be found --- a juxtaposition of the ridiculous and the sublime if there ever was one; note Okstrow's flattened panel of pointed oval outline, supported on stumpy legs which in turn emerge from disc-shaped attachment plates.

While on the topic of Trawsfynydd, I must admit that I am not over-eager to claim this casting as a product of any known Brigantian workshop. Admittedly there are familiar features; for instance, one may be able to distinguish duck heads, akin to the Ballymoney mirror handle examples on the margin of each swirl; but surely the long, thin pointed form of trumpet coil which is executed in openwork and voids upon the central panel has connections with the Llandyssul collar (Fox 1958 : Pl. 12, b); the rim clasp with eared ring holders of two link bits; and the overall layout with the Caerwent stage of holdfast development. I am, therefore, inclined to see the Trawsfynydd masterpiece as a reasonably local product not much later than the easterly artistic developments revealed on the one hand by the Lakenheath dragonesque brooch and Lambay Island scabbard mount, and on the other by Set A in the Stanwick hoard. The piece could then fill its role as

a Welsh equivalent of --- and (?) antecedent to --- the northern Boss Style; and, in partivular, that section of the style revealed by the Lochar Moss torc (No.189), Thirst House bracelet (No.196) and Mortonhall scabbard (No. 138).

To sum up, the gaps in our knowledge of tankard holdfast development must be large when every new find forces a revision of present theories. At the moment, it seems that tankards with elaborate holdfasts were first made popular by Belgic occupants of Britain; that a certain amount of artistic experiment was carried out by craftsmen of Iron Age B training;[9] and that derivation from this last area is, if anything, a more likely proposition for our rare Scottish representatives.

A small handle-like object from Culbin Sands has been inserted surreptitiously into the Catalogue at this point (No.251). I am not even convinced that it is Iron Age far less a mount for some drinking vessel. One terminal could clip on the edge of a cup, but attachment at the other end poses a problem to which I have no solution. I would point out that the Bredon tankard mount is a mere 1.5 in. in length as opposed to 1.9 in. in the case under discussion, so that from a size point of view the interpretation is not impossible. Stylistically, the small animal heads bear certain points of resemblance to those on the Ballymoney mirror handle.

VII. DRINKING HORNS.

Two bronze horn terminals Nos.249 are inserted here as evidence of the persuasive powers of Atkinson and Piggott (1955 : 197 -

235). For long mounted, antelope fashion on the Torrs pony cap (No. 1), they were first identified by these authors as separate pieces, falsely attached some time between their initial discovery and 1829 ; their association with the cap is not in doubt; it is their combination which must be dismissed.

The horns are a mirror image of each other; each consists of two beaten half-tubes, meeting together in plain butted joints. Upon their surfaces two entirely different sequences of linked scrolls and fan-like leaves are executed in the tremolo engraving. The upper part of horn A has been damaged and replaced in antiquity and its adornment 'faked' by a less steady hand. At the wider end of each tube, a collar and flange now serve to camoflage the horn's insertion into the cap proper; these rings, now separated, were originally beaten as one and have parted company under stress. At the other end of each tube was a cast duck's head of which only one now remains; its eyes are recessed for the insertion of a coral boss to be held by a central pin whose socket still pierces the head.

The arguments for the removal of the horns from the pony cap are fully set out by Atkinson and Piggott, and seem entirely convincing, although doubt seems to linger in a few minds. It becomes necessary to find another function for them. The experts favour use as drinking horn terminals, selecting the horns of 'bos primigenius' as most suitable in curve and size, and supporting their opinion by evidence of Celtic drinking horns such as the gold mounts from Rhain Aspergle and a wide range of cattle head terminals from Early Age Scandinavia.

The engraved ornament on the horns is in the tradition of Jacobsthal's Sword sub-style, witness the engraving technique, asymmetry of decorative layout and many motifs such as the hair-spring coil, fan-shaped leaves and webbing --- even down to the piquant inclusion of curve-arresting straight lines which shock by their interruption. The same craftsmen was probably responsible for the shaped patches on the Torrs pony cap. Further afield, comparisons may be drawn with the Witham scabbard (Fox 1958 : Pl.22, b), Wandsworth round shield (Knowles: Ed. 1952 : 76, fig. V) and early brooches of La Tène I and flat-bowed type. These delicate, wavering patterns have not, perhaps, the survival value of their more robust relatives on the pony cap; but in Britain the Sutton Reach scabbard plate (Fox 1958 : Pl. 21) and in Ireland, the corresponding sheaths of Group IIIA are obvious descendants. The duck mount has relatives on the Continent; it curiously foreshadows the much later handle of the Keshcarrigan cup (see p. 366).

The conclusions of dating reached in connection with the pony cap are, of course, equally applicable to the horn terminals. They are, therefore, most likely to be products of the mid 3rd. century B.C.; their place of manufacture is suspected to lie somewhere in the Lowland Scottish or North English area; a choice cannot be made until further finds emerge.

VIII CUPS AND BOWLS.

Several bronze cups or bowls of which five are from Lowland Scotland (Nos. 254-9) and two from Yorkshire (Stanwick Catalogue 121, & present Catalogue No. 260) demand a wider survey of this field. The subject merits a detailed study despite previous attention from

Smith, R.A. (1914 - 15 : 76 - 80).

In all, twenty-eight specimens are known to me; four are vessels whose precise appearance I do not know, or whose actual shape does not conform with the standards laid down below;[10] a further three are represented only by characteristic escutcheons or handles --- these are Bagendon, Ham Hill and Somerset, Co. Galway; a further mount similar to the Ham Hill one is mentioned by Bulleid and Gray from Hod Hill (Durden Coll.), but as it does not seem to be among the material illustrated by Brailsford (1962) I have not included it in the list.

The mouth diameter of these vessels varies between 8 and 3 in. and all are shallow in proportion to their diameters. The most characteristic features are a rounded base with neither foot nor omphalos and an everted rim. Between these two extremities the profile of each differs; two, from Glastonbury (E 19) and Colchester are virtually hemispherical; others from Birdlip, Rose Ash and Youlton have a wide flange at the mouth, short vertical neck and low wxpanded body; the majority display a more or less sinuous curve from mouth to base. Three possess a neat cast handle; these are from Colchester, Keshcarrigan and Somerset, Co. Galway; still others are provided with an escutcheon in the form of an animal head or crested helmet --- as in the case of the Rose Ash and Youlton bowls,[11] and I am convinced that two curious castings from Bagendon and Ham Hill are degenerate versions of the Youlton form, although not identified as such by the excavators. One, an export to Poland, is equipped with a zoomorphosed strainer.

It will be seen from the above that a great variety of

vessel is included under the heading of bronze cups and bowls. Three clear groups emerge, the first represented by the Glastonbury E 19 and Colchester forms, the second typified by that from Rose Ash and the third by the Lamberton Moor bowls; but intermediate forms are available which make separate discussion of the groups difficult.

All seem to display evidence for lathe spinning, a process of manufacture well summarised by Tylecote (1962 : 149 - 52). Each bowl was sunk by expanding a disc of metal to form the body, or cast (see Jope 1957 : note 135) and then fastened on to a lathe in order to shape the neck and rim, to make decorative grooves on this last and finally to polish the complete vessel. In a few cases the spin marks are still visible on the bowl surface but in most buffing by hand has removed all trace. Again, some bowls retain a central dimple (Stanwick --- present Catalogue No. 260), or even perforation, plugged in the case of No. from Lamberton Moor, but such features are not an absolute test of lathe spinning, as the dimple may be hammered flat, while in the complete absence of any trace of centring, a shaped block of wood may have held the vessel on to the lathe's tail stock (Hawkes 1951 : 187) --- although such chucking is not envisaged by Tylecote. In many cases, one can only deduce spinning from the extreme regularity of rim formation.

As regards distribution, the hemispherical variant is southern with Stanwick II[13] the only Northern approximation to this shape; the Rose Ash form is predominantly south western; and the more smooth-profiled more at home in Wales and North England/Lowland Scotland.

A lightning survey of the contexts in which bronze bowls and cups have emerged reveals four from settlement sites (Hillfort,

Lake village, Belgic oppidum and rath respectively) and seven from graves of which three are without doubt Belgic (Colchester, Snailwell and Welwyn) and a further two (Birdlip) of Western Second B/Belgic cross; the full complement of burial contexts is made up by the bowl from a chieftain's burial in Poland and by the specimen of dubious appearance from the Romano-British cemetery of Mount Batten.[14] The remaining finds are either strays or have turned up in hoards; with the exception of an unidentified example in the British Museum. A very high percentage of these last have been found in marshes. That from Rose Ash came from almost certainly a votive deposit; it need not be the only instance.

The series is unusually equipped with evidence for dating. The Colchester cup can be ascribed to the period 1 - 15 A.D. as must also be the Birdlip bowls, despite the mirror's relegation by Fox to a slightly later date (A.Fox 1961 : 186 - 96). The Bagendon escutcheon is firmly placed between 43 and 50 A.D. The Snailwell and Welwyn burials cannot be far from the Roman invasion. The Stanwick hoard must belong to the period 43 - 74 A.D. The latest coins to accompany the Llanenddwyn bowls apparently belonged to the reign of Vespasian, although the developed foot rings of paterae from this deposit would seem rather later. The Lamberton Moor bowls were patched and cracked by the time of their deposit with Antonine paterae and late 1st. or early 2nd. century brooches. Other finds such as those from Ham Hill and Mount Batten further indicate the 1st. century A.D. as do ornamental details of the Leg Piekarski bowl. It is in the mists of the later 1st.

century B.C. that we run into trouble. Lady Fox on stylistic grounds only would ascribe the Rose Ash and Keshcarrigan examples to its last twenty years. The Glastonbury bowl has a claim to even earlier manufacture.

It has been customary to attribute the novel application of spinning techniques to metal, to the Belgae, but under these circumstances it is impossible to choose between Iron Age B and C claims. The Glastonbury bowl by its shape and details of construction owes a debt only to local cauldron forms, so that there is no hint of alien influences in its appearance at any rate. In this case the idea of spinning metal could be a mere conversion of wood working techniques, owing nothing to foreign inspiration. The Rose Ash/Moulton series likewise seems to lie outside the primary area of Belgic influence, but a purely local invention is out of the question, in view of its sophisticated and unheralded profile. Two alternative ancestries are available. One lies in a small series of pottery vessels from Brittany (Wheeler 1943 : Pl. XXVIII); this origin is favoured by Jope (1954 : 91 - 6) and Lady Fox (1961 : 86 - 96); but their decoration is unsuitably early. The other lies in an admittedly small group of longhandled patellae imported into Europe from North Italy, where, for instance, they are well known in the Ornavasso cemetery (Dechelette 1927 : 955, fig. 651). One was found in the Aylesford cemetery (Thomas 1965 : Pl. 298). This would, of course, add weight to the Belgic contribution to bowl development and, incidentally also to their claim to the introduction of lathe spinning techniques; on the other hand it is surely naive to imagine that all Italic imports and native copies of the same were the exclusive

property of the Belgae in Britain. The subject is a complex one but not hopelessly so. Further finds should clarify the situation.

To summarise the number of small bronze bowls and cups belonging to the British Early Iron Age is, perhaps, larger than has been realised. The earliest examples are naturally to be found in the south where B and C cultures lay equal claim to development. It is tempting to view some Welsh, North English and South Scottish examples as imported from that area; in particular the bowls from Keshcarrigan and Stanwick II. The smooth-profiled examples may be local manufactures. Still, their clear debts to the Santon form of cauldron (see below), and to casket ornament (see p. 391), to say nothing of the novel technique of lathe-spinning reveal their debt to the south, whatever their actual place of manufacture. That general repairs were locally carried out is attested by patching on the underside of Lamberton bowl No. . The stain left by the lost patch is a broken back scroll, a precise replica of one decorative unit from the Lochar Moss torc.

IX CAULDRONS.

Until the studies of Fox (1946 : 88), Hawkes (1951 : 172 - 99) and Piggott (1952 - 3 : 1 - 50) surprisingly little attention was paid to Early Iron Age cauldrons --- the reason being, one suspects, an understandable failure to distinguish them from their more numerous Late Bronze Age predecessors.

As will be seen from the appended lists, two major early categories are suspected. The first is named 'Battersea', perhaps

inappropriately as the majority of known specimens come from the Highland Zone; the second is called 'Santon', the famous hoard of that name being enclosed ina cauldron of distinctive type, also met, though less frequently, in the north.

The Battersea type of cauldron is represented by fifteen specimens. Each is globular or hemispherical; this differentiation is stressed by Fox; some are beaten, or beaten and spun, entire; others are constructed from a hemispherical base to whose edge a strip is rivetted, thus giving the vessel the required depth. Frequently an iron rim band strengthened the mouth and twin handles were provided, but both these features are usually missing.

Hawkes reasonably suspects an origin in Late Bronze times. There is little evidence for dating, as most are atray discoveries. Finds from Spettisbury hillfort included a La Tène II brooch, a sword of Piggott's Group II, but also Roman spearheads and chapes of Group VI. The Llyn Cerrig fragments ought definitely to precede 61 A.D., although by how much it is not known. The Blackburn Mill two, between them, contained a large metalwork hoard which Piggott suspects to be a late 1st. century deposit. That from Kyleakin lay near kegs of bog butter; however,, actual association is not proved, and upon the date of such deposits there is no uniformity of opinion. One final clue is afforded by the obvious similarity existing between Battersea cauldrons and the famous Glastonbury bowl, which Lady Fox would allocate (1961 : 186 - 96) to perhaps the third quarter of the 1st. century B.C.

Decoration is limited. The Spettisbury and Battersea

cauldrons display a decorative use of dome-headed rivets in the Glastonbury bowl tradition. Perhaps the maker of the Kincardine Moss example had such an idea in mind when he joined the base to the sides by simple flush rivets imterspersed with purely decorative repoussé bosses. It is no great step from this to the strip with bosses which quite needlessly encircles one-piece bowls from Lamberton Moor and Stanwick (Nos. 121 & 254).

This last cauldron (No. 267) is vertically seamed at two, opposing points on the sides; it was largely to conceal these joints and to provide a stronger anchorage for the now missing ring handles that twin panels of repoussé have been applied immediately below the rim to stretch as far as the edge of the lower section. Decoration in each case consists of five vertical rows of concentric boss and ring units, closely set. Its skeuomorphic appearance is obvious; one is reminded of the masses, equally functionless conical rivets of the little cup from Tarland (No. 261). Then again, the foil panels recall those which underly the bull escutcheons of the Mountsorrel bucket and, much earlier, the shaped panels of probably similar intent from the Birdlip grave (Green 1949 : Pl. XXV). The former comparison is particularly valid in that large, repoussé pseudo-rivets adorn its surface, and bring us to a relaisation that surely, both here and on the Kincardine Moss cauldron, we have poor relations of Fox's casket ornament (see p. 391). Once this connexion is established then many instances of ring and boss adornment spring to mind, such as those strips from Ham Hill, Llyn Cerrig, Stanwick and Newstead (No. 300). Its presence in Lowland Scotland may savour of the Belgic South but it simultaneously partakes

of the local fashion for 'bossiness'. It is likely, therefore, that the Kincardine Moss cauldron should be attributed to the late 1st. or 2nd. centuries, although a later date cannot altogether ruled out.

Before leaving this splendid piece may I draw attention to the curious mode of its rim execution? This is a fragile and precarious arrangement of hollow tubes which surely proves that the cauldron cannot have served any practical purpose, but must be regarded more as a symbol of prestige.

Three further Scottish finds --- Abercairney (No. 262), Elvanfoot, Lanark (No. 265) and Whitehills Moss, Dumfries (No. 269) display a different form of decoration in the form of a regular pattern of hammer or punch marks, closely set. This is unique.

Virtually every cauldron on the list has been heavily repaired. Patching takes several forms, of which the most complex is the 'paper clip' type. Many of these pieces, alone or inserted into fragments of bronze , have been found in the Culbin Sands (Black 1890 - 1: 507 - 8 and fig. 4). I do not know whether the trick was favoured in later historical times.

The second group of cauldrons, named Santon, is characterised by a 'belly carination' and tall straight or slightly everted neck, once more strengthened by iron and provided with handles; these last features are normally missing. Hawkes has traced their ancestry to the Continent where they appear only in the final phase of La Tène culture. Traditionally of two piece construction, small entire versions make an appearance in Rhenish graves of the early 2nd. century A.D.; and large, one piece vessel either raised and spun or cast

area feature of 3rd. century hoards in both German and Gallic provinces (Hawkes 1951 : 179 - 81).

Seven examples are known in Britain of which two only fall within our geographic area, the one from Cumberland (No. 270) and the other from Kirkcudbright (No. 271). Both are atray finds. The only evidence for a date comes from southern finds; one from Santon contained a hoard of Belgic metalwork usually attributed to the Claudian-Neronian period; the other, a small example from a well at Silchester, cannot be earlier than 100 A.D. and likely equated with those Germanic 2nd. century vessels discussed by Hawkes.

The appended list contains only one newcomer, from Wormegay, Norfolk, which adds further distributional weight to the primary area of Belgic occupation. Beyond, apart from our northern representatives, a further two have been found in Ireland, attesting to the type's widespread use.

Junction of the base and neck wall is effected in all save the Silchester example by means of an overlap at the cauldron's constriction and a close set array of rivets with domed heads. This provides a clear origin for the decorative banding of the small bowls from Lamberton Moor and Stanwick. It seems very likely that, as the Battersea cauldrons are reflected in miniature by the Glastonbury bowl, so the Santon form must have played an important part in the development of the smooth-profiled bowls, found predominantly in North Wales and Lowland Scotland.

No true representative of Hawkes' third and latest cauldron series has been found in North England or Scotland. The

characteristic concave profile of this 'Wotton' series, however, has been adopted in a cauldron from Crummockdale, Yorks (No. 272), which further combines the old and new techniques of two-piece construction hand casting. It was apparently found in a tarn not far from those native settlement sites which cluster in the Craven Fault; while occupation seems to have reached a peak in the 1st. and 2nd. centuries, coins of the succedding two hundred years are found in the area, and it is to this period that Hawkes would attribute the vessel under discussion.

Cauldron chains have been amply discussed by Piggott (1952 - 3 : 13 - 14, and 24 - 6), who distinguishes two types by the titles 'Standfordbury' and Great Chesterford'. In the former case, alternating rods and rings provide the required length, which may be as much as 7 ft. In the latter, an elaborate chain is contructed incorporating feats of blacksmiths' skills. The one is represented in the north by fragments from the Eckford hoard (op. cit. 25, fig. 5E6 - 9); the other by a magnificent piece from Blackburn Mill (op.cit. 43, fig. 11, B17), a second from Carlingwark (op. cit. 33, fig. 8, C10) and a third from Newstead (Curle 1911 : Pl. LXIV,3). Piggott has traced their ancestry to early beginnings on the Continent. With the exception of one early representative of the Standfordbury type, the members of both series are largely to be found in the Belgic area of South-east England and vary in date from the 1st. century B.C. to the early Romano-British period.

One may summarise the position as follows:- when encountered in a northerly context, the Santon form of cauldron and

any cauldron chain carries with it an aura of the Belgic South. The Battersea form of vessel on the other hand could be a local survival from Late Bronze Age times, although it must be admitted that a considerable lapse of time separates the two series, while decoration on the Kincardine Moss specimen further emphasises the debt to the Belgic world.

Nothing has been said about the curious vessel from Tarland, Aberdeen (No. 261). Little more than 2 in. in mouth diameter it is of cast bronze with an externally bevelled lip, deep everted neck projecting carination and rounded base. Its decoration simulates the practical features of three-part cauldron construction --- a narrow cast beading recalls the overlap of upper and lower sections whose 'junction' is effected by means of a row of skeuomorphic rivets with conical heads, set into drilled holes and beaten over on the inside. Similar rivets amassed at two opposing points on the neck, mark the spot where further joints are normally found in sheet construction.

The circumstances of discovery are muddled; the deposit would seem to have been funerary as a human tooth lay in the cup on its discovery. At least one cist is attested from the site, but whether the cup accompanied this structure is not known and its relationship with other small finds from the site is likewise dubious; these included a silver penannular brooch of Mrs. Fowler's type Aa, present at Newstead in a mid-late 2nd. century context; execution in silver is normally a late feature.

The cup is unique. The closest analogies for its shape are to be found not in the cups and bowls to which its size

would relegate it but rather among cauldrons of the Santon class. And yet, the application of casting to cauldron manufacture is not popular in Gaul and the Rhineland until the 3rd. century A.D., by which time in these areas a novel and irrelevant form of profile had been devised (Hawkes 1951 : 18 - 81). In Britain, however, it will be remembered that we have the Crummockdale cauldron to attest to a combination of new techniques and old shape.

The final mystery concerns the conical rivets. That comparison drawn by Callander, with the rivets of the horned helmet from the Thames at Waterloo Bridge is not valid. A couple of conical rivets are included in the Ringstead hoard (Clarke 1951 : Pl. IX,d and e), but even this analogy is not convincing. It seems scarcely credible but an unavoidable assumption that the maker of the Tarland cup was following a vague tradition of spikiness traceable back to Class BI cauldrons of the Late Bronze Age in Scotland and Ireland (Coles 1959-60 : 39 - 31; Eogan 1964 : 300 and Pl. XXIX).

Hawkes (1951 : 181) draws attention to the Continental custom of depositing cauldrons in graves. This has been ascribed to the Nervil and to the first three centuries A.D.

Clearly the Tarland cup is a puzzle; its inconsistencies of appearance are equalled only by those of its discovery and surpassed only by the mystery of its disappearance and subsequent ownership.

X ANIMAL REPRESENTATIONS.

Animal representations received only sporadic attention until 1951 when Hawkes did much to clarify the field of study (1951 :

172 - 99). It is totally impossible to draw a line between native and Roman work in this sphere. The dilemma stands revealed by a comparison of the objects cited as native by Thomas (1963 : 14 - 64) and claimed as Roman by Toynbee (1964); the overlap is considerable. These anomalies are echoed in out Catalogue despite an attempt to restrict the discussion to more definitely native products.

It will be convenient to deal with the animals in groups according to species; first bulls and cows, then boars and pigs, and finally, a rag-bag containing the rare representation of ponies, stags and snakes.

1. Bulls and Cows. This series is represented in North England and South Scotland by eleven mounts of varying purpose and appearance. One from Dolphinton, Lanark.(No.277) is a self contained unit; a pair from Ingleton, Yorks. (No.235) have already been encountered on a mirror handle; two from Castlefield, Manchester (No.) and Aldborough, Yorks.(No.273) were originally knife handles; a further two, unprovenanced and from Yorks respectively may have been strap adornments or pendants (Nos 280, 282), five are bucket mounts(Nos.274-5; 278-9, 281).

Bulls and cows figure largely in the British Early Iron Age animal repertoire; they make over thirty appearances and this number does not include th well known firedog series; a list is appended. Some form of supernatural or symbolical intent must be present (Roes 1956 : 57 - 63)[14]; in addition, ownership of a vessel so embellished may have been a form of status symbol; an escutcheon from Dinorben (II) lay on the site of a very large house of chieftain standard.

Hawkes distinguished two traditions of artistic approach to the subject of bulls and cows, the one highly stylised and typified by the winsome creature from Ham Hill, in the tradition of Iron Age B animals as portrayed, for instance, on the Battersea and Witham shields; the other, more naturalistic, best represented by the Felmersham bucket mounts and, perhaps, typifying the Belgic reaction to Romanising influences. However, as Savory points out (1964 : 144 - 8), it is impossible to distinguish this duality of treatment in the Highland Zone; witness the two dissimilar bovine studies from Dinorben.

For comparison with the Dolphinton specimen there are only two other free-standing bulls --- an unlocated one in the Ashmolean Museum, and another from the famous Belgic burial of Lexden; both these last show signs of mounting which are not shared by our Scottish example; nor is there any similarity of treatment to link the three. The Dolphinton bull is sway-backed, stumpy and in the stolid, sober Romano-British tradition of the ponies from Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh (No.287), and perhaps, Gwaunysgor, Flints.(RCAM,Flints., No.33, fig. 25); its accompanying type Ri fibula provides a tenuous link with the Flavian period and suitably summarises the artistic atmosphere which gave it birth.

An unlocated bull's head in Glasgow has attracted the attention of Megaw (1957 - 8 : 179 - 82). It is a curious piece whose strap and loop form of fixture suggests mounting upon a leather, rather than upon a wooden vessel. There is a closely analogous mount in York Museum. Megaw draws attention to comparable bulls' heads unprovenanced, as the Scottish example, in the Meyrick Collection of the

British Museum and to further specimens on the Continent; he would apparently envisage manufacture in north or central France not later than the 3rd. century A.D.; a conclusion which may equally be applied to both British representatives; certainly neither smacks of home production, though it is difficult to say just why and in what respect it seems alien.

The remaining bull mounts are in the true British tradition. That from Castlefield, both in function and appearance, is to be related to the famous Birdlip knife handle; a second of similar function from Aldborough is now lost.

The Ingleton mirror mounts have already received attention (p. 341). It is sufficient to point out that the juxtaposition of bull and cow protomes is elsewhere encountered on the Felmersham bucket; while the starkness of their treatment is, perhaps, best paralleled by 2nd. century mounts from Thealby; both foreshadow the bull abstracts of Mountsorrel and Kenchester.

The range of northern bucket mounts has been augmented considerably since Hawkes first initiated a serious study. Two exciting specimens from Corbridge are as yet unpublished. The first (No. 275) consists of an irregular attachment plate through whose perforation runs a heavy cast link; from the side of this emerges the bull's head. The precise arrangement is unique and the mode of attachment intended is made all the more puzzling by breakages and subsequent conversions in antiquity. I envisage the lower plate attached to the internal side of a wooden bucket by means of two rivets --- of which one still remains --- in such a way that its transverse groove

coincided with the bucket edge and its perforated upper section projected beyond. The bull's head would then lie in the normal position for animal escutcheons, while the heavy curved rod from which it springs would originally have formed the bucket handle, terminating in a comparable protome on the other side; this handle is now sawn off shortly beyond the one remaining animal mask. The effect would not be far ifferent from that of the Felmersham bucket, although to my knowledge the actual fusion of handle and escutcheon is nowhere else recorded.

The animal has a slender sprightliness which relegates it immediately to the Ham Hill series; with this last example it shares a retroussé nose, absence of ears, gaily curved horns --- encircled by grooves at the base; the Corbridge example may even have besported the typically Celtic horn knobs, although these are now snapped off. Both general outline and the grooved emphasis of facial planes remind one irresistably of the Keshcarrigan duck,,and it is a measure of Celtic fantasy that such a comparison of cow and duck heads is not really incongruous. Again, the Corbridge beast is biting upon a small round pe let whose equivalent in the bird world is held by the duck from Milber Down, Devon (Fox 1958 : Pl. 42, b)[15]. So far the trend of comparisons has been early --- Ham Hill, Keshcarrigan, Milber Down. The ring and dot, however, are not. Comparable treatment on bull escutcheons is displayed only by the 2nd. century Ribchester mounts and a single example from Wilcote, Oxon. associated with coins of the late 4th. century; but this ~~difficulty~~ problem is not insoluble if our range is widened to include other animal studies. The eyes of the Capel Garmon

firedog are executed in identical fashion (Allen 1901 : 40, fig. 6); hile nearer home so are the entire series of dragons from brooches of that name to say nothing of the curious flap-eared creature on the Carlingwark tankard holdfast (No. 250). This Corbridge bucket mount-cum-handle may have started life even before Agricola's foundation of the site; it is unlikely to be much later than the end of the 1st. century A.D.

The second small cow head from Corbridge (No. 276) is a bucket mount only by inference. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine just how it could ever have been securely fixed to anything. Again, slender proportions combined with bulging almond eyes and nostril recall the Ham Hill/DinorbenI/Welshpool series; but the huge cupped ears excede even those of Dinorben and are encountered in comparable magnitude only on the Felmersham castings.

Totally different is an unprovenanced escutcheon now preserved at Newcastle and presumed to be a local find (No. 281). In this case the bull's mask would seem to have clipped over the bucket's edge, again with the twin perforated attachment plate flush to the interior wall. A looped projection into the interior would hold the recurved end of a handle. The casting is not attractive. The piquancy lies in a comparison of its hefty aggression with the inquisitive elegance of our two previous mounts. The voluminous triangular head, stubby horns and bulging almond eyes make it a close relative of the Bulbury and Lexden bulls.

In a final small bull mount fr m Traprain (No. 279) a reversion to slender proportions is once more evident --- but it is

a retrograde step. Its weak, spoon shaped muzzle invites comparison with the escutcheons from Mountsorrel, Kenchester and Twyford; this last comes late in the British series, but there is no longer any need to envisage it as Saxon as Hawkes thought, so that the last gasps of bovine adornment may be relegated to the 3rd. or 4th century, a date which coincides with the stratigraphy of the Traprain example.

It remains to mention finds from the River Ribble, possibly at Ribchester (No.278) and Burrow (No.274). Both probably come from Roman sites, the latter known to have been occupied from the 1st. - 4th. century. In the former, a bird of prey with huge curved beak and ring and dot eyes emerges from the bull's forehead, the human mask at neck level and, of course, the enclosed wood. It has been pointed out that this unique combination of bird and animal can be paralleled in Anatolia (Ant. J., XXXV, 1955 : 222) and, more nearly, by a candelabra-like casting from the oppidum of Manching Bavaria (Kramer 1958 : 193, Abb. 14). In Britain, the twin bucket mounts from Thealby Lincs., are closely comparable, while the Twyford find attests to a continued popularity into the 3rd. or 4th. century. A stump on the forehead of the Burrow bull may be the remains of a comparable bird of prey; and it seems likely that each of the three analogous mounts quoted was once equipped with a human mask in the manner of the Ribchester example. There is one mask from South Shields which would admirably fit such an arrangement, although it is insufficiently Celtic-looking to warrant insertion in the Catalogue (Newcastle Mus. 1956: 128, 87A). The little Traprain raven (No.294) seems to have vacated his perch, but his ancestry is now made clear. It remains to decide

upon a date for the Ribchester and Burrow escutcheons. The Thealby mounts must be 2nd. or 3rd. century in view of their accompanying grave, goods and thus provide a general idea of range; but by far the closest analogies both for the method of mounting and general appearance, though minus the bird mount, are afforded by the recent Dinorben find (II); this last was in use in the third quarter of the 3rd. century, and may have been made some time before. Late 2nd. or early 3rd. century is, therefore, a safe approximation for the Ribchester specimen. The Burrow mount is undistinguished though clearly in the Felmersham tradition; a similar date cannot be far wrong.

In conclusion, the attachment of bull protomes to buckets or bowls is ultimately another transplantation from the wouth to the nprth, complete with its regalia of mysticism and prestige. While never common, specimens can be attributed to the late 1st. - 4th. centurgies. Decorative treatment underlines the debt owed to the sooth in the earlier pieces; thereafter one may trace the emergence of the ox head symbol portrayed in a style of re-barbarization. As one of the very few facets of Celtic art to demonstrably survive into the 3rd. and 4th. centuries, bull and cow representations hold a partiwularly important place in the archaeological record.

2. Pigs and boars: Approximately one-third of all bull and cow representations have been found in that area of Britain north of a line from the Wash to the Severn; however, of the nineteen small boars known to me, only two are north English finds, two Welsh, two Irish and none Scottish --- a fact which renders the Deskford carnyx mouth (No. 174) all the more surprising.

The appended list does include some Romanised figures, the Lexden and Findon examples in particular.

In the case of bull and cow representations, emphasis is upon the head to the exclusion of the body; not so in the case of boars which are normally depicted entire. Again, bronze oxen are applied to buckets and bowls, or to mirror or knife handles; this is not so in the case of most boars whose mounting in many cases presents a considerable problem; one seems to have been equipped with a pin, another with tangs to its feet, a third with a groove along its belly and several would seem to have been hung round the neck as a kind of amulet by perforation through the crest or tail. The animal's magical significance is stressed, as Piggott reminds us (1959 : 28), by the presence of pig bones in Iron Age graves and frequent references to the beast in Old Irish literature. Continental representations are not hard to find; the pillar god from Effigneux springs to mind (Varagnac 1956 'La sculpture' Pl. VII); but more relevant perhaps are those uninspired pendants which are so much a feature of Continental oppida such as Joevres, Loire (Déchelette 1927 : 813, fig. 586, 4) and Hradiste, near Stradonic (Filip 1960 : Pl. XXXV); the little lost boar from London could almost be an import.

A small bronze boar mount was apparently found at Aldborough in the early years of the nineteenth century (No. 283). Its whereabouts cannot now be traced, nor is the sole illustration very clear. It seems to consist of the forepart only; eyes, tusks and trotters are summarily depicted as well as a scalloped crest. The resemblance to a small specimen from East Cheap, likewise tapered off beyond the forelegs

is close; no date can be attached to this last as the sole accompaniment was a tiny ox mask in a damaged state. The decorative crest is of course, a well known feature both in Britain (e.g. Hounslow) and abroad (e.g. Filip 1960 : 64, fig. 14). I doubt London Museum's identification of their specimen as a helmet mount --- it would seem rather small --- but have no alternative explanation.

The second small boar from Chesters (No.284) may have been a knife handle. Consisting of head only, the neck seems to be socketed. Its slender proportions and delicate simplicity places it in the Hounslow/Meare tradition and, indeed, only on this last casting does one find ears of comparable enormity.

3. Other animals: Three ponies are included in the Catalogue. The only link between them is their subject matter. That from Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh (No. 287) is a clumsy attempt at naturalism by a native craftsman working under Roman influence.[16] The second, from Lesmahagow (No. 286), could scarcely be more of a contrast --- a thoroughbred as opposed to a hack pony, a transformation of 'horse' into geometric terms. There is a vague resemblance to the Silchester mount (Toynbee 1964 : Pl. XXXIV,a) and to the equine members of that series of Gallo-Roman animal brooches (Pernoud 1957 : 3, 5 etc.), but the similarity is superficial. Far closer, though one hesitates to mention it, are those ponies and bulls which adorn axe heads and bowls from the graves of Hallstatt (Kromer 1963 : Taf. 38, 41, 44, 48, 51). The third is executed in low relief upon a claystone cup from Binney Craig, Linlithgow (No. 285). With its head lowered to a grazing position and one ear pricked for trouble, it is a sensitive study dis-

playing links, such as the bell-shaped mouth, with the succeeding series of deer and stags. The normal run of handled stone cups is of little immediate importance to our study of Northern Iron Age art. Steer (1955 - 6 : 243 - 6) reveals that they are found almost exclusively north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus though there are rare examples further south, as well as twelve from Ireland and one each from the Isle of Man and England. The type then would seem to be a Highland answer to the wooden cups and ladles found in crannogs and lake villages. Finds at Dunagoil attest to their manufacture in the pre-Roman Iron Age; further discoveries in brochs, a dun, crannog, souterrain and wheelhouse assure their continuance into the 2nd. or 3rd. century. Thomas (1963 : 21) would place the Binney Craig specimen in the 1st. century A.D., perhaps before the arrival of Agricola.

Four shreds from Hebridean sites, whether dun, wheel-house or midden, bear scratched representation of stags or deer. (Nos. 289 & 291-3) Originally probably a frieze of such animals encircled the pots just below the rim. The ware is unexceptional. Thomas (1963 : 14 - 20) regards them as freak products of the 'Roman' Iron Age in north-west Scotland, the geographical extent of whose culture is revealed by the distribution of wheelhouses, early duns and brochs; sensing perhaps a common ancestry for the Hebridean stags and other inter-Wall peasant products such as the Dolphinton Bull and Carrawburgh pony. I have little to add to his findings save to point out that the deer from Bragar, Lewis (No. 289) displays a double outline filled with hatching and a hair swirl at the foreleg joint which exactly duplicates features of those bronze scoops from Crosby Ravenworth and Burnmouth (Nos 245-8).

Neither contains any hint of animal decoration but the similarity is surely a small support for Mr. Thomas's theory. The simple triskele on a sherd from Foshigarry further strengthens the link (Childe 1935 : Pl. XVI. 6). I will leave the related rock carvings of Argyll and Fife in his hands.

Stag representation was never common in Early Iron Age art. There is, however, a very Romanised head from Aldborough (Smith 1852 : Pl. XXV), perhaps comparable with the Milber Down beast (Fox 1958: Pl. 42, d) and an extremely stylized cut-out from Coventina's Well (No. 290), whose splayed stick legs recall the Silchester pony, but whose ridiculous plate tail is borrowed from Romano-British cocks such as those from York and Camulodunum (Home 1924 : Pl. opp. 130 and Hawkes and Hull 1947 : Pl. C, 21, 333).

The final creature is reptilian. We have already encountered serpents in the form of finger rings and bracelets. To these the stone cup from Inverkeithny, Banff (No. 295) must be related; geometric incision, so common on this series of object, has been put to the unique task of representing a coiled snake body whose head is the handle. As Thomas points out, inspiration from the Culbin Sands type of armlet is inescapable. This would relegate the cup to the late 1st. or 2nd. century A.D.

XI. HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS.

The topic of human representation in the Iron Age of northern Britain has been well covered by Dr. Ross (1957 - 8 : 10 - 43) so that it is unnecessary for me to do anything but summarise her

findings. It seems reasonable to assume that all have magico-religious content and that none is a straightforward portrayal of local inhabitant as opposed to deity. This is proved by the insistence on the head-without-a-body for which Continental parallels are plentiful (Lambrechts 1954).

From Sutherland and Risingham, Northumb. there are three-faced versions; the former has a hollow on top for the pouring of libations; from Corbridge come an impressive Janus head and a 'phallic' version; from Westmorland and Northumberland a whole of spate of horned human heads as well as eleven without attributes. All the above representations have been in stone and all reveal by subject matter and decorative treatment their Celtic ancestry. Yet stone sculpture beyond Greek-influenced Provence was never a popular medium with Celtic artists. This, the largely Roman contexts of our northern pieces --- and, of course, their southern relatives --- plus also the occasional appearance of attributes more suited to classical mythology such as Gorgon hair, proves a post-Conquest date for the majority and a considerable amount of Roman influence for some.

In the realm of metal representations the partition between Roman and native work is non-existent as Piggott has explained (Ant. J., XLIII, 1963 : 116 - 18). There is, for instance, a bronze head from Old Carlisle (Bellhouse 1958 - 9: 30 and fig. V) which displays typically Celtic features such as drooping almond eyes, wedge shaped nose, luxuriant moustaches and a stylised treatment of the hair; but its competence alone would hint at Roman influence; while its function as a steelyard weight removes it from our immediate concern

(Petch 1928 : Pl. XXII, fig. 2). Again, a rather similar bucket mount from Brough-on-Humber could legitimately be inserted into the Catalogue, as it came from the 2nd. century grave of a native dignitary (Corder and Richmond 1938 : 69 and Pl. XXIX), but a line must be drawn somewhere, however arbitrarily.

Essays in human representation for which undoubted Celtic inspiration may be claimed are the twin masks from Stanwick (discussed in that report on p. 27) and the probable terret from Aldborough, N.R.Yorks.(No.296). Much has been written about this curious piece and a detailed discussion will be provided by Mr. Megaw in his forthcoming work; I shall confine myself to several small points. Firstly, if the terret attribution is correct and there is no reason to doubt it, the Aldborough specimen would conform to our 'skirted Group'(p. 97). There is little evidence for this form of attachment in Britain before the mid-1st. century A.D. The technique of bronze-encases-iron employed for the ring section must therefore be unusually late. The face is dominated by the eyes which are almond-shaped, set in keeled frames and centrally recessed for the insertion of enamel. They are clearly in the tradition of the Marlborough bucket (Fox 1958 : Pl. 36). The sharpness of frame detail of Aldborough is best paralleled in somewhat later representations such as the Ham Hill ox (op. cit. Pl. 48, b) and, of course, the Stanwick masks, whose eyesm when intact, must have displayed scarlet eyeballs with golden bronze pupils, a reversal of the arrangement at Aldborough, but nevertheless closely comparable. The drooping form of moustache on the other hand is encountered on small masks from the Welwyn vault burial

(op. cit., Pl. 33,b). The Gundestrup cauldron exemplifies that Continental stepping off point for our British series.

On the Aldborough casting, the rein ring surely fulfills a dual purpose as horns for the deity. None of the stone sculptures display this wide upswept form for clearly technical reasons. However, bucket mounts from Boughton Aluph, Kent (Thomas 1965 : Pl. 316) and Richborough (Bushe Fox 1932 : Pl. X, 17) have boldly projecting bull's horns which, in the last case at least, end in knobs. It is not too fantastic to envisage a similar knobbed arrangement for Aldborough, the rein ring being made penannular for this purpose in the manner of a skirted terret from the Neath hoard (Fox 1958 : 128, fig. 78,15).

Dr. Ross has drawn attention to the presence on the Aldborough head of the stumps of a leaf crown; such a feature is well known from Continental carvings (Jacobsthal 1944 : Nos. 10, 13 etc.).

Finally, note the cape decoration; upon it in high relief there is a slender lyre loop with flanking everted coils --- a simplification of the Birdlip mirror layout. Each coil terminates in a setting for an enamel boss, sunk within a banked frame. There is no difficulty in equating these features with the content of the Stanwick hoard; the lyre loop forms the basis of decoration for Set A and fragment 88 bears an identical stud setting. These minor points serve to support the accepted location of manufacture in Brigantia, and date shortly before 71 A.D.

XII CASKET ORNAMENT.

There are eight, or more, northern representatives of

that decorative series which Fox has rather unfortunately named casket ornament (1958 : 105 - 6). The accompanying list has been expanded to include certain pieces not normally so classified although all qualify for insertion by reason of at least one or two characteristics.

Basically, casket ornament consists of foil panels, in the main bronze, rarely gold; these bear repoussé decoration for which in the majority of cases there is evidence for the use of a die. Each panel may be long and strip-like, square or occasionally shaped to follow the raised design upon its surface. This last is usually non-representational, frequently repetitive and varying in complexity from the simple repoussé dots of Lydney (R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler 1932: 85, fig. 18) to the sophisticated curves of the Elmswell panel (No.297). Certain decorative tricks of the trade may be distinguished as characteristic of casket ornament; they are the outlining of all motifs with a narrow rib-edging of unvarying width; the plentiful employment of keeled lobes including misunderstood trumpet coils; the application of raised dots in rows, equilateral triangles and rosettes; most revealing of all is the tendency to repetition which is the natural outcome of the process of manufacture.

By their shape and structural details the panels from Elmswell and Lydney (R.E.M. and T.V.Wheeler 1932 : Pl.XXIX, No. 135) must have adorned caskets; the strip from Stanfordbury was still attached to an oak chest on discovery; but paradoxically the title casket ornament must be applied also to mounts from a mirror, various vessels, bracelets, a collar, broo hes, possibly equipment of war, or

at least, parade such as a carynx(?), shield and chariot, and also funerary couches. The object to which casket ornament was attached is of little significance --- it is the idea of pinning ornament to a surface and the novel technique of execution and points of style which count.

The forty specimens appended do not include those appearances of casket ornament on bow-and fantail and disc brooches mentioned on p.262-276, whose relevance to the series must not be forgotten. Their inclusion does not, however, materially change the distribution. Approximately two-thirds of the known pieces occur south of a line from the Severn to the Wash; the remainder are scattered throughout North Wales, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland and Lowland Scotland. It is legitimate to suspect that these last examples emulate a southern trend; if anything the route followed should be an easterly one, if only because of the virtual absence of casket ornamenting techniques from the Irish scene.

The forty examples come from a wide range of contexts:- seven or eight from Belgic burials, the majority from settlement sites such as St. Mawgan in Pyder, Meare lake village, Moel Hiraddug hillfort Dowker - bottom Cave; many of these are known to have been occupied up to or beyond the Roman invasion and among this category are included Roman sites ranging from a villa to major towns; four hoards account for a number of specimens --- Llyn Cerrig, Santon, Stanwick and (?) Stichill; and there are seven stray finds.

The earliest appearances must be those upon the Aylesford bucket and Marlborough vat. Miss Birchall's study of the former

cemetery indicate that whatever the actual place and ate of the bucket's manufacture it must have been deposited between 50 and 10 B.C. (1964 : 21 - 9). Within this range Nylen (1958: 14) suspects the Marlborough vat of being the earlier. At the other end of the time span finds from Rhostryfan and Mountsorrel vie for position; the first was found in a native settlement site which also produced sherds of Roman pottery of the 2nd. to 4th centuries; the second, adorning a bucket whose escutcheons are discussed on p. 380 , was salvaged from a well containing pottery of the 3rd. century. Many other pieces of casket ornament attest to a peak of popularity in the mid-late 1st. century and the 2nd. century.

The Aylesford and Marlborough vessels are normally interpreted as Continental imports; it may be then that the idea of decoration by applying repoussé strip is similarly foreign. Just as Birchall finds analogies for all the Aylesford metalwork in the graves of Ornavasso, so a spouted wooden flagon, banded in stamped bronze, was found at the Molinazzo d'Arbedo in the Tessin valley (Jacobsthal 1944 : nos. 395 - 6); this site has produced material mainly of the La Tene III period; it surely cannot be a coincidence.[17]

Let us examine the northern evidence for penetration of this style of ornament. The Stichill collar (No. 194), Plunton Castle armlet (No. 195) and the Balmaclellan mirror (No. 239) and the entire range of triskelar disc brooches (p. 276) are proof enough. Less obviously related is the Aesica brooch (No. 225) whose adornment is cast, yet in the casket tradition. A comparable state of affairs is revealed by a small dress fastener head from Corbridge whose cast swirl decoration is a replica of one single unit from the Ham Hill and Hod

Hill strips. The bossed strip which encircles bowls Nos. 254 & 121 from Lamberton Moor and Stanwick, to say nothing of the applied panels on the Kincardine Moss cauldron (No. 267) are all further proof of the technique's penetration; while in the heater-like object from Hulne Park (No. 151) may well have a die for the production of casket ornament.

The evidence is overwhelming and we have as yet mentioned only those instances whose application to certain objects have insured their discussion under earlier headings. Several unattached pieces remain.

First there are the fragments from the Stanwick hoard. Certain features of the human masks --- scalloped outline and the use of rib edging for the moustaches --- may bring them within the range of casket influence. No. 99 is a four-leafed square, exactly paralleled on foil from Silchester and Lydney; those lengths which comprise No. 100 belong to the ubiquitous pseudo-rivet series; gold fragments No. 105 reveal curved shaping, margins of repoussé dot work, outlines of narrow ribs, fillings of tear-shaped punch marks, all of which are characteristic of casket ornament; upon the Balmaclellan mirror plates even the motif defined by these technical tricks is comparable. Fragment 98 is more difficult to parallel; details of the St. Mawgan in Pyder fragment display a similar large treatment with trumpet coils whose roundels are perforated for attachment rivets with decorative heads.

Three fragments of casket ornament have been found at Newstead. All were in early contexts. The first (No. 299) is a

mechanical strip, part of whose now ragged end may have been cut into a curve, rather in the manner of the largest panel from Lydney. It repoussé dot edging is identical to that on the Lamberton and Stanwick bowls; its central array of bosses, each encircled by a raised ring, recalls the Chesterford bucket and Kincardine Moss cauldron, with strip from Ham Hill and Llyn Cerrig not far behind. No.301 must have been a much more ambitious affair, of which now only the end of a slender trumpet unit remains. Both the motif and its internal treatment recall, in England, detail of the Glastonbury tub (Bulleid and Gray 1911 : Pl. L, X2) and in Ireland several of the Loughcrew slips. This is not surprising; the technique of casket ornament may have started in life in Britain as a Belgic contribution but in the 1st. century A.D. dichotomy between B and C craftsmen and their repertoire scarcely exists. The third fragment from Newstead (No.299) is the most important. Hawkes described its pattern as 'composed of trumpet jointed but feeble stalky scrolls and lentoid lobes' (Corder and Hawkes 1940: 347). Within each panel a repoussé rosette is tucked, centrally perforated for an attachment rivet. Curle drew attention to the mixture of Celtic stylisation with acute observ tion of plant forms, and would have quarreled with Hawkes over the latter's dismissal of the piece as 'jejeune and provincialising'. It may have little artistic merit, but its value to the study of decorative metalwork is inestimable. Here we have one of the few closely dateable appearances of the broken back curve, and of the slender trumpet both singly employed and juxtaposed to form a lightweight version of the muzzle motif. This last helps us to date such varied finds as the Middlebie hoard and the

Deskford carnyx mouth for identical decorative units adorn cruciform mount No. 20 from the former collection and the forehead of the latter. Again, the arrangement of jointed stems framing the right hand rosette is precisely that surrounding the beady eyes of the Culbin Sands snake. Alien influence may be detected also. Hawkes has already drawn attention to the Roman overtones of the petalled rosette and I feel sure that the curious motif to the right of this strip must be inspired by Samian ware --- that trident shaped arrangement of leaves which occasionally occupies a metope (e.g. Oswald and Price 1920 : Pl. III, 9; IV, 3; VI, 7).

A small leaf shaped panel from Traprain (No. 302) is appended here. Its surface is adorned with repoussé dots but the pattern they delimit is curiously non-Celtic. A fragmentary but comparable piece from Silchester was noted by Curle and a second from Fifehead Neville, Dorset by Burley (1955 - 6 : 187). Two pieces from Norries Law hoard seem unaccountably related (PSAS, VI, 1864 - 5 : Pl. I, 1); their deposit has now been placed in the late 7th. century (Wainwright Ed., 1955 :110 - 11).

The largest and most attractive panel of all has been left to the last. This was found in 1938 at Elmswell, a native settlement site known to have been occupied from Flavian times to the end of the Roman period; nearby, there is evidence of much earlier activity in the shape of the Eastburn cemetery (Hull Mus. Pub. No. 197). The foil panel in question was unaccompanied and unstratified. Hawkes, in an exhaustive study of its decorative features has proved its allocation to c. 60 A.D.; all I can do is to summarise and augment his findings.

Along the upper edge is a strip of champlevé enamelling; the technique is Belgic but the pattern Roman with a clumsy parallel in cut-work from Lydney (R.E.M. and T.V.Wheeler 1932 : Pl. XXIX, 134); both must have an origin in the running scrolls and stylised flower heads of Samian ware, although a native touch creeps in at the sides in the form of tortuous trumpet coils; a precisely similar scroll ending is provided on a casket strip from Kettering. Such enamelled bands are not uncommon; one, adorned with palmettes is preserved at Corbridge Museum, another with a fat, running wave pattern at South Shields (Bosanquet 1903 : 287, fig. 45); this last is executed in red and blue enamel so theoretically should be later although the serrated edges of its leaf pattern show that it cannot be as late as the reign of Hadrian (Corder and Hawkes 1940 : 356).

The underlying ovolo band at Elmswell, lightly incised and heavily worn is a clear Roman contribution, but tht foil panel proper owes nothing to Rome beyond perhaps a tendency to symmetry. Low keeling rib-edging and the inclusion of dots --- here clustered into berried rosettes --- are all features of casket ornament; with the technique and the very idea of casket ornamenting they attest to influence from the south. The design also draws heavily on the artistic repertoire of that lyre loop enclosing a simplified palmette. If the adjacent panels are whisked away and the lateral trumpet coil units closed up the Desborough mirror arrangement is miraculously constructed, almost down to the last void; but the borrowing may be at 'second hand' and this is where the Belgic contribution to decoration as opposed to technique, function etc. comes in. The idea of multiplying lyre

palmettes to fit a lon thin frame is best seen on crescent terrets, in particular that from Bapchild, Kent (Read 1905 : opp. 57) and upon the Great Tower Street strip, each of whose interlinked units is a replica of the single Elmswell one. Again, the curious everted coils which flank the Elmswell lyre loop at its base are to be found on a cruciform mount (Henry 1933 : 104, fig. 20, 3) unprovenanced, but clearly of Belgic or Iceenian manufacture. Then again, the stage of pattern disintegration reached on the Elmswell panel, plus many internal features, are echoed by the Polden Hill horse brooch (Fox 1958 : Pl. 33,a); whatever its source of manufacture, the use of red enamel in wide washes upon its surface is typically Belgic. Finally, even the berried rosettes are found in a Belgic context, upon the casket strip in the Santon hoard.

Yet there are several points which militate against Elmswell's manufacture in the south, noteably its close links with helmet No. 175, the Balmaclellan mirror plates and, in simplified form, mounts 1 and 11 of the Stanwick hoard. To visualise the Elmswell panel as a straight Romano-Belgic product is to banish this entire range of decorative metalwork to the south and to deprive that later product of the same artistic trend, the Aesica brooch No. 225, of its roots in Brigantian craftsmanship.

In fact, the lyre loop had been a feature of northern metalwork from Torrs times, the trumpet coil from that of the Llyn Cerrig plaque and Bugthorpe disc brooch; while concealed among the luxuriant growth of our casket panel there are unformed slender trumpets and hesitant broken backed scrolls which are to become the mainstay of

northern pattern for the remainder of its life.

The chronological conclusions of Hawkes cannot be bettered. The Elmswell panel should be a product of the last years of Brigantian freedom before the dead weight of Roman provincialism descended upon the artistic scene, forcing the hallowed traditions of Celtic pattern to a last desperate stand beyond the Tay.

The Lochlee board (No. 298) is doubtfully appended here. This carving serves us as a reminder of just how much we miss by the natural processes of decay. It is unlikely that the true purpose of this piece will ever be known; it may have been utilised as a mould for leatherworking in Late Bronze Age fashion (Coles, J.M. 1962 : 180 - 1); or as a die for execution of casket decoration on a reasonably large scale; cakes or shortbread emblazoned with lyre palmette and triskele may even have graced the table of one Lochlee family at any rate.

The lyre palmette unit of flanking trumpet coils has obvious contacts with the Langbank comb (No. 241) and Irish spoons referred to on p. 355 ; it shares with them a common origin in south-west Second B pottery decoration, allbeit at second hand. This half-way stage is revealed by certain north Welsh and north English find. Forget for a moment the motif's palmette ancestry; it immediately becomes a pair of broken-back scrolls linked by a communal hollowed joint; three of these form a triskele on the Moel Hirradug plate (Grimes 1952 : 167, fig. 6); on the Stichill collar they are grouped into a swash-N motif (No. 194); and the trick is continued into the late 2nd. century or after witness the foil fragment from Rhostryfan. This last even provides boss filling to the joint and a comparable form

of pointed, sinuous trumpet coil.

The triskelar form immediately underlying this motif at Lochlee has a local relative in the Dowalton Loch disc brooch (No.226); beyond, its relationships are difficult to trace. The second triskele, on the reverse side of the board is more helpful. It is identical to that on casket strips from Hod Hill and Ham Hill; in between ~~thses~~ these two geographic extremes lies the identical, though cast dress fastener head from Corbridge (see p. 297).

It is reasonable, therefore, to see in the Lochlee board faint reflections of southern design as filtered through the fashions and fancies of Brigantian craftsmanship. A second century date seems most likely.

The Balmaclellan hoard: The cut foil sheets of the hoard bring our Catalogue and its discussion to a close. With mirror No.239 they were folded into four compact parcels, each wrapped in cloth and consigned to marshland. Nearby was found the upper stone of a quern bearing a cruciform pattern, comparable with another local find from Stranraer (PSAS, XIII, 1878 - 9 : 172). Wilson (1863 : 228) seems to have accepted their close association but Anderson was dubious (1882 : 126).

Carved rotary quern stones of Iron Age date have been studied for Anglesey, Wales and Ireland by Griffiths (1951 : 49 - 61) and for north England by Jobey (1959 : 217 - 77). Rare examples occur in Scotland, both of the more normal bun-shaped and the flatter Romano-British form. However, Griffiths would regard flatness plus cruciform decoration, the handle socket coinciding with one of the arms of the

cross as indicative of medieval date and Waterman's excavation at Clough Castle, Co. Down (1954 : 146, fig. 16) has produced fragments of two comparable querns dateable to the 13th - 15th. centuries. It seems, therefore, that the propinquity of the Balmaclellan hoard and quern must be a coincidence.

Miss Henshall (1950 : 139 - 40) describes the cloth from the deposit as a remarkably fine piece of weaving, a diamond twill executed in wool of one colour only.

No new light can be shed on the function of the plates. It is, perhaps,,paradoxical to say that, though they display few if any characteristics of casket ornament, yet they may very well have adorned a large wooden coffer. The Alternative of a shield ~~has been touched upon elsewhere (p.) but such an application~~ seems somewhat weakened by the mirror's presence, although, of course, there is no logical reason for suspecting their combined use.

The largest piece is No. 307 in the Catalogue; its two long sides are straight and parallel, its two ends open upon large keyhole-shaped voids which converge upon an equally capacious oval hole in the centre. The effect is one of arcading, whose spidery appearance results from the fact that there is more volume of space than of the foil which encloses it. Although the metal has been fractured as a result of brutal folding it is all there, and ther is no reason to suspect a prolongation of the piece from its open ends. The moulded edge strips confirm a relationship to the better known crescentic plaque No. 303 while following an age old tradition first represented in the north by the Torrs pony caps. The actual strip

profile is similar to that of the Moel Hirradug plate, although there executed in one with the decorative panel. Along the margin at eight symmetrical points on the sheeting, rivet holes attest to its mounting; and circular stains around these last reveal that they were given decorative importance by passing through a large stud of which two actual examples still exist; these are cast in the form of eight-petalled rosettes. Hawkes' attribution of this motif to Roman influence has already been mentioned. It must, however, be pointed out that this geometric form, approaching looped studs from Richborough and Traprain (see p. 309) and units on the Newstead strip (No. 299) is by no means as Roman in execution as mail mounts Nos. 118 - 19 from the Stanwick hoard whose debt is revealed clearly by a comparison with detail on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Fox 1958 : Pl. 58, b).

Two almost identical sheets (Nos. 308) are related by form and execution to the above larger piece. Both are entire, though not intact. They can be described as of attenuated amazon shield shape, all edges bound and perforated for attachment; there is evidence for two rosette washers per panel. It is difficult to envisage their relationship to the arcaded strip; but I cannot help feeling that Anderson's illustrator may have stumbled unwittingly upon the solution when he tucked them into the keyhole voids of that piece (1882 : 129, fig. 106); if only because the voids ,so occupied, now fit into the Celtic repertoire; the pair closest to the central,oval become narrow crescents, the other four each defined by the constriction of the keyhole and the attenuation of the amazon shield assume a paired trumpet coil shape, echoing that of the shash-N motifs on two further Balmaclellan

sheets (Nos. 304 & 303).

Of th three accompanying elongated strips little can be said. One, No. 306 , is corrugated lengthwise in a manner reminiscent of the Plunton Castle bracelet, although this last was cast not beaten; one end is fish-tail shaped, recalling the terminals of Group IV scabbard strips but execution is so feeble as to preclude this interpretation; also there is no sign of strap loop. The second, No. is edged with simple repoussé banding and adorned by a similar, though applied central strip. Again, rivet holes attest to its original mounting, but inferior execution suggest that neither this nor the previous piece need have adorned the same object as Nos. 304 & 307-8 .

The final long strip is No. 304 . Two small swivelled straps upon its underside are incomprehensible to me. A central square panel of engraving will be discussed in connexion with the final piece on p. 409 .

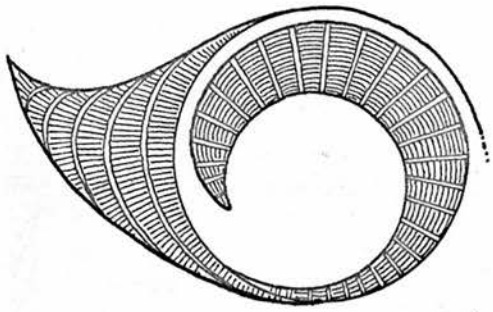
No. 303 is justifiably the most famous of the Balmaclellan foil panels. Its shape resembles closely that modern form of collar, called for some inscrutable reason 'Peter Pan'. Its edging secures its connexion with panels 304, 307-8 permitting the possibility that all served as mounts on the one object but not necessarily proving so.

Surface decoration is masterfully executed with a fine engraving point and consists of ten conjoined roundels arranged simply about a central trapezoid unit. The basic curves may be compass drawn but there is no hesitancy of line even when such mechanical aid is not feasible. Basket hatching is employed within each unit and this must

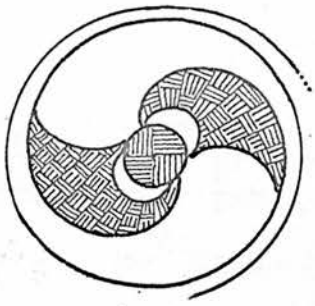
first be examined before turning to details of layout and motif.

For comparable treatment we must clearly turn to southern products and in particular to mirrors. At Balmaclellan each unit of hatching is on a large scale in comparison with the area it helps to fill. It is, therefore, most comparable with the unprovenanced mirrors in the Mayer, Gibbs and Disney Collections and those from Trelan Bahow and Billericay I. Then again the Balmaclellan hatching is frequently tailored to complement the curved panel it occupies. In this it is almost unprecedented. The decoration of Billericay I is closest. Turning to individual features, the tabard arrangement of roundel 2's central unit at Balmaclellan is paralleled only upon the Gibbs mirror; radial hatching of curls is on the other hand very common on most mirrors, although that variant at Balmaclellan whereby pairs of such radial lines are interspersed by panels of transverse lines if present only on the Trelan Bahow specimen, and in a much less lavish and large scale application. The final point worth mentioning is a curious quality of treatment at Balmaclellan whereby hatching is employed to fill now positive pattern units, now background. Both tricks are present in mirror decoration, but are not normally intermixed.

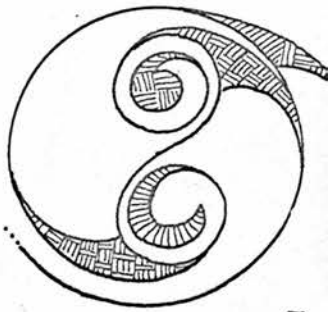
It is, therefore, justifiable to suspect that the craftsman responsible for the Balmaclellan plate was working in the tradition of asymmetric mirror adornment towards the end of this important artistic phase, though perhaps not quite as late as that phase of mechanical hatching revealed by the Nijmegen mirror; this British import was apparently found in a grave with pottery and glass of the late 1st-early 2nd. century A.D. (Dunning 1928 : 69 - 79) although



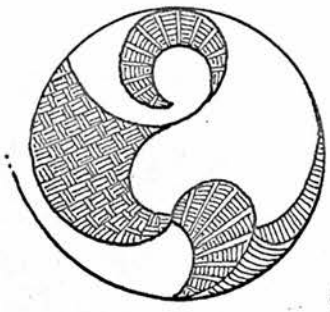
1



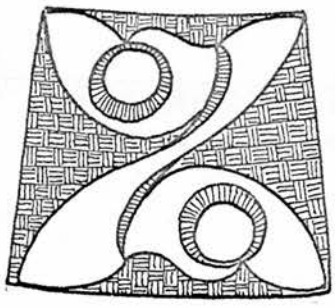
2



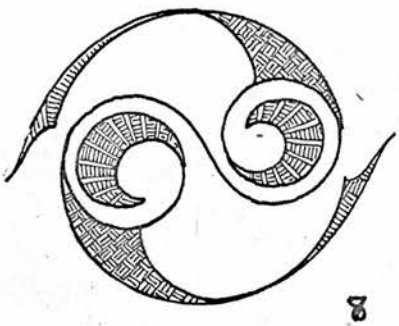
3



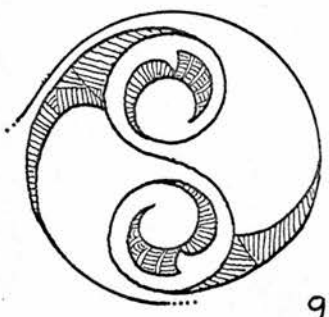
5



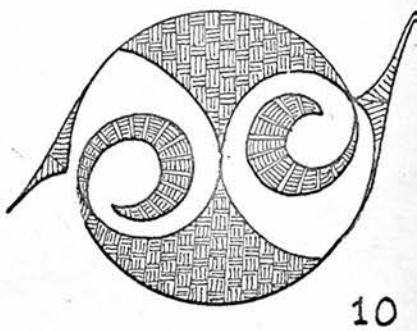
6



8



9



10

doubts have been voiced about the association. It is to be hoped that individual motifs on the Balmaclellan plate may permit us to shrink this time span for its manufacture.

The Balmaclellan scroll work is a symmetric array of continuous S-scrolls, of which five precede to the right and five to the left. Analogies are provided by Iron Age B pottery (in particular Meare No. 20; Grimes 1952 : 166, fig.5) and by rare metalwork such as the St. Mawgen strip and Llyn Cerrig panel 80 (Fox 1946 : VIII). It is noticeable that at Balmaclellan use is made of a curved web --- hatch filled --- to link some roundels to the entering and departing scrolls. This is equally a feature of pot decoration but such is its survival value that it is to be found even upon Torrs Horn A.

The Balmaclellan layout is subtle; central and end units, that is Nos. 1, 6 and 11, in the illustration are heavily weighted, 2 and 10 less so while 3, 4, 8 and 9 are mere feathery tendrils. Nor is the arrangement entirely symmetrical; this becomes clear if one plots the axes of its various roundel motifs; 5 and 7 are mirror images; so are 4 and 8; 3 and 9 are balanced although they differ in precise content; 2 and 10 are totally unalike and, moreover, lie at the same angle, not opposed ones. The whole is an admirable lesson in Celtic balance without symmetry, in Celtic clarity concealing surprise.

Roundels 1 and 11: This motif could be theoretically reached by the expansion of one knob at the expense of the other one of Piggott's mushroom-shaped motifs whose history goes back to the Torrs pony cap, but a much less tortuous ancestry is available. These lovely tendrils may be nothing but trumpet coils in that sinuous guise assumed on the

Kettering casket strip, on the Elmswell panel and ultimately, in rampant casting, upon the head plate of the Aesica brooch.

Roundel 2: This is a variant upon the yin-yang whose ancestry may be traced in Britain as far back as the Torrs horn terminals. The particular form displayed here is best paralleled by panels 80 and 134 from the Llyn Cerrig hoard, although the pincer-like arrangement of hatched arms around a central dot is known only on the Moel Hirradug triskele and the subsequent series of triskelar disc brooches.

Roundels 3, 4, 8 and 9 : These are sophisticated versions of slender waisted S-scrolls, emprisoned within circles. The Rodborough Common roundels, if simplified, are closely analagous in unit 9; foil from St. Mawgan-in-Pyder alone displays an equivalent to the single knobbed terminal of roundel 3.

Roundels 5 and 7 : These are by far the most complex of the Balmaclellan units. Looking first at the hatched sections, one sees a fan-shaped panel with terminal coil; from one corner of the fan emerges a broken-backed scroll. Looking at the voids, a trumpet coil with perfectly good Llyn Cerrig void and encroaching lobe spring to the eye. All units may be traced back to Llyn Cerrig ancestry. Some are copiously employed in mirror decoration --- panels on the Nijmegen mirror, for instance, are comparable; but products other than mirrors are equally relevant, such as the King's Langley linch pin and foil strip from Stanfordbury.

Roundel 10: This layout, consisting of two opposed trumpet coils, dome to dome is approached only by that of a circular motif on the foil panel from the river Walbrook (Merrifield 1965 : Pl. 140) and by fragment No.

in the Stanwick hoard.

Panel 6: Under this heading the comparable swash-N motif from No. will be discussed also. Examination of Leed's swash-N motif has led to the identification of two main types --- a plump form and a sinuous one involving the use of broken-backed scrolls and hollowed joints. The first is well represented by detail on the Birrenswark bit (No.); the second appears par excellence on the Stichill collar (No.). The Balmaclellan versions clearly owe most to the former interpretation, although that on the collar perhaps contains a hint of the latter. Both share a common origin in the all important Llyn Cerrig plaque, now conceivably updated to the last years of the 2nd. century B.C. The jumping off point of the entire swash-N series is a short hand version of the plaque layout, comprising three linked trumpet coils, of which two share the one roundel. Early instances adorn bridges on Group II scabbards from Hunsbury and Meare (Fox 1958 : 39, fig. 24, 1B and 3B). The first datable example adorns a strap junction from a Belgic grave at Letchworth, attributed to the late 1st. century B.C. (Smith 1913 - 14 : 239 and 240, fig. 3). The motif is to be found also on a crescent linch pin from King's Langley and a Group V scabbard from the river Witham (Fox 1958 : Pl. 52a and 49b). With the Rodborough strip (Smith 1925 : 146, fig. 169), there appears the first true form of plump swash-N, formed by the duplication of the single trumpet coil in the above units and the imposition of diagonal symmetry; opinions vary as to the date of this find, but an immediately pre-Conquest attribution cannot be far wrong. The developed swash-N is unknown in mirror decoration so that we have reason to allocate its rise in popularity to a time

beyond the main floruit of mirror manufacture. The plump form is best represented by a small, widely scattered series of Romano-British belt plates from Caerleon, Mon (A.Fox 1940 : 128 and 131, 10), Richborough, Kent (Bushe Fox 1949 : 123 and Pl. XXXIII, 73) and Templeborough, Yorks. (May 1922 : 73 and Pl. XVA,15)[1] Only the first can be closely dated; it lay in disturbed soil over the footings of Barracks V whose construction occurred c. 100 A.D. The Richborough example, on the other hand, was found in the fill of the earth first ditch, apparently shovelled in during the 3rd. century, but containing a considerable amount of 1st. century material. Both the shape of the decorative cells and the colours of enamel used to fill them are characteristic of the Saham Toney hoard, whose Boudiccan date is generally accepted; so that manufacture of these belt plates between 60 and 100 A.D. is assured. Yet another belt plate from Corbridge (Forster and Knowles 1910 : 187, fig. 30) displays a wider use of enamel. Its swash-N is particularly comparable with the Balmaclellan strip specimen. Regrettably undated, its serrated keying for enamel favours a pre-Hadrianic date (Corder and Hawkes 1940 : 356). The application of the plump swash-N to more purely native pieces is revealed by a lipped terret from Ditcheley, Oxon. (Radford 1936 : 55, fig. 10 and Pl. X); the application of lips to the ring and the use of red enamel only should place it close to the Polden Hill and Stanwick finds. Penetration into the north is proved by the Birrenswark bit, whose debt to Icenian enamel techniques is equalled only by that of the belt plates mentioned above. The sinuous form of Swash-N is of interest here only to the extent that some of its features may be incorporated into the Balmaclellan collar version. A

seal box from Nottingham (Oswald 19 : Pl. VI, 7) reveals that its development was fully completed by Flavian times; but a far closer analogy is available in the form of one half of an atypical swash-N on a foil panel from the Walbrook (Merrifield 1965 : Pl. 140); there, every internal feature of the collar's swash-N is repeated in low relief.

We may summarise our findings in connection with the Balmaclellan collar as follows: (1). Basket hatching forms a link with mirror decoration in the south. (2). Examination of this detail reveals a closer affinity with the texturing of mirrors whose decoration follows the plan of 'studied formlessness', as opposed to those of the classicising school of Birdlip and Desborough. (3). The use of hatching for positive pattern definition, in the main favoured at Balmaclellan, is shared by the Billericay I and Old Warden mirrors. (4). The application of moon-shaped figures floating in voids is a further link between Balmaclellan and Old Warden. (5). The 'nibbled' effect of hatched units on the collar, as if suffering from the attentions of some leaf-cutting bee is shared by another late mirror from Nijmegen, whose hatching, however, is much inferior to the Scottish pieces. (6). The majority of Balmaclellan motifs can be matched, but not exactly, by the mirror range of decoration. (7). All roundels can be equated far more closely with the contexts of casket ornament found either in its Belgic homeland or in neighbouring Brigantia. (8). Swash-N motifs are unknown on mirror ornament. The plump form on the Balmaclellan strip is that displayed by certain belt plates which appear to be a conversion of Icenian techniques in the panoply of war to less

belligerent equipment. The collar form of swash-N displays some knowledge of 'sinuous' developments; its is paralleled once more by casket ornament.

It is, therefore, necessary to view the Balmaclellan plate as a product of the twenty or thirty years which follow the Boudiccan revolt. Its decorative technique may forge a link with southern mirror production but the motifs so delimited come largely from the repertoire of casket ornament. Thus B and C cultures both contribute to this piece. It is impossible to be dogmatic about its place of manufacture. The east is, perhaps, more likely than the west, and the north more feasible than the south --- this last statement relying mainly upon the collar's association with a recognisable product of Brigantia, mirror No. 239, whose stylistic date, by the way, coincides well with that of the collar and whose decoration, it will be remembered reveals a comparable debt to the south and to casket ornament in particular. Nor can the possibility of manufacture in Lowland Scotland be totally ruled out, for the struggle between pro- and anti-Roman factions in Brigantia cannot have been an ideal atmosphere for the production of luxury toilet articles.

Two related theories can now be dismissed. The first is the possibility of a rentention of basket-hatching techniques in Yorkshire from the days of the Bugthorpe scabbard. The gap is long and the Balmaclellan piece its sole occupant. The second, tied in with the first, postulates a relationship with certain Group IIIA scabbard plates of Ireland as typified by finds from Lisnacrogher. Admittedly, one (Piggott 1950 : Pl. III) displays a running sequence of S-coils

with basket-hatched filling, but there the comparison ends, for no motif is shared by the two and even the Irish claim to a true running sequence of coils is damaged by closer examination. There is, I would claim, a weak tradition of surface texturing, whether hatched or pounced, present in Wales, north-west England, west Scotland and Ireland in the 1st. century A.D. and later; this is characterised by certain small articles such as bone combs and slips, scoops and the occasional spear butt; but ther is no stylistic reason to include the Balmaclellan plate; while the Lisnacrogher scabbards should occupy an ancestral, not a contemporary role (Rynne 1958 : 705 - 9).

XIII POSTCRIPT.

Two small pieces are included in the Catalogue although they may well belong to a later period, beyond our range. The first is a small bronze sphere from Walston, Lanark (No.310). Formed in hemispheres of two different alloys, its decoration consists of two triskelar arrangements of coils, one set only equipped with zoomorphic terminals.

This piece must be a late relic of the trade with Ireland early attested for this area by the Bargany House chape and a brooch from Lochlee (Munro 1882 : 129, fig. 141). The zoomorphic terminals are to be compared with those on a cast disc from the river Bann, Coleraine (Jope and Wilson 1957 : 95 - 102) and on the Petrie horns (Stokes 1883 : Pl. XXI, 1), although the depression of this design --- as opposed to low relief --- can best be paralleled on a latchet of the 6th. century A.D. (M. and L. De Paor 1958 : Pl. V) and on hand

pins known to be current in the 7th. century (Stevenson 1955 : 291).

It is probable, therefore, that this piece should fall well outside our chronological range. Yet its ancestry is firmly rooted in the fashions of the latter half of the first century and first half of the 2nd. century A.D. Its small duck heads reveal a dragonesque ancestry by their possession of ears or crests. Admittedly, duck castings were exported to Ireland at an earlier stage so that home development without dragonesque aid is feasible; but it is only with the development of the dragonesque brooch that ears make their appearances, thus providing a welcome date for the manufacture of the Bann disc and Petrie crown and all the while emphasising the contacts between North England, Lowland Scotland and Ireland.

The second piece is a silver plate from the Norrie's Law hoard, Fife (No. 309). This puzzling deposit is said to have included many coins but these are of little aid to dating as they range from 1st. century B.C. to the 6th. century A.D. By reason of a stylistic similarity between the dog's head symbols on a pair of silver plaques in the hoard and representations in the Lindisfarne Gospels the date of deposit has been placed towards the end of the 7th. century or, perhaps, a little later (Wainwright 1956 : 110 - 11).

The piece which has attracted our attention bears three fat raised coils with ribbed summits, and around the bases of two, recognisable but debased slender trumpets. One pair of these last is juxtaposed in a manner precisely recalling forehead details on the Deskford carnyx. The coils on the other hand recall the moustache curls on the Stanwick maske and even more so that series of enigmatic

dished plates from Ireland (Armstrong 1923 : Pl. V).

It is difficult to explain away this similarity. Silver makes the Norrie's Law plate look doubly late, yet its resemblance to one north English, one Scottish and several Irish finds of the latter half of the 1st. century A.D. and the 2nd. century at the latest is inescapable. It seems quite likely that Brigantian products provided a jumping off point for the Irish development. It is a matter of personal taste whether one chooses to view the Norrie's Law piece as a late survival of north English or Irish craft. From a purely stylistic view the Irish examples are closer.

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1. Fox has difficulty in finding an origin for this form; could not tankard holdfasts contribute to ~~their~~ its development; there is after all a reasonable origin for them on the continent.
2. It will be remembered that among the Lambay Island grave goods was a beaded torc, an eminently Brigantian type.
3. And if this is true, they may also be deciphered among the engraved voids of that mirror as well as the Gibbs and Desborough plates also.
4. These unique French scoops could be British exports, but their handle formation militates against such an origin.
5. For Iron Age burials see p. 244 .
6. It will be remembered that this is not a unique northern appearance, witness the Benwell beaded torc and Mortonhall scabbard.
7. Such as lipped bowls from Stanwick (Wheeler 1954: 52-3 & fig.18) and Lochlee (Munro 1882: 93); and cups or scoops

from this last site(op. cit.118,figs.101-4).

8. It is interesting to note that a similar interrpetation of the palmette as an animal head with flanking trumpet coil ears is to be seen on a bridle bit ring from Ireland (Jope 1955: 41,fig.1,1).

9. Surely this last motif with its Brigantian equivalent on the mounts of Stanwick Set A must have inspired the petal motifs of the north.

10. They are Glastonbury E201--a rim fragment only; Lisnacrogher; Snailwell & Welwyn.

11. One of the Birdlip specimens has a square perforation for the insertion of a now lost mount.

12. I apologise for the unintentional ommission of one from my original Stanwick paper; it was 'lost' at the time.

14. Spence Bate claims that it had a flattened base; but its everted rim and diameter of c. 3 in. sound compatible with our series.

15. However this feature is also shared by two Romano-British bird castings from Felmingham Hall,Norfolk(British Mus. Guide to the Antiq. of Roman Britain,1964,Pl.XXIV,2).

16. I have included in the Catalogue a small casting of a pony from Shetland,despite its more normal attribution to the Viking period.

17. On this vessel's handle there is executed in repoussé dots a duck head with uptilted beak,impinging on the flagon's lip; this strangely foretells the Keshcarrigan and Somerset bowl handles; I wonder whether such a special application of duckery could not be introduced to Britain simultaneously.

Bar mirror handles(Fox's Group I)

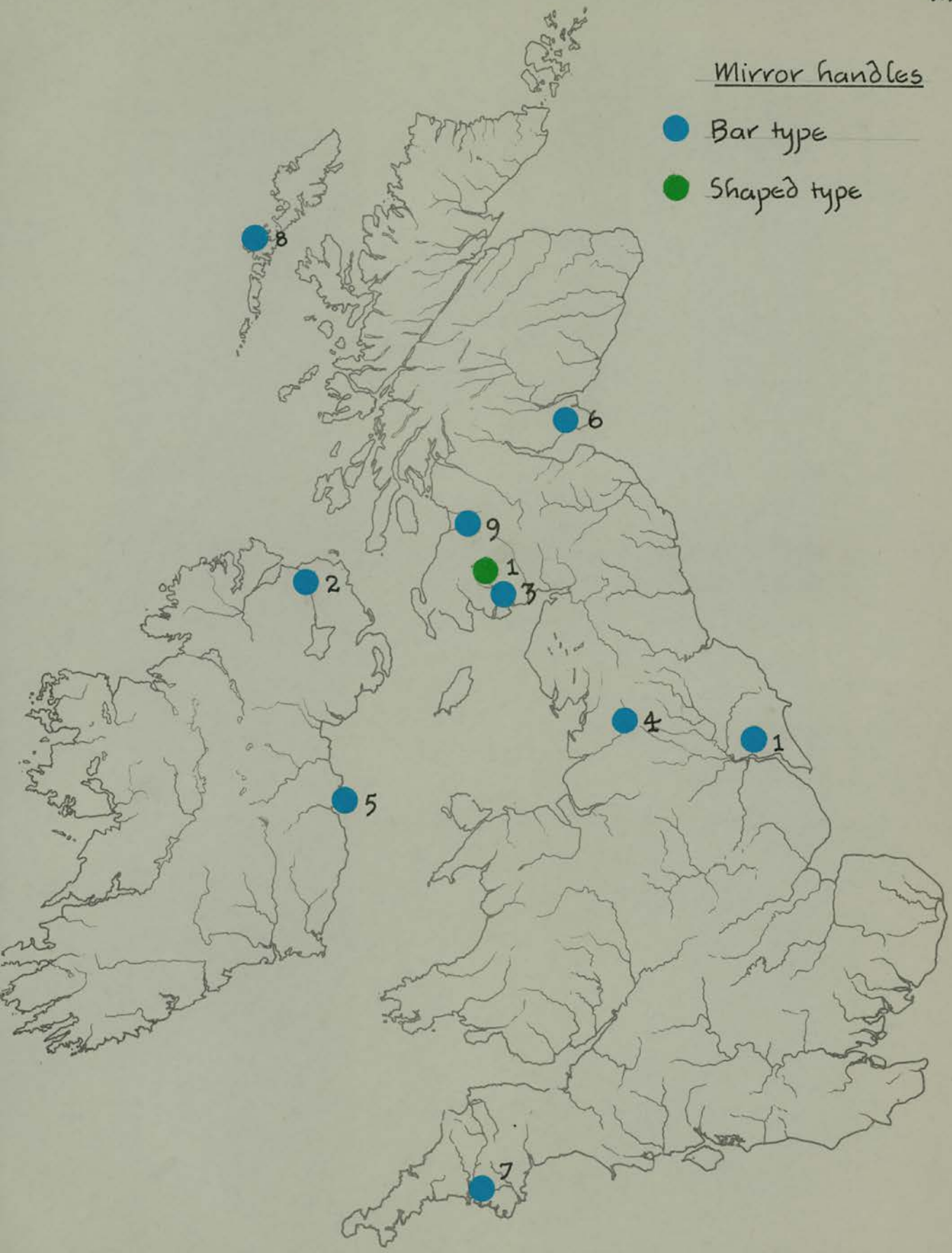
1. ARRAS,N.R.Yorks. Fox(1958),7 & Pl.7,a.
2. BALLYMONEY,Co.Antrim. Jope(1954),91-6.
3. CARLINGWARK,Kirkcudbright. No. 234
4. INGLETON,W.R.Yorks. Fox(1949),24-44. 235
5. LAMBAY ISLAND,Dublin. Macalister(1928),9,Pl.XXV,fig.2.
6. MERLSFORD,Fife. No. 236
7. STAMFORD HILL,Devon. Spence-Bate(1866),Pl.XXX,2.

Related type

1. BAC MHIC CONNAIN,N.Uist. No. 237
2. LOCHLEE,Ayr. No. 238

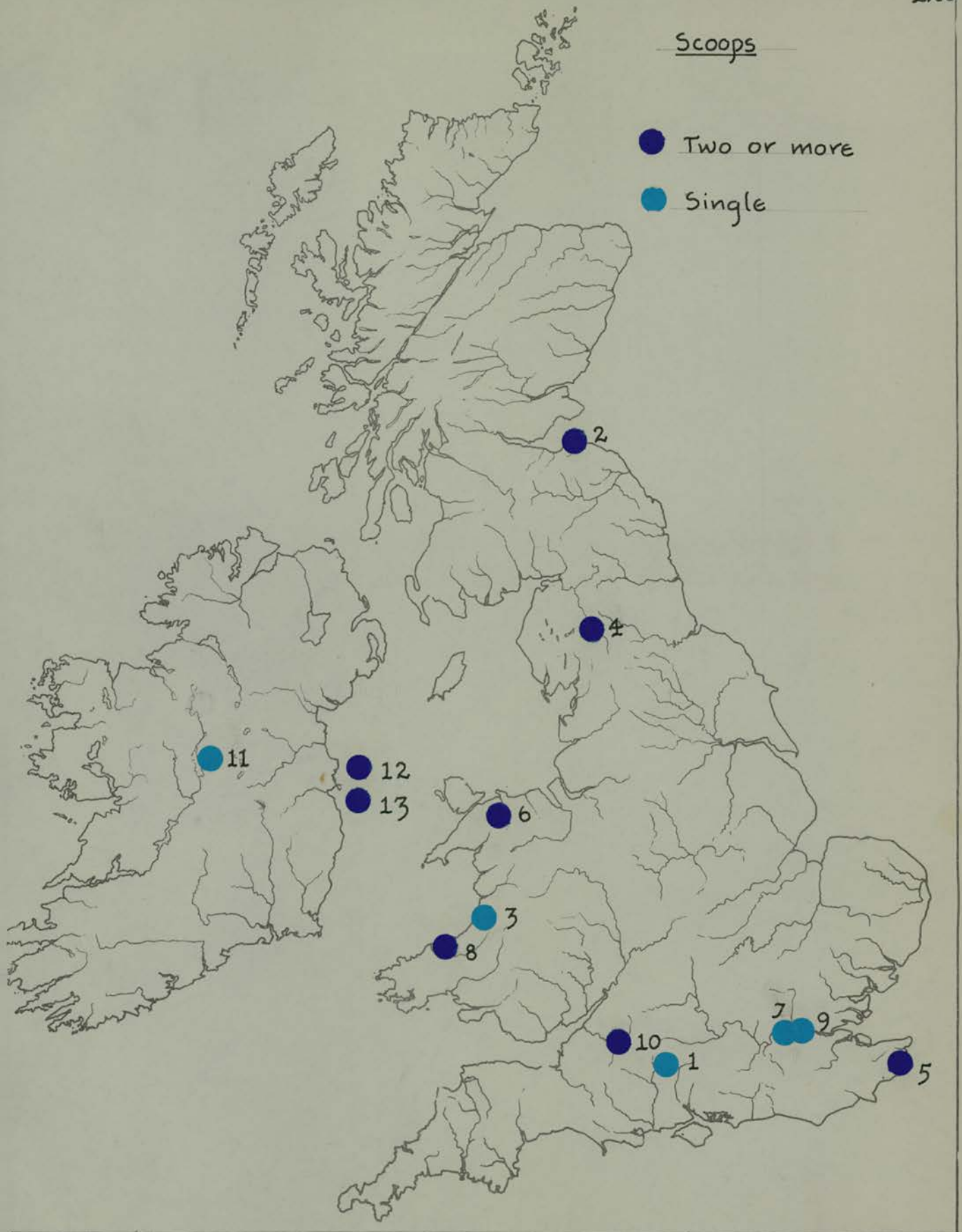
Shaped handle form(Fox's Group II)

1. BALMACLELLAN,Kirkcudbright. No. 239


Mirror handles
Bar type
Shaped type
8
6
9
1
2
3
4
1
5
7

Bronze scoops

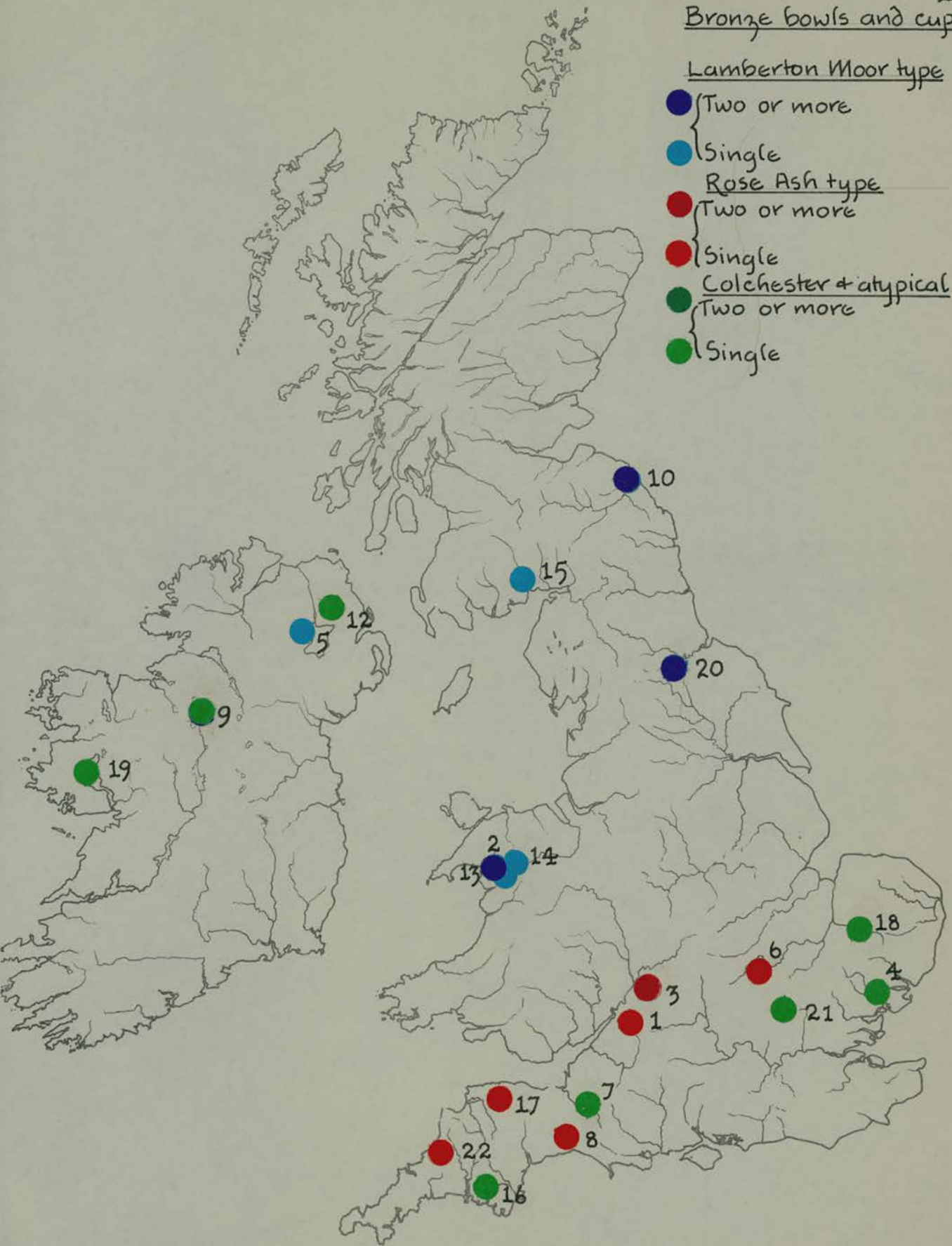
1. ANDOVER, Hants. Ant.J., XIII(1933), 464-5. (1)
2. BURNMOUTH, Berwick. Nos. 245-6 (2)
3. CARDIGAN. Fox(1958), Pl.70, b. (1)
4. CROSBY RAVENSWORTH, Westm. Nos. 247-8 (2)
5. DEAL(MILL HILL, UPPER WALMER), Kent. Craw(1923-4), 143. (2)
6. LLANFAIR, Denbigh. Way(1863), opp.56, no.3. (2)
7. LONDON, BRICKHILL LANE, UPPER THAMES ST. Way(1863), opp.54, no.2. (1)
8. PENBRYN, Cardigan. Fox(1958), Pl.70, a. (2)
9. RIVER THAMES. Jope(1957), Pl.VIII. (1)
10. WESTON, BATH, Som. Way(1863), opp.61, no.8 & 60, no.7. (2)
11. IRELAND, Co. Westmeath. Armstrong(1923), 26. (1)
12. IRELAND, locality unknown. Way(1863), opp.67 no.14 & opp.68, no.5. (2)
13. IRELAND, locality unknown. Way(1863), opp.66, fig.12-13. (2)


Scoops
Two or more
Single
2
4
11
12
13
6
3
8
7
9
10
1
5

Bronze bowls and cups

1. BAGENDON, Glos. Clifford(1961),182 & 183,fig.36,4. (1)
2. BARMOUTH, Merion. RCAM,Merion.(1921),4 & fig.32. (1)
3. BIRDLIP, Glos. Thomas,S.E.(1965),Pl.302. (2)
4. COLCHESTER, Essex. Fox(1958),93,fig.58. (1)
5. COOKSTOWN, Co.Tyrone. Unpublished. B.M. (1)
6. FELMERSHAM, Beds. Watson(1949),37-61. (1)
7. GLASTONBURY, Som. Bulleid & Gray(1911),179-81 & Pl.I. (?2)
8. HAM HILL, Som. Gray(1924),Pl.XIII,E7. (1)
9. KESHCARRIGAN, Co.Leitrim. Jope(1954),91-6 & 93,fig.2,1. (1)
10. LAMBERTON MOOR, Berwick. Nos.254-8 (4)
11. LEG PIEKARSKI, Poland. Megaw(1963),27-37. (1)
12. (?)LISNACROCHER, Co.Antrim. Unpublished. B.M. (1)
13. LLANENDDWYN, Merion. RCAM?Merioneth,(1921),103-4. (2)
14. LLANYCIL, Merion. Leed's Notes, Ashmolean Mus. (1)
15. LOCHAR MOSS, Dumfries. No.259 (1)
16. (?)MOUNT BATTEN, Devon. Spence-Bate(1865),504. (1)
17. ROSE ASH, Devon. A.Fox(1961),186-96 & 191,fig.5. (1)
18. (?)SNAILWELL, Cambs. Lethbridge(1952),25-37. (1)
19. SOMERSET, Co.Galway. Raftery(1960),Pl.I,162. (1)
20. STANWICK, N.R.Yorks. Stanwick report 121,Catalogue No.260 (2)
21. WELWYN, Herts. Coghlan,Watson & Vowe(1951),no.234,37. (1)
22. YOULTON, Cornwall. Fox(1958),79 & Pl.51. (1)
23. LOCATION MISLAID. B.M. (No. number). (1)

Bronze bowls and cups

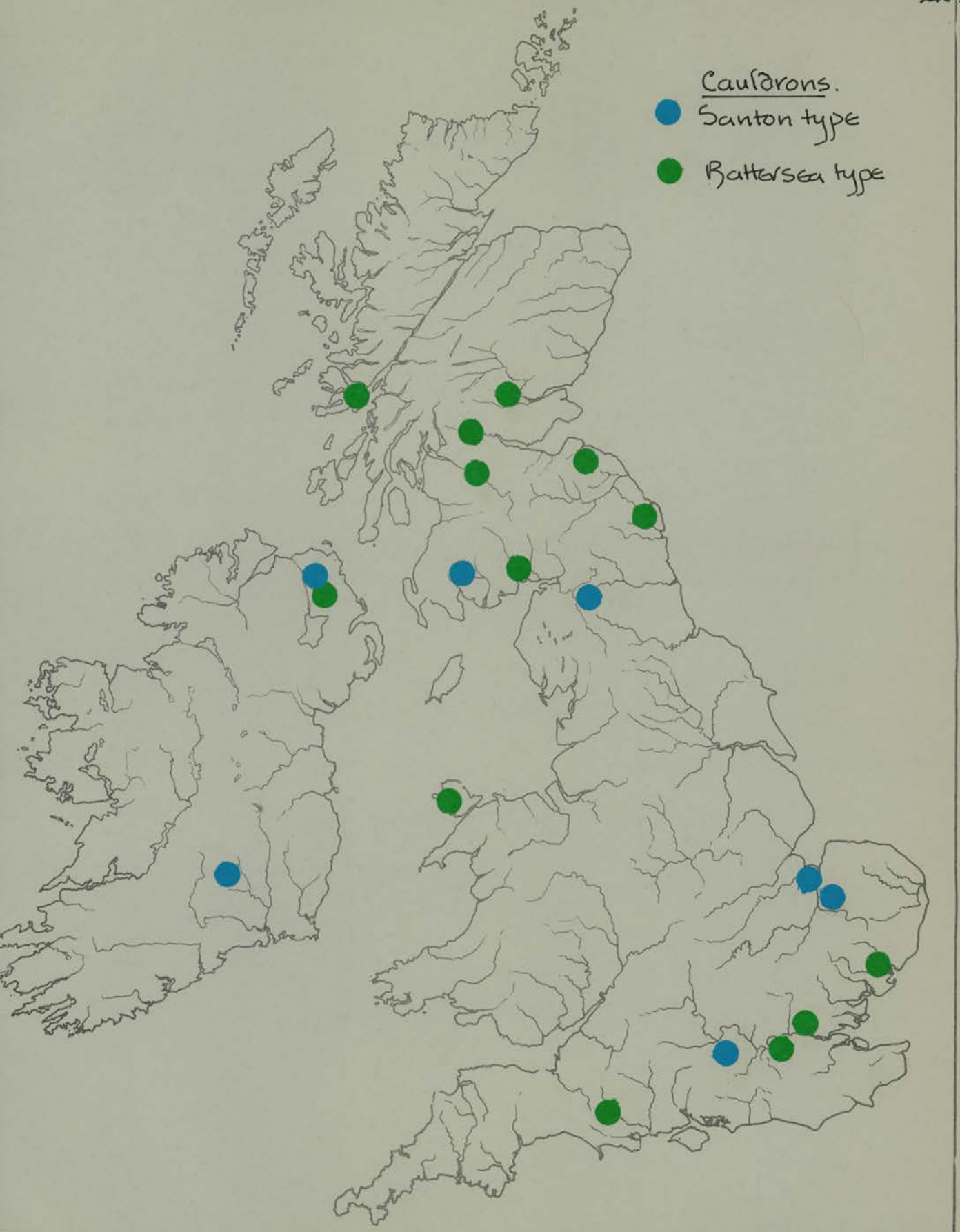


Projecting Belly cauldrons(Santon type)

1. BALLYMONEY,CO.Antrim. Armstrong(1923),25,fig.13.
2. BEWCASTLE(Black Moss,High Grains),Cumb. No. 270 270
3. BOG OF ALLEN,Urlingford,Co.Kilkenny. Armstrong(1923),25, fig.13.
4. CARLINGWARK LOCH,Kirkcudbright. No. 271
5. SANTON,Suffolk. Smith(1909),147.
6. SILCHESTER,Hants. Arch.LVII(1901),246.
7. WORMEGAY,Norfolk. Unpublished. Norwich Castle Mus.

Globular Cauldrons(Battersea type)

1. ABERCAIRNEY,Perth. No. 262
2. BATTERSEA,London. Fox(1946),88.
3. BLACKBURN MILL,Berwick. Nos. 263-4
4. DIRNVEAGH BOG,Co.Antrim. Sotheby's Sale Cat.,17-20. Nov. 1924(Knowles Colln.). No.679.
5. ELVANFOOT,Lanark. No. 265
6. EWARTLY SHANK,Alnham Moor,Northumb. No. 266
7. IPSWICH,Suffolk. Clarke(1939),73.
8. KINCARDINE MOSS,Stirling. No. 267
9. KYLEAKIN,Skye. No. 268
10. LLYN CERRIG,Anglesey. Fox(1946),88.
11. SPETTISBURY,Dorset. Smith(1925),135,fig.147.
12. WALTHAMSTOW,Essex. PSA,XXI(1907),329.
13. WHITEHILLS MOSS,Lochmaben,Dumfries. No. 269


Cauldrons.
Santon type
Battersea type

Bronze bulls & cows

1. ALDBOROUGH,Yorks. No. 273
2. BIRDLIP,Glos. Thomas 1965:Pl.303.
3. BULBURY,Dorset(pair). Fox 1958: Pl.44.
4. BURROW,Lancs. No. 274
5. CASTLEFIELD,Manchester,Lancs. Hawkes 1951:194,fig.50a.
6. CORBRIDGE. No. 275
7. CORBRIDGE No. 276
8. DINORBEN,Denbigh. Gardner & Savory 1964: 146,fig.20.
9. DINORBEN,Denbigh. Gardner & Savory 1964: 147,fig.21.
10. DOLPHINTON, LANARK. No. 277 EAST CHEAP,London. London Mus.
11. FELMERSHAM,Beds. Watson 1949: 40,fig.2.
12. GLOUCESTER. Hawkes 1951: 194,fig.50b.
13. HAM HILL,Som. Fox 1958: Pl.48,b.
14. INGLETON,Yorks. No. 235
15. KENCHESTER,MAGNA,Hereford. Hawkes 1951: 195,fig.51.
16. LEICESTER. Leicester Mus.
17. LEXDEN,COLCHESTER,Essex. Toynbee 1964: Pl.IIIa.
18. LYDNEY,Glos. R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler 1932: opp.75,fig.11,9.
19. LYDNEY,Glos. " " " " ,12
20. MOUNTSORREL,Leics. Hawkes 1951: Pl.IX,1-2.
21. RIVER RIBBLE AT RIBCHESTER. No. 278
22. RICHBOROUGH,Kent. Bushe Fox 1932: Pl.X,17.
23. SOMERSET. Painter 1963: 291-2 & Pl.XLVIII.
24. THEALBY,Lincs. Dudley 1935: Pl.LXXI,2.
25. TRAPRAIN,E.Lothian. No. 279
26. TWYFORD,Leics. Hawkes 1951: Pl.IX,3-5.
27. WELSHPOOL,Montg. Boon 1960: 143 & Pl.XV.
28. WILCOTE,Oxon. Hands 1962: 220,fig.1.
29. YORK. No. 280
30. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. No. 281
31. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Ashmolean Mus.
32. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Leeds 1933: 94 & fig.29,c.
33. " No. 282

Bronze boars

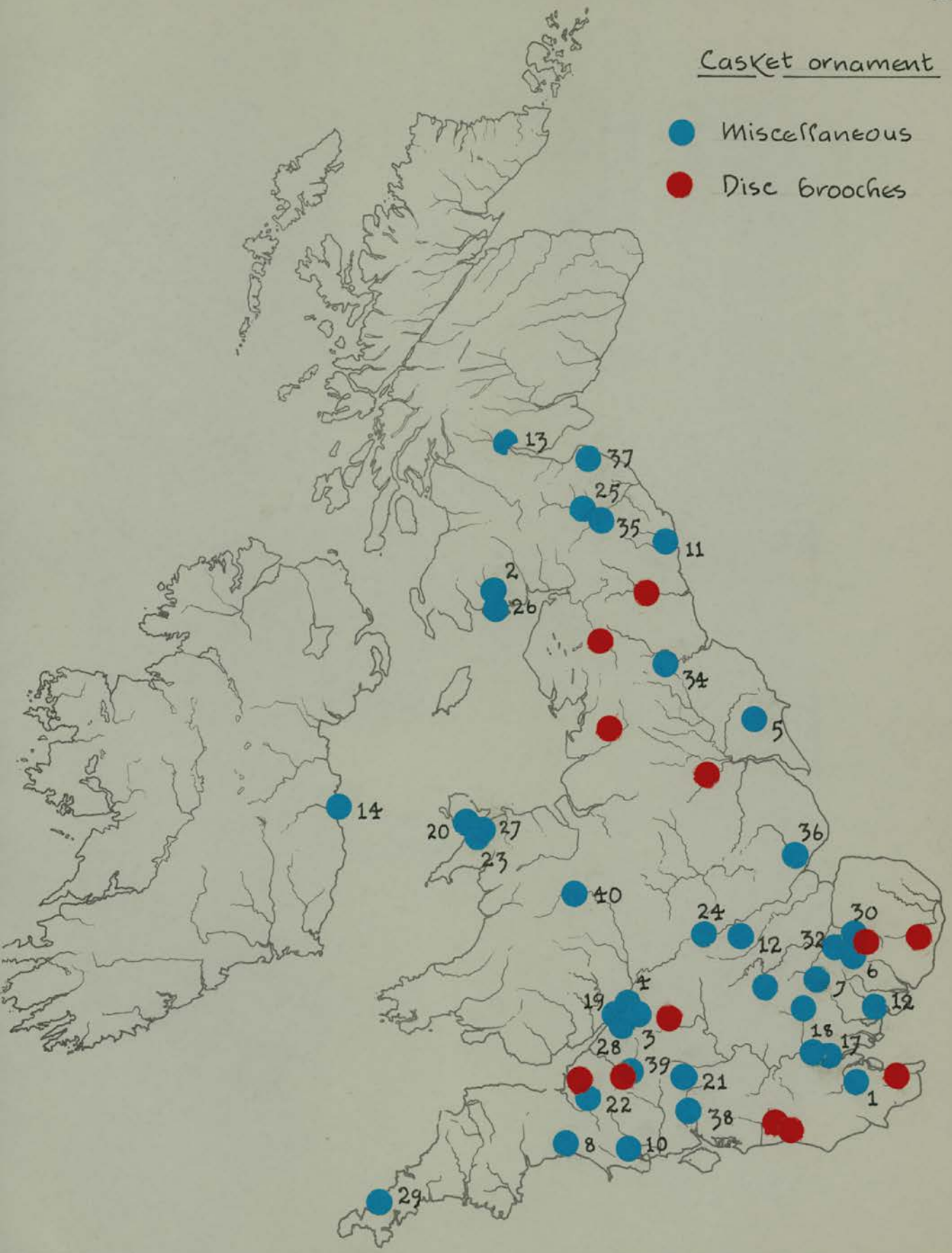
1. ALDBOROUGH,Yorks. No. 283.
2. BRIGHTON(St.Mary's Hall),Sussex. JBAA^2,XXIV,1918,271.
3. CHESTERS,Northumb. No. 284
4. COLCHESTER,Essex. Arch.,XXXIX,1863,508-10 & Pl.XXIV.
5. EAST CHEAP,London. London Mus. A2403.
6. EAST SUSSEX. Lewes Mus. JBAA^2,XXIV,1918,271.
7. FINDON,Sussex. Toynbee 1964: Pl.XXXIII,b.
8. GAER FAWR,Montg. RCAM Montg.,no.234 & fig.13.
9. HAPPY VALLEY,Kemp Town,Sussex. JBAA^2,XXIV,1918,271.
10. HOUNSLOW,Essex. Smith 1925: 148,fig.172.
11. LEXDEN,Colchester,Essex. Laver 1927:LVIII,4.
12. LONDON. Vulliamy 1930: 135.
13. MEARE,Som. Bulleid & Gray 1953: 222,fig.64,E 53.
14. SOUTH WALES. Ashmolean Mus.
15. WATTIS FIELD,Suffolk. JRS,XXXV,1944: Pl.II,2.
16. WOODENDEAN,Sussex. Leeds 1933: 95.
17. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Ireland. Armstrong 1923: 28 & fig.19,2.
18. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. Ireland. Armstrong 1923: 28 & fig.19,3.

'Casket' ornament'

1. AYLESFORD,Kent. Fox(1958),Pl.33a.
2. BALMACLELLAN,Kirkcudbright. No.303-8
3. BIRDLIP,Glos. Green(1949),Pl.XXV.
4. BREDON HILL,Glos. Corcoran(1952),89,fig.2,15,18.
5. ELMSWELL,Yorks. No. 297.
6. ELVEDON,Suffolk. Fox(1958),Pl.54b.
7. GREAT CHESTERFORD,Essex. Henry(1933),85,fig.8,8.
8. HAM HILL,Som. Gray(1924),Pl.XIII,E 8.
9. HERTFORD HEATH,Herts. Holmes & Frend(1955-7),1-19.
10. HOD HILL,Dorset. Brailsford(1962),fig.14 & Pl.I,I13.
11. HULNE PARK,Northumb. No. 151
12. KETTERING,Northants. Bull(1911),opp.500,no.2.
13. KINCARDINE MOSS,Stirling. No. 267
14. LAMBAY ISLAND,Co.Dublin. Leeds(1933),fig.24,a,b.
15. LEXDEN,Colchester,Essex. Laver(1927),241-54.
16. (?)LOCHLEE,Ayr. No. 298
17. LONDON,Great Tower Street. Corder & Hawkes(1940),Pl.LIII,a.
18. LONDON,river Walbrook. Guildhall Mus. 21762.
19. LYDNEY,Glos. R.E.M. & T.V.Wheeler(1932),opp.84,fig.18,66 & Pl.XXIX,135-9.
20. LLYN CERRIG,Anglesey. Fox(1946),viii,58 & 72.
21. MARLBOROUGH,Wilts. Fox(1958),Pls.34-6.
22. MEARE,Som. Bulleid & Gray(1953),222,fig.64,E 113.
23. MOEL HIRADDUG,Flints. Fox(1958),Pl.45,b.
24. MOUNTSORREL,Leics. Hawkes(1951),Pl.VIII,B.
25. NEWSTEAD,Roxb. Nos 299-301
26. PLUNTON CASTLE,Kirkcudbright. No. 195
27. RHOSTRYFAM,Caernarvon. Williams(1923),93,fig.4.
28. RODBOROUGH COMMON,Glos. Smith(1925),146,fig.169.
29. ST.MAWGAN IN PYDER,Corn. Fox(1958),Pl.67,b.
30. SANTON,Suffolk. Fox(1958),Pl.67,c.

31. SILCHESTER, Hants. Fox(1958), Pl.77, d.
32. SNAILWELL, Cambs. Lethbridge(1952), 25-37.
33. STANDFORDBURY, Beds. Fox(1923), Pl.XVIII, 4.
34. STANWICK, Yorks. Nos. 98-105.
35. STICHILL, Roxb. No. 194
36. TATTERSHALL FERRY, Lincs. Piggott(1959), 28, fig.2.
37. (?)TRAPRAIN, E.Lothian. Burley(1955-6), 187 & 185, fig.5, no.270. No. 302
38. WINCHESTER, Hants. Fox(1958), Pl.77, A^2.
39. WRAXHALL, Wilts. Devizes Mus. Cat., (1934), II, 202, fig.34.
40. WROXETER, Shrops. Atkinson(1942), Pl.52.

(and many brooches of disc and bow-and-fantail types.)


Casket ornament
Miscellaneous
Disc brooches
13
37
25
35
11
2
26
34
5
14
20
27
23
36
40
24
30
12
32
6
7
12
19
4
3
18
17
28
39
21
1
22
38
8
10
29

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

A high proportion, if not all of the decorative metalwork belonging to the north English and Scottish Iron Ages has now been examined. It remains to summarise our findings, setting them against the wider panorama of geography--both economic and political.

The subject of Early Iron Age metalwork in north Britain is a difficult one, if only because it lacks natural boundaries of either space or time. The Mersey-Humber barrier is largely self-imposed. Of necessity, one's study commences in the velvety darkness of prehistory, progresses through that deceptive half-light which the Roman occupation shed upon native cultures and vanishes into the returning gloom of the late and post Roman period. The experience of being neither fish, flesh nor good red herring is humbling; for in the company of Roman experts, one is the lowest of the low---a prehistorian on whom some of the tribal woad has clearly rubbed off, while to prehistorian eyes, the taint of Rome is equally abhorrent. Mentioned in either company the words 'Celtic Art' or 'stylistic analysis' and one becomes an archaeological pariah. It is with diffidence then that I summarise my opinions on a subject whose later phases at any rate have been left strictly alone; I now know why.

In the introduction a warning was made against the rigid application of Fox's dual division into a Highland and a Lowland Zone. It is his cultural conclusions which are open to question; their geographic basis is still acceptable in moderation. The area chosen for study conforms to his Highland Zone, to the exclusion however of Wales and the ultimate south-western peninsula of the country. There

are of course anomalies. The discussion at least contains references to cultural developments in East Yorkshire--- ostensibly part of the Lowland Zone; and there is no neat dark blue line to define the southern boundary of our interests, as in the case of Fox's Map B; but a general significance remains. It cannot be mere coincidence that this vaguely defined band from the Mersey to the Humber also saw the southern boundary of the Brigantes and marked a temporary but none the less real halt of Roman expansion in the ten years following the Icenian revolt. While not claiming a geographic importance for this division, such as is justly awarded to the Jurassic Ridge, I would suggest that it does exist. Initially, it may be a barrier partly of relief (the southern extremity of the Pennine range) and partly of vegetation (the forestation of the Midland Gap), but its later validity is more political.

In the subject of land usage, this division has a further worth, first demonstrated by Piggott (in Richmond Ed. 1958: Chap.I). His distinction between a corn producing and a stock rearing area has the support of literary as well as archaeological evidence. An exception may be the early appearance of Woodbury type farming communities on the east coast of Yorkshire; nevertheless, there does seem to be in northern England at any rate a firm tradition of pastoralism whose continuance into Roman times is supported by the sheer acreage encircled by the Stanwick fortifications. That this economy involved the breeding of horses as well as cattle is suspected by reason of the area's long association with chariotry. A growth of sheep rearing may lie behind the increase of weaving equipment.

Some small expansion of farming may have accompanied the Roman progress north---witness the small field systems which dot the limestone uplands of west Yorkshire (Raistrick

1939: 115-50); but Piggott would see in the vastness of Brigantian territory and the absence of defined tribal boundaries a survival of this primitive economic tradition.

North of the border, evidence for extensive grain growing is rare, although a few sites attest to the presence in lowland Scotland of a Woodbury type economy---perhaps even pre-Roman. Such pursuits would be encouraged by the Romans to promote political tranquility and, of course, to augment the supplies of the occupying force.

Farther to the north Bronze Age traditions of cultivation and herding must have continued. The inclement conditions of the west make this understandable, but it would be reasonable to suspect some exploitation of the eastern coastal plain, more especially the area now known as Fife and Angus, which, in the 2nd. century at any rate, appears to have enjoyed some form of Roman protection. The absence of evidence for such a development may be the result of later extensive cultivation; it is not mere poetic licence which has won for Fife the title of 'The Golden Fringe'.

Clearly the economic background sketched above must be in part responsible for and in part the result of the existing social structure. Whether one envisages the vehicles of the Parisii as funerary cars or chariots, their mere existence in graves betokens a love of pomp and panoply which accords well with a pastoral community; that a similar atmosphere was present in lowland Scotland---though never predominant---may be attested by the Torrs finds, and it is difficult not to so explain the massive products of the proto-Picts, farther to the north and at a much later date. The levelling powers of Rome must be responsible for its death.

Within our area, the land may be rough but routes exist in plenty. A cursory glance at a relief map of northern England might lead to an expectation of two coastal developments, separated by the spine of the Pennine Chain.

In fact, from the important Vale of York there penetrate westward a series of routes following such tributaries of the Ouse as the Calder, Aire, Wharfe and Wensley, while farther north the pattern is repeated by Teesdale and Weardale. Several of these northern routes join up with the drainage system of Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland to complete the picture of east-west contacts. That such routes were used is revealed by stray metalwork finds such as the Rochdale torc, Ingleton mirror handle, Austwick cauldron, Reeth horse trappings, Place Fell bridle bit and Embleton sword; and even more so by the situation of major sites, recorded by literary and/or archaeological evidence at Almondbury, Aldborough and Stanwick. This insistent westerly attraction is well exemplified by the fact that the Romans, advancing north, reached Carlisle almost a decade before their foundation of Corbridge.

Beyond, in Northumberland and lowland Scotland, the southern uplands widen; three alternative routes are available. The one hugs the east coast, skirting the Cheviot Hills to lead to the Tweed watershed and Forth Estuary; certain pieces such as the Carham scabbard and Eyemouth terret may demonstrate its use. Far more popular was a westerly route, leaving the Tyne gap or Eden valley to follow the coast of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright; use commenced early, witness the Torrs find and continued late as revealed by such stray pieces as the Lochar Moss torc, Plunton Castle armlet and Birrenswark bit. Links with the Ayrshire coast and Clyde estuary could doubtless be established by following Nithsdale and Annandale, and with the east coast by Liddesdale and Teviotdale. Certain decorative features of the Stichill collar and Mortonhall scabbard make it more likely that their owner came via this last route rather than along the east coast. The third and final link between

Brigantia and lowland Scotland is a marine one. There is surprisingly little evidence for the native use of the north Sea route but ample for cultural contacts in the Irish Channel. It is quite possible that a direct link between the Ribble mouth and the Solway estuary may account for the astonishing similarity between the Rochdale and Lochar Moss torcs, a link further embellished by the presence of a third torc at Lambay Island in Co.Dublin.

The Midland Valley of Scotland is suspiciously free of metalwork finds, save for the Kincardine Moss cauldron. The reason probably lies, as Dr.Coles has pointed out, in its heavy vegetation cover. Beyond, the terrain becomes increasingly difficult. Any movement along the west coast must needs be by boat. By such a route must the knowledge of certain bone weaving implements have reached Scotland from the western shores of Brigantia---a contact whose survival is perhaps indicated by deer graffiti on a few Hebridean potsherds and by the bone mirror handle from the Outer Hebrides with its bronze equivalent in Ayrshire.

Land travel on the east coast is not such a thorny problem. Low land hugs the coastline from the Firth of Forth to the Moray Firth. Where this broadens out, in Angus and again in southern Aberdeen occupation is attested not only by dwellings but also by two kinds of bronze armlet---in the main spiral snake for the former and massive for the latter. To take the case of the spiral snake form, coastal movement could account for the presence of a distant example on the island of Skye---a route perhaps supported by its location at the north end of the island and by the appearance of a second stray in the Culbin Sands; but a more feasible land route is demonstrated by the positioning of the Bunrannoch hoard whose owner must surely have been following the Road to the Isles, with our without his cromach. Beyond Tummel and Loch Rannoch a choice of routes would be available, none easy

but all possible. In the case of massive armlets, emphasis lies on the valleys of the Dee and the Don together with the latter's many tributaries. Coastal diffusion can explain many outliers of the type, in Angus, Perthshire and Fife to the south and Sutherland to the north. The type is also represented in the Bunrannoch hoard; but the striking similarity between the Achavrail and Newry specimens make it likely that the lone Irish example was exported via the Great Glen---a route whose employment is further attested by two finds from Drumashie on the shores of Loch Ness. In which direction these last were being transported depends largely on personal views concerning their place of manufacture.

Contacts with Orkney and the Shetland Islands are proved not only by Samian sherds but also by rare pieces of metalwork such as the knobbed spear butt from Harray and the massive terret of dubious broch provenance but likely Shetland location.

It remains to mention links between our area and the south. Despite recent discoveries and complexities the importance of the Jurassic route to the earlier phases of Iron Age study still remains. In addition, the sword burials of east Yorkshire may hint at a coastal approach to the area from East Anglia; while the first Iron Age settlers in Scotland may well have favoured a more westerly route, marked perhaps by the plentiful timber laced hillforts of the Welsh Marches. The later picture is less easy to decipher and more strictly determined by political considerations rather than those of convenience. Thus, we have reason to suspect a brief but close link between Norfolk and Galloway which can best be explained by a movement along the Trent valley to Liverpool bay where embarkation could take place. Other southern areas to lie in demonstrably close contact with the ~~north throughout the Roman period are north Wales~~

north throughout the Roman period are north Wales, the Severn and Trent valleys and, for a tantalising flash, Dorset; in this last case, absence of intervening finds seems to indicate sea travel perhaps from the south shore of the Bristol Channel to north-west England.

The tribes inhabiting our area are identified from the written rather than the archaeological record. There is not the satisfaction, available in the south, of a correlation between the literary evidence and, say, coin types. By far the largest was the Brigantian tribe, apparently a loose federation of minor tribes whose western boundary is the Irish Sea and whose eastern the North Sea--the East Riding excluded. To the south, such certainty of definition fails. In the south-west it is likely to have coincided with the Mersey. An extension into Derbyshire is suspected but the south-east boundary is impossible to determine. To the north, dedicatory inscriptions to Brigantia have been found on the line of Hadrian's Wall; extension beyond, to include a small area of south-west Scotland is perfectly feasible.

The record of Ptolemy permits us to identify in lowland Scotland the Novantae and Damnonii to the west, the Votadini to the east and Selgovae in a central position. Only the Votadini may be equated with a major settlement and a recognised material equipment, as a result of the excavations at Traprain. The others are mere names. Beyond the Tay, the picture is even more confused. The occupants of the east coast from south-east Perthshire to the Beauly Firth are collectively named 'Picti' at a stage beyond the scope of our study. A somewhat earlier and more relevant nomenclature identifies two major divisions of proto-Pictish tribes---into Maeatae, who lived immediately to the north of the Antonine Wall and perhaps south of the Mounth; and Caledonii occupying Perthshire and much land between the

Mounth and the Beauly Firth. There are many anomalies in the classical record which need not be mentioned here. They are given competent treatment in Chapter 1 of the Problem of the Picts(Wainwright Ed. 1956). While it is just possible to identify spiral snake armlets with the former tribe and massive armlets perhaps with the latter, the attribution is not without danger; and,much more important,it is quite impossible to point to a characteristic form of structure as the product of their society alone; perhaps the souterrain lays most convincing claim.

The ultimate basis of Iron Age studies in Britain still rests upon Hawkes' scheme of 1931. Iron Age A cultures have little importance to our study,despite the fact that such an element is probably to be discerned amongst the earliest Iron Age invaders of Scotland. Within our area, Iron Age B is represented most strikingly by the East Second B culture of the East Riding,although the Torrs find may hint at a transitory expansion into lowland Scotland,while the much later development of the Brigantes must owe a great deal to this cultural atmosphere. However,it is in the 1st. and 2nd. centuries A.D. that ties between north Britain and the south become most clearly demonstrated by metalwork finds. By this time an Iron Age C repertoire was available for emulation.

Rivet(1958),in a concise discussion of the tribal affiliations of the south at the time of the Roman conquest, has distinguished three main groupings:- (1) True Belgic tribes--the Catuvellauni,Trinovantes and Atrebates; (2) tribes in which a great deal of Belgic influence is visible--mainly the Iceni,Dobunni,Coritani and Durotriges; (3)Those tribes virtually immune to Belgic influence---the Brigantes,Parisii, Cornovii,Silures,Demetae,Ordovices,Deceangli and Damnonii as well as presumably all the tribes of Scotland. If any

contribution has been made by our study, it is to destroy the claim of this third group to immunity from Belgic contacts; whether at second, third or fourth hand these can be deciphered in metalwork of as northerly a location as Sutherland.

It has already been indicated that the artistic amalgamation which took place in south Britain in the first half of the 1st. century A.D. has made it difficult to distinguish products of Iron Age B and C workshops; the crescent headed linch pin from King's Langley displays a motif whose ancestry is firmly rooted in the Llyn Cerrig plaque; and the whole problem is summed up by the decorative content and archaeological contexts of mirrors. How much more difficult it will be to identify these two interwoven threads of artistic development in the north. The problem can be exemplified in terms of massive armlets of the oval sub-type. Their shape may be dictated by a knowledge of the penannular twisted torc with ring terminals---an Iron Age B type; their decoration normally includes a travesty of the lyre with flanking units, as well as a copious use of massive and slender trumpets to be traced to a Llyn Cerrig ancestry; yet the ring terminals may be filled with enamel of Belgic appearance; and the lyre layout is best equated with that of crescent terrets.

There is no dearth of indisputedly Belgic imports or influences into lowland Scotland. They include the Auchendollie terret, the Eckford toggle and certain castings from Traprain. Is it possible to say whether a B/C artistic melé was achieved in that area or whether it was transported ready mixed from the south ? To support the former contention we have the presence of the New Cairnmuir ring terminal in Peebleshire, ready to provide the southern uplands with a tradition of slender trumpet development upon which purely

Belgic contributions could, much later, be superimposed. But the argument does not bear close examination. For one thing, note the extreme rarity of decorative metalwork in the north before the mid 1st. century A.D.; then again, we have no means of telling precisely when the New Cairnmuir hoard reached Scotland; it could be a collection of family heirlooms or even spoil from the Icenian treasury, brought by some refugee of the Boudiccan revolt. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that Scotland did not partake of an artistic development parallel with the Llyn Cerrig/Snettisham one further south; and that, faced with a B/C decorative amalgam upon any metal object in that area, we have reason to suspect influence from the south at a time which is most likely to be in the early-mid 1st. century A.D. This conclusion may be demolished by future finds; at present it is inescapable.

There are certain repercussions. The claim of the Torrs finds to a lowland Scottish place of manufacture is somewhat weakened. Then, what about that suspected continuity which links the pony cap to a much later product, the Stichill collar? In shape, its contacts are far to the south and west; in technique of execution it reveals a debt to southern casket ornament, originally a Belgic trick but universally adopted in the second half of the 1st. century A.D.; its decoration is based mainly upon the sinuous swash-N whose appearances are confined to seal boxes and a bangle from Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Derbyshire and south Yorkshire; its hollowed joints are known not only from such pieces but also from foil panels in north Wales. Now, while casket ornament and even the sinuous form of swash-N are available in south Scotland they are only rarely represented. Manufacture of the Stichill collar is most likely to have taken place in the mixed cultural background of the Midlands---perhaps that of the southern Brigantes

or even the Coritani or Cornovii---where Dobunnic, Belgic and even Roman cultural traits were well and truly intermingled by the third quarter of the 1st. century. It becomes apparent that a continuity of tradition may well link the Torrs pony cap with the Stichill collar, but the link is not forged in lowland Scotland.

What is the reason for this sudden transference of southern artistic developments to Brigantian culture ? Basically it must be the Roman invasion. It is a small point but an interesting one that, even if we were bereft of all literary and epigraphic evidence, the native archaeological record would inform us that some disturbing and momentous event had taken place in the south during the mid 1st. century A.D.

There are breakers ahead. It has long been considered by experts on Roman Britain that certain objects, in the main horse trappings, are native work commissioned or procured for or by the Roman military and disseminated throughout Britain by the process of conquest. The bold statements of Dudley and Webster(1965: 194) have brought this theory into the open, as they claim for the Roman army not only the Neath but also the Polden Hill hoard---both of exceptional importance to native metalwork studies; doubtless had they turned their attention further north, the Saham Toney, Stanwick and Middlebie collections would have suffered the same fate. I take great exception to this. No doubt Roman legionaries must have been fascinated by enamel work; also, such gaudy tricks were early applied on the continent to Roman forms of equipment---such as the belt plate from Wadden(op.cit., Pl.28); but the form of horse trapping included in the Neath and Polden Hill hoards is purely Celtic; therefore, if such were used by Roman cavalrymen, then one must postulate the adoption of an entire and alien harness---a theory which has the obvious drawback of military conservatism as well as

the much more cogent one, that the Neath harness fitments include bit rings intended for paired draught. Finally, if Roman cavalrymen were so eager to acquire enamelled work why do we not find this native technique applied to specifically Roman trappings, of which for instance the vine leaf pendant provides a suitable surface for polychromy ? Ownership by auxiliaries is a better bet; but if so, why were so many hoards deposited ? After all, setting magico religious grounds aside, it is the normal thing to hide posessions when one is in trouble; and it was the Romans who were winning.

Nor do the historical arguments of Dudley and Webster provide a solid support for their theory. Admittedly, there is evidence for a pre-Flavian outpost in the vicinity of Neath; but who is to say that the Roman and native trappings combined in the hoard were used exclusively by its occupants ? May we not imagine, with equal but different poetic licence a travelling scrap merchant gleaning the refuse of a bloody skirmish to add to less martial salvage ? We have already pointed to similarities which link the native horse trappings of this hoard to the immediately pre-Saham Toney and therefore pre-Boudiccan stage of Icenian equipment. One of the many skirmishes between Romans and Silures of the period 50-57 A.D. may have given him the opportunity.

Dudley and Webster attribute the Polden Hill hoard to a Roman auxiliary engaged in the south-west campaigns of 43-47 A.D.; but thirteen bridle bits are surely an excessive quantity for a single man; and there is not one vestige of undoubted Roman material in the hoard. May we not imagine a chieftain and his retinue---more stubborn elements in the tribes of the Durotriges or Belgic Dobunni--- forced west into the hills overlooking the Bristol Channel,

who there freed their horses, hid their equipment and took ship to the haven of Silurian resistance;?

We have strayed far from our basic theme but have, I hope, demonstrated the dangers and pitfalls of this Roman/native transition. The arguments put forward apply equally to the Saham Toney and Middlebie hoards, of more immediate importance to our study. The one may have been found in the vicinity of a Roman-looking camp; but such were being built by the Iceni even before their abortive attempt at revolt in 48 A.D. The other admittedly lay in marshland near Birrens, but evidence of a pre-Hadrianic occupation there is not available, and we have reason to suspect the hoard's manufacture in the second half of the 1st. century A.D.

A mere glance at the accompanying Catalogue will reveal the importance of the Belgic contribution to the northern Iron Age---either direct or via the medium of the Iceni. Summarised, it runs as follows:-

1. Probably the simple form of two link bit.
2. Possibly the ring strap junction with concealed bars.
3. Cruciform strap junctions.
4. The Eildon strap junction.
5. Cheek pieces, toggles or sliders.
6. The Auchendolly crescent terret.
7. Possibly the thin form of lipped terret.
8. Probably the knobbed form of terret decoration.
9. Platform terrets.
10. The tanged form of terret mounting.
11. Vase headed castings.
12. Iron crescent headed linch pins.
13. Group V inspired scabbard lockets.
14. Penannular rod torcs.
15. Probably spiral snake armlets.

16. Probably the idea of the dragonesque brooch.
17. Disc brooches.
18. Possibly the Colchester type of bowl at Stanwick.
19. The Santon form of cauldron.
20. Cauldron chains.
21. Casket ornament.

In the realm of decorative motifs the main Belgic contribution is an elaboration of enamel techniques---first boss and spot forms, then wide expanses, then cellular; involving the use first of red alone, ultimately combined with yellow and turquoise as well as dark blue and white glass; but the treatment of many motifs of basically Iron Age B ancestry also reveals a Belgic interpretation---lyre palmette, swash-N and sinuous saltire.

The north-east or east-central Iron Age B contribution is mainly that of the penannular twisted torc and also certain Llyn Cerrig attributes such as the petal unit and slender trumpet, as well as the berried rosette and lyre loop. It is more difficult to discern the role of the southern B cultures and, in truth, there is nothing that can be definitely ascribed to a pre-Belgic era in that region. Perhaps the Group IV type of hilt guard, prematurely represented at Hod Hill, and the collar form of neck ornament are the most obvious pieces. There is however a kind of south-west English/Welsh province which provides us with predecessors to a mixed bunch of northern objects including scoops, the Lamberton type of bronze bowl, possibly the vertebrate form of beaded torc, tankard holdfasts and a slender and fanciful type of bull or boar representation. The precise relationship of this cultural field to either Hawkesian or tribal terminology is at present vague; but I predict that the role of the Welsh March lands in the continuity of Celtic tradition into the Roman period will be recognised as of exceptional

importance during the next few years. I note with interest Mr.Hull's suspicion that much of the trumpet brooch development and manufacture,for so long attributed to Northumbria,may now be pushed south and west into the Severn Valley and the counties of Gloucester,Worcester,Warwick and Shropshire(Gardner & Savory 1964: 134).

That north Wales and the Midlands enjoyed a particularly close relationship with southern Brigantia is revealed by the presence of a beaded torc at Tre'r Ceiri and Lamberton type bowls from Merioneth as well as the keeling and layout of the Trawsfynydd tankard holdfast,although in some cases it is difficult to determine in which direction the influence is flowing.

That the craftsmen of south and north Brigantia supplied lowland Scotland with many luxury articles and decorative fashions is obvious. Amongst the types must be included :-

1. The derivative three link bit.
2. The lipped terret at Newstead.
3. Possibly vase headed linch pins.
4. Group IV scabbards and hilt guards.
5. Beaded torcs.
6. Bar mirror handles.
7. The Lamberton Moor type of bowl.

In fact such is the similarity of metalwork finds in north England and lowland Scotland that Hadrian's Wall cannot be regarded as a cultural barrier whatever other functions it fulfilled.

The role of this combined area in the artistic development north of the Tay may be more a cousinly rather than a parental one. The decorative ingredients are the same in both cases as is probably the source.

We may therefore distinguish within our area four

main schools of decoration, all based immediately or ultimately upon an amalgam of B/C motifs and techniques in the south. They are:-

1. A traditionally inclined Midlands School exploiting the Iron Age repertoire of Llyn Cerrig and possibly Talk y Llyn, though also incorporating novel techniques such as die stamping. Its major products are peaceable. Although one of the earliest may be the horse trappings of Stanwick set A, there followed swiftly the Elmswell casket ornament Balmaclellan mirror, unprovenanced helmet, Stichill collar and possibly Plunton Castle bracelet; also, in different technique true beaded torcs, the Thirst House bracelet, the scabbards from Stanwick, Cotterdale and Mortonhall for instance, and possibly also the Lamberton Moor form of bowl.

2. Farther to the north can be distinguished a different trend, based upon the polychromy of the Icenian/Belgic borderlands. This school has no local roots. Its precise location is difficult to pinpoint but somewhere in the Eden valley cannot be amiss. Its craftsmen were responsible for equipment with initially at any rate a slightly more martial ring---the Place Fell and possibly Birrenswark bits for instance, the Embleton and Thorpe swords, platform decorated and knobbed terrets as well as a utility variant on the southern torc form with pseudo-beading.

3. Lowland Scotland displays as well as imports from both a variant of these two Brigantian schools, in which the stereotyped petal and boss units or the boss alone become a poor man's substitute for the subtleties of the one and the colour of the other. It is the absence of the distinctive petal and boss from the repertoire of the massive armlet school which makes a contribution from further afield more likely.

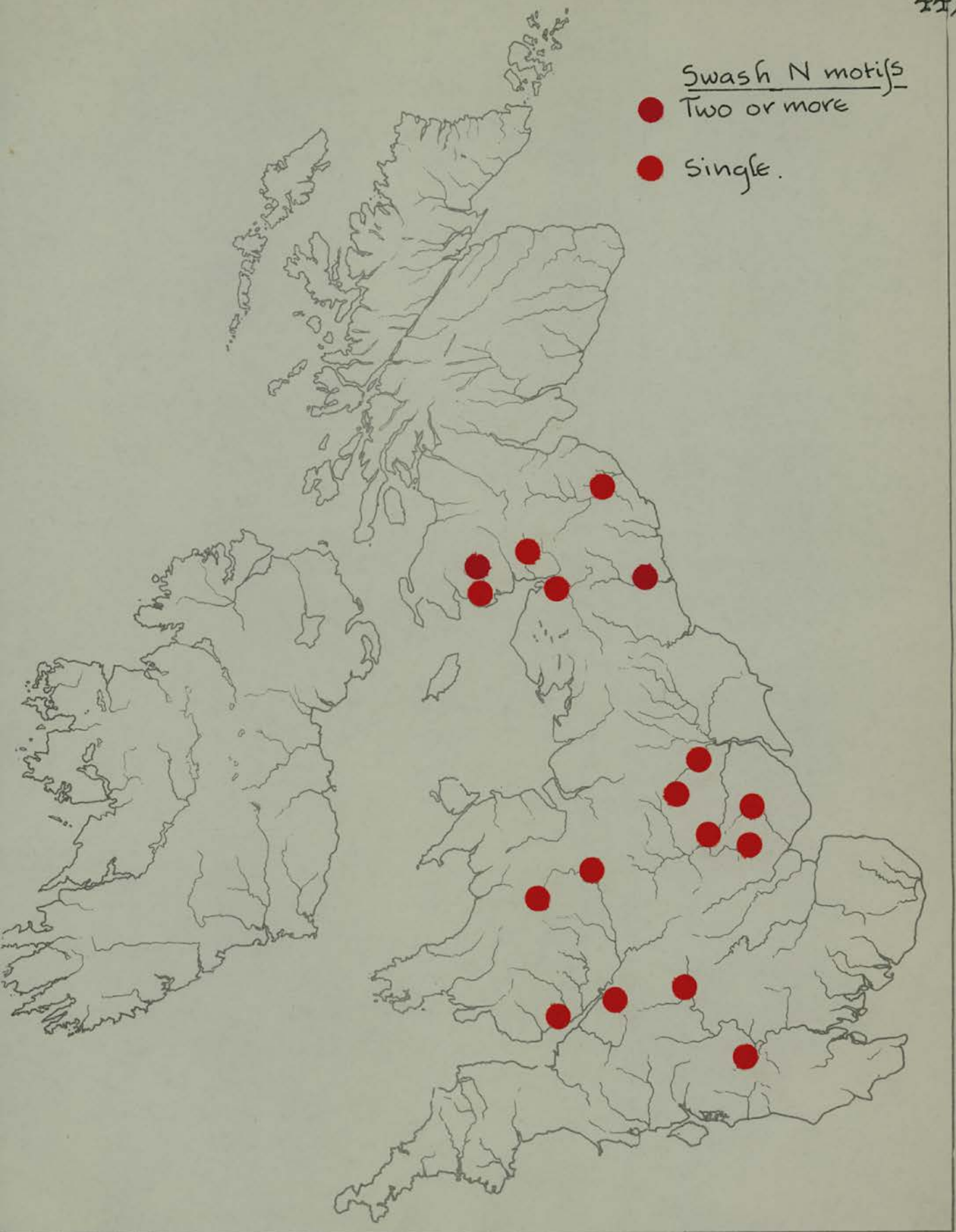
4. Massive armlet school; in this particular case we can distinguish a combination of Belgic/Icenian features

--- possibly directly gleaned, not at second hand---and southern Brigantian ones.

Such discussion is of course unhealthily scholastic. The precise mechanism of aesthetic influence defies generalisation; however the Middlebie hoard may demonstrate one process.

The similarity of its elaborate cruciform mount to that from Saham Toney has already received comment, as has its superiority to all other representatives in the inter-isthmus area. Icenian manufacture and transport to the north seems likely; but the remainder of the hoard is typical of lowland Scottish metalwork as revealed by the excavations at Traprain and Newstead. How can one circumvent this problem ? Firstly, given the historical evidence, refugee movement from Icenian territory in the third quarter of the 1st. century A.D. is only to be expected. Should the Middlebie mount be the product of an itinerant craftsman from the south, then we should expect more than one find of equal technical excellence. As it is unique, flight of an owner would seem more feasible. The remaining pieces in the hoard could then be locally commissioned work supplementing a prized posession of earlier, alien and superior craftsmanship. Secondly, a glance at the terrets in the hoard reveals the largest to be equally the odd man out and a likely companion for the elaborate cruciform mount. It is significant that this terret alone bears signs of excessive wear.

The problem of craftsman-versus-owner transference is an interesting one. The emphasis must surely be on the latter category. It must be remembered that by the mid 1st. century A.D. in south Britain there was a general decline in the standards of craftsmanship and design. The metalwork record of the period, with the exception of mirrors, consists of many minor pieces rather the rare achievements of genius as in earlier times. The attachment of a craftsman to a particular


Swash N motifs
Two or more
Single.

noble family must surely have been the exception rather than the rule, and this change is echoed in the decorative techniques of the period---die stamping, suitable for mass production and enamelwork, requiring the skills of several rather than a single workman. Given the likliehood of this dichotomy between metalworker and his market, there is less reason for such a man to take flight at an impending political upheaval. The situation is exemplified by a particular form of enamelling accompanied by a particular decorative motif---namely cellular work and the plump swash-N. We have reason to suspect that both were products of the Belgic/Icenian area in the first half of the 1st. century A.D. Succeeding political upheavals had certain economic repercussions. Craftsman moved out, it is true; in many cases however only as far as the Welsh March lands or the Midlands where they converted their skills to the decoration of a peculiarly Romano-British form of belt buckle. The revival of the enamelling technique in the south, if not its accompanying motif upon certain large scale products of the south (see Henry 1933: 110) reveals the break in production to be short. Only the most recalcitrant members of this craft would find their way north to continue unaltered their adornment of more belligerent objects such as the Birrenswark bit; and even they, after a short time, would seem to have converted their skills to the production of looped studs, dress fasteners and brooches. It would be foolish therefore to envisage a mass migration of craftsmen to the north.

Beyond the Tay the process must have been very similar. Compare for instance the plastic treatment of the more complex of the Rise bit rings with first of all casket ornament from Newstead and then with the eye treatment on the Culbin Sands armlet. The arrangement is identical. I am inclined to suspect that, while a link between East Anglia and the Midlands was being forged with north Brigantia and lowland Scotland overland, an equally strong one was being created by sea with

Perth, Angus and Aberdeenshire. Until however, actual imports are found in this area plus closely dated pieces of local manufacture, this must remain merely a suspicion. Still, there is one historical point of relevance. When Agricola pushed north into the territory of the proto-Picts Tacitus states that he found them solidly united and well organised to withstand the invasion. This seems incompatible with our view of Celtic tribes as treacherous, quarrelsome and back-biting. Is it not possible that such a unity was superimposed upon them by the awful warnings and heeded advice of veterans of both Icenian and Brigantian revolts ?

No picture of the northern Iron Age would be complete without reference to Ireland.

Rynne(1958), basing his opinions upon the work of Jope and Piggott has distinguished two main strains in the Iron Age culture of that island. The first need not concern us; it is represented, mainly in the south and west, by a series of objects which reveal a knowledge of artistic developments on the continent at that Waldalgesheim/Plastic stage reached by the late 3rd. century B.C. The second consists of British imports and influences, most frequently found in the north and east, and apparently contained within the 1st. centuries B.C.+A.D. Such an argument reduces the role of the East Second B occupants of Yorkshire, incidentally denying the Torrs find of its supposed location on a Hiberno-Scottish route. It does not however damage the claim of Britain to a part in the development of the Group I bridle bit and Group IIIA scabbard in Ireland; the first may have been inspired by true three link forms at the cast stage of their development; the second displays a clear knowledge of tendril decoration as typified by say the Glastonbury tub and of its application to scabbards.

The next stage in English/Irish contacts is revealed by the Broighter torc. It is a purely personal opinion that this piece belongs to the last half of the 1st. century B.C. or

the first years of the succeeding century and that its British manufacture is concealed from us solely by our ignorance of this particular stage in decorative development. It seems to be as basic to Irish craftsmanship in the 1st. century A.D. as the Llyn Cerrig plaque and Snettisham torc are to the British equivalent. A common ancestry may therefore explain the similarity of artistic developments in the two islands; but superimposed upon this is a continuous interchange, revealed not only by actual objects but also by a common decorative atmosphere. Major British exports may be summarised as follows:-

1. The Keshcarrigan cup and Somerset cup handle.
2. The rare Santon form of cauldron.
3. Group V scabbard mounts, from Lambay Island.
4. Casket ornament from that same site.
5. The beaded torc also from Lambay.
6. The Ballymoney mirror handle.
7. The Antrim terret.
8. The Newry massive armlet.

O'Riordain has summarised the Romano-British contribution consisting in the main of brooches, finger rings etc.(1947). Few pieces travelled in the opposite direction, continuing the tradition established earlier by the Bargany House scabbard; such may be a brooch from Lochlee.

It is in the similarity of certain motifs however that a true communion of decorative spirit is revealed; how else can one explain the resemblance of coils upon those enigmatic dished plates(many unprovenanced but all Irish)to the moustache coils of the Stanwick masks; or the resemblance between their jointed slender trumpets and those upon the Deskford boar's head ? Less spectacular but equally revealing is the appearance of a petal ring with basal enamelled knob on a typically Irish horse handle(Wilde 1861: 610,no.157); the engraving of interlocked amazon shield patterns on the Mullaghmast stone(Coffey 1904: Pl. XXII) and the appearance of duck terminals borrowed from British

dragonesque brooches on the Petrie 'Crown', Bann disc etc. In the realm of plastic ornament clearly the link with the Belgic south was established before the emergence of polychrome enamelling, for no example of this technique has been found in Ireland. Thereafter southern Brigantia and Scotland must have played an increasingly important part.

A comparable unity of engraved design can be distinguished also in both western Brigantia, lowland Scotland and Ireland. I refer to bone pieces such as the bobbin from Victoria Cave, Settle, the two bone combs from Ghegan Rock and Langbank respectively and their relatives and accompanying pieces from Loughcrew (Crawford 1925). The tradition is clearly created by the less spectacular side of south-west Second B decoration as revealed by pottery and bone work from the two lake villages. Indeed, there may even be a bone slip of Irish type from Glastonbury (unpublished). Dating is dangerous although certain features dictate that the Irish representatives must be post-Broighter---whatever that is; they certainly partake of the Irish form of slender trumpet and even a kind of sinuous saltire (Crawford 1925: 17, fig.4).

Closely related are a small series of bronze objects, in the main scoops and elongated spear butts (an example of the latter type is illustrated by Raftery 1951: 191, fig.226,1; the scoops have received treatment on p. 355). Despite the absence of compass drawn arcs and the employment of rocker traced outlines, the similarities outweigh the differences. Compare for instance decoration on that Irish scoop illustrated by Way (1869: opp.68, fig.15) with the palmette derivatives on pottery from Meare (Grimes 1952: 164, fig.3) and incidentally on the Langbank crannog comb; or the Crosby Ravensworth triskele with that on Meare sherd 1096 (op.cit. 167, fig.6).

The possibility of a northern, Irish/English School employing basket hatched detail has long been entertained. Based ultimately upon the decorative link between Group III and

IIIA scabbards, its final fling could then be the Balmaclellan 'collar'; but the difficulties arising from a dearth of intervening pieces are insuperable(see p. 412). The existence however of a weak tradition based ultimately upon the more domestic products of the south-west Second B culture, on both sides of the Irish Channel is now clear, despite the overlap of local developments such as the Broighter variant of the slender trumpet in Ireland and the swash-N in England(see the second of the two Crosby spoons).

To sum up, the archaeological record of Ireland reveals links with southern Britain in the late 1st. century B.C. and early 1st. century A.D. After the Roman invasion the role of Brigantia and Scotland was substituted; these links are supported by a common decorative ancestry and augmented by a complex interchange of decorative ideas. The disturbed conditions existing in Britain during the 1st. and early 2nd. centuries are surely responsible.

It remains to mention the Roman contribution to metalwork trends in north Britain. Indirectly, its importance can scarcely be overemphasised, for the Roman invasion fostered the interchange of ideas both by intent and by accident---that is, due to the intentional opening up of the country and to the accidental rallying of those inhabitants of Britain to whom the Celtic traditions were most dear. Directly, the contribution is surprisingly small. We have reason to suspect Roman jewellery of some role in the development of the spiral snake armlet, the collar and the strap bracelet; but it is to the more truthfully Gallo-Roman world that we must turn for an explanation of certain decorative trends, rather than to the purely Roman one; this is not surprising, as the invading and even more so retaining legions can scarcely have contained much true Roman blood.

There is a slight reflection of Samian ware motifs to be distinguished in the metalwork of native Britain; for instance

a stylised approximation to the leaf swag, petalled rosettes and coiled tendril bereft of all foliage. However, the major contribution may in a more three-dimensional field---that of the slender trumpet itself.

During the 1st. century A.D. a factory was established at Baden-Aargau in Switzerland (Aquae Helveticae) for the production of decorative roundels, chapes and sheath ornaments in openwork casting; characteristic of their treatment is a mushroom-like form of foliage and a swollen form of stem joint. So popular were these pieces that imitations must have swiftly arisen; however the ornamental inclusion of the maker's name 'Gemellianus' into the originals has made it possible to trace their spread throughout Europe---mainly into upper Germany but also into Gaul, Raetia, Noricum and even Italy itself (Berger 1956: 30, fig.2). While no representative is yet known from Britain the triskele from Icklingham (B.M.Cat. Antiquities of Roman Britain 1958: 26, fig.14,5) may well have a claim to such manufacture. Definition of the trumpet dome in such openwork may be an innovation of the Rhenish copies, and it is this variant, rather than the true Swiss type which had most popularity in Britain. By far the most beautiful pieces are a pair of triquetral mounts from South Shields (Blair 1883: 90) whose broken back treatment almost wins for them native British manufacture, although the claim is lessened by their snout like arm terminals.

The manufacture of smaller and shoddier pieces, many equipped with studs for attachment to leather permitted a more universal owhership; there is even a possible representative from Dura Europas (Rostovtzeff, Brown & Welles 1939: Pl.XXXIX,2). Such pieces have been found in Britain from Traprain (Burley 1955-6: no.316) and Castlelaw Fort, Midlothian (N.M.A.Edin. HH 431) in the north to Canterbury (Frere 1947: 18, fig.6,7) and Richborough (Bushe Fox 1932: Pl.XII, fig.1,38) in the south. Local manufacture is certain. It is not difficult to imagine native craftsmen, with their long tradition of casting and foliaceous design eagerly


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embracing new materials such as silver and new yet familiar decorative tricks.

The similarity of the better pieces to more purely native work in Britain is confusing until one realises that a common ancestry must be responsible. After all, the anonymous craftsmen working under the pseudonym of 'Gemellianus' were merely converting their La Tène traditions to new markets; a conversion soon to be emulated by their British brothers.

The dating of this openwork in Britain is a problem. Many of the poorer pieces are easily placed in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries; and Curle, in connection with the Newstead finds, excluded the possibility of a 1st. century date---upon false premisses it now seems. The very quantity of good openwork at Corbridge should have given him reason to doubt. If the first and best imports then found their way into Britain before the turn of the century, they may well have contributed to the later stages of slender trumpet development in that country, while not reducing the Iron Age B claim to its ultimate origin.

All that remains now is to indicate that while northern metalwork does not conform rigidly to the Iron Age provinces of Hawkes in England and Feacham in Scotland, neither does it give the lie to their arrangements.

One thing however is totally invalidated and that is the official title of this study 'Celtic Art in North Britain before 400 A.D.' The chronology of the northern Iron Age is notoriously elastic, but I have found little definite evidence for a survival of decorative traditions beyond the last years of the 2nd. century. It is perfectly feasible to do some judicious stretching, particularly in the case of proto-Pictish material, even as Stevenson has demonstrated in terms of bröch equipment. To do so at present would be merely an intellectual exercise. I am afraid that the Rip Van Winkle awakening of Early Iron Age art in the Dark Ages remains as much a mystery as ever.

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Ant.	Antiquity
Ant. J.	Antiquaries Journal
Arch.	Archaeologia
AA	Archaeologia Aeliana
Arch.J.	Archaeological Journal
Arch.Camb.	Archaeologia Cambrensis
Arch.Scot.	Archaeologia Scotica
B.M.	British Musuem
B.M.Quart.	British Museum Quarterly
CAS	Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings
CW	Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeolical Society
DAJ	Derbyshire Archaeological Journal
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
Oxon.	Oxoniensia
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PHFC	Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
Proc.Som.Arch.Soc.	Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

PSA	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London
PSAN	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
PSAS	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
Rev.Arch.	Revue Archeologique
RCAHM	Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments, Inventories
SAC	Sussex Archaeological Collections
SGM	Scottish Geographical Magazine
TEHAS	Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society
THSLC	Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire & Cheshire
UJA	Ulster Journal of Archaeology
WAM	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

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